

Chapter 2

Postpositions: formal and semantic classification

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2.1. Introduction

This chapter will provide a formal and semantic classification of postpositions and PPs. We will start with the formal classification in Section 2.2. We will turn to their semantic classification in Section 2.3. In Section 2.4 we will address the problem of where to draw the line between the category P and other categories and then discuss some borderline cases.

2.2. Formal characterization

In this section we shall first discuss case suffixes (Section 2.2.1) and then turn to postpositions (Section 2.2.2). Verbal particles will be discussed in Section 2.2.3 and adverbs in Section 2.2.4.

2.2.1. Case suffixes

2.2.1.1. The inventory and form of case suffixes

1. Inventory

A. A bird's-eye view of the case forms

There is some disagreement in the literature on how many case suffixes Hungarian has (see Remark 2.). In this book we consider the 17 suffixes in Table 1 to be true case suffixes because these conform to the formal characteristics discussed in sections 2.2.1.1 through 2.2.1.8. The case allomorphs on lexical nouns will be exemplified in points B through D; the allomorphs on pronouns will be discussed in Section 2.2.1.2 point V.

Table 1: The inventory of case suffixes

CLASS	NAME OF CASE	ALLOMORPHS ON LEXICAL NS	ALLOMORPHS ON PERSONAL PRONOUNS	MEANING
STRUCTURAL	<i>Nominative</i>	-∅	-∅	—
	<i>Accusative</i>	-t, -at, -et, -ot, -öt, -∅	-t, -et, -∅	—
	<i>Dative</i>	-nak, -nek	nek-	possessor, recipient, beneficiary, goal
OBLIQUE; SPATIAL	<i>Inessive</i>	-ban, -ben	benn-	in(side)
	<i>Illative</i>	-ba, -be	bele-	into
	<i>Elicative</i>	-ból, -ből	belől-	from inside, from interior
	<i>Superessive</i>	-n, -on, -en, -ön	rajt-	on, at exterior/surface
	<i>Sublative</i>	-ra, -re	rá-	onto, to exterior/surface

	<i>Delative</i>	<i>-ról, -ről</i>	<i>ról-</i>	from exterior/ surface
	<i>Adessive</i>	<i>-nál, -nél</i>	<i>nál-</i>	near, at proximity
	<i>Allative</i>	<i>-hoz, -hez, -höz</i>	<i>hózzá-</i>	to near, to proximity
	<i>Ablative</i>	<i>-tól, -től</i>	<i>től-</i>	from near, from proximity
	<i>Terminative</i>	<i>-ig</i>	N/A	until, up to, as far as, as long as
OBLIQUE; OTHER	<i>Instrumental</i>	<i>-val, -vel, -Cal, -Cel</i>	<i>vel-</i>	with something or somebody
	<i>Translative(-essive)</i>	<i>-vá, -vé, -Cá, -Cé</i>	N/A	into (expressing change of state)
	<i>Causal(-final)</i>	<i>-ért</i>	<i>ért-</i>	for (reason, aim)
	<i>Essive-formal</i>	<i>-ként</i>	N/A	as (role), in the capacity of

B. Structural cases

Nominative case is morphologically unmarked. Subjects bear this case (1), but possessors can also be morphologically unmarked (3). Accusative case appears on direct objects (1).

- (1) Ili adott egy könyv-et Imi-nek. [nominative, accusative, dative]
 Ili give.Past.3Sg a book-Acc Imi-Dat
 ‘Ili gave a book to Imi.’

Note that Hungarian exhibits Differential Object Marking to some degree: some objects can, others must appear without the accusative suffix. These will be discussed in point *II* and in Section 2.2.1.2 point *V/E*. (On accusative marked pronouns, see also Section 2.2.1.8.) While the nominative and accusative case markers are not exponents of P-heads, thus nominals bearing them are extended NPs, not PPs, these are also cases, so we discuss them in this section.

Dative is the case of recipients, beneficiaries and goals. (1) shows this for a subcategorized noun phrase and (2) for a non-subcategorized NP.

- (2) Ezt Ili-nek vettem. [dative]
 this.Acc Ili-Dat buy.Past.1Sg
 ‘I bought this for Ili.’

Possessors can also bear dative case (3), but possessors may also be morphologically unmarked (see N2.2.1.2).

- (3) János / [János-nak a] kalapja [nominative, dative]
 János / János-Dat the hat.Poss
 ‘János’ hat’

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Dative case is also borne by nominal and adjectival predicates in two environments. Firstly, dative appears on adjectival or nominal predicates of small clauses selected by certain matrix predicates such as *tart* ‘consider (sb to be Adj)’ and *néz* ‘take (sb to be Adj)’, as in (4) (see the volume on Adjectival Phrases).

- (4) a. Ili okos-nak tartja Imit. [dative]
Ili clever-Dat consider.DefObj.3Sg Imi.Acc
‘Ili considers Imi smart.’
- b. Ili orvos-nak / hülyé-nek nézte Imit.
Ili doctor-Dat / stupid-Dat take.Past.DefObj.3Sg Imi.Acc
‘Ili took Imi to be [a doctor] / stupid.’

Predicates of the small clause complements of the raising verbs *tűnik* ‘appear’ and *látszik* ‘seem’ are likewise marked with dative (5).

- (5) a. Ili okos-nak tűnik. [dative]
Ili clever-Dat appear.3Sg
‘Ili appears to be clever.’
- b. Ili okos-nak látszik.
Ili clever-Dat seem.3Sg
‘Ili seems to be clever.’

Secondly, fronted nominal and adjectival predicates in the predicate cleft construction also bear dative case (6). On dative-marked adjectival and nominal predicates, see Ürögdi (2006).

- (6) a. Szép-nek szép, de túl drága. [dative]
pretty-Dat pretty but too expensive
‘As for [being] pretty, it is pretty, but it is too expensive.’
- b. Orvos-nak orvos, de nem elég tapasztalt.
doctor-Dat doctor but not enough experienced
‘As for being a doctor, he is a doctor, but he is not experienced enough.’

Nominal and adjectival predicates of finite clauses, however, cannot bear dative case; they must be morphologically unmarked (7).

- (7) János orvos-(*nak) / okos-(*nak). [dative]
János doctor-Dat / clever-Dat
‘János is [a doctor] / clever.’

In a limited number of cases, the dative also has a spatial goal use. This is discussed and illustrated in Section 2.3.1.3.1.

C. Spatial (locative and directional) cases

Hungarian has ten spatial case suffixes; nine of them are arranged in three semantically related triplets. The first triplet relates the Figure to the surface of the Ground object. The superessive case expresses static location on the surface of the Ground (8).

- (8) A ház-on sok galamb van. [superessive]
 the house-Sup many pigeon be.3Sg
 ‘There are many pigeons on the house.’

The superessive is also the default suffix on names of settlements and geographical areas within the area of the historical Kingdom of Hungary (9). (There are, however, many exceptions where the inessive case is used instead; see below).

- (9) Szeged-en / [a Dunántúl-on] sok galamb van. [superessive]
 Szeged-Sup / the Dunántúl-Sup many pigeon be.3Sg
 ‘There are many pigeons in [(the city of) Szeged] / [the Dunántúl (region)].’

Names of islands, lowlands / plains and highlands always take the superessive case, regardless of their geographical location (10).

- (10) a. a Margitsziget-en, a Zöldfoki Sziget-ek-en [superessive]
 the Margaret.island-Sup the green.cape.Attr island-Pl-Sup
 ‘on Margaret Island, on the Cape Verde islands’
 b. a Nagyalföld-ön, a Skót Felföld-ön
 the big.lowland-Sup the Scottish Highland-Sup
 ‘on the Great (Hungarian) Plain, in the Scottish Highlands’

Days of the month (which take the ordinal form, just like in English) and several temporal adverbs such as ‘on Monday’, ‘in the summer’, or ‘next week’ are also marked with the superessive (11).

- (11) a. július 18-án [superessive]
 July 18-Poss-Sup
 ‘on the 18th of July’
 b. hétfő-n, nyár-on, jövő hét-en
 Monday-Sup summer-Sup next week-Sup
 ‘on Monday, in the summer, next week’

The superessive is also used to mark the patient in the conative alternation. (12a) encodes a process of hair-drying without commitment that the hair has gotten drier by the end of the event. (12b) expresses a telic event: the hair has gotten dry by the end of the event. Finally, in (12c) the hair has gotten drier, but it has not been dried completely.

- (12) a. Ili szárította a haját. [accusative]
 Ili dry.Past.DefObj.3Sg the hair.Poss.3Sg.Acc
 ‘Ili was drying her hair.’
 b. Ili meg szárította a haját.
 Ili Perf dry.Past.DefObj.3Sg the hair.Poss.3Sg.Acc
 ‘Ili has dried her hair.’
 c. Ili szárított a hajá-n. [superessive]
 Ili dry.Past.3Sg the hair.Poss.3Sg-Sup
 ‘Ili dried her hair a bit.’

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The sublative and delative cases express motion to and motion away from the surface of the Ground object (13); they are the directional counterparts of the superessive. As such, they also mark motion into and out of a geographical area or settlement whose locative form involves the superessive case.

- (13) a. Sok galamb száll-t [a ház-ra] / Szeged-re. [sublative]
many pigeon fly-Past.3Sg the house-Sub / Szeged-Sub
'Many pigeons flew [onto the house] / [to (the city of) Szeged].'
- b. Sok galamb fel-száll-t [a ház-ról] / Szeged-ről. [delative]
many pigeon up-fly-Past.3Sg the house-Del / Szeged-Del
'Many pigeons flew off of [the house] / [(the city of) Szeged].'

The sublative case also obligatorily marks adjectives in resultative constructions (14). See Chapter 4.

- (14) Ili lapos-ra kalapálja a vasat. [sublative]
Ili flat-Sub hammer.DefObj.3Sg the iron.Acc
'Ili hammers the iron flat.'

Some measure phrases are also marked with this case (15).

- (15) egy méter-re a ház-tól [sublative]
one meter-Sub the house-Abl
'one meter from the house'

The second triplet relates the Figure to the inside of the Ground object. The inessive case expresses static location inside the Ground (16).

- (16) A ház-ban sok macska van. [inessive]
the house-Ine many cat be.3Sg
'There are many cats in the house.'

It is also the case to express location in a continent or a country (17a), and the default case to mark location in a county, geographical area or a settlement that is found outside of the area of the historical Kingdom of Hungary (17b) (Tompa 1980, Bartha 1997).

- (17) a. Európá-ban / Angliá-ban sok macska van. [inessive]
Europe-Ine / England-Ine many cat be.3Sg
'There are many cats in Europe / England.'
- b. Baranyá-ban / London-ban sok macska van. [inessive]
Baranya-Ine / London-Ine many cat be.3Sg
'There are many cats in Baranya [county] / London.'

There are numerous exceptions, however. The continent name *Antarktisz* 'Antarctica' and the country name *Magyarország* 'Hungary' take the superessive case rather than the inessive (18).

- (18) a. Magyarország-on sok macska van. [inessive]
 Hungary-Sup many cat be.3Sg
 ‘There are many cats in Hungary.’
- b. Az Antarktisz-on nincsenek macskák. [inessive]
 the Antarctica-Sup not_be.3Pl cat.Pl
 ‘There are no cats in Antarctica.’

Remark 1. *Antarktisz* ‘Antarctica’ behaves more like the name of an island than the name of a continent: as shown in (18), it also requires the definite article (while this is not the case with other continent names).

In addition, in some cases the superessive case is employed on a city name outside of Hungary (19a) and the inessive case is used on a geographical or city name within Hungary (19b).

- (19) a. Szentpétervár-on sok macska van. [superessive]
 Saint.Petersburg-Sup many cat be.3Sg
 ‘There are many cats in Saint Petersburg.’
- b. Győr-ben sok macska van. [inessive]
 Győr-Ine many cat be.3Sg
 ‘There are many cats in (the city of) Győr.’

The use of the inessive versus the superessive with certain geographical and settlement names may show variation across speakers and even within the speech of an individual. (It is also attested that a local community in Hungary uses the inessive with the name of its own settlement while the standard language uses the superessive, see Bartha 1997). The inessive also appears on years and the names of months in (static) temporal PPs (20a,b).

- (20) a. 2000-ben [inessive]
 2000-Ine
 ‘in the year 2000’
- b. március-ban
 March-Ine
 ‘in March’

The illative and elative cases are the directional counterparts of the inessive; they express motion to and motion away from the inside of the Ground object (21). Geographical names and names of settlements that take the inessive case to express location take the illative and elative cases to express motion into and out of the settlement, respectively.

- (21) a. Ili meg-érkez-ett [a ház-ba] / Győr-be. [illative]
 Ili Perf-arrive-Past.3Sg the house-III / Győr-III
 ‘Ili arrived [in the house] / [in (the city of) Győr].’
- b. Ili távozt-ott [a ház-ból] / Győr-ből. [elative]
 Ili leave-Past.3Sg the house-Ela / Győr-Ela
 ‘Ili left [the house] / [(the city of) Győr].’

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The last triplet relates the Figure to the vicinity of the Ground object. The adessive case expresses static location near (i.e. in the vicinity of) or at the Ground (22a). The allative and ablative cases are its directional counterparts: these express motion to and motion away from near the Ground, respectively (22b,c).

- (22) a. A ház-nál három katona áll. [adessive]
the house-Ade three soldier stand.3Sg
'There are three soldiers standing at the house.'
- b. Sok vendég érkezett [a ház-hoz]. [allative]
many guest arrive-Past.3Sg the house-All
'Many guests arrived to / at the house.'
- c. Az elkövetők el-menekül-t-ek [a ház-tól]. [ablative]
the perpetrator.Pl away-flee-Past-3Pl the house-Abl
'The perpetrators fled from the house.'

The adessive can appear on the object of comparison (23b), though in some dialects the ablative case is used instead (23c). On comparatives and superlatives, see the volume on Adjectival Phrases.

- (23) a. Ili magasabb, mint Imi.
Ili taller than Imi
'Ili is taller than Imi.'
- b. Ili magasabb Imi-nél. [adessive]
Ili taller Imi-Ade
'Ili is taller than Imi.'
- c. [%]Ili magasabb Imi-től. [ablative]
Ili taller Imi-Abl
'Ili is taller than Imi.'

Finally, the terminative case is used to mark an endpoint in space or time (24a,b). In temporal PPs it can also appear on noun phrases expressing the duration of an event (24c).

- (24) a. Hat órá-ig visszajövök. [terminative]
six o'clock-Ter back.come.1Sg
'I will be back by six.'
- b. A híd-ig futottam, utána gyalogoltam.
the bridge-Ter run.Past.1Sg after walk.Past.1Sg
'I ran until I reached the bridge, then I walked.'
- c. Ili két nap-ig beteg volt.
Ili two day-Ter sick be.Past.3Sg
'Ili was sick for two days.'

D. Other cases

The instrumental case expresses accompaniment (25a) and it is also used to mark instruments (25b).

- (25) a. Ili Pál-lal / kutyá-val / hátizsák-kal ment sétálni. [instrumental]
 Ili Pál-Ins / dog-Ins / backpack-Ins go.Past.3Sg walk.Inf
 ‘Ili went for a walk [with Pál] / [with a dog] / [with a backpack].’
- b. Ili kés-sel nyitotta ki a konzerv-et.
 Ili knife-Ins open.Past.DefObj.3Sg out the can-Acc
 ‘Ili opened the can with a knife.’

Some measure phrases also bear this case (26).

- (26) egy méter-rel a ház mögött [instrumental]
 one meter-Ins the house behind
 ‘one meter behind the house’

The translative(-essive) case marks non-verbal predicates accompanying verbs of change. It expresses the result state of a transformation (27).

- (27) a. A hős kutyá-vá változott. [translative(-essive)]
 the hero dog-TrE transform.Past.3Sg
 ‘The hero transformed into a dog.’
- b. A vér nem válik víz-zé.
 the blood not turn.3Sg wanter-TrE
 ‘Blood is thicker than water.’ (Lit: Blood will not turn into water.)

Note that the translative(-essive) is not used productively with *lesz* ‘will be, become’, the future copula (de Groot 2017). It appears only in a few set expressions; these sound archaic or represent a highly elevated style (28).

- (28) a. Semmi-vé lett a vagyon. [translative(-essive)]
 nothing-TrE become.Past.3Sg the wealth
 ‘The wealth is gone.’ (Lit: The wealth has become nothing.)
- b. Por-ból lettünk, por-rá leszünk.
 dust-Ela become.Past.1Pl dust-TrE become.1Pl
 ‘Ashes to ashes, dust to dust.’ (Lit: We are made of dust, we shall become dust.)

In the unmarked, fully productive case, the secondary predicate next to *lesz* ‘will be, become’ bears the unmarked nominative case (29).

- (29) Ili tanár / *tanár-rá lesz. [nominative, translative(-essive)]
 Ili teacher / teacher-TrE become.3Sg
 ‘Ili will be / become a teacher.’

The causal(-final) case expresses purpose (30a) or reason / cause (30b).

- (30) a. A cicá-ért jöttem. [causal(-final)]
 the cat-Cau come.Past.1Sg
 ‘I came for (i.e. in order to fetch) the cat.’
- b. Ez-ért nem jó tűz-re olaj-at önteni.
 this-Cau not good fire-Sub oil-Acc pour.Inf
 ‘This is why it is not a good idea to pour oil on fire.’

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Finally, the essive-formal case is used to express a role held by somebody (31).

- (31) a. Ili igazgató-ként sokat tett a vállalat-ért. [essive-formal]
Ili director-FoE lot.Acc do.Past.3Sg the company-Cau
'[As director, Ili did a lot for the company.] / [In her capacity as director, Ili did a lot for the company.]'
- b. Ili tanár-ként dolgozik.
the teacher-FoE work.3Sg
'Ili works as a teacher.'
- c. A régióban első-ként itt vezették be az új rendszert.
the region.Ine first-FoE here introduce.Past.DefObj.3Pl in the new system
'It was here that the new system was first introduced within the region.'

Remark 2. Drawing the boundaries of the Hungarian case system and thus delineating case suffixes from other nominal suffixes is notoriously difficult. There are altogether 15 suffixes that are accepted as case markers by everybody. These are listed below.

- (i) accusative, dative, inessive, illative, elative, superessive, sublative, delative, adessive, allative, ablative, instrumental, translative(-essive), causal(-final), terminative

At the same time, everybody accepts that the inventory of cases is larger than these 15 suffixes; the debate concerns how many and exactly which suffixes should be added to the list. There are two types of suffixes that are problematic in setting up a definitive list of cases. The first type is the nominative case, which has a phonologically zero exponent. Is nominative a case in Hungarian or not? The answer to this question is 'yes' in most works (the most notable exceptions are Olsson 1992 and Payne and Chisarik 2000). The second problematic suffix-type is suffixes with limited productivity, such as the sociative or the essive(-modal). Should all, some, or no suffixes with limited productivity be counted as case markers? Most of the disagreement in the literature stems from the dilemma of where to draw the line between fully productive and less productive suffixes. We will discuss suffixes with a more limited productivity in Section 2.2.4.1.2.

The shortest case inventory with 16 cases can be found in Abondolo (1998: 440) and Payne and Chisarik (2000: 183). The two case-lists are not identical, however. Abondolo adds nominative to the cases in (i), while Payne and Chisarik add the temporal suffix *-kor* and exclude nominative from their list. Antal (1961: 44) and Kornai (1989) add the phonologically zero nominative as well as the essive-formal *-ként* suffix to the 15 strong list above, bringing the total number of cases to 17. Kiefer (2000a: 580, 2003: 202) identifies 18 cases: in addition to the suffixes listed in (i), he also accepts the essive-formal and the modal-essive *-n/-an/-en* suffixes as well as the zero nominative as cases (on the modal-essive, see Section 2.2.4.1.1 point II). 22 cases are recognized by Moravcsik (2003: 116-117), 23 by Olsson (1992: 101), and 24 by Lotz (1939: 66) and Rácz (1968: 197-199). There are 25 cases listed by Vago (1980: 100), and 26 by Tompa (1968: 206-29). The longest case-list is found in S. Hámori and Tompa (1961: 557) and Kenesei, Vago and Fenyvesi (1998: 191), with 27 case markers in total.

This diversity in the number of suffixes recognized as cases stems from the fact that many authors do not use explicit formal criteria to delineate cases from other suffixes. The works that do propose formal definitions, on the other hand, use different criteria to identify cases. Compare the definitions of Kiefer (2000a) and Payne and Chisarik (2000); the former picks out 18 suffixes as cases, while the latter picks out 16. (We do not endorse either definition here; we merely show how diverse the definitions in previous research have been.)

- (ii) Definitions of case suffixes in Kiefer (2000a) ((iia) and (iib) are equivalent)
- a. A suffix is a case marker if and only if a nominal bearing this suffix functions as a selected argument of some verb, and the verb requires its argument to bear precisely this suffix. (our translation)

- b. If a noun bearing an inflectional suffix (but not a plural suffix or a possessive suffix) can be modified, then the inflectional suffix in question is a case suffix. If the noun bearing the inflectional suffix cannot be modified, then that suffix is not a case suffix. (our translation)

Based on these definitions, the sociative suffix, for instance, is not a case suffix because no predicate subcategorizes for a sociative marked argument, and nouns bearing the sociative case cannot be modified (Section 2.2.4.1.2).

- (iii) Definition of case suffixes in Payne and Chisarik (2000)

Those overt forms which (i) are able to mark maximal noun phrases with a full range of determiners and premodifiers, and (ii) have the [...] property of attaching to noun-phrase premodifiers in case of ellipsis (Payne and Chisarik 2000: 182)

In order for the reader to be able to fully appreciate the Payne-Chisarik definition, let us illustrate the property mentioned in clause (ii) of the definition. Syntactically, case suffixes belong to the whole Noun Phrase, but in the linear string they appear on the nominal head.

- (iv) a sok piros almá-t, amit Ili hozott
 the many red apple-Acc that Ili bring.Past.3Sg
 'the many red apples that Ili brought'

In case the nominal head or an NP sub-constituent containing the nominal head is elided, the case suffix remains overt and receives phonological support from the rightmost overt noun-modifier (this is what Payne and Chisarik call 'noun-phrase premodifier').

- (v) a. a ma leszedett három szem piros almá-t
 the today down.pick.Part three eye red apple-Acc
 'the three red apples picked today'
- b. a ma leszedett három szem piros-at [attaching to adjective]
 the today down.pick.Part three eye red-Acc
 'the three red ones picked today'
- c. a ma leszedett három szem-et [attaching to classifier]
 the today down.pick.Part three eye-Acc
 'the three ones picked today'
- d. a ma leszedett hárm-at [attaching to numeral]
 the today down.pick.Part three-Acc
 'the three picked today'
- e. a ma leszedett-et [attaching to participial relative]
 the today down.pick.Part-Acc
 'the one picked today'

This leaning is possible onto adjectives, classifiers, numerals, quantifiers and prenominal participles, as in (v), but a stranded case suffix cannot lean onto the definite article or demonstratives (see also Lipták and Saab 2014), even though the demonstrative itself can be case-marked, as in (via), and can also stand on its own, as in (vib). As discussed in N2.5.2, adnominal demonstratives can appear both in the pre-D and the post-D zone. *Ez* 'this' and *az* 'that', the demonstratives of the pre-D zone, bear the same case-marking as the head noun (via). The stranded case marking of the nominal head cannot cliticize onto these demonstratives, however, possibly because that would yield a demonstrative with double case-marking (vid).

- (vi) ● Case suffix leaning onto the definite article and demonstratives in pre-D position

- a. ez-en a ház-on
 this-Sup the house-Sup
 'on this house'
- b. ez-en
 this-Sup
 'on this one'
- c. *ez-en a(z)-on [attaching to definite article]
 this-Sup the-Sup
 Intended meaning: 'on this one'

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- d. *ez-en-en [attaching to pre-D demonstrative]
 this-Sup-Sup
 Intended meaning: 'on this one'

Demonstratives in the post-D zone, for instance *eme* 'this' and *ama* 'that', do not show the kind of case-concord that pre-D demonstratives do (viiia); they are morphologically invariant. A case suffix stranded under ellipsis cannot lean onto these demonstratives either (viiib).

- (vii) • Case suffix leaning onto demonstratives in post-D position
- a. *eme*(*-n) *ház-on*
 this-Sup house-Acc
 'on this house'
- b. **eme-n*
 this-Sup
 Intended meaning: 'on this one'

Note that case-like Ps and the plural marker have the same distribution in elliptical noun phrases as case suffixes: when stranded under N(P) ellipsis, they can lean onto an adjective, classifier, numeral or participial relative clause in the NP, but not on the definite article or a demonstrative (see the volume on Coordination and Ellipsis).

E. The absence of the genitive

Conspicuous by its absence on this list is the genitive case. As shown in (3), possessors are either morphologically unmarked or they bear dative case. Dative marking on possessors can be interpreted in one of two ways: i) Hungarian genuinely has no genitive case (a stance taken in most of the generative literature), or ii) there is a separate genitive case in the grammar, but its exponent is syncretic with that of the dative (cf. Tompa 1961, 1968 and Rácz 1986, among others).

Bartos (2000) and Dékány (2011, 2015) argue that the possessor suffix *-é* is actually an exponent of the genitive case with a limited distribution. This suffix appears on the possessor if it is not followed by an overt possessum, i.e. if the possessum is elided (32a) and if the possessor is in predicative position (32b).

- (32) a. *Kinek a pályázata nyert? János-é / *János / *János-nak.*
 who.Dat the application win.Past.3Sg János-Posr / János / János-Dat
 'Whose application won? János.'
- b. *Ez a könyv János-é / *János / *János-nak.*
 this the book János-Posr / János / János-Dat
 'This book is János's.'

In adnominal position, possessors cannot bear the *-é* suffix (33).

- (33) *János / [János-nak a] / *János-é könyv-e*
 János / János-Dat the / János-Posr book-Poss
 'János' book'

There are three main arguments for *-é* being the genitive case. First, *-é* appears only on possessors. Second, demonstratives in the pre-D zone show concord for genuine cases (and the plural marker) of the noun they modify. This is illustrated for the accusative case suffix in (34a). The demonstratives in question also show concord for the *-é* suffix (34b).

(34) ● Demonstrative concord for the accusative case suffix and -é

- a. Kedvelem ez*(*-t*) a fiú-*t*.
 like.1Sg this-Acc the boy-Acc
 ‘I like this boy.’
- b. A könyv ez*(*-é*) a fiú-*é*.
 the book this-Posr the boy-Posr
 ‘The book is this boy’s.’

Note that demonstratives do not show concord for other possession-related suffixes of the head noun such as the possessive suffix (35a) and possessive agreement (35b) (cf. N1.1.1.4.3 and N2.5.2.2); these suffixes definitely do not have the status of case suffixes (see also N2.2.1.2.1.2).

- (35) a. a fiú-*nak* ez*(*-e*) a cikk-*e*
 the boy-Dat this-Poss the article-Poss
 ‘this article of the boy’
- b. nekem ez*(*-em*) a cikk-*em*
 Dat.1Sg this-Poss.1Sg the article-Poss.1Sg
 ‘this article of mine’

Thirdly, if the head noun is ellipted, then genuine case suffixes (and the plural suffix) are left stranded; they lean onto the linearly last adjectival or numeral modifier of the ellipted noun. (36a’) shows this for the accusative case suffix. As shown in (36b’), the -é suffix is likewise stranded under noun ellipsis, and is supported by the linearly last adjective (or numeral, not shown here).

(36) ● The accusative case suffix and -é leaning onto an adjective after N-ellipsis

- a. a magas fiú-*t*
 the tall boy-Acc
 ‘the tall boy’
- a’. a magas-*at*
 the tall-Acc
 ‘the tall one’
- b. a magas fiú-*é*
 the tall boy-Posr
 ‘that of the tall boy’
- b’. a magas-*é*
 the tall-Posr
 ‘that of the tall one’

For further details on -é, see N1.1.1.1 and N1.1.1.4.3, Bartos (2000) and Dékány (2015).

As already mentioned above, possessors can also be morphologically unmarked. This fact has been interpreted in three different ways in the literature: i) they bear nominative case (Szabolcsi 1983) ii) they are caseless (É. Kiss 2002) and iii) the definite article that precedes these possessors has been reanalyzed as a genitive case marker, hence they bear genitive case (Chisarik and Payne 2001).

II. Form

As shown in Table 1, all case suffixes are monosyllabic, and with the exception of the causal(-final), the terminative and the essive-formal suffixes, the quality of their vowel is determined by the word that they attach to (in non-elliptical NPs, by the inflected nominal head, and in elliptical NPs, by the premodifier that gives them phonological support) (37). Most case suffixes show only a front-back vowel harmony, but the vowel of the allative suffix and the linking vowel of the accusative and the superessive also show harmony for roundedness.

(37) ● Case suffixes and vowel harmony

- a. *annak az okos ember-nek*
 that.Dat the clever man-Dat
 ‘to that clever man’
- a’. *annak az okos-nak*
 that.Dat the clever-Dat
 ‘to that clever one’
- b. *a kedves lány-nak*
 the kind girl-Dat
 ‘to the kind girl’
- b’. *a kedves-nek*
 the kind-Dat
 ‘to the kind one’

The accusative suffix has two allomorphs; an overt one, *-t* (which may be preceded by one of four epenthetic vowels: *a*, *e*, *o*, or *ö*) and one that is phonologically zero. The latter is formally identical to the nominative case. The zero allomorph may only appear following a first or second person (singular or plural) possessive agreement suffix (38). The overt allomorph may also appear in this context. (For some speakers, the overt allomorph is, in fact, obligatory after the first or second person plural possessive agreement.)

(38) ● Accusative allomorphs in possessed noun phrases

- a. *Láttad a gyűrű-m(-et)?*
 see.Past.DefObj.2Sg the ring-Poss.1Sg-Acc
 ‘Have you seen my ring?’
- b. *Láttad a gyűrű-d(-et)?*
 see.Past.DefObj.2Sg the ring-Poss.2Sg-Acc
 ‘Have you seen your ring?’
- c. *Láttad a gyűrű-jé-t / *gyűrű-je?*
 see.Past.DefObj.2Sg the ring-Poss.3Sg-Acc / ring-Poss.3Sg
 ‘Have you seen her ring?’
- d. *Láttad a gyűrű-nk(-et)*
 see.Past.DefObj.2Sg the ring-Poss.1Pl-Acc
 ‘Have you seen our ring?’

- e. Láttad a gyűrű-tök(-et)?
 see.Past.DefObj.2Sg the ring-Poss.2Pl-Acc
 ‘Have you seen your ring?’
- f. Láttad a gyűrű-jük*(-et)?
 see.Past.DefObj.2Sg the ring-Poss.3Pl-Acc
 ‘Have you seen their ring?’

On all other object noun phrases, the overt allomorph must be used (39).

(39) ● Accusative allomorphs in non-possessed noun phrases

- a. Láttad a gyűrű*(-t)?
 see.Past.DefObj.2Sg the ring-Acc
 ‘Have you seen the ring?’
- b. Láttad a gyűrű-k*(-et)?
 see.Past.DefObj.2Sg the ring-Pl-Acc
 ‘Have you seen the rings?’

The inessive, illative, elative, superessive, sublative and allative cases have different allomorphs on lexical nouns and elsewhere (i.e. on pronouns and when used as verbal particles). These will be discussed in Section 2.2.1.2 point V/B. Here we illustrate with the superessive. Its *-n* allomorph (potentially preceded by an *o*, *e* or *ö* linking vowel) is the default form, used everywhere except on personal pronouns (40).

- (40) a ház-on, Péter-en, az-on
 the house-Sup Peter-Sup that-Sup
 ‘on the house, on Peter, on that’

The second allomorph, *rajt-*, is used when the superessive attaches to an overt or covert personal pronoun (41a), or when it functions as a verbal particle (41b). In other words, the two allomorphs are in complementary distribution. On the use of case markers as particles, see Chapter 4 and Chapter 5.

- (41) a. (én-)rajt-am
 I-Sup-1Sg
 ‘on me’
- b. A könyv rajt-a van az asztal-on.
 the book Sup-Poss.3Sg be.3Sg the table-Sup
 ‘The book is on the table.’

Remark 3. Of the two allomorphs of the superessive case, it is *rajt-* that is morphologically related to the sublative *-ra/re* (onto) and the delative *-ról/ról* (from surface). Originally, *rajt-* bore the locative *-(Vt)t* suffix (*rajtatt*); this form then shortened to *rajt-* (Simonyi 1888: 107-108).

The accusative and the superessive have another property, too, which sets them apart from other case markers: these are the only cases that are expressed by non-analytical (synthetic) suffixes. This will be detailed in Section 2.2.1.1 point III.

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The case suffixes that begin with the consonant *v*, that is, the instrumental and translative(-essive) case suffixes, feature assimilation of their *v* to the last consonant of a consonant-final stem. This is illustrated in (42).

- (42) a. autó-val, autó-k-kal, az autó-d-dal az autó-m-mal [instrumental]
 car-Ins car-Pl-Ins the car-Poss.2Sg-Ins the car-Poss.1Sg-Ins
 ‘with (a) car, with cars, with your car, with my car’
- b. cicá-vá, cicá-k-ká, a cicá-d-dá, a cicá-m-má [translative(-essive)]
 cat-TrE cat-Pl-TrE the cat-Poss.2Sg-TrE the cat-Poss.1Sg-TrE
 [transform] ‘into (a) cat, into cats, into your cat, into my cat’

The expected, regular forms of instrumental and translative(-essive)-marked demonstrative pronouns are shown in (43a). Dialectally or in the spoken register, it is also possible to assimilate the final *z* of the demonstrative to the initial *v* of the case instrumental suffix (43b).

- (43) a. az-zal, ez-zel, az-zá, ez-zé
 that-Ins this-Ins that-TrE this-TrE
 ‘with that, with this, [transform] into that, [transform] into this’
- b. av-val, ev-vel
 that-Ins this-Ins
 ‘with that, with this’

As shown in Table 1, Hungarian has ten case markers encoding spatial relations. Nine of these express distinctions along two dimensions. The first dimension is whether the Figure is located with respect to the inside, the surface, or the proximity of the Ground (i.e. cases distinguish between ‘in’, ‘on’, and ‘at’ the Ground). The second dimension is whether the Figure is stationary (place semantics), is in motion towards the Ground (goal semantics) or is in motion away from the Ground (source semantics). The tenth spatial case marker, the terminative *-ig* denotes an endpoint at the goal. This is summarized in Table 2. While case suffixes express distinctions along two dimensions (the part of the Ground in question, i.e. ‘in’, ‘on’, and ‘at’ on the one hand and location versus motion on the other hand), they are indivisible morphemes for contemporary speakers.

Table 2: Case suffixes expressing spatial relations

	INSIDE / IN	SURFACE / ON	PROXIMITY / AT	ENDPOINT
PLACE	<i>inessive</i> <i>-ban, -ben</i>	<i>superessive</i> <i>-n, -on, -en, -ön</i>	<i>adessive</i> <i>-nál, -nél</i>	
GOAL	<i>illative</i> <i>-ba, -be</i>	<i>sublative</i> <i>-ra, -re</i>	<i>allative</i> <i>-hoz, -hez, -höz</i>	<i>terminative</i> <i>-ig</i>
SOURCE	<i>elative</i> <i>-ból, -ből</i>	<i>delative</i> <i>-ról, -ről</i>	<i>ablative</i> <i>-tól, -től</i>	

For examples with nouns bearing these case suffixes, see (13) through (23). Note that in spoken colloquial Hungarian, the illative and the inessive are often syncretic:

the *-ba/-be* suffix is used in both functions (44). The distinction is strictly maintained in writing, however.

- (44) a ház-ba
 the house-BA
 '[into the house] / %[in the house]'

III. Synthetic vs. analytic cases

Bartos (2000: 712) and Rebrus (2000: 845) distinguish between two types of suffixation in Hungarian: analytical and non-analytical (aka synthetic). Non-analytical suffixes are phonologically tightly integrated into their host: first they are concatenated with the stem, and only then do phonological processes apply, to the stem+suffix unit as whole. Analytical suffixes are less tightly integrated into their host. Phonological rules apply first to the stem alone; this is followed by concatenation with the suffix and another round of phonological rule application, now to the stem+suffix unit.

Case suffixes are analytic suffixes. There are two exceptions, however: the accusative is expressed by a synthetic suffix, and the superessive has both an analytic and a synthetic allomorph (Bartos 2000: 712, Rebrus 2000: 805, 831-832, 845). That these two case suffixes are phonologically more integrated to their host than the others can be observed in two environments: i) when cases combine with a pronoun and ii) when cases combine with nouns showing stem allomorphy.

Consider first case-marked pronouns. A pronoun that bears an analytical case suffix can be dropped without further ado, stranding the case suffix (and the agreement marker following it) (45).

- (45) ● Dropping a pronominal Ground with analytical cases
- a. ő-től-e, ő-nek-i
 he-Abl-3Sg he-Dat-3Sg
 'from him, to him'
- b. től-e, nek-i
 Abl-3Sg Dat-3Sg
 'from him, to him'

A pronoun bearing accusative case, however, cannot be dropped. In other words, the accusative case suffix requires an overt host and does not combine with *pro*. This is because the exponent of the accusative is a non-analytical suffix, which does not have the (morpho)-phonological independence to stand on its own. Consider (46a) and (46b). Based on (45), we may expect that the pronoun can also be dropped from (46a), leading to (46b). The result, however, is ungrammatical.

- (46) a. ő-t
 he-Acc
 'him'
- b. *-t
 Acc
 Intended meaning: 'him'

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The accusative form of first and second person plural pronouns comprises the pronominal base, a person-number suffix reflecting the features of the pronoun, and the accusative case suffix (see point *F* below), as shown in (47a). The pronoun cannot be dropped in these cases either (47b), even though the stranded accusative suffix would receive some phonological support from the person-number affix.

- (47) a. mi-nk-et, ti-tek-et
 we-1Pl-Acc you.PI-2Pl-Acc
 ‘us, you(Pl.Acc)’
- b. *nk-et *tek-et
 1Pl-Acc 2Pl-Acc
 Intended meaning: ‘us, you(Pl.Acc)’

Note that object *pro*-drop is possible, but it deletes the entire pronoun, together with the case suffix (48).

- (48) a. Láttad ő-t / ő-k-et?
 see.Past.DefObj.2Sg he-Acc / he-Pl-Acc
 ‘Did you see him / them?’
- b. Nem láttam (ő-t / ő-k-et).
 not see.Past.1Sg he-Acc / he-Pl-Acc
 ‘No, I didn’t.’
- c. *Nem láttam -t / -k-et.
 not see.Past.1Sg Acc / Pl-Acc

Turning to the superessive, we have already mentioned above that it has two allomorphs: *-(V)n* and *rajt-*. The *-(V)n* allomorph is, in fact, a non-analytical suffix, while the other allomorph, *rajt-*, is a phonologically much heavier, analytical one. The fact that only the latter appears with *pro* (and pronouns in general) is no doubt related to its status as an analytical suffix.

To summarize, analytical case suffixes have enough (morpho)-phonological independence to license *pro*-drop of their associated pronoun. Non-analytical (synthetic) case suffixes are phonologically integrated with their stem to a much larger extent, therefore they do not allow *pro*-drop of their associated pronoun.

Let us now turn to case suffixes on nouns exhibiting stem allomorphy. Some Hungarian nouns have both a free and a bound stem variant (see N1.1.1.2). A few examples are given in Table 3.

Table 3: Some nouns showing stem allomorphy

	HAND	CRANE (THE BIRD)	SNOW	HORSE
FREE	<i>kéz</i>	<i>daru</i>	<i>hó</i>	<i>ló</i>
BOUND	<i>kez-</i>	<i>darv-</i>	<i>hav-</i>	<i>lov-</i>

Analytical cases always appear with the free stem (49a,b). The synthetic superessive allomorph *-(V)n* often (but not always) takes the free stem: in (49c) it combines with free stems, while in (49d) it combines with the bound stems of the relevant nouns. Finally, the synthetic accusative case appears with bound stems (49e). This

shows that the suffix of the accusative case is even more phonologically integrated with its stem than the superessive (Moravcsik 2003).

(49) ● Cases on nouns showing stem allomorphy

- | | | |
|----|--|----------------------------|
| a. | kéz-nek, daru-nak, hó-nak, ló-nak | [dative (analytic)] |
| | hand-Dat crane-Dat snow-Dat horse-Dat | |
| | ‘to (a) hand, to (a) crane, to snow, to (a) horse’ | |
| b. | kéz-ben, daru-ban, hó-ban, ló-ban | [inessive (analytic)] |
| | hand-Ine crane-Ine snow-Ine horse-Ine | |
| | ‘in (a) hand, in (a) crane, in snow, in (a) horse’ | |
| c. | kéz-en, daru-n | [superessive + free stem] |
| | hand-Sup crane-Sup | |
| | ‘on (a) hand, on (a) crane’ | |
| d. | hav-on, lov-on | [superessive + bound stem] |
| | snow-Sup horse-Sup | |
| | ‘on snow, on (a) horse’ | |
| e. | kez-et, hav-at, lov-at | [accusative + bound stem] |
| | hand-Acc snow-Acc horse-Acc | |
| | ‘hand(Acc), snow(Acc), horse(Acc)’ | |

Remark 4. The stem class of *daru* ‘crane (the bird)’ contains three nouns: *daru* ‘crane (the bird)’, *tetű* ‘louse’ and *falv* ‘village’. In this stem class the free stem ends in a high vowel *u* or *ű* and in the bound stem this vowel is replaced by the consonant *v*. Exceptionally, in this stem class the accusative can attach either to the free or the bound stem (i). In all other stem classes, the accusative combines with the bound stem, as indicated in the main text.

- | | | | |
|-----|----|---------------------------------|---------------------------|
| (i) | a. | daru-t, tetű-t, falu-t | [accusative + free stem] |
| | | crane-Acc louse-Acc village-Acc | |
| | | ‘crane, louse, village’ | |
| | b. | darv-at, tetv-et, falv-at | [accusative + bound stem] |
| | | crane-Acc louse-Acc village-Acc | |
| | | ‘crane, louse, village’ | |

IV. Interaction with stem-final vowels

Before most suffixes, the Low Vowel Lengthening rule causes the stem-final short low vowels [ɔ] and [ɛ] to be replaced by their long counterparts, [a:] and [e:] (see Nádasdy and Siptár 1994, Rebrus 2000, Siptár and Törkenczy 2000 and Szabó 2016, among others). Among other cases, Low Vowel Lengthening applies when the stem is suffixed by a case suffix. Some examples are given in (50).

- (50) a. alma, körte
apple pear
- b. almá-t, körté-t
apple-Acc pear-Acc
‘apple, pear’
- c. almá-ra körté-re
apple-Sub pear-Sub
‘onto apple, onto pear’

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The only exception is the essive-formal case, which does not trigger Low Vowel Lengthening (51).

- (51) alma-ként, körte-ként
apple-FoE pear-FoE
'as (an) apple, as (a) pear'

2.2.1.2. Complementation

I. The form of the complement

Case suffixes generally do not stack on each other, thus they take a morphologically unmarked complement (52).

- (52) a ház-at, a ház-nak, a ház-on, a ház-ig
the house-Acc the house-Dat the house-Sup the house-Ter
'the house, of/to the house, on the house, up to the house'

See Section 2.2.1.8 on some exceptions to the 'no stacking' generalization.

II. PP-internal position with respect to the complement

Case markers are suffixed to the nominal head of their NP complement (53). Thus similarly to case-like postpositions (Section 2.2.2.2) and unlike case-assigning postpositions (Section 2.2.2.3), they do not allow a prefixal use and do not allow modifiers to intervene between them and their complement.

- (53) a. a kert-et, a kert-től
the garden-Acc the garden-Abl
'the garden(Acc), from the garden'
- b. *a kert [három méter-re]-től
the garden three meter-Sub-Abl
Intended meaning: 'three meters from the garden'
- b'. a kert-től három méter-re
the garden-Abl three meter-Sub
'three meters from the garden'

III. Dropping the complement

Case suffixes cannot occur without a complement. The stars in (54) mean that the intransitive use of the case is ill-formed.

- (54) *-t, *-nak, *-ig
-Acc -Dat -Ter

IV. The complement's demonstrative modifier

If the complement of the case is a noun phrase that contains the demonstrative pronoun *ez* 'this' or *az* 'that', then the case must appear twice: once on the nominal head and once on the demonstrative (55) (see also N2.5.2.2).

- (55) a. az*(-t) a ház-at
 that-Acc the house-Acc
 ‘that house(Acc)’
- b. ez*(-ért) a könyv-ért
 this-Cau the book-Cau
 ‘for this book’

V. Personal pronoun complements

In this section we discuss case-marked pronouns. It is important to clarify that here and throughout the chapter, the term ‘personal pronoun’ is meant as a cover for the pronouns *én* ‘I’, *te* ‘you(Sg)’, *ő* ‘he, she’, *mi* ‘we’, *ti* ‘you(Pl)’ and *ők* ‘they’. The polite forms of second person pronouns, *Ön* ‘you(Sg)’, *Önök* ‘you(Pl)’, as well as *Maga* ‘you(Sg)’ and *Maguk* ‘you(Pl)’ are not subsumed by the term ‘personal pronoun’. These polite forms are importantly different from the other personal pronouns. (For instance, when combining with a case suffix or a case-like postposition, they are not accompanied by an agreement morpheme.) On pronouns in general, see the volume on Noun Phrases.

A. The availability of a pronominal complement

Most case suffixes can combine with common nouns, proper names as well as personal pronouns. There are three exceptions, however: the translative(-essive), the terminative and the essive-formal case, which combine with common nouns and proper names but not with personal pronouns. Even these three cases can combine with demonstrative pronouns, however. The restrictions on the translative(-essive) case are shown in (56).

- (56) ● Translative(-essive)
- a. A hős cicá-vá változott.
 the hero cat-TrE transform.Past.3Sg
 ‘The hero transformed into a cat.’
- b. A hős az-zá változott.
 the hero that-TrE transform.Past.3Sg
 ‘The hero transformed into that.’
- c. *A hős én-vé-m / én-né-m változott.
 the hero I-TrE-1Sg / I-TrE-1Sg transform.Past.3Sg
 Intended meaning: ‘The hero transformed into me.’

In (56c) two potential forms of a translative(-essive) marked personal pronoun are shown. The basic allomorphs of this case are *-va* and *-ve*, but the initial consonant undergoes assimilation to the last consonant of C-final stems. Based on this rule, the **én-né-m* form would be expected. On the other hand, the initial consonant of the instrumental case suffix *-val/vel* also assimilates to the consonant of C-final stems, but this assimilation is suspended with personal pronouns (*én-vel-em* rather than **én-nel-em*, cf. example (77)). Based on analogy with the instrumental case, we might expect the **én-vé-m* form for the translative(-essive). As shown in (56c), neither form is grammatical.

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Examples with the essive-formal case are provided in (57).

(57) ● Essive-formal

- a. János főnök-ként viselkedik.
János boss-FoE behave.3Sg
'János [behaves as] / [acts like] a boss.'
- b. János akként viselkedik.
János that.FoE behave.3Sg
'János [behaves as] / [acts like] that.'
- c. *János én-ként-em viselkedik.
János I-FoE-1Sg behave.3Sg
Intended meaning: 'János [behaves as] / [acts like] me.'

The intended meaning of (57c) can be approximated with a comparative (58):

- (58) János úgy viselkedik, mint én.
János so behave.3Sg as I
'János behaves like me.'

The use of the terminative case is illustrated in (59).

(59) ● Terminative

- a. János a sarok-ig fut.
János the corner-Ter run.3Sg
'János runs up to (i.e. until he reaches) the corner.'
- b. János addig fut.
János that.Ter run.3Sg
'János runs [up to] / until that (point).'
- c. *János én-ig-em fut.
János I-Ter-1Sg run.3Sg
Intended meaning: 'János runs up to (i.e. until he reaches) me.'
- d. *A kábel el-ér én-ig-em.
the cable away-reach.3Sg I-Ter-1Sg
Intended meaning: 'The cable reaches up to me.'

The intended meaning of (59c) and (59d) can be expressed with the allative case (but while (60b) means exactly what (59d) is meant to express, (60a) and (59c) have a meaning difference, as shown by their English translations).

- (60) a. János (én-)hozzá-m fut.
János I-All-1Sg run.3Sg
'János runs to me.'
- b. A kábel el-ér (én-)hozzá-m.
the cable away-reach.3Sg I-All-1Sg
'The cable reaches up to me.'

Interestingly, some speakers can add the terminative case suffix to an allative-marked personal pronoun (61) (see also Simonyi 1888: 339).

- (61) %A kábel el-ér (én-)hozzá-m-ig.
 the cable away-reach.3Sg I-All-1Sg-Ter
 ‘The cable reaches up to me.’

B. The form of the case marker on a personal pronoun complement

Most case markers have the same form on common nouns, proper names and on personal pronouns (62)-(69). Note that oblique case markers on personal pronouns must be followed by an agreement suffix that cross-references the person and number of the pronoun. This property also characterizes case-like postpositions, to be discussed in Section 2.2.2.2.2 point V. (The lengthening of the *a* vowel of the sublative case to *á* is a case of Low Vowel Lengthening, a regular morpho-phonological process in the language.) Note that except in the accusative case, the pronoun itself can be dropped. (See Creissels 2006 and Spencer and Stump 2013 for discussion of the oblique forms of personal pronouns.)

- (62) ● Accusative
 a. az őr-t
 the guard-Acc
 ‘the guard’
 b. ő-t
 he-Acc
 ‘him’

- (63) ● Dative
 a. az őr-nek
 the guard-Dat
 ‘to the guard’
 b. (én-)nek-em
 I-Dat-1Sg
 ‘to me’

- (64) ● Sublative
 a. az asztal-ra
 the table-Sub
 ‘onto the table’
 b. (én-)rá-m
 I-Sub-1Sg
 ‘onto me’

- (65) ● Delative
 a. az asztal-ról
 the table-Del
 ‘from / about the table’
 b. (én-)ról-am
 I-Del-1Sg
 ‘from / about me’

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- (66) ● Adessive
- a. az asztal-nál
the table-Ade
'at the table'
 - b. (én-)nál-am
I-Ade-1Sg
'at me'
- (67) ● Ablative
- a. az őr-től
the guard-Abl
'from the guard'
 - b. (én-)től-em
I-Abl-1Sg
'from me'
- (68) ● Instrumental
- a. a név-vel
the name-Ins
'with the name'
 - b. (én-)vel-em
I-Ins-1Sg
'with me'
- (69) ● Causal(-final)
- a. az őr-ért
the guard-Cau
'for the guard'
 - b. (ő-)ért-e
he-Cau-3Sg
'for him'

Five case suffixes, however, exhibit some phonological readjustment or other type of allomorphy when their complement is a pronoun. The inessive *-ban/-ben* is affected by readjustment of its final consonant: the last C undergoes gemination when the complement is an overt pronoun or a silent *pro* (70).

- (70) a. az őr-ben
the guard-Ine
'in the guard'
- b. (én-)benn-em
I-Ine-1Sg
'in me'

Remark 5. In the spoken register and dialectally, this gemination also affects the last consonant of the adessive, the ablative and the delative case.

- (i) (én-)nál-am, (én-)től-em, (én-)róll-am
 I-Ade-1Sg I-Abl-1Sg I-Del-1Sg
 'at me, from me, from / about me'

The final consonant of the allative *-hoz/-hez* likewise undergoes gemination. In addition, an *á* vowel is also added, yielding *hozzá-* as the form when the complement is an overt pronoun or a silent *pro* (71).

- (71) a. a bor-hoz
 the wine-All
 'to the wine'
- b. (én-)hozzá-m
 I-All-1Sg
 'to me'

Note that the *á* that appears after the geminated consonant cannot be analyzed as a linking vowel that belongs to the agreement suffix (that is, **hozz-ám*), as a linking vowel is always *a*, *e*, *o* or *ö*, and never a long vowel.

The illative case suffix *-ba/-be* acquires an additional *le* string when it appears with overt pronouns or a *pro*.

- (72) a. az őr-be
 the guard-III
 'into the guard'
- b. (én-)belé-m
 I-III-1Sg
 'into me'

Remark 6. The illative case suffix *-ba/-be* has grammaticalized from *belé*, the lative (*-á/-é*) marked form of the noun *bel* 'inside' (for a recent discussion see Hegedűs 2014). In contemporary Hungarian *bel* is used as a prefix meaning 'endo-' or 'internal' (i). The related common noun *bél* 'intestine, inside' is exemplified in (ii).

- (i) bel-gyógyászat, bel-magasság
 inside-medicine inside-height
 'endocrinology / [internal medicine], ceiling height'
- (ii) kenyér-bél, a kenyér bel-e, a malac bel-e
 bread-inside the bread inside-Poss the pig intestine-Poss
 'crumb, the inside of the bread, the pig's intestines'

The relative case marker has the *-ból/-ből* allomorph on common nouns and proper names and the longer form *belől-* on pronouns (72).

- (73) a. az őr-ből
 the guard-Ela
 'from (inside) the guard'
- b. (én-)belől-em
 I-Ela-1Sg
 'from (inside) me'

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Remark 7. The elative case suffix *-ból/-ből* grammaticalized from the form *belől* (a recent discussion can be found in Hegedűs 2014). The original longer form is still obligatorily used when the elative takes a pronominal complement (73b). *Belől* comprised two morphemes: the *bel* discussed in the previous remark and the source suffix *-l* that also appears on case-like Ps with a source semantics (see 2.2.2.2).

Finally, as already mentioned above, the superessive case requires the special *rajt*-allomorph with both overt and covert pronominal complements (74).

- (74) a. a híd-on
the bridge-Sup
'on the bridge'
- b. (én-)rajt-am
I-Sup-1Sg
'on me'

We can conclude that if a case marker has a different form on common nouns and proper names on the one hand and on pronouns on the other hand, then the form on pronouns is always phonologically heavier.

C. Regular phonological processes suspended

As already pointed out above, most Hungarian case suffixes exhibit vowel harmony: the quality of their vowel is determined by the vowel(s) of the (inflected) stem they attach to. This vowel harmony is suspended when case markers attach to a pronoun; in these cases the vowel has a set value and shows no harmony (75).

- (75) a. Case markers with a front vowel: dative (*-nek*), inessive (*-ben*), ablative (*-től*), instrumental (*-vel*)
- b. Case markers with a back vowel: sublative (*-ra*), delative (*-ról*), adessive (*-nál*), allative (*-hoz*)

Personal pronouns all have front vowels, so the suspension of vowel harmony can be seen directly only with case suffixes whose vowel quality is set as back in this environment (76).

- (76) a. én-rá-m [sublative]
I-Sub-1Sg
'onto me'
- b. én-ról-am [delative]
I-Del-1Sg
'from me'
- c. én-nál-am [adessive]
I-Ade-1Sg
'at me'
- d. én-hozzá-m [allative]
I-All-1Sg
'to (near) me'

Three cases that allow a pronominal complement and exhibit vowel harmony were left out from (75). The superessive was not included because as already discussed above, it has a special allomorph on pronouns (*rajt-*). The illative case was left out because as shown in (72), it has a longer form on pronouns: *bele-*. Finally, the elative was not included in the list because its form on pronouns, *belől-* contains the same stem *bel-* as the illative, and so it gives rise to the same problem as the illative.

As discussed above, the initial *v* segment of the instrumental and the translative(-essive) case assimilates to the final consonant of a C-final stem. This effect, too, is suspended when the complement is a pronoun. In (77) we illustrate this with the instrumental case, as the translative(-essive) case cannot combine with pronouns.

- (77) ● No *v* assimilation to pronouns
- a. *én-vel-em*
I-Ins-1Sg
'with me'
 - b. **én-nel-em*
I-Ins-1Sg

The facts discussed in this subsection have led Bartos (1999: 68), Moravcsik (2003: 149) and Dékány (2011: 113, fn. 7) to conclude that overt pronouns are always in an appositive-like relation to a phonologically zero complement of oblique cases (as opposed to being the genuine syntactic complement of the oblique case). É. Kiss (2002: 194-195), on the other hand, concludes that oblique cases systematically have postpositional counterparts. While they are morphologically related, the case suffix combines only with lexical nouns and the postposition combines only with pronouns. In this approach, the pronominal examples in (63) through (77) thus feature postpositions rather than oblique cases. Oblique cases show vowel harmony with the lexical nouns they combine with, while their postpositional counterparts do not exhibit vowel harmony with the pronoun they combine with. We refer the reader to the cited works for further details of these analyses.

D. The availability of pro-drop

As discussed above, case suffixes (with the exception of the accusative) allow their pronominal complement to undergo *pro*-drop. Overt pronouns are generally focused or bear contrastive stress.

E. Agreement with a pronominal complement

When case suffixes other than the morphologically zero nominative combine with (overt or covert) personal pronouns, the PP features agreement with the pronoun's person and number features. In the case of accusative-marked personal pronouns, only first and second person pronouns are accompanied by agreement; no agreement is necessary or allowed with a third person (singular or plural) pronoun. In the case of first and second person pronouns the agreement immediately follows the pronoun and precedes the accusative suffix: pronoun-agreement-accusative (78).

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- (78) a. eng-em-[%]et, tég-ed-[%]et, ő-t
 I-1Sg-Acc you-2Sg-Acc he-Acc
 ‘me, you(Sg), him’
- b. mi-nk-et, ti-tek-et, ő-k-et
 we-1Pl-Acc you-2Pl-Acc he-Pl-Acc
 ‘us, you(Pl), them’

With first and second person singular pronouns the accusative suffix itself must be absent in standard Hungarian (*engem, téged*), but it can appear overtly in some substandard varieties (78).

With oblique cases the agreement suffix follows the case marker. The full paradigm of adessive marked personal pronouns is shown in (79).

- (79) a. (én-)nál-am, (te-)nál-ad, (ő-)nál-a
 I-Ade-1Sg you-Ade-2Sg he-Ade-3Sg
 ‘at me, at you(Sg), at him’
- b. (mi-)nál-unk, (ti-)nál-atok, (ő-)nál-uk
 we-Ade-1Pl you-Ade-2Pl he-Ade-3Pl
 ‘at us, at you(Pl), at them’

With case suffixes ending in a consonant, the third person singular agreement suffix is either *-a* or *-e* (80a,b). Exceptionally, the agreement is *-i* with the dative case (80c).

- (80) ● 3Sg agreement with personal pronouns; case ends in C
- a. (ő-)benn-e, (ő-)belől-e, (ő)-től-e, (ő)-vel-e, (ő)-ért-e
 he-Ine-3Sg he-Ela-3Sg he-Abl-3Sg he-Ins-3Sg he-Cau-3Sg
 ‘in him, from inside him, from him, with him, for him’
- b. (ő-)rajt-a, (ő-)ról-a, (ő-)nál-a
 he-Sup-3Sg he-Del-3Sg he-Ade-3Sg
 ‘on him, from him, at him’
- c. (ő-)nek-i
 he-Dat-3Sg
 ‘to him’

With case suffixes whose pronominal allomorph ends in a vowel (the sublativ *rá-*, the allative *hozzá-* and the illative *bele-*) there is no overt marking of third person singular agreement. However, we can assume that in this case, too, the agreement is present but a phonologically zero allomorph is employed. The full paradigm of the sublativ is shown in (81).

- (81) a. (én-)rá-m, (te-)rá-d (ő-)rá-∅
 I-Sub-1Sg you-Sub-2Sg he-Sub-3Sg
 ‘onto me, onto you(Sg), onto him’
- b. (mi-)rá-nk, (ti-)rá-tok, (ő-)rá-juk
 we-Sub-1Pl you-Sub-2Pl he-Sub-3Pl
 ‘onto us, onto you(Pl), onto him’

The 3Sg pronominal forms of all three cases ending in a vowel are shown in (82).

(82) • 3Sg agreement with personal pronouns; case ends in V

- (ő-)rá-Ø, (ő-)hozzá-Ø, (ő-)bele-Ø
 he-Sub-3Sg he-All-3Sg he-III-3Sg
 ‘onto him, to him, into him’

The agreement in PPs is remarkably similar to that in possessive constructions (see N1.1.1.4.1). The possessed noun bears an invariable possessive marker whose allomorphs are *-ja*, *-je*, *-a* and *-e*. In addition, the possessed noun also agrees for the person and number features of pronominal possessors (83).

(83) • Possessive agreement

- a. az (én) kar-ja-i-m, a (te) kar-ja-i-d, a(z ő) kar-ja-i-Ø
 the I arm-Poss-Pl-1Sg the you arm-Poss-Pl-2Sg the he arm-Poss-Pl-3Sg
 ‘my arms, your(Sg) arms, his arms’
- b. a (mi) kar-ja-i-nk, a (ti) kar-ja-i-tok, a(z ő) kar-ja-i-k
 the we arm-Poss-Pl-1Pl the you arm-Poss-Pl-2Pl the he arm-Poss-Pl-3Pl
 ‘our arms, your(Pl) arms, their arms’
- c. a(z ő) kar-juk
 the he arm-Poss.3Pl
 ‘their arm’

As shown by the examples in (79) through (83), the form of possessive agreement is identical to the form of PP-agreement in first and second person, and the forms in third person show considerable similarity. With the three case suffixes that end in a vowel, some speakers even allow the possessive marker’s *-ja* or *-je* allomorph to appear in the third person singular instead of (or in addition to) the standard zero agreement shown in (82) (see É. Kiss 1998, Rákosi 2012b).

(84) • 3Sg pronoun + case marker dialectally

- a. (ő-)rá-[%]ja
 he-Sub-Poss
 ‘onto him’
- b. (ő-)hozzá-[%]ja
 he-All.3Sg-Poss
 ‘to him’
- c. (ő-)belé-[%]je
 he-III.3Sg-Poss
 ‘to him’

Pronouns can undergo *pro*-drop in both PPs headed by case markers or postpositions and in possessive noun phrases. Furthermore, the third person plural *ők* is replaced by its singular counterpart *ő* both in the complement position of PPs and in the possessive position; in these cases the plurality of the pronoun is only shown by the agreement (compare (79b) and (81b) with (83c)). The similarities and

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differences between PPs and possessive noun phrases are discussed in detail in Rákosi (2010) and Dékány (2011, 2018).

VI. Demonstrative pronoun complements

The *z* segment of the demonstratives *az* ‘that’ and *ez* ‘this’ undergoes assimilation to the first consonant of C-initial cases (85), except if i) the case suffix is a non-analytical suffix (i.e. the case is accusative or superessive), as in (86) or ii) the case suffix is *v*-initial (i.e. the case is the translative(-essive) or the instrumental).

(85) ● *z* assimilation to C-initial analytic cases

- a. *abban*, **azban*
that.Ine that.Ine
both: ‘in that’
- b. *ettől*, **eztől*
this.Abl this.Abl
both: ‘from this’

(86) ● No *z* assimilation to C-initial synthetic cases

- a. *azt*, **att*
that.Acc that.Acc
both: ‘that(Acc)’
- b. *ez-en*, **enn*
this-Sup this.Sup
both: ‘on this’

Forms in which assimilation to *v*-initial case suffixes takes place are attested but they are dialectal or represent the spoken register (87).

(87) ● No *z* assimilation to *v*-initial cases (dialectal or depends on register)

- a. *azzal*, *avval*
that.Ins that.Ins
both: ‘with that’
- b. *ezzé*, **evvé*
this.TrE this.TrE
both: ‘[transform] into this’

2.2.1.3. Separability of the suffix and its complement in the clause

Case suffixes cannot be separated from their complement in the clause either by P-stranding under *wh*-movement or by any other means.

Case suffixes can function as verbal particles. Particles must be immediately pre-verbal in neutral sentences. At the same time, there is also the requirement that the case suffix be on its complement. To satisfy both constraints, a doubling pattern emerges: the case suffix (together with 3Sg agreement) appears before the verb and (without the agreement) on the NP/DP in the post-verbal field, too.

- (88) a. Pál rá-ugrott a szék-re.
 Pál Sub.3Sg-jump.Past.3Sg the chair-Sub
 ‘Pál jumped onto the chair.’
- a’. *Pál rá-ugrott a szék.
 Pál Sub.3Sg-jump.Past.3Sg the chair
 Intended meaning: ‘Pál jumped onto the chair.’
- b. Pál neki-ment a szék-nek.
 Pál Dat.3Sg-go.Past.3Sg the chair-Dat
 ‘Pál bumped into the chair.’
- b’. *Pál neki-ment a szék
 Pál Dat.3Sg-go.Past.3Sg the chair
 Intended meaning: ‘Pál bumped into the chair.’

The genuine separated pattern in (88a’,b’) is ungrammatical. This doubling pattern will be discussed in detail in Chapter 5 Section 5.2.3.5.

2.2.1.4. Combination with the Delative and Sublative case

As will be shown in subsections 2.2.2.2 and 2.2.2.3, locative case-assigning Ps regularly combine with the delative and the sublative case to form directional (goal and source) PPs (89a), and locative case-like Ps marginally do so (89b).

- (89) a. a vonal-on alul / alul-ra / alul-ról [case-assigning P]
 the line-Sup under / under-Sub / under-Del
 ‘under / [to under] / [from under] the line’
- b. a fal mögött / mögött-re / mögött-ről [case-like P]
 the wall behind / behind-Sub / behind-Del
 ‘behind / [to behind] / [from behind] the wall’

While case suffixes share many syntactic and morphological properties with postpositions, locative case suffixes cannot combine with the delative or the sublative case; the relevant goal and source PPs feature the appropriate goal and source cases. (90) illustrates this with the superessive case.

- (90) a. a ház-on
 the house-Sup
 ‘on the house’
- b. a ház-ról
 the house-Del
 ‘from (on) the house’
- c. *a ház-on-ról
 the house-Sup-Del
 Intended meaning: ‘from (on) the house’

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- d. a ház-ra
the house-Sub
'onto the house'
- e. *a ház-on-ra
the house-Sup-Sub
Intended meaning: 'onto the house'

2.2.1.5. N + case suffix modifying a noun

PPs must appear postnominally in the noun phrase; in the prenominal position they lead to ungrammaticality (91).

- (91) a. a ház a kert-nél
the house the garden-Ade
'the house at the garden'
- b. *a kert-nél ház
the garden-Ade house
Intended meaning: 'the house at the garden'

In order to serve as prenominal N-modifiers, locative PPs must be embedded under a present participial head. In the case of non-deverbal nouns, locative PPs combine with the participle *levő* 'being' (92).

- (92) a kert-nél levő ház
the garden-Ade be.Part house
'the house at the garden'

Directional PPs, on the other hand, are embedded under the present participial form of a contextually appropriate, semantically contentful verb, as in (93).

- (93) a. a kert-től indul-ó út
the garden-Abl start-Part road
'the road starting from the garden'
- b. a kert-hez érkez-ő út
the garden-All arrive-Part road
'the road ending at the garden'

In the case of deverbal nouns, locative PPs combine with the participle *való* 'being' in order to be able to appear in the pre-N position (94a). (*Való* and *levő* are both copulas.) Directional PPs combine either with *való* 'being' or the (also participial) *történő* 'happening' (94b).

- (94) a. a terem-ben való várakozás
the room-Ine being waiting
'the waiting in the room'
- b. a kert-hez / kert-től történő / való elsétálás
the garden-All / garden-Abl happening / being away.walking
'the walking to / from the garden'

PPs embedded under participles are excluded from the postnominal N-modifier position (95).

- (95) a. *a várakozás a terem-ben való
 the waiting the room-Ine being
 Intended meaning: ‘the waiting in the room’
- b. *az elsétálás a kert-hez / kert-től történő
 the away.walking the garden-All / garden-Abl happening
 Intended meaning: ‘the walking to / from the garden’

While PPs headed by postpositions can be attributivized by the *-i* suffix in the prenominal modifier position (see Sections 2.2.2.2.5, 2.2.2.3.5 and Kenesei 2014), this is not possible for PPs headed by case suffixes (96).

- (96) a. a kert mellett-i ház
 the garden next_to-Attr house
 ‘the house next to the garden’
- b. *a kert-nél-i ház
 the garden-Ade-Attr house
 Intended meaning: ‘the house at the garden’

2.2.1.6. Modification

PPs headed by an oblique case can be modified by degree modifiers and measure phrases. Degree modifiers must precede the case-marked Noun Phrase (97). The availability of a measure phrase depends on the specific case (98). In the neutral word order measure phrases follow the case marked noun.

- (97) a. pontosan a magas ház-ra (*pontosan)
 right the tall house-Sub right
 ‘right onto the tall house’
- b. pontosan a régi ház-ig (*pontosan)
 right the old house-Ter right
 ‘right to the old house’
- (98) a. [?]két méterre) a ház-tól két méterre
 two meter-Sub the house-Abl two meter-Sub
 ‘two meters from the house’
- b. *két méterre a ház-nál
 two meter.Sub the house-Ade
 Intended meaning: ‘at the house, two meters from it’

2.2.1.7. Conjunction reduction

PPs headed by case markers allow neither forward or nor backward conjunction reduction (Kenesei 2000: 85), as shown in (99) and (100).

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(99) ● Forward conjunction reduction

- a. a ház-on és a ház-nál
the house-Sup and the house-Ade
'on the house and at the house'
- b. *a ház-on és -nál
the house-Sup and Ade
Intended meaning: 'on and at the house'

(100) ● Backward conjunction reduction

- a. a ház-on és a fész-en
the house-Sup and the shed-Sup
'on the house and on the shed'
- b. *a ház- és (a) fész-en
the house and the shed-Sup
Intended meaning: 'on the house and shed'

The essive-formal case is exceptional in that it can be dropped on the first conjunct of a conjunction (101).

(101) ● Conjunction reduction with the essive-formal case

- feleség- és anya-ként
mother and mother-FoE
'as a wife and mother'

2.2.1.8. Double case-marking

As a rule, no Hungarian noun bears double case-marking. There are three types of exceptions, however, all of which involve pronouns.

A. Double case-marking by different cases: *inessive plus accusative*

We saw in Section 2.2.1.2 point V/E that accusative marked pronouns have the form in (102).

- (102) a. eng-em-[%]et, tég-ed-[%]et, ő-t
I-1Sg-Acc you-2Sg-Acc he-Acc
'me, you(Sg), him'
- b. mi-nk-et, ti-tek-et, ő-k-et
we-1Pl-Acc you-2Pl-Acc he-Pl-Acc
'us, you(Pl), them'

To recapitulate, first and second person accusative marked pronouns bear agreement that reflects the pronoun's person and number features (agreement is missing on third person pronouns). In the standard dialect the accusative suffix itself is obligatorily dropped on first and second person singular pronouns, but some dialectal varieties retain the accusative marker here as well. When marked with accusative case, pronouns cannot undergo *pro*-drop (see Section 2.2.1.1 point III).

First and second person plural pronouns, however, have an alternative accusative form, too. Specifically, an inessive-marked second person pronoun can

be adorned with the accusative suffix, and the resulting form can be used as a second person object pronoun. Let us first have a look at the ordinary inessive marked form of first and second person plural pronouns in (103). As characteristic of oblique marked personal pronouns (Section Section 2.2.1.2 point *V/B*), the pronoun is followed by the inessive case suffix, which in turn, is followed by the agreement morpheme cross-referencing the person and number features of the pronoun. The pronoun itself (*mi*, *ti*) can be dropped.

- (103) (mi-)benn-ünk, (ti-)benn-etek
 we-Ine-1Pl you-Ine-2Pl
 ‘in us, in you(Pl)’

The forms in (103) can only be used as oblique pronouns in environments where the inessive case is required. However, these forms can be suffixed by the accusative case (104), leading to both an inessive and an accusative case on the same pronoun.

- (104) (mi-)benn-ünk-et, (ti-)benn-etek-et
 we-Ine-1Pl-Acc you-Ine-2Pl-Acc
 ‘us, you(Pl.Acc)’

The pronouns in (104) serve as alternative accusative forms to the ones seen in (102), in standard Hungarian as well. Similarly to (103) (and unlike in (102)), the pronouns themselves may be dropped in (104); this, in fact, is the highly preferred option. (105) illustrates the use of these doubly case-marked forms in object position.

- (105) a. Ti láttok mi-nk-et / benn-ünk-et.
 you(Pl) see.DefObj.2Pl we-1Pl-Acc / Ine-1Pl-Acc
 ‘You(Pl) see us.’
 b. Mi látunk ti-tek-et / benn-etek-et.
 we see.1Pl you-2Pl-Acc / Ine-2Pl-Acc
 ‘We see you(Pl.Acc).’

The accusative suffix on *bennünk-et* and *bennetek-et* is obligatory (similarly to the case of *mink-et* ‘us’ and *titek-et* ‘you(Pl.Acc)’), and unlike *engem-[%]et* ‘me’ and *téged-[%]et* ‘you(Sg.Acc)’).

Personal pronouns other than the first and second person plural do not have similar doubly case-marked forms (106).

- (106) *(én-)benn-em-et, *(te-)benn-ed-et, *ő-benn-e-t, *ő-benn-ük-et
 I-Ine-1Pl-Acc you(Sg)-Ine-2Pl-Acc he-Ine-3Sg-Acc he-Ine-3Pl-Acc
 Intended meaning: ‘me, you(Sg.Acc), him, them’

B. Double case-marking by different cases: allative plus terminative

As already mentioned in connection with (61), repeated here as (107), some speakers can add the terminative case suffix to an allative-marked personal pronoun. This type of double case-marking is substandard.

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- (107) %A kábel el-ér (én-)hozzá-m-ig.
 the cable away-reach.3Sg I-All-1Sg-Ter
 ‘The cable reaches up to me.’

C. Double case-marking by the same case

In dialectal / substandard Hungarian there are also instances of double case-marking by the same case. Firstly, the third person singular pronoun *ő* and the demonstrative pronouns *ez* ‘this’ and *az* ‘that’ can dialectally bear double accusative case.

- (108) %ő-t-et, %az-t-at, %ez-t-et
 he-Acc-Acc that-Acc-Acc this-Acc-Acc
 ‘him, that(Acc), this(Acc)’

Secondly, dialectally, a personal pronoun can also bear double case-marking when it serves as the object of comparison. As already mentioned in Section 2.2.1.1, when the comparative construction has no overt *mint* ‘than’, then the object of comparison bears overt case: adessive in standard Hungarian and ablative in some dialects. (23) is repeated below as (109) for the reader’s convenience.

- (109) a. Ili magasabb, mint Imi.
 Ili taller than Imi
 ‘Ili is taller than Imi.’
- b. Ili magasabb Imi-nél. [adessive]
 Ili taller Imi-Ade
 ‘Ili is taller than Imi.’
- c. %Ili magasabb Imi-től. [ablative]
 Ili taller Imi-Abl
 ‘Ili is taller than Imi.’

Garden variety examples with a personal pronoun as the object of comparison (and no *mint* ‘than’) are shown in (110).

- (110) a. Ili magasabb (én-)nál-am. [adessive]
 Ili taller I-Ade-1Sg
 ‘Ili is taller than me.’
- b. %Ili magasabb (én-)től-em. [ablative]
 Ili taller I-Abl-1Sg
 ‘Ili is taller than me.’

Dialectally and in archaic texts, the adessive case is repeated once more after the agreement suffix, leading to double case-marking by the same case (H. Varga 2008), as in (111).

- (111) %Ili magasabb nál-am-nál. [adessive]
 Ili taller Ade-1Sg-Ade
 ‘Ili is taller than me.’

Double case-marking of personal pronouns by the adessive case happens only in the comparative construction; it is not possible with the literal locative reading.

2.2.2. Postpositions

2.2.2.1. Introduction: Two classes of postpositions

Hungarian postpositions fall into two natural classes: case-like postpositions and case-assigning postpositions. Case-like postpositions take a morphologically unmarked Noun Phrase complement. Case-assigning postpositions, on the other hand, require a specific oblique case (e.g. superessive or instrumental) on their Noun Phrase complement. The two types of postpositions are illustrated below: in (112) the case-like P *alatt* ‘under’ appears with the morphologically unmarked form of *híd* ‘bridge’, while in (113) the case-assigning P *szemben* ‘opposite to’ appears with the instrumental-marked form of *híd* ‘bridge’.

(112) a híd alatt
the bridge under
‘under the bridge’

(113) a híd-dal szemben
the bridge-Ins opposite_to
‘opposite to the bridge’

Case-like Ps are sometimes called inflecting or dressed Ps, while case-assigning Ps are also known as non-inflecting or naked Ps. These names reflect the fact that the linear position of the PP-internal agreement suffix depends on which type of P heads the PP. When P’s complement is a personal pronoun, then an agreement marker cross-referencing the pronoun’s person and number features appears in the PP. In the case of case-like (aka inflecting or dressed) Ps, the agreement appears on the postposition itself – the postposition becomes inflected or ‘dressed’ (114).

(114) én-alatt-am
I-under-1Sg
‘under me’

In the case of case-assigning (aka case-governing, non-inflecting or naked) Ps, on the other hand, the agreement appears on the oblique case marker rather than on the postposition itself (115) – the postposition remains uninflected or ‘naked’.

(115) én-vel-em szemben
I-Ins-1Sg opposite_to
‘opposite to me’

The two types of postpositions, including their similarities and differences, have been discussed in detail in Marácz (1984, 1986, 1989 Chapter 8), Kenesei (1992: 581ff), Kenesei *et al.* (1998: 86ff), É. Kiss (1999), Hegedűs (2006), Asbury (2008) and Dékány (2011), among others. In Section 2.2.2.2 we turn to the distribution of case-like Ps in detail. The distribution of case-assigning Ps will be taken up in Section 2.2.2.3.

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2.2.2.2. Case-like postpositions

2.2.2.2.1. The inventory and form of case-like Ps

The list of case-like Ps is given in Table 4. All of them are at least bisyllabic, and in contrast to case suffixes, they do not exhibit vowel harmony with the noun. Some of them cannot take a personal pronoun complement; these are marked with × in the last column of the table. We shall return to this property below. Note that some Ps listed in the spatial group may also have a temporal reading. Those which are listed in the temporal and the ‘other’ group do not have a spatial reading. The semantic classes of postpositions will be discussed in Section 2.3.

Table 4: Case-like postpositions

	CASE-LIKE P	MEANING	PRONOMINAL COMPLEMENT POSSIBLE
SPATIAL	<i>alatt</i>	under	✓
	<i>alá</i>	to under	✓
	<i>alól</i>	from under	✓
	<i>előtt</i>	(at) in front of, before	✓
	<i>elé</i>	to in front of	✓
	<i>elől</i>	from in front of	✓
	<i>felett/fölött</i>	(at) above	✓
	<i>fölé</i>	to above	✓
	<i>fölül</i>	from above	✓
	<i>körül(ött) / [†]körött</i>	around	✓
	<i>köré</i>	to around	✓
	<i>között, közt</i>	between	✓
	<i>közé</i>	to between	✓
	<i>közül</i>	from between	✓
	<i>mellett</i>	next to, beside	✓
	<i>mellé</i>	to next to	✓
	<i>mellől</i>	from next to	✓
	<i>mögött</i>	behind	✓
	<i>mögé</i>	to behind	✓
	<i>mögül</i>	from behind	✓
<i>felé</i>	towards	✓	
<i>felől</i>	from the direction of	✓	
<i>iránt</i>	towards	✓	
<i>után</i>	behind, after	✓	
TEMPORAL	<i>múlva / [§]múltán</i>	in (X time), after (X time)	×
	<i>óta</i>	since	×
	<i>tájban / [°]tájt</i>	around (a point in time)	×

OTHER	<i>által</i>	by	✓
	<i>ellen</i>	against	✓
	<i>gyanánt</i>	as, by way of, in lieu of	×
	<i>helyett</i>	instead of	✓
	<i>miatt</i>	because of	✓
	<i>nélkül</i>	without	✓
	<i>szerint</i>	according to	✓
	<i>végett</i>	in order to, due to	% or † (archaic, yet productive in some dialects)

I. Spatial Ps

A. The morphologically related spatial triplets

As shown in Table 4, most case-like postpositions with a spatial meaning come in morphologically related triplets. In each triplet, there is a P expressing location at, a P expressing motion to, and a P expressing motion away from the complement. The triplets share the same bound stem: *al-* in the ‘under’ series, *el-* in the ‘in front of’ series, *fel/föl-* in the ‘above’ series, *köz-* in the ‘between’ series, and *mell-* in the ‘next to’ series. These bound stems have grammaticalized from common nouns; *fel/föl-*, *köz-* and *mell-* are homophonous with ‘the top of the milk’, ‘gap, space between’, and ‘breast’ respectively in contemporary Hungarian, too.

Remark 8. The bound stems *fel-* and *föl-* (both: ‘up’) are in free variation in some Ps, but there are also cases in which the choice between them leads to a difference in meaning. They are interchangeable in the case-like P *felett/fölött* ‘above sth’, in the case-assigning P *felül/fölül* ‘above, in addition’ (this P takes a superessive-marked NP/DP complement) and in the verbal particle *fel/föl* ‘up (directional)’. However, the case-like Ps *felé* and *fölé* are not interchangeable: while *felé* means ‘towards’, the meaning of *fölé* is ‘to above’. There is also a meaning difference between the case-like Ps *felől* and *fölül*: the former means ‘from the direction of’, while the latter means ‘from above sth’.

Within each triplet, Ps expressing static location bear the locative *-(Vt)t* suffix, Ps expressing motion towards the complement have the obsolete lative case suffix *-á/-é*, and Ps expressing motion away from the complement are adorned with the source suffix *-(V)l*. These suffixes are obsolete case markers and are not productive in contemporary Hungarian; they only combine with the bound P-stems shown in the table and some other adverbial stems (see Section 2.2.4.1.2). They cannot appear on common nouns or proper names.

B. Other uses of the locative *-(Vt)t* suffix

The only exception to the generalization mentioned at the end of the previous paragraph is the locative *-(Vt)t* suffix, which may appear on a handful of Hungarian city names that are i) monosyllabic or ii) end in either *hely* ‘place’ or *vár* ‘castle’. The forms listed in (116) are the most common city names that end in the locative suffix.

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- (116) a. Győr-ött, Pécs-ett, Vác-ott
Győr-Loc Pécs-Loc Vác-Loc
'in Győr / Pécs / Vác'
- b. Hódmezővásárhely-t, Kézdivásárhely-t, Székelyudvarhely-t
Hódmezővásárhely-Loc Kézdivásárhely-Loc Székelyudvarhely-Loc
'in Hódmezővásárhely / Kézdivásárhely / Székelyudvarhely'
- c. Kaposvár-t, Kolozsvár-t, Szentpétervár-ott, Székesfehérvár-ott
Kaposvár-Loc Kolozsvár-Loc Saint.Petersburg-Loc Székesfehérvár-Loc
'in Kaposvár / Kolozsvár / Saint Petersburg / Székesfehérvár'

City names with *-(Vt)t* represent an archaic or elevated style and can always be substituted for by forms in which the proper name in question bears a productive locative case suffix (117).

- (117) a. Győr-ben, Pécs-en, Vác-on
Győr-Ine Pécs-Sup Vác-Sup
'in Győr / Pécs / Vác'
- b. Hódmezővásárhely-en, Kézdivásárhely-en, Székelyudvarhely-en
Hódmezővásárhely-Sup Kézdivásárhely-Sup Székelyudvarhely-Sup
'in Hódmezővásárhely / Kézdivásárhely / Székelyudvarhely'
- c. Kaposvár-on, Kolozsvár-on, Szentpétervár-on, Székesfehérvár-on
Kaposvár-Sup Kolozsvár-Sup Saint.Petersburg-Sup Székesfehérvár-Sup
'in Kaposvár / Kolozsvár / Saint Petersburg / Székesfehérvár'

The *-(Vt)t* suffix must combine with the bare form of the proper name, i.e. the name of the city must not bear a plural or a possessive agreement suffix (see also S. Hámori and Tompa 1970: 573), as shown in (119).

- (118) a. *Pécs-em-ett, Vác-uk-ott
Pécs-1Sg-Loc Vác-1Pl-Loc
Intended meaning: 'in my Pécs, in our Vác'
- b. *Pécs-ek-ett, *Vác-ok-ott
Pécs-Pl-Loc Vác-Pl-Loc
Intended meaning: 'in cities named Pécs, in cities named Vác'

It is, however, possible for the proper name to bear these suffixes when its locative form involves a productive case suffix (119). (Names of settlements rarely occur in the plural form, but this is possible in certain contexts. For instance, different settlements with compound proper names ending in the same morpheme, such as *Kis-Vác* 'small-Vác' and *Nagy-Vác* 'big-Vác', may be referred to together with the shared part of their names, e.g. *a Vác-ok-on*, lit. the Vác-Pl-Sup, 'in the settlements called Vác').

- (119) a. Pécs-em-en, Vác-unk-on
Pécs-1Sg-Sup Vác-1Pl-Sup
'in my Pécs, in our Vác'

- b. Pécs-ek-en, Vác-ok-on
 Pécs-Pl-Sup Vác-Pl-Sup
 ‘in cities named Pécs, in cities named Vác’

The same suffix appears in the case-like Ps *iránt* ‘towards’, *helyett* ‘instead of’, *szerint* ‘according to’ and *végett* ‘in order to, due to’ (see Table 4 and the discussion below). There are also some locative adverbs that feature this suffix, see (120).

- (120) itt, ott, oldalt, lent fent, kint, bent,
 here there sideways down up outside inside
 más-utt, minden-ütt, †alant
 other-Loc every-Loc down.there
 ‘here, there, sideways, down, up, outside, inside, at some other place, everywhere, down there’

C. The morphologically related spatial doublets

In addition to the triplets, there are also two doublets. The first doublet, *körül(ött)* ‘around’ and *köré* ‘to around’, involves the bound stem *körül-* ‘around’, which is related to the common noun *kör* ‘circle’. As for the locative *körül(ött)* ‘around’, the shorter form *körül* is used with a common noun or proper name complement, and the longer form *körülött* is used with a pronominal complement (121).

- (121) a. a ház körül(*ött), János körül(*ött)
 the house around János around
 ‘around the house, around János’
 b. ő-körülött-*(e), †ő-körül-e
 he-around-Poss.3Sg he-around-Poss.3Sg
 ‘around him’

Another short form of *körül(ött)* ‘around’ is *körött* ‘around’, which is now considered to be archaic.

Körül(ött) ‘around’ and *köré* ‘to around’ have no counterpart that expresses direction away from the complement with the directional *-(V)l* suffix. The stem *körül-* may combine with the delative case suffix to express the meaning ‘from around’ (*körülről*). This form is most frequently used with a temporal reading (122a), but a quasi-directional reading is also possible (122b). The bound stem *körül-* may also take the sublative suffix to express a quasi-directional reading, as in (122b). The combination of postpositions with the delative and the sublative suffix will be taken up in more detail in Sections 2.2.2.3.4 and 2.2.2.2.4.

- (122) a. egy 1900 körül-ről származó festmény
 a 1900 around-Del originating painting
 ‘a painting from around 1900’
 b. A részvények ára 230 Ft körül-ről 250 Ft körül-re
 the share.Pl price.Poss 230 HUF around-Del 250 HUF around-Sub
 emelkedett.
 raise.Past.3Sg
 ‘The price of shares rose from around HUF 230 to around HUF 250.’

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The second doublet, *felé* ‘towards’ and *felől* ‘from the direction of’, involves the bound stem *fel-* ‘towards’. These Ps have no locative counterpart with the locative suffix *-(Vt)t* because the stem itself expresses directionality. Note that the form *felett* ‘above’ exists, but it is the locative form of the *fel/föl-* ‘above’ stem.

D. Other spatial Ps

The case-like Ps *iránt* ‘towards’ and *után* ‘behind, after’ are not part of morphologically related triplets or doublets. Originally both were case-marked nouns. *Iránt* ‘towards’ comes from a by now obsolete stem bearing the locative *-(Vt)t* suffix (Benkő 1970: 230).

- (123) *iránt*
toward

Után ‘behind, after’ grammaticalized from the possessed, superessive (*-n*) marked form of *út* ‘road, way’ (Benkő 1976: 1039). The morphemic composition has become completely opaque.

- (124) Mari a kislány után áll a sorban.
Mari the little.girl behind stand.3Sg the line.Ine
‘Mari is standing in line behind the little girl.’

The spatial meaning of *után* ‘behind, after’ is thus diachronically primary, but in modern Hungarian the temporal use is also wide-spread (125).

- (125) karácsony után
Christmas behind
‘after Christmas’

In contemporary Hungarian the possessed and superessive marked noun *út* ‘road, way’ is distinct from the postposition: the former contains a *j* in the possessive suffix (126). As shown in (124), this *j* is missing in the postposition.

- (126) a. a falu út-já-n [possessive phrase]
the village road-Poss-Sup
‘on the road of the village’
b. a falu után [postposition]
the village behind
‘behind / after the village’

Remark 9. There is a curious morpheme, *szerte* ‘(locative) across, throughout’, which resembles case-like Ps in some respects, but not others (therefore it is not included in Table 4). Similarly to case-like Ps, *szerte* combines with a morphologically unmarked noun.

- (i) ország-szerte, város-szerte
country-across city-across
‘across the country, across the city’

It has a number of properties, however, which set it apart from other case-like Ps. Firstly, the noun must be a bare noun, while the complement of case-like Ps can be modified by N-modifiers such as adjectives, numerals, demonstratives, or the indefinite or definite article.

- (ii) a. *régi város-szerte, *szép város-szerte
 old city-across nice city-across
 Intended meaning: 'across an old city, across a nice city'
- b. *két város-szerte, *minden város-szerte, *egész város-szerte
 two city-across every city-across whole city-across
 Intended meaning: 'across two cities, across every city, across the whole city'
- c. *a város-szerte, *eme város-szerte
 the city-across this city-across
 Intended meaning: 'across the city, across this city'

Secondly, the range of nouns it can combine with is highly restricted. The admissible nouns are names of continents and countries as well as nouns naming canonical geographical regions or other locations. Some examples are given below.

- (iii) világ-szerte, Európa-szerte, Anglia-szerte, Dunántúl-szerte,
 world-across Europe-across England-across Dunántúl-across
 város-szerte
 city-across
 'across the world / Europe / England / the Dunántúl [region] / the city'

Thirdly, the N+szerte sequence has the stress pattern characteristic of compounds rather than other N+P structures (*szerte* does not receive word stress in the examples above). Fourthly, the complement of *szerte* is always understood to be definite. This is trivial in the case of *világ* 'world' and names of continents, countries and canonical geographical regions. However, *ország* 'country' and *város* 'city' are also understood to be definite when they are followed by *szerte* (ivb), even though when not followed by *szerte*, they need a definite article for a definite interpretation (iva). (When followed by *szerte*, it must be inferred from the context which country or city is being referred to.)

- (iv) a. város, a város, ország, az ország
 city the city country the country
 'city, the city, country, the country'
- b. (*a) világ-szerte, (*az) ország-szerte, (*a) város-szerte
 the world-across the country-across the city-across
 'across the world / country / city'

Fifthly, unlike case-like Ps, *szerte* can precede the noun (phrase), and when it does so, it behaves differently than in the post-NP position. With prenominal *szerte*, a noun that is not inherently definite must be accompanied by the definite article. Compare:

- (v) szerte *(a) világ-on, szerte *(az) ország-ban, szerte *(a) város-ban
 across the world-Sup across the country-Ine across the city-Ine
 'across the world / country / city'

N-modifiers other than the definite article or the quantifier *egész* 'whole' are still disallowed, however.

- (vi) szerte az (egész) (*három) (*szép) város-ban
 across the whole three nice city-Ine
 Intended meaning: 'across the whole three nice cities'

Note that prenominal *szerte* requires the noun to be case-marked with the superessive or inessive case (v and vi), depending on which case would normally combine with the noun in ordinary locative expressions (see Section 2.2.1.1).

As pointed out in Fejes (2013), *szerte* also doubles as a verbal particle (on particles, see Section 2.2.3). In this use, its meaning is similar to *szét*; both are best approximated as 'apart, in many directions'. Some examples are given below.

- (v) szerte-szór, szerte-ágazik, szerte-foszlik
 apart-throw apart-branch apart-ravel
 'disperse, branch out, dissipate'

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That is, *szerte* has a locative meaning postnominally or prenominally, and a directional meaning in its verbal particle use.

II. Temporal Ps

Of the temporal case-like Ps *múlva* ‘in (X time) / after (X time)’, *tájban* / *tájt* ‘around (a point in time)’ and *óta* ‘since’, the first three appear to be morphologically complex. *Tájt* ‘around (a point in time)’ is indeed complex, comprising the common noun *táj* ‘area, region’ and the locative *-t* suffix that appears on spatial case-like Ps, too (see point I above) (127).

- (127) 6 óra táj-t, éjfél táj-t
 6 hour area-Loc midnight area-Loc
 ‘around 6 o’clock, around midnight’

Tájban, which has exactly the same meaning as *tájt*, transparently comprises the common noun *táj* ‘area, region’ and the productive inessive case suffix *-ban/-ben* (128).

- (128) 6 óra táj-ban, éjfél táj-ban
 6 hour area-Ine midnight area-Ine
 ‘around 6 o’clock, around midnight’

Given its morphological make-up, *tájban* could be considered to be a case-marked noun rather than a true postposition. However, while inessive marked *táj* ‘area, region’ may take N-modifiers such as a demonstrative, an article, numerals or adjectives (129a), this is not possible for *tájban* in its temporal P use (129b). To distinguish the inessive marked nominal *táj* ‘area, region’ from the P *tájban*, we shall henceforth gloss the latter as ‘around’.

- (129) a. Pál gyönyörködik ebben a három szép táj-ban. [case-marked N]
 Pál admire.3Sg this.Ine the three beautiful area-Ine
 ‘Pál admires these three beautiful areas / landscapes.’
- b. karácsony (*ebben) (*az) (*egy) (*ünnepi) tájban [postposition]
 Christmas this.Ine the one festive around
 ‘around (this one festive time of) Christmas’

Furthermore, analyzing the temporal *tájban* ‘around (a point in time)’ as a case-marked common noun cannot account for the syntactic relationship between *tájban* and the morphologically unmarked nominal preceding it either. There are only two types of structural relations that may hold between a morphologically unmarked nominal and another nominal following it. Firstly, the unmarked nominal may form a compound with the following nominal (130).

- (130) ékszer-doboz, hát-úszás
 jewelry-box back-swimming
 ‘jewelry box, backstroke’

Compounds have a single word stress falling on the first member of the compound. This is true of *dél tájban* (lit. noon area.Ine) ‘around noon’ and *éjfél tájban* (lit. midnight area.Ine) ‘around midnight’. However, when *tájban* follows an expression

with a numeral, e.g. *6 óra tájban* in (131), then both *tájban* and the nominal preceding it receive word stress. *Tájban* expressions thus cannot be considered to be compounds across the board.

Secondly, an unmarked nominal may serve as the possessive modifier of the noun following it (132).

- (132) a diák toll-a, János toll-a
 the student pen-Poss János pen-Poss
 ‘the student’s pen, János’ pen’

In possessive structures the possessum is always marked with the possessive suffix *-a/-e/-ja/-je* (see N2.2.1.2). *Tájban*, however, does not bear this suffix, even though the common noun *táj* ‘area, region’ always does so when it is a possessum (133a), and possessed *táj* can bear the inessive case (133b).

- (133) a. Az ország legcsapadékosabb táj-a az Alpokalja. [case-marked N]
 the country most.rainy area-Poss the Alpokalja
 ‘The country’s most rainy area is the Alpokalja.’
- b. Ili sokáig gyönyörködött az ország legcsapadékosabb táj-á-ban.
 Ili for.long admire.Past.3Sg the country most.rainy area-Poss-Ine
 ‘Ili admired the most rainy area of the country for a long time.’

Given the lack of possessive marking, it is not possible to analyze temporal *tájban* expressions as possessive structures.

It would not be possible to analyze *tájban* as a(n inessive marked) nominal and the preceding unmarked NP as its modifier either: apart from possessors, all N-modifying nominals must undergo *-i* attributivization (134a), but this is impossible for the NP preceding *tájban* (134b).

- (134) a. éjfél-*(i) mise, tavasz-*(i) szél [case-marked N]
 midnight-Attr mass spring-Attr wind
 ‘midnight mass, the wind(s) in / of spring’
- b. éjfél-*(i) tájban [postposition]
 midnight-Attr around
 ‘around midnight’

The facts laid out above lead to the conclusion that in ‘NP *tájban*’ expressions *tájban* is not a (case-marked) nominal. We take *tájban* to be a genuine case-like postposition, one which grammaticalized from the inessive case-marked common noun *táj* ‘area, region’. It is a bi-morphemic P similarly to the members of the spatial triplets discussed in point I. above: *mell-ett* ‘next to-Loc’, *mell-é* ‘next to-Lative’, *mell-ől* ‘next to-from’. Concomitant with the grammaticalization process, this P has acquired a specialized meaning: while the inessive form of the noun *táj* ‘area, region’ is a spatial expression (135a), the P *tájban* is restricted to temporal PPs (135b,c). (This is an additional fact that the simple nominal analysis of *tájban* would have difficulty capturing.)

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- (135) a. Pál gyönyörködött a táj-ban.
 Pál admire.Past.3Sg the area-Ine
 ‘Pál was admiring the land(scape).’
- b. húsvét tájban
 Easter around
 ‘around Easter’
- c. *a ház tájban
 the house around
 Intended meaning: ‘around the house’

As far as *múlva* ‘in (X time), after (X time)’ is concerned, this P comprises the verb *múlik* ‘elapse, go by’ and the adverbial participial suffix *-va/-ve* (136) (see the volume on Non-finite Verb Phrases).

- (136) három nap múl-va
 three day elapse-Part
 ‘after three days’

However, in ‘NP *múlva*’ phrases *múlva* cannot be taken to be a garden variety adverbial participle (and therefore in the remainder of this section we shall gloss it as ‘after’). Firstly, an adverbial participle headed by the participial verb *múl-va* can be modified by adverbs such as ‘slowly’, as shown by the Googled example in (137a). This is not the case for ‘NP *múlva*’ phrases, however (137b).

- (137) a. Életünk lass-an múl-va tovaszáll. [participle]
 life.Poss.1Pl slow-ly elapse-Part away.fly.3Sg
 ‘Slowly, our life goes by [and ends].’
- b. három nap (*lass-an) múl-va [postposition]
 three day slow-ly elapse-Part
 Intended meaning: ‘after three slowly passing days’

Secondly, if temporal *múlva* ‘after’ were a genuine adverbial participle, then the morphologically unmarked nominal preceding it would have to be its overt (nominative) subject: in (136), for instance, ‘three days’ would be the subject of ‘elapse’. However, *-va/-ve* adverbial participles cannot have an overt subject (138b): their subject must be covert and must have the same reference as the subject (137a) or object (138b) of the matrix clause.

- (138) a. Jánost megkötöz-ve találtuk. [participle]
 János.Acc Perf.tie-Part find.Past.DefObj.1Pl
 ‘We have found János tied up.’
- b. *Az éjjel el-múl-va, útnak indultunk.
 the night away-elapse-Part road.Dat set_out.Past.1Pl
 Intended meaning: ‘The night having gone by, we set out [on our journey].’

Given these considerations, we take *múlva* in ‘NP *múlva*’ expressions to be a real case-like P which grammaticalized from the adverbial participle *múl-va* ‘elapse-Part’.

Múltán ‘after (X time)’ is a synonym of *múlva*. It is a bit archaic and is used in a higher register. It comprises the verb *múlik* ‘pass, go by’, the *-t* deverbial nominalizer (see N1.3.1.4), the possessive suffix *-a* and the (superessive) *-n* suffix. The morphemic composition has become opaque, however.

- (139) Az edény évek múltán is újnak néz ki.
 the pot year.Pl after too new.Dat look out
 ‘The pot looks new even after several years.’

III. Other Ps

Among non-spatial and non-temporal case-like Ps, several bear the *-(Vt)t* locative ending seen in point I above. *Helyett* ‘instead of’ (140) grammaticalized from the noun *hely* ‘place’ bearing the possessive suffix *-e* and the locative *-(Vt)t* suffix (Zsilinszky 1992: 700). Its original locative meaning ‘in its place’ has, over time, become the more abstract ‘instead of’, and the original morphemic composition is not transparent for speakers any more.

- (140) János helyett, sírás helyett
 János instead_of crying instead_of
 ‘instead of János, instead of crying’

Gyanánt ‘as, by way of, in lieu of’ (141) likewise has a possessive origin: it is based on *gyanú* ‘suspicion’ bearing a possessive suffix, an *-n* suffix and the locative *-(Vt)t* suffix (Benkő 1967: 1119).

- (141) egy szűrő gyanánt szolgáló ruha
 a strainer as serving cloth
 ‘a piece of cloth serving as / [in lieu of] a strainer’

Szerint ‘according to’ (142) is built on the noun *szer* ‘row, order, method’ (Benkő 1976: 739) and ends in the locative suffix *-(Vt)t* (Zsilinszky 1992: 700). Whether the bit between the stem and *-(Vt)t* goes back to a possessive structure is debated (see Benkő 1976: 739 pro and Benkő 1994: 1426 contra). In any case, the multi-morphemic origin has become completely opaque.

- (142) János szerint, a könyv szerint
 János according_to the book according_to
 ‘according to János, according to the book’

While *helyett* ‘instead of’ and *gyanánt* ‘as, by way of, in lieu of’ (and perhaps *szertint* ‘according to’) have their origin in possessive structures, synchronically they are garden variety case-like Ps: their distribution is identical to that of the spatial and temporal Ps discussed above in points I and II, and they do not show any of the syntactic or morphological trappings of possessive structures. In Section 2.4.2 these Ps will be contrasted with some borderline Ps which are on their way to becoming case-like Ps from possessed Ns, but retain some similarities with possessive structures to date.

Two other case-like Ps in this group also bear the *-(Vt)t* locative ending without having a possessive origin: *véggett* ‘in order to, due to’ is the locative form of the

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noun *vég* ‘end’ (Benkő 1976: 1105), while *miatt* ‘because of’ comes from the interrogative pronoun *mi* ‘what’ bearing the lative *-á* and a locative *-(Vt)t* suffix (Benkő 1980: 285). To contemporary speakers this is no longer transparent.

- (143) a. a félreértések elkerülése végett
the misunderstanding.Pl avoiding.Poss so_as_to
‘so as to avoid [any] misunderstandings’
- b. Az eső miatt itthon maradtam.
the rain because_of home_at stay.Past.1Sg
‘I stayed at home because of the rain.’

Finally, the case-like P *nélkül* ‘without’ is also originally a bi-morphemic element. This P grammaticalized from a string in which the adessive (*-nál/-nél*) case was followed by the postposition *kül / kívül* ‘outside of’. The original structure is schematized in (144).

- (144) N-nál kül / kívül
N-Ade apart_from / apart_from
‘apart from N’

The adessive case suffix was later re-analyzed as the stem of the P *kül / kívül* ‘apart from, outside of’, yielding the contemporary *nélkül* ‘without’ (145). The original morphemic composition is no longer transparent to speakers.

- (145) Esőkabát nélkül indultam el.
raincoat without set_out.Past.1Sg away
‘I set out without a raincoat.’

Note that *kívül* ‘outside of, apart from’ is still used in contemporary Hungarian as a case-assigning P (see Section 2.2.2.3.1), but it assigns the superessive rather than the adessive case (146).

- (146) a. Kutyát sétáltatni csak a játszótér-en kívül szabad.
dog.Acc walk.Caus.Inf only the playground-Sup outside_of allowed
‘Walking dogs is allowed only outside of the playground.’
- b. Víz-en kívül másra nincs szükségem.
water-Sup outside_of other.Sub not_be.3Sg necessity.Poss.1Sg
‘Apart from water, I do not need anything else.’

2.2.2.2.2. Complementation

1. The form of the complement

As already mentioned above, case-like postpositions take a morphologically unmarked complement, and if their complement is a personal pronoun, then the PP-internal agreement is borne by the postposition (147).

- (147) a. a híd alatt
 the bridge under
 ‘under the bridge’
- b. én-alatt-am
 I-under-1Sg
 ‘under me’

II. PP-internal position with respect to the complement

Within the PP, case-like Ps must immediately follow their complement: no modifier can intervene between them and their complement (148b) and they cannot be used as prepositions (148c). In this respect their distribution is very much like that of case suffixes (Section 2.2.1).

- (148) a. a fa mellett
 the tree next_to
 ‘next to the tree’
- b. *a fa majdnem mellett
 the tree almost next_to
 Intended meaning: ‘almost next to the tree’
- c. *mellett a fa
 next_to the tree
 Intended meaning: ‘next to the tree’

III. Dropping the complement

Case-like postpositions must have a syntactic complement. If the complement is a pronoun, then the postposition bears an agreement marker that cross-references person and number features of the pronoun. The full paradigm is illustrated in (149). A pronominal complement can also undergo *pro*-drop. In this case the features of the covert pronoun can be recovered from the agreement on the postposition.

- (149) a. A könyv (én-)mellett-em van.
 the book I-next_to-1Sg be.3Sg
 ‘The book is next to me.’
- b. A könyv (te-)mellett-ed van.
 the book you(Sg)-next_to-2Sg be.3Sg
 ‘The book is next to you(sg).’
- c. A könyv (ő-)mellett-e van.
 the book he-next_to-3Sg be.3Sg
 ‘The book is next to him.’
- d. A könyv (mi-)mellett-ünk van.
 the book we-next_to-1Pl be.3Sg
 ‘The book is next to me.’

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- e. A könyv (ti-)mellett-etek van.
the book you(Pl)-next_to-2Pl be.3Sg
'The book is next to you(Pl).'
- f. A könyv (ő-)mellett-ük van.
the book he-next_to-3Pl be.3Sg
'The book is next to them.'

These Ps do not agree with lexical N complements, and such complements cannot be dropped either (150).

- (150) a. A ház a fa mellett(*-e) van.
the house the tree next_to-3Sg be.3Sg
'The house is next to the tree.'
- b. A ház *(a fa) mellett van.
the house the tree next_to be.3Sg
'The house is next to (the tree).'

IV. The complement's demonstrative modifier

If the complement of the case-like P is a Noun Phrase that contains the demonstrative pronoun *ez* 'this' or *az* 'that', then the postposition must appear twice: once after the demonstrative and once after the nominal head (151).

- (151) ez / az alatt a fa alatt
this / that under the tree under
'under this / that tree'

V. Personal pronoun complements

As already mentioned above, if there is a personal pronoun in the complement position, then the PP-internal agreement is borne by the postposition (152). Furthermore, personal pronoun complements can undergo *pro*-drop.

- (152) (én-)alatt-am
I-under-1Sg
'under me'

Some case-like Ps cannot take a pronominal complement, as shown in Table 4. The postposition *óta* 'since' is a case in point (153b), though its combination with the third person singular pronoun is not ungrammatical (153c). *Óta* has a default temporal interpretation; when it combines with the third person singular pronoun, the resulting expression means 'since his/her time' or 'since his/her work'. The same type of metonymical meaning extension of the complement can also be observed when *óta* 'since' combines with proper names (153d).

- (153) a. nyolc óra óta
eight o'clock since
'since eight o'clock'

- b. *én óta-m
 I since-1Sg
 Intended meaning: ‘since me’
- c. ??ő óta
 he since
 ‘since him’
- d. Napóleon óta, Einstein óta
 Napoleon since Einstein since
 ‘since Napoleon(’s time) / since Einstein(’s work)’

The ungrammaticality of (153b) may show that apart from the third person singular pronouns, a metonymical meaning extension of the complement is not available to pronouns.

Finally, we note that the postposition *végett* ‘in order to, due to’ can take a pronominal complement only in non-standard Hungarian (154). In the varieties that allow this, *végett* has a causal meaning (‘because of’), and it behaves like other case-like Ps: it bears the agreement itself. (In standard Hungarian, it has a purposive meaning, which may explain why it does not combine with personal pronouns.)

- (154) %én-végett-em
 I-because_of-1Sg
 ‘because of me’

VI. Demonstrative pronoun complements

If the case-like P begins with a consonant, then the *z* of the demonstrative is dropped (but the demonstrative and the P are still written as two separate words), as in (155).

- (155) [e főlé] / [a főlé] a fa főlé
 this above / that above the tree above
 ‘above this / that tree’

Keeping the *z* of the demonstrative is possible only dialectally, if the demonstrative refers to an object that is present in the discourse situation and is being pointed at by the speaker, and strong contrast or emphasis is placed on the demonstrative (e.g. ‘this, not that’) (156).

- (156) %EZ főlé
 this above
 ‘above THIS’

Other demonstratives such as *ezen*, *e* and *eme* (all: ‘this’), as well as *azon* and *ama* (both: ‘that’) do not combine with case-like Ps; if the noun is modified by one of these demonstratives, then the case-like P appears only after the nominal head (157).

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- (157) ezen / ama (*alatt) fa alatt
this / that under tree under
'under this / that tree'

The two types of demonstratives differ in a number of other important respects, too; these are detailed in N2.5.2.2.1.

2.2.2.2.3. Separability of the P and its complement in the clause

If the complement of the case-like P is a *wh*-element that needs to undergo *wh*-movement, then the P cannot be stranded (158b). This is due to the above-mentioned restriction that case-like Ps must immediately follow their complement.

- (158) a. Ki mögött sétálsz?
who behind walk.2Sg
'Who are you walking behind?'
b. *Ki sétálsz mögött?
who walk.2Sg behind
Intended meaning: 'Who are you walking behind?'

The P-stranding construction becomes possible if and only if i) the *wh*-pronoun bears dative case instead of appearing in the usual unmarked form, and in addition ii) the postposition bears (possessive) agreement (this normally does not happen if its complement is a *wh*-pronoun, see 158a). Compare (159), with dative case on the *wh*-pronoun and agreement on the P, and (158), with a morphologically unmarked *wh*-pronoun and no agreement on the P. (159) is formally similar to an external possessor construction (see N3.2.2.1. point A).

- (159) Ki-nek sétálsz mögött-e?
who-Dat walk.2Sg behind-3Sg
'Who are you walking behind?'

If both the Ground and the case-like postposition are internal to the PP, then the Ground cannot have dative case (160a,b) and the P cannot bear agreement (160a,c). That is, dative case, P-agreement and P-stranding must go together.

- (160) a. *Ki-nek mögött-e sétálsz?
who-Dat behind-3Sg walk.2Sg
Intended meaning: 'Who are you walking behind?'
b. *Ki-nek mögött sétálsz?
who-Dat behind walk.2Sg
Intended meaning: 'Who are you walking behind?'
c. *Ki mögött-e sétálsz?
who behind-3Sg walk.2Sg
Intended meaning: 'Who are you walking behind?'

P-stranding as in (159) does not work with all case-like Ps (161); the possibility depends on the context and is also subject to speaker-variation. Generally, Ps with a

directional semantics and argument-like Ps produce better results in this construction.

- (161) a. Ki helyett dolgozol?
 who instead_of work.3Sg
 ‘Who are you working instead of?’
 b. *Ki-nek dolgozol helyett-e?
 who-Dat work.3Sg instead_of-3Sg
 Intended meaning: ‘Who are you working instead of?’

PPs headed by case-like Ps may occupy the so-called verb modifier position, which is the immediately preverbal position (Chapter 4, and also the volume on Sentence Structure), as in (162).

- (162) A labda a híd mellett maradt.
 the ball the bridge next_to stay.Past.3Sg
 ‘The ball stayed next to the bridge.’

It is also possible for case-like postpositions to occupy the verb modifier position on their own; in this case their complement is in postverbal position (163). (Chapter 4 will feature a detailed discussion of this construction; see also Marác 1984, 1986, É. Kiss 2002 Chapter 8, Surányi 2009a,b.) As in the case of P-stranding, such separation in the clause is possible if and only if the case-like P bears agreement and the noun phrase complement bears dative case.

- (163) A labda mellett-e maradt a híd-nak.
 the ball next_to-3Sg stay.Past.3Sg the bridge-Dat
 ‘The ball stayed next to the bridge.’

To summarize, if both the case-like P and the Noun Phrase are within the PP, then the Noun Phrase is morphologically unmarked and the P bears agreement only if the Ground is a personal pronoun. Extraction from a PP with a case-like P is not possible. The case-like P and its complement can be separated in the clause only if a special construction is used, in which both the P and its complement have out-of-the-ordinary (in fact, possessive) morphological marking: the Ground bears dative case, and the P bears agreement (regardless of whether Ground is pronominal or not).

2.2.2.2.4. *Combination with the Delative and Sublative case*

Case-like Ps with the locative ending *-(V)t* may combine with the delative or the sublative case to yield source and goal expressions (164b) (Marác 1986). This is often a marked option, however, which speakers either disprefer or reject. Compare (164a), the default form of source and goal PPs containing case-like Ps, with (164b), involving the combination of a locative case-like P and a case suffix.

- (164) a. a fal mögül, a fal mögé
 the wall behind_from the wall behind_to
 ‘from behind the wall, to behind the wall’

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- b. ?a fal mögött-ről, ?a fal mögött-re
the wall behind-Del the wall behind-Sub
'from behind the wall, to behind the wall'

In some cases, however, this is the only form that can express the intended meaning. Compare (165a) and (165b), where the former example is perfectly grammatical, while the monomorphemic source P yields ungrammaticality. See also Chapter 3 Section 3.2.5 point III/A.

- (165) a. A váza a római kor előtt-ről származik.
the vase the Roman times before -Del be_from.3Sg
'The vase is from before the Roman times.'
- b. *A váza a római kor elől származik.
the vase the Roman times before_from be_from.3Sg
Intended meaning: 'The vase is from before the Roman times.'

2.2.2.2.5. N + case-like postposition modifying a noun

PPs with a case-like postposition (and PPs in general) cannot serve as prenominal modifiers. In order to appear in the prenominal position, PPs must combine with the attributivizer suffix *-i* (166a), or the present participle *levő* 'being' (166b).

- (166) a. a ház mellett-*(i) pad, a ház mellett *(levő) pad
the house next_to-Attr bench the house next_to be.Part bench
both: 'the bench next to the house'
- b. a palánk mellől-*(i) passz, a palánk mellől *(jövő) passz
the backboard from_next_to-Attr pass the backboard from_next_to come.Part pass
'the pass from next to the backboard, the pass coming from next to the backboard'

Attributivizing with *-i* is possible with locative and source Ps (166) and the Ps classified as 'other' in Table 4 (167).

- (167) a vár ellen-i támadás, a vár ellen indított támadás
the castle against-Attr attack the castle against launch.Part attack
'the attack against the castle, the attack launched against the castle'

Attributivizing with *-i* is not grammatical with goal Ps (168a') and temporal Ps (168b'), however: with these Ps only the participial strategy is possible.

- (168) a. a ház mellé lőtt lövések
the house next_to fire.Part shot.Pl
'the shots fired to next to the house'
- a'. *a ház mellé-i lövések
the house next_to-Attr shot.Pl
Intended meaning: 'the shots [fired] to next to the house'
- b. a karácsony óta tartó várakozás
the Christmas since continue.Part waiting
'the waiting since Christmas'

- b'. *a karácsony óta-i várakozás
 the Christmas since-Attr waiting
 Intended meaning: 'the waiting since Christmas'

A PP with a case-like P can serve as a postnominal modifier. In this case combination with the attributivizer suffix *-i*, or the present participle *levő* 'being' is ungrammatical (169).

- (169) a. a pad a ház mellett-(*i)
 the bench the house next_to-Attr
 'the bench next to the house'
- b. a pad a ház mellett (*levő)
 the bench the house next_to be.Part
 'the bench next to the house'

For the modifier use of PPs see also Chapter 5 Section 5.5.

2.2.2.2.6. Modification

PPs with a case-like postposition may be modified by degree modifiers such as *majdnem* 'almost', *szinte* 'almost', *közvetlen* 'right', *teljesen* 'completely', *egészen* 'completely', etc., and measure phrases such as 'two meters'. Degree modifiers must precede the complement of the P (170).

- (170) a. majdnem a fa alatt
 almost the tree under
 'almost under the tree'
- b. *a fa majdnem alatt
 the tree almost under
 Intended meaning: 'almost under the tree'
- c. ??a fa alatt majdnem
 the tree under almost
 'almost under the tree'

Measure phrases may either precede the complement or follow the case-like P (171a,b), but they cannot intervene between the P and its complement (171c).

- (171) a. két méterrel a fa mellett
 two meter.Ins the tree next_to
 'two meters next to the tree'
- b. a fa mellett két méterrel
 the tree next_to two meter.Ins
 'two meters next to the tree'
- c. *a fa két méterrel mellett
 the tree two meter.Ins next_to
 Intended meaning: 'two meters next to the tree'

2.2.2.2.7. *Conjunction reduction*

PPs containing a case-like P allow forward conjunction deletion (172).

(172) ● *Forward conjunction reduction*

- a. a könyv előtt és a könyv mögött
 the book in_front_of and the book behind
 ‘in front of the book and behind the book’
- b. a könyv előtt és mögött
 the book in_front_of and behind
 ‘in front of and behind the book’

PPs containing a case-like P also allow backward conjunction deletion. (173a) and (173b) have different meanings, however: in (173a) the space behind the notebook and the space behind the book are non-identical, while (173b) is ambiguous: here we may have a single space that is behind both the notebook and the book, but a meaning identical to that of (173a) is also available (and can be forced with distributive elements as in (173c)).

(173) ● *Backward conjunction reduction*

- a. a füzet mögé és a könyv mögé
 the notebook behind and the book behind_to
 ‘to behind the notebook and to behind the book’
- b. a füzet és a könyv mögé
 the notebook and the book behind_to
 ‘to behind the notebook and the book’
- c. A füzet és a könyv mögé is tettem egy tollat
 the notebook and the book behind_to too put.Past.1Sg a pen.Acc
 ‘I have put a pen both behind the notebook and the book.’

The reading of (173b) in which we have a single space that is behind both the notebook and the table possibly involves Noun Phrase conjunction rather than PP conjunction plus P-deletion.

2.2.2.2.8. *PP-internal coding of reflexivity*

As discussed in detail in Rákosi (2010), there is a split between first and second person on the one hand and third persons on the other hand in the coding of PP-internal reflexivity. PP-internal reflexives are, by default, encoded with a reflexive pronoun. In third person, this is the only option (174).

- (174) a. János lát maga mellett egy macskát.
 János see.3Sg self.3Sg next_to a cat.Acc
 ‘János sees a cat next to himself.’
- b. *János_i lát (ő-)mellett-e_i egy macskát.
 János see.3Sg he-next_to-3Sg a cat.Acc
 Intended meaning: ‘János sees a cat next to himself.’

In first and second person, however, many speakers also accept pronominal coding of reflexivity. This is shown for first person singular in (175) and for second person singular in (176); the first and second person plural work similarly.

- (175) a. *Én látok magam mellett egy macskát.*
 I see.1Sg self.1Sg next_to a cat.Acc
 ‘I see a cat next to myself.’
- b. *%Én látok (én-)mellett-em egy macskát.*
 I see.1Sg I-next_to-1Sg a cat.Acc
 ‘I see a cat next to myself.’
- (176) a. *Te láatsz magad mellett egy macskát.*
 you(Sg) see.2Sg self.2Sg next_to a cat.Acc
 ‘You see a cat next to yourself.’
- b. *%Te láatsz (te-)mellett-ed egy macskát.*
 you(Sg) see.2Sg you-next_to-2Sg a cat.Acc
 ‘You see a cat next to yourself.’

2.2.2.3. Case-assigning postpositions

In this section we turn to the characterization of case-assigning postpositions. As already mentioned, these Ps require that their complement bear an oblique case suffix. In the previous literature case-assigning Ps were not unanimously considered to be members of the category P. Antal (1961), É. Kiss (1999, 2002 Chapter 8), Spencer (2008) and Trommer (2008), for instance, consider only case-like Ps to be true Ps. Here we follow Marác (1984, 1986, 1989); Kenesei *et al.* (1998), Payne and Chisarik (2000); Kádár (2009), Dékány (2011) and Hegedűs (2006, 2013), among others, in treating case-assigning Ps as genuine postpositions.

2.2.2.3.1. The inventory and form of case-assigning postpositions

The list of case-assigning postpositions is given in Table 5. In contrast to case-like Ps, some case-assigning Ps are monosyllabic. These all contain a long vowel. Unlike case suffixes, but similarly to case-like Ps, case-assigning postpositions do not exhibit vowel harmony with the noun that they modify. Note that some Ps listed in the spatial group may also have a temporal reading. There are no case-assigning Ps with only a temporal reading. Case-assigning Ps listed in the ‘other’ group do not have a spatial reading. See Section 2.3 for the semantic classification of postpositions.

Table 5: Case-assigning postpositions

	CASE-ASSIGNING P	MEANING	SUBCATEGORIZED CASE SUFFIX
SPATIAL	<i>alul</i>	below, under	superessive
	<i>át</i>	through, via, across, over	superessive
	<i>belül</i>	inside of	superessive
	<i>felül/fölül</i>	over, above	superessive
	<i>innen</i>	on this side of	superessive

	<i>keresztül</i>	through, via, across	superessive
	<i>kívül</i>	outside of, apart from	superessive
	<i>túl</i>	beyond, over	superessive
	<i>végig</i>	along to the end of	superessive
	<i>szembe</i>	to opposite to	instrumental
	<i>szemben</i>	opposite to	instrumental
	<i>szemből</i>	from opposite to	instrumental
	<i>szemközt</i>	opposite to	instrumental
	<i>közel</i>	close to	allative
OTHER	<i>együtt</i>	together	instrumental
	<i>képest</i>	compared to, for	allative

Among case-assigning postpositions, there is a morphologically related quartet: *szemközt* ‘opposite to’, *szemben* ‘opposite to’, *szemből* ‘from opposite to’, and *szembe* ‘to opposite to’. These involve the bound stem *szem-* ‘opposite’, which is homonymous with the common noun *szem* ‘eye’. However, in order to form a full-fledged postposition, this stem combines with the garden variety inessive (*-ban/-ben*), illative (*-ba/-be*), and elative (*-ból/-ből*) case suffixes rather than with the non-productive suffixes that case-like Ps do (*-(V)t* in the case of locative Ps, *-á/-é* in the case of lative Ps, and *-(V)l* in the case of source Ps). In addition, the stem *szem-* ‘opposite’ may also combine with the case-like P *közt* ‘between’ to yield the complex locative case-assigning postposition *szemközt* ‘opposite to’. (*Közt* is the short form of the case-like P *között* ‘between’.)

- (177) a. a postá-val szemben / szemközt
the post.office-Ins opposite / opposite
both: ‘opposite to the post office’
- b. a postá-val szembe / szemből
the post.office-Ins opposite_to / opposite_from
‘to opposite to the post office, from opposite to the post office’

Other case-assigning Ps do not come in morphologically related triplets (or doublets or quartets). In addition, no case-assigning P bears the locative suffix *-(V)t*, the lative suffix *-á/-é*, or the source suffix *-(V)l*. The case-assigning postpositions *alul* ‘below/under’, *belül* ‘inside of’, *felül* ‘over/above’, *keresztül* ‘through/via/across’, *kívül* ‘outside of’, *túl* ‘beyond/over’, and *közel* ‘close to’ end in a *-Vl* sequence. These, however, all have a locative rather than a source reading, hence they do not involve the source suffix *-(V)l* that case-like Ps do. The case-assigning postpositions *együtt* ‘together’ and *képest* ‘for/compared to’ end in a *-(t)t* sequence, but these do not have a locative reading.

Remark 10. Diachronically, the postposition *együtt* ‘together’ comprises the numeral *egy* ‘one’ and the locative suffix *-(V)t* (Simonyi 1895: 681). The contemporary meaning thus grammaticalized from the expression ‘at one place’. This bimorphemic origin is completely opaque for contemporary speakers, however; in Modern Hungarian *együtt* ‘together’ is a monomorphemic postposition.

Most case-assigning Ps contain an obsolete or opaque bound stem. The P *alul* ‘below, under’, for instance, contains the bound stem *al-*. This is the same stem that appears in the case-like Ps *alatt* ‘under’, *alá* ‘to under’ and *alól* ‘from under’ (178).

- (178) a. a vonal-on alul
the line-Sup under
‘under the line’
- b. a vonal alatt / alá / alól
the line under / under_to / under_from
‘under / [to under] / [from under] the line’

The bound stem *al-* appears in the words in (179a), too, and it can also be used in compounds with the meaning ‘sub-, vice-’ (179b). Kenesei (2007) refers to the *al-* of (179b) as a semiword.

- (179) a. al-ja, alj, alsó
bottom-Poss skirt underpants
‘the bottom of sth, skirt, underpants’
- b. al-király, al-elnök, al-ezredes, Al-Duna
AL-king AL-president AL-colonel AL-Danube
‘viceroys, vice president, lieutenant-colonel, Lower Danube’

The P *belül* ‘inside of sth’ contains the bound stem *bel-* ‘inner, inside, endo-’, which also appears in the expressions in (180a) and in the compounds in (180b).

- (180) a. a barlang belse-je, a belső sáv, belső ellenőr, belső szervek
the cave inside-Poss the inner lane inner auditor inner organs
‘the inside of the cave, the inner lane, internal auditor, internal organs’
- b. bel-gyógyászat, bel-ügy-minisztérium, bel-város, bel-politika
BEL-healing BEL-affair-ministry BEL-city BEL-politics
‘internal medicine, ministry of internal affairs, downtown, internal affairs’

The P *közel* ‘close to’ shares the *köz-* stem with the case-like Ps *között* ‘between’, *közé* ‘to between’ and *közül* ‘from between’ (181b). As mentioned in Section 2.2.2.2.1, this stem is related to the common noun *köz* ‘gap, space between’. It also appears in the expressions in (181c).

- (181) a. a vonalak-hoz közel
the line.Pl-All close_to
‘close to the lines’
- b. a vonalak között / közé / közül
the line.Pl between / between_to / between_from
‘[in between] / [to between] / [from between] the lines’
- c. köz-ös, köz-terület, köz-ügy, köz-társaság
KÖZ-Adj KÖZ-premise KÖZ-case KÖZ-society
‘common / shared, public premises, a matter of general concernment, republic’

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The stem of the P *felül/fölül* ‘above’ is similarly shared with case-like Ps: that of *felett/fölött* ‘above’, *fölé* ‘to above’, *fölül* ‘from above’, as well as *felé* ‘towards’ and *felől* ‘from the direction of’.

- (182) a. a felhők fölött / fölé / fölül
the cloud.Pl above / above_to / above_from
‘above / [to above] / [from above] the clouds’
- b. a hegyek felé / felől
the mountain towards / from_the_direction_of
‘towards / [from the direction of] the mountains’

The P *végig* ‘along to the end of’ comprises the common noun *vég* ‘end’ and the terminative *-ig* case suffix, while the P *kívül* ‘outside of’ is morphologically related to the verbal particle *ki* ‘out’ and the locative adverbs *kinn* and *kint*, both meaning ‘outside’ (see Section 2.2.4.1.2 point III). Finally, the P *keresztül* ‘through, via, across’ is based on the noun *kereszt* ‘cross’, while the P *képest* ‘compared to, for’ is related to the noun *kép* ‘picture’.

- (183) a. az utcá-n végig
the street-Sup end_to
‘along to the end of the street’
- b. a ház-on kívül
the house-Sup outside_of
‘outside the house’
- c. az utcá-n keresztül
the street-Sup across
‘across the street’
- d. a vizsgá-hoz képest
the exam-All compared_to
‘compared to the exam’

2.2.2.3.2. Complementation

1. The form of the complement

Case-assigning Ps subcategorize for a Noun Phrase complement with a specific oblique case. Most case-assigning Ps require a superessive-marked complement, but there are also Ps that take an instrumental- or allative-marked complement. The selected case marker is not related to whether the postposition has a locative, directional or ‘other’ reading (184).

- (184) a rét-en keresztül, a rét-hez közel, Mari-val együtt
the meadow-Sup through the meadow-All close_to Mari-Ins together
‘through the meadow, close to the meadow, together with Mari’

The superessive and the allative case suffixes do not contribute the locative or directional meaning that they do in PPs headed by case suffixes (185); they are

required only for formal (c-selectional) reasons (similarly to *on* in the idiomatic ‘choose’ reading of *decide on the boat*).

- (185) a. a rét-en, a rét-en keresztül
 the meadow-Sup the meadow-Sup through
 ‘on the meadow, through the meadow’
- b. a rét-hez, a rét-hez közel
 the meadow-All the meadow-All close_to
 ‘to the meadow, close to the meadow’

II. PP-internal position with respect to the complement

By default, case-assigning Ps are postpositional, hence they follow their complement. Marácz (1986) claims that these Ps can also freely precede the complement, however, with the two word orders being in free variation. The availability of both orders is shown for *át* ‘through, via, across, over’ in (186).

- (186) a. a híd-on át
 the bridge-Sup via
 ‘via the bridge’
- b. át a híd-on
 via the bridge-Sup
 ‘via the bridge’

Dékány and Hegedűs (2015) have shown that the prepositional order is restricted; it is available only to a subset of case-assigning Ps, specifically *át* ‘through, via, across, over’, *közel* ‘close to’, *szemben* ‘opposite to’, *túl* ‘beyond’, *végig* ‘(along) to the end of’, *keresztül* ‘through, across, via’ and *szemközt* ‘opposite to’ (see also Dér 2012, 2013). Furthermore, the prepositional use of the latter two Ps is somewhat degraded. This is illustrated for *szemközt* ‘opposite to’ in (187).

- (187) a. a fal-lal szemközt
 the wall-Ins opposite_to
 ‘opposite to the wall’
- b. ?szemközt a fal-lal
 opposite_to the wall-Ins
 ‘opposite to the wall’

Other case-assigning Ps such as *felül* ‘above sth’ cannot precede their complement (188).

- (188) a. a vonal-on felül
 the line-Sup above
 ‘above the line’
- b. *[?]felül a vonal-on
 above the line-Sup
 Intended meaning: ‘above the line’

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The case-assigning Ps that allow the prepositional use are a proper subset of case-assigning Ps that allow the ‘NP modifier P’ order (see Section 2.2.2.3.8 below). The prepositional order is not discourse-neutral: it is mostly used in enumerations (189a) and when the PP is a contrastive topic (189b).

- (189) a. át a híd-on, keresztül a mező-n, majd be az erdőbe
via the bridge-Sup through the meadow-Sup then in the forest.Ill
‘through the bridge, through the meadow, then into the forest’
- b. [Át a híd-on]_{CTOPIC} csak óvatosan szabad menni.
via the bridge-Sup only carefully allowed go.Inf
‘As for going through the bridge, one should only do it carefully.’

III. Dropping the complement

The case-assigning Ps *alul* ‘below, under’, *belül* ‘inside of’, *felül* ‘over, above’, *kívül* ‘outside of’, *közél* ‘close to’, *szembe* ‘to opposite to’, *szemben* ‘opposite to’, *szemből* ‘from opposite to’, and *szemközt* ‘opposite to’ can be used without an overt complement. In this case they express a (spatial or temporal) relation between the Figure and an implicit Ground (i.e. a reference point that is recoverable from the context): (190 b,c).

- (190) a. A labda a vonal-on alul van.
the ball the line-Sup under be.3Sg
‘The ball is under the line.’
- b. A labda alul van.
the ball under be.3Sg
‘The ball is down / [down there] (with respect to a reference point).’
- c. Pál az utca végén állt. A lövések szemből jöttek.
Pál the street end.Poss.Sup stand.Past.3Sg the shot.Pl from_opposite_to come.Past.3Pl
‘Pál was standing at the end of the street. The shots came from [the opposite side] / [opposite to him].’

Implicit Grounds are not possible with case suffixes and case-like Ps. In this respect these case-assigning Ps are different. However, they are also different from the group that we categorize as locative adverbs here, which cannot have a syntactically explicit reference point. That is to say, the difference between *alul* ‘down (there)’ and *kinn/kint* ‘outside’ (which we list among locative adverbs with the locative suffix *-nn/-nt* in Section 2.2.4.1.2 point III) is that the latter must have an implicit reference point, while case-assigning Ps can have a syntactically expressed Ground.

Due to its semantics, *együtt* ‘together’ can be used without a complement if the subject is semantically plural (191c,d).

- (191) a. János Mari-val együtt megy moziba.
János Mari-Ins together go.3Sg cinema.Ill
‘János goes to the cinema with Mari.’
- b. *János együtt megy moziba.
János together go.3Sg cinema.Ill

- c. János és Mari együtt mennek moziba. / Együtt mennek moziba.
 János and Mari together go.3Pl cinema.Ill / together go.3Pl cinema.Ill
 ‘János and Mari go to the cinema together.’ / ‘They go to the cinema together.’
- d. A három lány együtt megy moziba.
 the three girl together go.3Sg cinema.Ill
 ‘The three girls go to the cinema together.’

IV. *The complement’s demonstrative modifier*

If the complement of the case-assigning P is a noun phrase that contains the demonstrative pronoun *ez* ‘this’ or *az* ‘that’, then the case selected by the P appears both on the demonstrative and the nominal head of the complement. In (192) we illustrate this with the case-assigning P *közel* ‘close to’, which takes an allative-marked complement.

- (192) ehhez a ház-hoz közel
 this.All the house-All close_to
 ‘close to this house’

Unlike case-like Ps, case-assigning Ps do not appear on the demonstrative themselves (193).

- (193) *ehhez közel a ház-hoz közel
 this.All close_to the house-All close_to
 Intended meaning: ‘close to this house’

The case assigning P *kívül* ‘outside of’ is occasionally claimed to be able to appear on the demonstrative. In our judgment, this is a highly marked option, which allows only the ‘apart from’ meaning of *kívül*, but not the literal spatial meaning ‘outside of’ (194b).

- (194) [%]ez-en kívül a ház-on kívül
 this-Sup outside_of the house-Sup outside_of
 ‘apart from this house’ (Not: ‘outside of this house’)

The case-assigning Ps *át* ‘through, via, across, over’ and *túl* ‘beyond, over’ can also exceptionally appear after the demonstrative (195) (though the result is somewhat degraded). In this regard, these two case-assigning Ps behave like case suffixes and case-like Ps (Sections 2.2.1 and 2.2.2.2).

- (195) a. [?]ezen át a ház-on át
 this-Sup through the house-Sup through
 ‘through this house’
- b. ^{??}ez-en túl a ház-on túl
 this-Sup beyond the house-Sup beyond
 ‘beyond this house’

V. Personal pronoun complements

As already mentioned above, if the case-assigning P combines with a personal pronoun, then the case marker selected by the P must bear an agreement suffix (196). This is because oblique case suffixes with a personal pronoun complement must always be followed by an agreement suffix (see Section 2.2.1.2 point V/B).

- (196) (én-)rajt-am keresztül, (ti-)hozzá-tok közel, (mi-)vel-ünk együtt
 I-Sup-1Sg through you-All-2Pl close_to we-Ins-1Pl together
 ‘through me, close to you, together with us’

2.2.2.3.3. Separability of the P and its complement in the clause

The case-assigning Ps *át* ‘through, via, across, over’, *közél* ‘close to’, *végig* ‘along to the end of’, *keresztül* ‘through, via, across, over’, *együtt* ‘together’, *szembe* ‘to opposite to’, and to a limited extent, also *belül* ‘inside of’, *szemben* ‘opposite to’, *szemközt* ‘opposite to’ and *túl* ‘beyond’ allow P-stranding under *wh*-movement of their complement (197a,b). The rest of case-assigning Ps do not allow P-stranding (197c). Note that the possibility of P-stranding shows no correlation with either the semantics (locative/static vs. directional) of the P or the oblique case that the P subcategorizes for.

- (197) a. Mi-n sétáltál át?
 what-Sup walk.Past.2Sg through
 ‘What did you walk through?’
- b. [?]Mi-vel van szemközt a posta?
 what-Ins be.3Sg opposite_to the post.office
 ‘What is the post office opposite to?’
- c. *Mi-vel jött szemből a labda?
 what-Sup come.Past.3Sg from_opposite_to the ball
 Intended meaning: ‘What is such that the ball came from opposite to it?’

D-linked interrogative phrases are separable from the case-assigning Ps more easily, however: compare (197c) and (198).

- (198) Melyik kereszt-utcá-n van innen a bolt?
 which side-street-Sup be.3Sg on_this_side_of the shop
 ‘Which side street is such that the shop is before that street?’

The same case-assigning Ps that can be stranded by with non-D-linked *wh*-phrases can also be used as verbal particles. In neutral sentences, verbal particles appear in the immediately preverbal position (see the volume on Sentence Structure). In this case the P’s complement appears in the postverbal field (199a).

- (199) a. János át-sétált a mező-n.
 János across-walk.Past.3Sg the meadow-Sup
 ‘János walked across the meadow.’

- b. *János szemből jött a postá-val.
 János from_opposite_to come.Past.3Sg the post_office-Ins
 Intended meaning: 'János came from (the place) opposite to the post office.'

2.2.2.3.4. Combination with the Delative and Sublative case

As discussed in Section 2.2.2.2, case-like Ps can be decomposed into a bound stem expressing 'above', 'under', 'next to', etc., and a non-productive suffix that expresses location at $-(Vt)t$, movement to $(-á/-é)$, or movement from $-(V)l$ the location expressed by the stem. Case-like Ps thus come in morphologically related triplets (200).

- (200) a. alatt, alá, alól
 under to_under from_under
 b. mellett, mellé, mellől
 next_to to_next_to from_next_to

Apart from the *szemközt* 'opposite to', *szemben* 'opposite to', *szemből* 'from opposite to', and *szembe* 'to opposite to' series, case-assigning Ps do not come in morphologically related triplets or quartets (see Table 5 and the discussion in Section 2.2.2.3.1). These Ps do not contain the locative $-(Vt)t$ suffix, the lative $-á/-é$ suffix, or the $-(V)l$ source suffix. The case-assigning Ps that express static location combine with the sublative and the delative case suffix in order to form goal and source PPs respectively. Two examples are given in (201).

- (201) a. közel, közel-re, közel-ről
 close_to close_to-Sub close_to-Del
 'close to, to close to, from close to'
 b. alul, alul-ra, alul-ról
 below below-Sub below-Del
 'below, to below, from below'

The combination of the case-assigning P *innen* 'on this side of' and the sublative or delative case suffix is marked, however (202).

- (202) a. ??A labda a vonal-on innen-re gurult.
 the ball the line-Sup this_side_of-Sub roll.Past.3Sg
 'The ball rolled to (the area on) this side of the line.'
 b. ??A lövések a vonal-on innen-ről jöttek.
 the shot.Pl the line-Sup this_side_of-Del come.Past.3Pl
 'The shots came from (the area on) this side of the line.'

Note that *innen* is an ambiguous lexical item: it is used both as a place-denoting P, as in (202), and as a source-denoting adverbial 'from here' (203).

- (203) a. itt, ide, innen
 here to_here from_here

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- b. A dokumentum innen letölthető.
the document from_here downloadable
'The document is downloadable from here.'

2.2.2.3.5. *N + case-assigning postposition modifying a noun*

PPs headed by case-assigning Ps, similarly to PPs headed by case-like Ps, cannot be used as prenominal N-modifiers directly (204a). In the prenominal position they must either bear the attributivizer suffix *-i* (204b), or they must be embedded into a participial clause headed by *levő* 'being' (204c), the present participial form of the future copula.

- (204) a. *a vonal-on felül írás
the line-Sup above writing
Intended meaning: 'the writing above the line'
- b. a vonal-on felül-i írás
the line-Sup above-Attr writing
'the writing above the line'
- c. a vonal-on felül levő írás
the line-Sup above be.Part writing
'the writing above the line'

Attributive *-i* modification works with most case-assigning Ps; it is, however, ungrammatical with **át-i* 'through/via/across-Attr', **végig-i* 'along-Attr', **szembe-i* 'to opposite-Attr', and very limited with **szemből-i* 'from opposite to-Attr'. PPs with a case-assigning postposition can serve as postnominal N-modifiers, however, and in this case they cannot combine with either the *-i* attributivizing suffix or *levő* 'being' (205).

- (205) a. az írás a vonal-on felül
the writing the line-Sup above
'the writing above the line'
- b. *az írás a vonal-on felül-i / [felül levő]
the writing the line-Sup above-Attr / above be.Part

See also Chapter 5 Section 5.5 on PPs as modifiers.

2.2.2.3.6. *Modification*

PPs containing case-assigning Ps can be modified by degree and measure phrases. Degree modifiers can precede the NP that serves as the P's complement and they can also appear between the NP and the P. They cannot follow the case-assigning postposition, however (206).

- (206) a. teljesen a kerítés-en belül
completely the fence-Sup inside.of
'completely inside the fence'

- b. a kerítés-en teljesen belül
 the fence-Sup completely inside.of
 ‘completely inside the fence’
- c. *a kerítés-en belül teljesen
 the fence-Sup inside.of completely
 Intended meaning: ‘completely inside the fence’

Measure phrases may precede the NP complement of the P and may also follow the case-assigning P (207).

- (207) a. két méterrel a kerítés-en belül
 two meter.Ins the fence-Sup inside.of
 ‘two meters inside the fence’
- b. a kerítés-en belül két méterrel
 the fence-Sup inside.of two meter.Ins
 ‘two meters inside the fence’

Whether measure phrases can appear between the complement and the case-assigning P varies across individual Ps. This order is the most acceptable with *túl* ‘beyond’ (208a). With other Ps this order is highly degraded or fully ungrammatical (208b,c).

- (208) a. a vonal-on két méterrel túl
 the line-Sup two meter.Ins beyond
 ‘two meters beyond the line’
- b. ^{?(?)}a vonal-on két méterrel belül
 the fence-Sup two meter.Ins inside.of
 ‘two meters inside the line’
- c. *a vonal-on két méterrel alul
 the fence-Sup two meter.Ins under
 Intended meaning: ‘two meters under the line’

See also Chapter 3 Section 3.3 on PP-modification.

2.2.2.3.7. Conjunction reduction

PPs headed by case-assigning Ps allow both forward and backward conjunction reduction. This is shown in (209) and (210).

- (209) ● Forward conjunction reduction
- a. a ház-on kívül és a ház-on belül
 the house-Sup outside.of and the house-Sup inside.of
 ‘outside of the house and inside of the house’
- b. a ház-on kívül és belül
 the house-Sup outside.of and inside.of
 ‘outside and inside of the house’

(210) • Backward conjunction reduction

- a. a ház-hoz közel és a tó-hoz közel
 the house-All close_to and the lake-All close_to
 ‘close to the lake and close to the house’
- b. a ház-hoz és a tó-hoz közel
 the house-All and the lake-All close_to
 ‘close to the lake and the house’

As with PPs containing case-like Ps, backward conjunction reduction is possibly better analyzed as coordination under the P: while in (210a) the area that is close to the house is not necessarily identical to the area that is close to the lake, in (210b) there is one area that is close to both the house and the lake.

2.2.2.3.8. *Case-assigning Ps: summary of the variation*

It emerges from the above discussion that not all case-assigning Ps behave alike with respect to certain distributional tests. Some, but not all case-assigning Ps allow P-stranding, use as a particle, the ‘NP - degree modifier - P’ order and the prepositional order. Of these, the ‘NP - degree modifier - P’ order is felicitous with most Ps; in fact, only three Ps are not fully acceptable in this order. Case-assigning Ps that allow a particle use and P-stranding form a proper subset of the Ps that are grammatical in the ‘NP - degree modifier - P’ order. In other words, all Ps that have a particle use and are felicitous with P-stranding also allow the ‘NP - degree modifier - P’ order, but not vice versa. In addition, the particle use and P-stranding correlate: individual Ps either allow both of these options or neither.

Case-assigning Ps usable as prepositions are, in turn, a proper subset of case-assigning Ps that can serve as verbal particles or can be P-stranded. That is, all case-assigning Ps that allow the prepositional use also allow P-stranding and have a particle use, but not vice versa. The pattern is summarized in Table 6.

Table 6: *Case-assigning Ps: prepositional use, particle use and P-stranding*

CASE-ASSIGNING P	MEANING	NP-MODIFIER-P SECTION 2.2.2.3.6	PARTICLE USE SECTION 2.2.2.3.3	P-STRANDING SECTION 2.2.2.3.3	PREPOSITIONAL USE SECTION 2.2.2.3.2 POINT II
<i>át</i>	through, via, across, over	✓	✓	✓	✓
<i>közel</i>	close to	✓	✓	✓	✓
<i>végig</i>	along to the end of	✓	✓	✓	✓
<i>keresztül</i>	through, via, across	✓	✓	✓	?
<i>szemben</i>	opposite to	✓	restricted	restricted	✓
<i>túl</i>	beyond, over	✓	restricted	restricted	✓
<i>belül</i>	inside of	✓	restricted	restricted	✗
<i>együtt</i>	together	✓	✓	✓	✗
<i>szembe</i>	to opposite to	✓	✓	✓	✗

<i>szemközt</i>	opposite to	✓	??	??	?(?)
<i>alul</i>	below, under	?	×	×	×
<i>felül</i>	over, above	??	×	×	×
<i>innen</i>	on this side of	?	×	×	×
<i>kívül</i>	outside of	✓	×	×	×
<i>kívül-re</i>	to outside of	✓	×	×	×
<i>kívül-ről</i>	from outside of	✓	×	×	×
<i>szemből</i>	from opposite to	✓	×	×	×
<i>túl-ra</i>	to beyond	✓	×	×	×
<i>túl-ról</i>	from beyond	✓	×	×	×
<i>képest</i>	compared to, for	N/A	×	×	×

2.2.2.4. Taking stock: the relation between case suffixes and postpositions

The properties of case suffixes, case-like postpositions and case-assigning postpositions discussed in the preceding sections are summarized in Table 7. Of the three types of P-elements, it is case suffixes that have the tightest connection with their complement, and case-assigning Ps have the greatest degree of morphological/phonological freedom. Case-like Ps share properties both with case suffixes and case-assigning Ps and so they constitute a type of intermediate category between the two.

Table 7: Case-like Ps, case-assigning Ps and suffixes

PROPERTY	CASE SUFFIX	CASE-LIKE P	CASE-ASSIGNING P
<i>visible case on the complement</i>	N/A	×	✓
<i>may precede its complement</i>	×	×	✓ (some)
<i>'NP - degree modifier - P' order</i>	×	×	✓ (some)
<i>P-stranding in wh-questions</i>	×	×	✓ (some)
<i>dropping non-pronominal complement</i>	×	×	✓ (some)
<i>appearing on demonstrative</i>	✓	✓	×
<i>bears agreement</i>	✓	✓	×
<i>vowel harmony with complement</i>	✓	×	×
<i>deletion under conjunction</i>	×	✓	✓
<i>sublative or delative suffixation</i>	×	✓ (limited)	✓
<i>modification by -i</i>	×	✓ (most)	✓ (most)
<i>modification by levő or való</i>	✓	✓	✓

Neither morphological nor phonological criteria can be used to draw a definitive line between case suffixes and postpositions. Suffixhood is not a good diagnostic (Sebestyén 1965, Antal 1961, Asbury *et al.* 2007, Asbury 2005, 2008): case suffixes show postposition-like behavior in that they do not require the pronoun to be overt

(Section 2.2.1.2 points *V/B* and *V/D*). The number of syllables does not distinguish case suffixes from postpositions either. While all case suffixes are monosyllabic, there exist some monosyllabic postpositions, too (cf. case-like *tájt* ‘around a point in time’ and *közt* ‘between’ – both of which have longer forms as well – in Table 4 as well as case-assigning *át* ‘through, via, across, over’ and *túl* ‘beyond’ in Table 5). The availability of vowel harmony does not completely separate case suffixes from postpositions either. Although postpositions never harmonize, and the majority of case suffixes do, case suffixes containing a neutral vowel (the causal(-final) *-ért*, the terminative *-ig* and the essive-formal *-ként*) do not harmonize. We can conclude that case suffixes, case-like Ps and case-assigning Ps are realizations of the same category: that of adpositions. Their differences can be traced back to the fact that they have different degrees of morpho-phonological freedom from their NP complement.

2.2.3. *Verbal particles*

Verbal particles are a subgroup of the so-called verb modifiers. The name verb modifier is an umbrella term for predicative elements in the VP such as bare objects, resultatives, certain infinitival complements and verbal particles (see Chapter 4, Chapter 5, as well as the volume on Sentence Structure). These constituents have the same syntactic distribution in the clause. In neutral sentences they occupy the immediately preverbal position (the so-called straight order). In clauses with contrastive focus, negation, progressive aspect or imperatives, however, they appear in the post-verbal field (the so-called inverse order).

2.2.3.1. *The inventory of verbal particles*

As was the case with case-suffixes in Section 2.2.1, the boundaries of the class of verbal particles are difficult to draw, and authors disagree about which elements to include in the list of these items (see Komlósy 1992, Kiefer and Ladányi 2000b). A representative but non-exhaustive list of verbal particles is given in (211).

- (211) a. meg, el, ki, be, fel, le
 Perf away out in up down
- b. át, túl, végig, keresztül
 through beyond/over to_completion through
- c. össze, szét, széjjel, tovább, vissza
 together apart apart further back
- d. hát-ra, fél-re, tönk-re, új-ra, agy-on, egy-be
 back-Sub side-Sub stump-Sub new-Sub brain-Sup one-III
 ‘back, aside, (V sth) to ruins, anew, over- / [to death], co- / together’

(211a) contains the oldest Hungarian verbal particles, which were already used in the first written texts (J. Soltész 1959). All of them are monosyllabic. *Ki* ‘out’ versus *be* ‘in’ and *fel* ‘up’ versus *le* ‘down’ form obvious semantic opposition pairs. In the beginning, *meg* and *el* ‘away’ were also semantic opposites, as the original meaning of *meg* was ‘back’ (as in e.g. *meg-jön*, lit. *meg*-come, which meant ‘come back, return’, cf. D. Máta 1991: 433 and Hegedűs 2014). However, *meg* has

undergone semantic bleaching and completely lost its directional reading over time. In contemporary Hungarian it has no lexical meaning any more; it is a grammatical word that telicizes the event. Today, *meg-jön*, lit. *meg-come* generally means ‘arrive’, and it does not entail that the agent has returned. (See also Section 2.3.1.3.4.) (211b) shows the case-assigning Ps that are most frequently used as verbal particles, too. They all have a directional meaning. (211c) lists some further verbal particles with a directional meaning. Finally, (211d) lists some verbal particles that originate from case-marked nouns. The internal morphological structure of these particles is still transparent for speakers, but they clearly have the distribution of verbal particles and in many cases the meaning is not compositional any more.

The reason why it is not straightforward to provide a definitive list of verbal particles is that it is not always clear how to draw the line between particles and other verb modifiers (particularly resultatives) or postpositions. Intransitively used case-assigning Ps (Section 2.2.2.3.2 point III) share the external distribution of verbal particles, and so do case-like postpositions that are non-adjacent to their NP complement (Section 2.2.2.3). Case-suffixes can also show a doubling-like pattern in the clause (Section 2.2.1.3 and Chapter 5 Section 5.2.3.5), appearing both on their NP complement and next to the verb, like ordinary verbal particles. Verb modifiers that qualify as verbal particles should meet the criterion of productivity, that is, they should be able to appear with a large number of verbs with a compositional meaning for the participle+verb unit. If a verb modifier has a semantically bleached, purely telicizing function (perhaps in addition to a semantically more contentful, directional meaning), then it is a good indication that it is a verbal particle. The verbal particle *ki* ‘out’, for instance, has both a goal-denoting (212a) and a more grammaticalized, purely telicizing use (212b).

- (212) a. Ili ki-ment a kertbe. [directional]
 Ili out-go.Past.3Sg the garden.Ill
 ‘Ili went out into the garden.’
- b. Ili ki-olvasta a könyvet. [telicizing]
 Ili out-read.Past.DefObj.3Sg the book.Acc
 ‘Ili has read the book from cover to cover.’

2.2.3.2. Verbal particles are (parts of) PPs

The so-called PP-with-DP construction is a clause type used to identify directional PPs (Hegedűs 2006).

- (213) [PP A kuká-ba] a régi újságok-kal!
 the bin-Ill the old newspaper.Pl-Ins
 ‘Into the bin with the old newspapers!’

Verbal particles can be used as the sole (214a) or the first element (214b) in the PP-with-DP construction, showing that they are (parts of) PPs (see also Horvath 1978).

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- (214) a. [PP Ki] a régi újságok-kal!
 out the old newspaper.Pl-Ins
 ‘Out with the old newspapers!’
- b. [PP Ki a kuká-ba] a régi újságok-kal!
 out the bin-III the old newspaper.Pl-Ins
 ‘Out into the bin with the old newspapers!’

As this test singles out directional PPs, particles with a non-directional reading are ungrammatical in this construction. (214) features the particle *ki* ‘out’ in its basic, directional reading, and the PP-with-DP construction is grammatical. When the same particle is used with a purely telicizing reading, as in (215a), then it cannot appear in the PP-with-DP construction. (215b) is grammatical, but only under a directional reading; the telicizing reading seen in (215a) is unavailable.

- (215) a. Ili ki-olvasta a könyvet.
 Ili out-read.Past.DefObj.3Sg the book.Acc
 ‘Ili has read the book from cover to cover.’
- b. [PP Ki] a könyv-vel!
 out the book-Ins
 ‘Out with the book!’ (Not: ‘Read the book from cover to cover.’)

Verbal particles that have no directional use never appear in the PP-with-DP construction. (216) illustrates this for the particle *agyon* ‘over, to death’.

- (216) a. Ili agyon-dicsérte Imi.
 Ili over-praise.Past.DefObj.3Sg Imi.Acc
 ‘Ili praised Imi very much.’
- b. *[PP Agyon] Imi-vel!
 over Imi-Ins

Another particle that has no directional use is *meg*. As already mentioned above, *meg* used to have a directional meaning, ‘back’, but it has completely lost this reading and is now a purely telicizing particle. While the original directional reading remains in a few particle-verb combinations such as (217a), *meg* is incompatible with the PP-with-DP construction even in these collocations (217b), showing that the directional reading has become completely opaque.

- (217) a. Kati meg-ad-ja a tartozást.
 Kati Perf-give-DefObj.3Sg the loan.Acc
 ‘Kati pays back the loan.’
- b. *[PP Meg] a tartozás-sal!
 Perf the loan-Ins

2.2.3.3. Separability from the verb

I. Separation from the verb: the inverse and the interrupted order

Let us take (218) as our baseline sentence. This example features the verbal particle *ki* ‘out’. In this so-called straight order the particle is immediately preverbal.

- (218) Ili ki-ment a kertbe. [neutral sentence]
 Ili out-go.Past.3Sg the garden.Ill
 ‘Ili went out into the garden.’

In non-neutral sentences (declaratives containing contrastive focus, negation, progressive aspect, as well as *wh*-interrogatives and imperatives) verbal particles occur in the post-verbal field (the so-called inverse order). This is shown in (219) with narrow focus and negation.

- (219) a. Ili A KERTBE [ment ki]. [narrow focus]
 Ili the garden.Ill go.Past.3Sg out
 ‘It was the garden that Ili went out to.’
 b. Ili nem [ment ki a kertbe]. [negation]
 Ili not go.Past.3Sg out the garden.Ill
 ‘Ili did not go out into the garden.’

Certain elements may intervene between the particle and the verb when the particle is preverbal. These are i) the emphatic particle *is* ‘also, too’ and its negative counterpart *sem* (220a,a’) and ii) the negative particles *nem* ‘not’ and *ne* ‘do not’ (220b,c). (*Ne* is used in negative imperatives.) This is the so-called interrupted order.

- (220) a. Ili ki is ment a kertbe.
 Ili out Emph go.Past.3Sg the garden.Ill
 ‘Ili did go out into the garden.’
 a’. Ili ki sem ment a kertbe.
 Ili out not.too go.Past.3Sg the garden.Ill
 ‘Ili did not even go out into the garden.’
 b. Ili ki nem menne a kertbe.
 Ili out not go.Cond.3Sg the garden.Ill
 ‘Ili would not go out into the garden.’
 c. Ili ki ne menjen a kertbe!
 Ili out not go.Subj.3Sg the garden.Ill
 ‘Ili must not go out into the garden.’

Remark 11. (220c) is a marked version of the negative imperative; it is felicitous only if the action taken by the subject has been under consideration in the previous discourse (Varga 2013). Its more neutral word order involves the inverse order, as shown below.

- (i) Ili ne menjen ki a kertbe!
 Ili not go.Subj.3Sg out the garden.Ill
 ‘Ili must not go out into the garden.’

All Hungarian verbal particles can appear in the interrupted and the inverse order, that is, they are all separable from the verb and there are no ‘non-parting particles’. On their positions in the clause, see also Chapter 4.

II. Non-separability in the scope of nominalization

If a particle-verb combination is nominalized and then verbalized again, then the resulting complex is outwardly verbal, but the particle is no longer separable (Hegedűs and Dékány 2017). Examples are given in (221).

- (221) kifogásol, befolyásol, kivonatol, feltételez, kivitelez, kivételez,
 ‘take objection to, influence, précis, assume, carry out, show favor toward
 bevételez, szemrevételez, utánvételez, felvételizik
 enter as income, inspect, collect (value) upon delivery, take an admission exam’

The particle-verbs that form the core of the expressions in (221) are nominalized with the productive deverbal nominalizer suffix *-ás/-és* (see N1.3.1.2) or the semi-productive deverbal nominalizer *-t*. After potential attachment of a further nominalizing suffix (or suffixes), the noun is then verbalized again with the *-l* or *-z* verbalizer suffix. A detailed morphemic decomposition of the forms in (221) is given below. (The verbal forms are indicated by the *to* infinitival marker in the translations. This serves the reader’s convenience only, the Hungarian forms themselves are not infinitival.) (222) shows the decomposition of those examples that involve one nominalizer suffix between the particle-verb and the outer verbalizing suffix.

- (222) a. ki-fog, ki-fog-ás, ki-fog-ás-ol,
 out-hold out-hold-Nmn out-hold-Nmn-Vrb
 ‘to catch (by taking sth out of somewhere, e.g. fish), objection, to take objection to’
 b. be-foly-(ik), be-foly-ás, be-foly-ás-ol
 in-flow-3Sg in-flow-Nmn in-flow-Nmn-Vrb
 ‘to flow in, influence, to influence’
 c. ki-von, ki-von-at, ki-von-at-ol
 out-pull out-pull-Nmn out-pull-Nmn-Vrb
 ‘to pull out, précis, to précis’

(223) decomposes examples involving two nominalizer suffixes between the particle-verb and the outer verbalizing suffix.

- (223) a. fel-tesz, fel-té-t, fel-té-t-el, fel-té-t-el-ez,
 up-take up-take-Nmn up-take-Nmn-Nmn up-take-Nmn-Nmn-Vrb
 ‘to [put up] / assume, topping, condition, to assume’
 b. (után-vesz), után-vé-t, után-vé-t-el, után-vé-t-el-ez
 after-take after-take-Nmn after-take-Nmn-Nmn after-take-Nmn-Nmn-Vrb
 ‘take later, collection on delivery, collecting on delivery, to collect (value) upon delivery’
 c. ki-vesz, ki-vé-t ki-vé-t-el ki-vé-t-el-ez
 out-take out-take-Nmn out-take-Nmn-Nmn-Vrb out-take-Nmn-Nmn-Vrb
 ‘to take out, business income, exception, to show a favor toward’

- d. be-vesz, be-vé-t-el, be-vé-t-el-ez
 in-take in-take-Nmn-Nmn in-take-Nmn-Nmn-Vrb
 ‘to take in, proceeds / return, proceeds / return, to enter as income’
- e. ki-visz, ki-vi-t-el, ki-vi-t-el-ez
 out-take out-take-Nmn-Nmn out-take-Nmn-Nmn-Vrb
 ‘to take out, export / [taking out], to carry out (an action)’
- f. szemügyre-vesz szemre-vé-t-el szemre-vé-t-el-ez
 sight.into-take on_eye-take-Nmn-Nmn on_eye-take-Nmn-Nmn-Vrb
 ‘to inspect, inspection, to inspect’

(223b) features a particle-verb base that is not used on its own, therefore the base appears in parentheses. In the examples in (223d-f) the two nominalizers always appear together, hence the form with just one nominalizer is not shown separately. In (223f) the particle-verb features a longer form of the particle than the nominalized examples. Finally, (224) shows the morphemic composition of the most complex example.

- (224) fel-vesz, fel-vé-t, fel-vé-t-el, fel-vé-t-el-i,
 up-take up-take-Nmn up-take-Nmn-Nmn up-take-Nmn-Nmn-Attr
 fel-vé-t-el-i-z
 up-take-Nmn-Nmn-Attr-Vrb
 ‘to take up, taking up, admission / recording, admission exam, to take an admission exam’

The particle-verb base has two nominalizers and an *-i* attributivizer (on *-i*, see Kenesei 2014). The resulting *felvételi* ‘admission exam’ is originally an N-modifier of the noun *vizsga* ‘exam’ (*felvételi vizsga*). With frequent ellipsis of the head noun *vizsga* ‘exam’, the original attributive form *felvételi* assumed a nominal distribution and came to mean ‘admission exam’ by itself. As a noun, it now combines with the productive denominal verbalizer *-z*.

The minimal pairs in (225) and (227), both involving the verbal particle *ki* ‘out’ and the verb *von* ‘pull’, show the effect that nominalization followed by further verbalization has on a particle-verb combination. (225) involves the particle-verb *ki-von* lit. ‘out-take’ ‘take out, pull out, extract’. As expected, the particle is separable and can appear both in the interrupted and the inverse order.

(225) ● Particle plus verb complex predicate

- a. A só ki-von-ja a vizet a húsból. [neutral sentence]
 the salt out-pull-3Sg the water.Acc the meat.Ela
 ‘Salt extracts water out of meat.’
- b. A só ki is von-ja a vizet a húsból. [interrupted order]
 the salt out too pull-3Sg the water.Acc the meat.Ela
 ‘Salt does extract water out of meat.’
- c. A só nem von-ja ki a vizet a húsból. [inverse order, negation]
 the salt not pull-3Sg out the water.Acc the meat.Ela
 ‘Salt does not extract water out of meat.’

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- d. A SÓ von-ja ki a vizet a húsból. [inverse order, narrow focus]
 the salt pull-3Sg out the water.Acc the meat.Ela
 'It is salt that extracts water out meat.'

In (226b) we see that when the particle-verb *ki-von* undergoes nominalization by the semi-productive *-t* nominalizing suffix, its meaning changes to 'extract, epitome, abridgement'. After attaching the productive verbalizing suffix *-l* to this noun we get the verb 'to abridge / *précis*' (226c).

- (226) a. ki-von
 out-pull
 'take out, pull out, extract'
- b. ki-von-at
 out-pull-Nmn
 'extract, epitome, *précis*'
- c. ki-von-at-ol
 out-pull-Nmn-Vrb
 'to abridge, to *précis*'

(227) shows that the particle cannot be separated from the derived verb in (226c); it cannot appear either in the inverse or the interrupted order.

- (227) ● Particle + verb complex predicate after nominalization and further verbalization
- a. Ili ki-vonatol-ja a könyvet. [neutral sentence]
 Ili out.abridge-3Sg the book.Acc
 'Ili abridges the book.'
- b. *Ili ki is vonatol-ja a könyvet. [interrupted order]
 Ili out Emph abridge-3Sg the book.Acc
 Intended meaning: 'Ili does abridge the book.'
- b'. Ili ki-vonatol-ja is a könyvet.
 Ili out-abridge-3Sg Emph the book.Acc
 'Ili does abridge the book.'
- c. *Ili nem vonatol-ja ki a könyvet. [inverse order, negation]
 Ili not abridge-3Sg out the book.Acc
 Intended meaning: 'Ili does not abridge the book.'
- c'. Ili nem ki-vonatol-ja a könyvet.
 Ili not out-abridge-3Sg the book.Acc
 'Ili does not abridge the book.'
- d. *ILI vonatol-ja ki a könyvet. [inverse order, narrow focus]
 Ili abridge-3Sg out the book.Acc
 Intended meaning: 'It is Ili that abridges the book.'
- d'. ILI ki-vonatol-ja a könyvet.
 Ili out-abridge-3Sg the book.Acc
 'It is Ili that abridges the book.'

This shows that in the nominalized and re-verbalized particle verbs in (221) the particle is not visible for syntax. This conclusion is further supported by the fact that while verbal particles normally cannot be stacked on verbs, the nominalized and re-verbalized expressions in question do combine with durative or exhaustive verbal particles. In these cases the two different verbal particles (the inner one in the scope of nominalization and the outer durative or exhaustive one) end up adjacent on the surface (228, 229, data from Hegedűs and Dékány 2017).

(228) ● Verbal particle with a durative reading

- a. El-fel-vételiz-t-em az időt. [durative *el* ‘away’]
 away-out-entrance.exam.take-Past-1Sg the time.Acc
 ‘I spent all the available time with taking entrance exams.’
- b. Át-fel-vételiz-t-em a napot. [durative *át* ‘through’]
 through-up-exam.take.Past.1Sg the day.Acc
 ‘I spent all day with taking entrance exams.’

(229) ● Verbal particle with an exhaustive reading

- a. [after 5 exams]
 mára ki-fel-vételiztem magamat. [exhaustive *ki* ‘out’]
 for.today out-up-exam.take.Past.1Sg myself.Acc
 ‘I got exhausted with entrance exams for the day.’
- b. Szét-fel-vételiztem az agyamat. [exhaustive *szét* ‘apart’]
 apart-up-exam.take.Past.1Sg the brain.Poss.1Sg.Acc
 ‘I got exhausted with taking entrance exams.’

When such examples appear in an environment that requires the interrupted or the inverse order, then the durative or exhaustive particle is separated from the complex verb, as expected, while the particle that is in the scope of nominalization remains immediately preverbal (230).

- (230) a. [I’ve been here for hours.]
 Mára ki is fel-vételiztem magamat. [interrupted order]
 today.Sub out Emph up-exam.take.Past.1Sg myself.Acc
 ‘I did get exhausted with entrance exams for today indeed.’
- b. Nem fel-vételiztem át az egész napot. [inverse order, negation]
 not up-exam.take.Past.1Sg through the whole day.Acc
 ‘I did not spend all day with taking entrance exams.’

In short answers to questions, the durative or exhaustive particle is used on its own, without the particle in the scope of the nominalization.

- (231) a. Szét-fel-vételizted az agyadat?
 apart-up-exam.take.Past.2Sg the brain.Poss.2Sg.Acc
 ‘Did you get exhausted with taking entrance exams?’
- b. Szét.
 apart
 ‘Yes, I did.’

meaning to the structure; it is merely formally required on the NP by this specific P. In these cases we can say that there is a selection / complementation relationship between *át* as a verbal particle and the postverbal case-marked NP. At the same time, the superessive-marked NP complement can be dropped (235a) or replaced by an NP bearing a different case (235b). In the latter case, the Ground that is being traversed remains unexpressed; the case-marked NP denotes the starting or endpoint of the path.

- (235) a. Ili *át-sétált*.
 Ili through-walk.Past.3Sg
 ‘Ili walked over.’
- b. Ili *át-sétált* a *kert-be* / *kert-ből*.
 Ili through-walk.Past.3Sg the garden-III / garden-Ela
 ‘Ili walked over to / from the garden.’

In cases like (235b), there is no selection / complementation between *át* and the case-marked NP. In these cases the case suffix on the NP contributes to the meaning of the structure: as clear from (235b), it makes a difference whether the case is illative or elative, for instance.

II. Modification

It is not entirely clear whether verbal particles can be modified or not. A PP containing a verbal particle plus some other material can be modified by a modifier expressing degree or orientation (236).

- (236) *közvetlenül* / *majdnem* / *egyenesen* *be az ágy alá*
 directly / almost / straight in the bed under_to
 ‘directly / almost / straight in (to) under the bed’

In these cases, however, it is not clear whether the scope of the modifier is the particle only, or a larger PP structure containing the particle and the other PP-internal material (here: *az ágy alá*).

A degree modifier can also appear when the PP is in the verbal modifier position and contains only the particle (237).

- (237) Ili *teljesen be-verte* a *szöveget*.
 Ili completely in-hammer.Past.DefObj.3Sg the nail.Acc
 ‘Ili hammered in the nail completely.’

In these cases it is unclear whether the scope of modification is the PP (i.e., the particle) only, or the whole verb phrase containing the particle and the verb. In some cases a modifier can disambiguate between two different readings of a particle+verb unit. *Be-fut* lit. ‘in-run’, for instance, has a directional reading, ‘run in’, and an idiomatic reading, ‘make it, become successful’. The modifier *egyenesen* ‘straight’ is grammatical only with the former reading.

- (238) a. A *zenész be-futott*.
 the musician in-run.Past.3Sg
 ‘[The musician ran in.] / [The musician became successful.]’

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- b. A zenész egyenesen be-futott.
the musician straight in-run.Past.3Sg
'The musician ran straight in.' (Not: 'The musician became successful straight away.')

III. The particle+*felé* construction

Directional verbal particles can co-occur with the case-like P *felé* 'towards'. (This P is used by some speakers in the form *fele*). *Felé* expresses an unbounded path and like other case-like Ps, normally takes an NP complement (239).

- (239) Ili a folyó felé sétált.
Ili the river towards walk.Past.3Sg
'Ili was walking towards the river.'

Its combination with verbal particles is illustrated in (240).

- (240) Ili ki-felé / be-felé / fel-felé / le-felé sétált.
Ili out-towards / in-towards / up-towards / down-towards walk.Past.3Sg
'Ili was walking outwards / inwards / upwards / downwards.'

A verbal particle combined with *felé* / *fele* 'towards' indicates that the subject is moving along a path towards an endpoint, but this endpoint is not yet reached. Compare (240) with (241):

- (241) Ili ki / be / fel / le sétált.
Ili out / in / up / down walk.Past.3Sg
'Ili walked out / in / up / down.'

The combination of *felé* / *fele* with the particle *el* away is somewhat restricted: it is more felicitous with 'come' than with 'go', for instance (242).

- (242) a. Épp mentünk el-(^{?*}fele) a kórházba, amikor ...
just go.Past.1Pl away-towards the hospital.Ill when
'We were going to the hospital when...'
b. Épp jöttünk el-([?]fele) a kórházból, amikor ...
just come.Past.1Pl away-towards the hospital.Ela when
'We were coming away from the hospital when...'

In spoken Hungarian, it is not uncommon for a verbal particle with a purely telicizing meaning to combine with *felé* / *fele* 'towards' either. These combinations express that the event is in progress and has not culminated yet. This construction appears to be best with the *fele* allomorph used in imperative sentences (243), and is especially common in the northeastern dialects (J. Soltész 1959: 180).

- (243) a. Írd meg-(^{0%}fele) a leckét!
write.Subj.2Sg Perf-towards the homework.Acc
'Write your homework!'
b. Egyed meg-(^{0%}fele) a levest!
eat.Subj.2Sg Perf-towards the soup.Acc
'Eat your soup!'

IV. Two particles with one verb

It is normally not possible for one verb to combine with more than one verbal particle. There are, however, some systematic exceptions to this.

A. Reduplication

Verbal particles can be reduplicated (J. Soltész 1959, Piñón 1991, Kiefer 1995, Halm 2015); this expresses irregular iteration of the event (244). Observe that this is a case of full reduplication: with bisyllabic particles both syllables take part in the process.

- (244) ki-ki-nyit, meg-meg-áll vissza-vissza-néz
 out-out-open Perf-Perf-stop back-back-look
 ‘open (wide) occasionally, stop from time to time, look back from time to time’

As pointed out in Halm (2015), reduplicated particles are compatible with adverbials such as ‘daily’ or ‘regularly’ (245). In these cases we still have irregular event iteration, however: there are regular intervals at which the event is irregularly repeated.

- (245) Ili rendszeresen / naponta ki-ki-nyitja az ablakot.
 Ili regularly / daily out-out-open.DefObj.3Sg the window.Acc
 ‘Ili occasionally opens the window, and this happens regularly / every day.’

In indicative sentences, reduplicated verbal particles must be immediately preverbal. They cannot appear in the interrupted or the inverse order, therefore they are incompatible with the emphatic clitic *is* ‘also, too’ (246a), or phenomena that require particles to be postverbal (focus, negation, etc.), as in (246b,c). (On the emphatic particle *is*, see the volume on Sentence Structure.)

- (246) a. *Ili ki-ki is nyitja az ablakot.
 Ili out-out Emph open.DefObj.3Sg the window.Acc
 Intended meaning: ‘Ili does occasionally open the window.’
 b. ??Ili nyitja ki-ki az ablakot.
 Ili open.DefObj.3Sg out-out the window.Acc
 ‘It is Ili that occasionally opens the window.’
 c. *Ili nem nyitja ki-ki az ablakot.
 Ili not open.DefObj.3Sg out-out the window.Acc
 Intended meaning: ‘Ili does not open the window occasionally.’

In conditional sentences, however, the acceptability of the interrupted order significantly improves (247).

- (247) Ha Ili ki-ki is nyitja az ablakot, ...
 if Ili out-out Emph open.DefObj.3Sg the window.Acc
 ‘Even if Ili occasionally opens the window...’

In conditionals the emphatic particle can also appear postverbally (248a), which is independent of particle reduplication (248b).

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- (248) a. Ha Ili ki-ki nyitja is az ablakot, ...
 if Ili out-out open.DefObj.3Sg Emph the window.Acc
 ‘Even if Ili occasionally opens the window...’
- b. Ha Ili ki nyitja is az ablakot, ...
 if Ili out open.DefObj.3Sg Emph the window.Acc
 ‘Even if Ili opens the window...’

In contrast to non-reduplicated verbal particles, reduplicated ones cannot serve as short answers to questions. Compare (249) and (250):

- (249) a. Ki-nyitotta Ili az ablakot?
 out-open.DefObj.3Sg Ili the window.Acc
 ‘Did Ili open the window?’
- b. Ki.
 out
 ‘Yes, she did.’
- (250) a. Ki-ki-nyitotta Ili az ablakot?
 out-out-open.Past.DefObj.3Sg Ili the window.Acc
 ‘Did Ili open the window occasionally?’
- b. *Ki-ki.
 out-out
 Intended meaning: ‘Yes, she did.’

A further difference between non-reduplicated and reduplicated particles is that the latter cannot undergo contrastive topicalization (251).

- (251) a. [Ki]_{CTOPIC} Ili nyitotta az ablakot.
 out Ili open.Past.DefObj.3Sg the window.Acc
 ‘As for opening the window, it was Ili who did it.’
- b. *[Ki-ki]_{CTOPIC} Ili nyitotta az ablakot.
 out-out Ili open.Past.DefObj.3Sg the window.Acc
 Intended meaning: ‘As for opening the window occasionally, it was Ili who did it.’

B. Semantic opposites

A single verb can occur with two particles if these have a directional reading and are semantic opposites of each other (J. Soltész 1959, Piñón 1991, Kiefer 1995), as in (252). This is the so-called oppositional construction, which expresses that the event has two (or more) opposite directions.

- (252) ki-be ugrál, fel-le jár, oda-vissza szaladgál
 out-in jump up-down walk there-back run_around
 ‘jump in and out, pace up and down, run back and forth’

The two particles in the oppositional construction usually have a highly preferred order. While in addition to the default *fel-le* ‘up-down’ the reverse order *le-fel* ‘down-up’ is equally possible, *ki-be* ‘out-in’ is preferred over [?]*be-ki* ‘in-out’, and the order in *oda-vissza* ‘back and forth’ is strictly fixed: **vissza-oda*.

In the oppositional construction the two particles can also appear in the interrupted and the inverse order, as in (253) (but they cannot be separated from each other).

- (253) a. Ili ki-be is ugrált.
 Ili out-in Emph jump.Past.3Sg
 ‘Ili did jump in and out.’
- b. Ili ugrált ki-be.
 Ili jump.Past.3Sg out-in
 ‘It is Ili that jumped in and out.’
- c. Ili nem ugrált ki-be.
 Ili not jump.Past.3Sg out-in
 ‘Ili did not jump in and out.’

This indicates that the two particles occupy one syntactic slot and they are probably in an asyndetic coordination structure. In some cases it is even possible for an overt coordinator to appear between the two particles. (In previous stages of Hungarian, this was more widespread, cf. J. Soltész 1959.)

- (254) Ili fel s alá sétál.
 Ili up and under walk.3Sg
 ‘Ili is walking up and down.’

Note that the order of the two particles in (254) is fixed: **alá s fel sétál* ‘down and up walk’.

The particles in the oppositional construction can undergo contrastive topicalization (but they can only do so together), as shown in (255).

- (255) [Ki-be]_{CTOPIC} Ili ugrált az ablakon.
 in-out Ili jump.Past.3Sg the window.Sup
 ‘As for jumping in and out though the window, it was Ili who did it.’

As short answers to questions such particle combinations are severely degraded (256).

- (256) a. Ki-be ugrált Ili az ablakon?
 in-out jump.Past.3Sg Ili the window.Sup
 ‘Did Ili jump in and out through the window?’
- b. *[?]Ki-be.
 in-out
 ‘Yes, she did.’

2.2.4. Adverbs

As explained in detail in Chapter 1, this book does not assume a lexical category ‘adverb’; lexical items that have traditionally been categorized as adverbs are viewed as PPs headed by an opaque P head with little conceptual-semantic content. However, for the sake of convenience, we will retain the term “adverb” to refer to these elements, bearing in mind that they are, in fact, PPs.

In this section we will zoom in on the formal properties of adverbs. We will start the discussion in Section 2.2.4.1 with those adverbs that are formed with the help of a suffix. In Section 2.2.4.2 we turn to adverbs that are form-identical to adjectives. Finally in Section 2.2.4.3 we discuss adverbs that are not derived by an overt affix and are, at the same time, not form-identical to adjectives either.

2.2.4.1. *Adverbs derived by suffixation*

2.2.4.1.1. *Adverbs derived by productive suffixes*

1. *The -va/-ve suffix*

The *-va/-ve* suffix productively attaches to verbs to yield adverbial participles (also called converbs). These are used in the clause as adverbials of manner or state (257).

- (257) a. Ili áll-va / megkötöz-ve / üvölt-ve várta Petit.
 Ili stand-Part / tied_up-Part / shout-Part wait.Past.DefObj.3Sg Peti.Acc
 ‘Ili was waiting for Peti standing / [tied up] / shouting.’
- b. Ili megkötöz-ve találta Petit.
 Ili tied_up-Part find.Past.DefObj.3Sg Peti.Acc
 ‘Ili found Peti tied up.’

The forms in *-va/-ve* are, in fact, non-finite adverbial clauses. Their clausal status is shown by the fact that a transitive verb with *-va/-ve* takes an accusative-marked direct object and di-transitive verbs also take a dative-marked recipient / beneficiary (258).

- (258) a. Ili [a kerítés-t át-ugor-va] jött Petihez.
 Ili the fence-Acc across-jump-Part come.Past.3Sg Peti.All
 ‘Ili came to Peti by jumping across the fence.’
- b. [A level-et mindenkinek elküld-ve] Ili elkerüli a büntetést.
 the letter-Acc everyone.Dat away.send-Part Ili avoid.DefObj.3Sg the punishment.Acc
 ‘By sending the letter to everyone, Ili avoids punishment.’

Given their clausal status, *-va/-ve* forms are discussed in detail in the volume on Non-Finite and Semi-Finite Verb Phrases. The reason why they are also relevant here is that some adverbial participial forms have grammaticalized (or are on their way to grammaticalizing) into adverbs. An example is given in (259): *készakarva* ‘on purpose’ comprises *kész* ‘ready’ and the participial form of *akar* ‘want’, but the full form has a non-compositional lexical meaning and unlike in the case of genuine participial clauses, no adverbial or PP-modifiers are admitted.

- (259) készakarva
 on.purpose
 ‘on purpose’

Further examples are discussed in Chapter 7.

II. The *-n/-an/-en* suffix

Adverbs can be productively derived from adjectives with the so-called modal-essive suffix *-n/-an/-en*, one of the equivalents of the English *-ly* suffix (260).

- (260) szép-en, forró-n, gyors-an, szerencsés-en, piros-an, drágá-n
 nice-ly hot-ly quick-ly lucky-ly red-ly expensive-ly
 ‘nicely, hotly, quickly, luckily, red[ly], expensively’

In a few cases, the suffix appears in the *-on* form (261). This, however, is the exception rather than the rule, thus below we will refer to the suffix as *-n/-an/-en*.

- (261) nagy-on, szabad-on, vak-on, gazdag-on
 big-ly free-ly blind-ly rich-ly
 ‘very, freely, blindly, richly’

Adjectives in the comparative and superlative form (262a) and derived adjectives (262b) are also inputs to *-n/-an/-en* suffixation.

- (262) a. gyors-abb-an, a leg-gyors-abb-an
 fast-Comp-ly the Sprl-fast-Comp-ly
 ‘more fast, [in] the fastest [way]’
 b. erő-s-en, lát-ható-an
 power-Adj-ly see-Part-ly
 ‘strongly, visibly’

In a few cases the *-n/-an/-en* adverb is not built directly on the adjective, instead, the adjective and the corresponding adverb are both built on the same bound root (263).

- (263) gyakor-, gyakor-i, gyakr-an
 frequent frequent-Attr frequent-ly
 ‘frequent (bound stem), frequent, frequently’

Adjectives ending in the *-i* (attributivizing) suffix, the *-beli* (attributivizing) suffix and in the *-nyi* suffix (corresponding to English *-ful*) do not productively serve as inputs to *-n/-an/-en* suffixation (Kiefer and Ladányi 2000a: 208). Relational and abstract adjectives with the *-i* suffix can, however, take the adverbial suffix (Kenesei, Vágó and Fenyvesi 1998: 371-372). Adjectives with the caritive suffix *-tlan/-tlen* cannot be suffixed by *-n/-an/-en*; they take the *-ul/-ül* suffix instead (see below). The *-n/-an/-en* suffix is a closing morpheme: no other suffix can be added after it (Kiefer and Ladányi 2000a, Rebrus 2000).

The adjectives *nagy* ‘big’ and *kis / kicsi* ‘small’ form an interesting minimal pair when it comes to *-n/-an/-en* suffixation. *Nagy* ‘big’ undergoes *-n/-an/-en* suffixation, yielding the degree adverb ‘very’ (264a). The degree adverb from *kis* and *kicsi* ‘small’ is formed differently, however: *kis* is suffixed by the translative case (Simonyi 1888: 338, 1895: 644), while *kicsi* takes the special form *kicsit* (264).

- (264) a. nagy-on
 big-ly
 ‘very’
 b. kissé, kicsit
 small.TrE a_bit
 both: ‘a bit, a little’

Adverbs formed with *-n/-an/-en* generally serve as manner and depictive adverbs in the clause.

- (265) Ili gyors-an / zöld-en szedte le az almát.
 Ili quick-ly / green-ly pick.Past.DefObj.3Sg down the apple.Acc
 ‘Ili picked the apples quickly / [while still] green.’

The modal-essive suffix is cognate with but not identical to the superessive case suffix (see Simonyi 1888: 201, Simonyi 1895: 657, Klemm 1928: 191, Tompa 1968: 205, S. Hámori and Tompa 1970: 575-577, Kádár 2009). While on common nouns and proper names the superessive case has four allomorphs, *-n/-on/-en/-ön* (266a), the modal-essive suffix has the allomorphs: *-n/-an/-en* (266b) and the rare *-on* mentioned in connection with (261).

- (266) a. az almá-n, az asztal-on, a szék-en, a tölgy-ön
 the apple-Sup the table-Sup the chair-Sup the oak-Sup
 ‘on the apple, on the table, on the chair, on the oak’
 b. csúnyá-n, magas-an, féltékeny-en, tömör-en
 ugly-ly high-ly jealous-ly succinct-ly
 ‘in an ugly way, highly, jealously, succinctly’

If the adjective from which the *-n/-an/-en* adverb is built has a complement, then this complement is retained after *-n/-an/-en* suffixation as well (267b).

- (267) a. büszke valami-re, féltékeny valaki-re, elégedett valami-vel
 proud something-Sub jealous somebody-Sub satisfied something-Ins
 ‘proud of something, jealous of somebody, satisfied with something’
 b. büszké-n valami-re, féltékeny-en valaki-re, elégedett-en valami-vel
 proud-ly something-Sub jealous-ly somebody-Sub satisfied-ly something-Ins
 ‘proudly of something, jealously of somebody, satisfied with something.’

The adverbs formed by *-n/-an/-en* can be modified by degree modifiers. Some examples of possible modifiers are given in (268).

- (268) nagyon, túl, kissé, valamelyest, elég
 very over ly slightly somewhat enough

The modification of both adjectives and adverbs formed by *-n/-an/-en* is illustrated in (269).

- (269) a. nagyon / túl / kissé / valamelyest / elég drága
 very / overly / slightly / somewhat / enough expensive
 ‘very / overly / slightly / somewhat / rather expensive’
- b. nagyon / túl / kissé / valamelyest / elég drágán
 very / overly / slightly / somewhat / enough expensive-ly
 ‘very / overly / slightly / somewhat / rather expensively’

III. The -ul/-ül suffix

The so-called essive(-modal) *-ul/-ül* suffix also combines with adjectives to yield adverbs. It is in complementary distribution with the modal-essive suffix *-n/-an/-en*; (Kenesei *et al.* 1998: 371, Kiefer and Ladányi 2000a). Some examples are given in (270): the adjectives listed here only combine with *-ul/-ül* and not with *-n/-an/-en*.

- (270) rossz-ul, jó-l, józan-ul
 bad-ly good-ly sober-ly
 ‘badly / wrongly, well, soberly’

There are two types of adjectives that always take *-ul/-ül* instead of *-n/-an/-en*. The first type is adjectives of nationality: the adverbs derived by *-ul/-ül* express that somebody is speaking (learning, reading, etc.) a particular language (271). In this use, the vowel of the suffix is always retained, even if the stem ends in a vowel.

- (271) magyar-ul, angol-ul, német-ül, igbó-ul, zulu-ul
 Hungarian-ly English-ly German-ly Igbo-ly Zulu-ly
 ‘in Hungarian, in English, in German in Igbo in Zulu’

Remark 12. *Magyar-ul* in (271) is ambiguous between the compositional meaning ‘speaking or learning Hungarian’ and an idiomatic meaning ‘bluntly, that is’. The exceptional form *magyarán* only has the idiomatic meaning.

The second type is adjectives ending in the caritive (also known as abessive or privative) suffix *-tlan/-tlen*; these also must take *-ul/-ül* instead of *-n/-an/-en* (272).

- (272) erő-tlen-ül, határ-talan-ul, bátor-talan-ul, feltét-len-ül
 power-Car-ly boundary-Car-ly brave-Car-ly condition-Car-ly
 ‘feebly, boundlessly, timidly, by all means’

As pointed out in Simonyi (1888: 330), the adjectivalizing suffix *-os/-es/-ös* is the semantic opposite of the caritive suffix (the former expresses the property of having something, while the latter expresses lack of something). Adjectives with *-os/-es/-ös* are adverbialized with the *-n/-an/-en* suffix, e.g. *pont-os-an* point-Adj-ly ‘exactly’.

In some cases the base form of the adjective takes the *-ul/-ül* suffix, while the comparative form of the same adjective must (273a) or may (273b) take the *-n/-an/-en* suffix (Simonyi 1888: 330).

- (273) a. jó-l, jó-bb-an
 good-ly good-Comp-ly
 ‘well, better’

- b. vad-ul, vad-abb-an / vad-abb-ul
 wild-ly wild-Comp-ly / wild-Comp-ly
 ‘wildly, more wildly’

Note that in addition to adjectives, the *-ul/-ül* suffix can also combine with certain nouns (274).

- (274) a. ember-ül / vitéz-ül / paraszt-ul viselkedik
 man-ly / hero-ly / peasant-ly behave
 ‘behave bravely / valiantly / boorishly’
- b. zálog-ul ad, bizonyíték-ul szolgál, zsákmány-ul ejt, vendég-ül lát,
 collateral-ly give proof-ly serve prey-ly take guest-ly see
 segítség-ül hív, feleség-ül vesz
 help-ly call wife-ly take
 ‘give as a collateral, serve as proof, catch sth as prey, entertain [at home or for a meal], call to help, marry a woman (lit. take as wife)’
- c. vég-ül, példá-ul
 end-ly, example-ly
 ‘finally, for example’

In this use, its meaning is similar to that of the essive-formal case (*-ként*) discussed in Section 2.2.1.1, and can often be substituted by this suffix as well as the particle *mint* ‘as’, the case-like postposition *gyanánt* ‘as, in the guise of’, or the adverbial suffix *-képp(en)* ‘as’ discussed in Section 2.2.4.1.2. Compare (274) and (275):

- (275) a. Ili zálog-ként adta az ékszer-t.
 Ili collateral-FoE give.Past.DefObj.3Sg the jewel.Acc.
 ‘Ili gave the jewel as collateral.’
- b. Ili mint zálog-ot adta az ékszer-t.
 Ili as collateral-Acc give.Past.DefObj.3Sg the jewel.Acc
 ‘Ili gave the jewel as collateral.’
- c. Ili zálog-képp(en) / [zálog gyanánt] adta az ékszer-t.
 Ili collateral-For / collateral as give.Past.DefObj.3Sg the jewel.Acc
 ‘Ili gave the jewel as collateral.’

The *-ul/-ül* suffix is a closing morpheme, that is, no other suffix can be added after it (Rebrus 2000). Some works regard the *-ul/-ül* on adjectives and the *-ul/-ül* on nouns as two different, homonymous suffixes (see e.g. Kiefer and Ladányi 2000a, de Groot 2017).

2.2.4.1.2. *Adverbs formed by semi-productive and miscellaneous suffixes*

Adverbs can also be derived by semi-productive or miscellaneous suffixes (which we will take to be spellouts of P heads in syntax). When this is compatible with their meaning, these adverbs, too, can be modified by the degree adverbs in (268).

I. The *-lag/-leg* suffix

Adverbs can be derived from adjectives and present participles with the so-called modal suffix *-lag/-leg*. The meaning of this suffix is basically the same as that of *-n/-an/-en* (S. Hámori and Tompa 1970: 577-578, Kenesei *et al.* 1998: 372); that is, it is comparable to English *-ly*. Stems taking *-lag/-leg* normally end in I) *-ó/-ő* or *-ú/-ű* (276a) or II) the attributivizer *-i* suffix (276b). There are also lexicalized cases in which *-lag/-leg* is added to an uninflected noun (276c).

- (276) a. valószínű-leg, utó-lag, futó-lag, állít-ó-lag, fő-leg
likely-ly after-ly passing-ly claim-Part-ly main-ly
'presumably, subsequently, briefly, allegedly, mainly'
- b. test-i-leg, elv-i-leg, kép-i-leg, eredet-i-leg, egyén-i-leg
body-Attr-ly principle-Attr-ly picture-Attr-ly original-Attr-ly individual-Attr-ly
'physically, theoretically, pictorially / visually, originally, individually'
- c. jelen-leg, név-leg, tett-leg, arány-lag, tény-leg
present-ly name-ly action-ly ratio-ly fact-ly
'right now, nominally, physically, relatively, genuinely'

It is not the case that all stems ending in *-ó/-ő*, or *-ú/-ű* combine with *-lag/-leg*; some take the modal-essive *-n/-an/-en* suffix instead.

- (277) egyszerű-en, feltehető-en, egyértelmű-en, forró-n
simple-ly assumable-ly unambiguous-ly hot-ly
'simply, likely, straightforwardly, hot'

Kiefer and Ladányi (2000a) claim that this suffix is in complementary distribution with both the *-n/-an/-en* suffix and the *-ul/-ül* suffix, though there are some cases in which an adjective can take either *-n/-an/-en* or *-lag/-leg* (278).

- (278) feltehető-en, feltehető-leg
assumable-ly assumable-ly
both: 'likely'

Note also that unlike *-n/-an/-en* and *-ul/-ül*, *-lag/-leg* is not a closing morpheme: other suffixes can be added after it (Rebrus 2000).

- (279) eset-leg-es-en, eset-leg-es-ség
case-ly-Adj-ly case-ly-Adj-ness
'perhaps, eventuality'

The use of this suffix is gradually spreading to more adjectives, especially in spoken Hungarian (Kiefer and Ladányi 2000a).

II. The sociative suffix *-(V)stul/-stül*

The sociative suffix (*-stul/-stül/-ostul/-estül/-östül*) expresses that "the action is carried out in unity with another person or object" (Fekete 2013: 2). Representative examples are given in (280).

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- (280) a. Az emberek család-ostul mennek a parkokba.
the people.Pl family-Soc go.3Pl the park.Pl.Ill
'People go to the parks with their family.'
- b. Ili cipő-stül / ruhá-stul ugrott a medencébe
Ili shoe-Soc / clothing-Soc jump.Past.3Sg the pool.Ill
'Ili jumped into the pool with her shoes / clothes on.'

For some speakers the *u/ü* vowel of the suffix is replaced by *ó/ő* (281):

- (281) Az emberek család-ostól mennek a parkokba.
the people.Pl family-Soc go.3Pl the park.Pl.Ill
'People go to the parks with their family.'

The meaning of the sociative suffix is comparable to the comitative function of the instrumental case suffix. In some cases either of them can be used without a change in meaning (282); this mostly happens when the instrumental case suffix follows the possessive suffix.

- (282) a. Ili család-ostul jött a rendezvényre.
Ili family-Soc come.Past.3Sg the program.Sub
'Ili came to the program with her family.'
- b. Ili a család-já-val jött a rendezvényre.
Ili the family-Poss-Ins come.Past.3Sg the program.Sub
'Ili came to the program with her family.'

In many cases both suffixes can be followed by the postposition *együtt* 'together' (283). (This is not possible with the instrumental use of the instrumental suffix and in set expressions involving the sociative suffix, however.)

- (283) a. Ili család-ostul együtt jött a rendezvényre.
Ili family-Soc together come.Past.3Sg the program.Sub
'Ili came to the program with her family.'
- b. Ili a család-já-val együtt jött a rendezvényre.
Ili the family-Poss-Ins together come.Past.3Sg the program.Sub
'Ili came to the program with her family.'

In other contexts either the sociative or the instrumental can be used, but with a difference in meaning. In (284a), for instance, Ili had to have her shoes on when she jumped into the pool. In (284b) this is a possible reading, but here it may be the case that Ili had a shoe in her hand when she jumped.

- (284) a. Ili cipő-stül ugrott a medencébe.
Ili shoe-Soc jump.Past.3Sg the pool.Ill
'Ili jumped into the pool with her shoes on.'
- b. Ili cipő-vel ugrott a medencébe.
Ili shoe-Ins jump.Past.3Sg the pool.Ill
'Ili jumped into the pool with [a shoe] / shoes.'

In some expressions the sociative suffix is the unmarked choice; then it can only be replaced with the combination of the instrumental suffix and the postposition *együtt* ‘together’ (285).

- (285) a. Ili kamat-ostul vissza-fizeti a kölcsönt.
 Ili interest-Soc back-pay.3Sg the loan.Acc
 ‘Ili repays the loan with interest.’
- b. Ili kamat-tal *(együtt) vissza-fizeti a kölcsönt.
 Ili interest-Ins together back-pay.3Sg the loan.Acc
 ‘Ili repays the loan with interest.’

In a few set expressions, such as the examples in (286), the sociative suffix is completely frozen and irrespective of the presence or absence of *együtt* ‘together’, it cannot be replaced by the instrumental case suffix.

- (286) a. Ili fenek-estül felforgatta a házat.
 Ili bottom-Soc up.turn.Past.3Sg the house.Acc
 ‘Ili turned the house upside down.’
- a’. *Ili fenék-*kel* (együtt) felforgatta a házat.
 Ili bottom-Ins together up.turn.Past.3Sg the house.Acc
 Intended meaning: ‘Ili turned the house upside down.’
- b. A farkas szőr-östül-bőr-östül megette a nyulat.
 the wolf hair-Soc-skin-Soc Perf.eat.Past.DefObj.3Sg the rabbit.Acc
 ‘The wolf ate the rabbit fur and all.’
- b’. *A farkas szőr-rel-bőr-rel (együtt) megette a nyulat.
 the wolf hair-Ins-skin-Ins together Perf.eat.Past.DefObj.3Sg the rabbit.Acc
 Intended meaning: ‘The wolf ate the rabbit fur and all.’

The use of the sociative suffix is more restricted than that of the instrumental case suffix both in terms of semantics and syntax. As for semantics, the instrumental case has both a comitative and an instrumental use (287).

- (287) a. Ili Tas-sal érkezett a fogadásra.
 Ili Tas-Soc arrive.Past.3Sg the reception.Sub
 ‘Ili come to the reception with Tas.’
- b. Ili kés-sel vágta fel a kenyeret.
 Ili knife-Ins cut.Past.DefObj.3Sg up the bread.Acc
 ‘Ili has cut up the bread with a knife.’

The sociative, on the other hand, has no instrumental use; it can only express a (regular, frequent) comitative relationship. (288) has the pragmatically odd meaning that Ili has cut up both the bread and the knife; the knife cannot be understood as the instrument of cutting.

- (288) #Ili kés-estül vágta fel a kenyeret.
 Ili knife-Soc cut.Past.DefObj.3Sg up the bread.Acc
 ‘Ili has cut up the bread together with the knife.’

As far as syntax is concerned, the nominal complement of the instrumental case can bear nominal inflections (such as the possessive suffix and the plural suffix), and it can also have modifiers such as the demonstrative, the definite article, numerals or adjectives (289).

- (289) a. Ili ezzel a három szép rózsá-val lepte meg Editet.
 Ili this.Ins the three petty rose-Ins surprise Perf Edit.Acc
 ‘Ili has surprised Edit with these three pretty roses.’
- b. a mi könyv-e-i-nk-kel
 the we book-Poss-Pl-Poss.1Pl-Ins
 ‘with our books’

The sociative, however, only attaches to an unmodified and uninflected common noun (see also Kiefer 2003: 201). The impossibility of modification is shown in (290).

- (290) a. *Ili a cipő-stül ugrott a medencébe. [definite article]
 Ili the shoe-Soc jump.Past.3Sg the pool.Ill
 Intended meaning: ‘Ili jumped into the pool with the shoe on.’
- b. *Ili ama cipő-stül ugrott a medencébe. [demonstrative]
 Ili that shoe-Soc jump.Past.3Sg the pool.Ill
 Intended meaning: ‘Ili jumped into the pool with that shoe on.’
- c. *Ili egy cipő-stül ugrott a medencébe. [indefinite article]
 Ili a shoe-Soc jump.Past.3Sg the pool.Ill
 Intended meaning: ‘Ili jumped into the pool with a shoe on.’
- d. *Ili két cipő-stül ugrott a medencébe. [numeral]
 Ili two shoe-Soc jump.Past.3Sg the pool.Ill
 Intended meaning: ‘Ili jumped into the pool with two shoes on.’
- e. *Ili piros cipő-stül ugrott a medencébe. [adjective]
 Ili red shoe-Soc jump.Past.3Sg the pool.Ill
 Intended meaning: ‘Ili jumped into the pool with red shoes on.’

The fact that the complement of the sociative suffix must be uninflected is illustrated in (291).

- (291) a. *Ili cipő-jé-stül ugrott a medencébe. [possessive suffix]
 Ili shoe-Poss-Soc jump.Past.3Sg the pool.Ill
 Intended meaning: ‘Ili jumped into the pool with her shoe(s) on.’
- b. *Ili cipő-k-östül ugrott a medencébe. [plural suffix]
 Ili shoe-Pl-Soc jump.Past.3Sg the pool.Ill
 Intended meaning: ‘Ili jumped into the pool with shoes on.’

Certain nouns, including kinship terms, are typically possessed. When these nouns combine with the sociative suffix, they do so without the noun taking any possessive suffix. Compare (292a) and (292b): while the former features the sociative suffix combining with a bare noun, the latter features the instrumental suffix, and in this case the noun must be possessed.

- (292) a. Imi feleség-estül jött a rendezvényre.
 Imi wife-Soc come.Past.3Sg the program.Sub
 'Imi came to the program with his wife.'
- b. Imi a feleség-é-vel jött a rendezvényre.
 Imi the wife-Poss-Ins come.Past.3Sg the program.Sub
 'Imi came to the program with his wife.'

That the complement of the sociative must be a common noun is shown in (293).

- (293) a. Ili Péter-rel / *Péter-estül megy a parkba. [proper name]
 Ili Péter-Ins / Péter-Soc go.3Sg the park.Ill
 'Ili goes to the park with Péter.'
- b. Ili én-vel-em / *én-estül-em megy a parkba. [personal pronoun]
 Ili I-Ins-1Sg / I-Soc -1Sg go.3Sg the park.Ill
 'Ili goes to the park with me.'
- c. Ili az-zal / *az-ostul megy a parkba. [demonstrative pronoun]
 Ili that-Ins / that-Soc go.3Sg the park.Ill
 'Ili goes to the park with that [e.g. her dog].'

Taken together, (289) through (293) show that the complement of the sociative suffix must be structurally very small, specifically it must be a bare NP. As all inflectional suffixes and N-modifiers are introduced above this layer, their co-occurrence with the sociative is excluded. Proper names and pronouns also involve more structure than an NP: they are DPs, and so they do not combine with the sociative either.

III. The locative -nn and -nt suffix

Directional verbal particles (with the exception of *el* 'away') can combine with the *-nn* or *-nt* locative P suffix (294). The resulting forms have a spatial, non-directional (locative) meaning.

- (294) a. le, lenn, lent
 down(dir) down(loc) down(loc)
- b. fel, fenn, fent
 up(dir) up(loc) up(loc)
- c. ki, kinn, kint
 out(dir) outside outside
- d. be, benn, bent
 in(dir) inside inside
- e. el, *el-nn, *el-nt
 away away(loc) away(loc)

In the adverbs listed in (294) the choice between *-nn* or *-nt* is a matter of idiolect or dialect. (Note that the final consonant of *fel* 'up' is dropped before these suffixes.) However, in compounds either one or the other form is normally lexicalized, as in the examples in (295).

- (295) a. benn-szülött, benn-fent-es
 inside-born inside-up-Adj
 ‘aboriginal, insider’
- a’. bent-lakás-os iskola
 inside-living-Adj school
 ‘boarding school’
- b. fenn-sík, fenn-tartó
 above-plane above-keeper
 ‘highland, maintainer’
- b’. fent-nevezett
 above-mentioned
 ‘above mentioned’

The adverbs in (294) have a comparative and a superlative form. Comparatives and superlatives based on the *-nt* versions (297a’,b’,c’,d’) are highly preferred over those based on the *-nn* versions (297a’’,b’’,c’’,d’’). In the comparative and the superlative *-nt* or *-nn* may be replaced by *-jj* (in the case of *lent* ‘down’ and *kint* ‘outside’) or *-lj* (in the case of *fent* ‘up’ and *bent* ‘inside’), as in (297a,b,c,d). For some speakers, these are the most neutral forms.

- (296) ● Comparative and superlative form of adjectives
- | | | |
|-------------------------|------------|----------------|
| magas, | magas-abb, | leg-magas-abb |
| tall | tall-Comp | Sprl-tall-Comp |
| ‘tall, taller, tallest’ | | |

- (297) ● Comparative and superlative forms of *-nn* and *-nt* PPs

- | | | |
|-------------------|--------------|---------------------------|
| a. | lejj-ebb, | leg-lejj-ebb |
| | down-Comp | Sprl-down-Comp |
| | ‘lower down, | most down’ |
| a’. | lent-ebb, | leg-lent-ebb |
| | down-Comp | Sprl-down-Comp |
| | ‘lower down, | most down’ |
| a’’. [%] | lenn-ebb, | [%] leg-lenn-ebb |
| | down-Comp | Sprl-down-Comp |
| | ‘lower down, | most down’ |
| b. | felj-ebb, | leg-felj-ebb |
| | up-Comp | Sprl-up-Comp |
| | ‘higher up, | highest up’ |
| b’. | fent-ebb, | leg-fent-ebb |
| | up-Comp | Sprl-up-Comp |
| | ‘higher up, | highest up’ |
| b’’. [%] | fenn-ebb, | [%] leg-fenn-ebb |
| | up-Comp | Sprl-up-Comp |
| | ‘higher up, | highest up’ |

- | | | |
|------|---------------|---------------|
| c. | kijj-ebb, | leg-kijj-ebb |
| | out-Comp | Sprl-out-Comp |
| | 'further out, | furthest out' |
| c'. | kint-ebb, | leg-kint-ebb |
| | out-Comp | Sprl-out-Comp |
| | 'further out, | furthest out' |
| c''. | %kinn-ebb, | %leg-kinn-ebb |
| | out-Comp | Sprl-out-Comp |
| | 'further out, | furthest out' |
| d. | belj-ebb, | leg-belj-ebb |
| | in-Comp | Sprl-in-Comp |
| | 'further in, | furthest in' |
| d'. | bent-ebb, | leg-bent-ebb |
| | in-Comp | Sprl-in-Comp |
| | 'further in, | furthest in' |
| d''. | %benn-ebb, | %leg-benn-ebb |
| | in-Comp | Sprl-in-Comp |
| | 'further in, | furthest in' |

IV. The locative *-(Vt)t* suffix

Some adverbs are formed by the same *-(Vt)t* locative suffix (an obsolete case suffix) that also appears on locative case-like Ps (Section 2.2.2.2.1). Some examples are given in (298a); case-like Ps with *-(Vt)t* are shown in (298b) for comparison.

- (298) a. i-tt, o-tt, oldal-t, más-utt, minden-ütt, hany-att
 Prox-Loc Dst-Loc side-Loc other-Loc every-Loc on_back-Loc
 'here, there, at the side, elsewhere, everywhere, [on one's back] / over'
- b. mell-ett, al-att, föl-ött, elő-tt
 next_to-Loc under -Loc above-Loc in_front_of-Loc

Remark 13. In some dialects the forms for 'here' and 'there' are adorned with an additional *-an/-en* suffix whose nature and function requires further research. (It is certain that it is not the superessive case, however, as the allomorphs of the superessive are *-on/-en/-ön*; this case has no *-an* allomorph.)

- (i) i-tt-en, o-tt-an
 Prox-LOC-EN Dst-LOC-AN
 'here, there'

Other dialectal forms for 'here' are shown below.

- (ii) e-hol, e-hun e-hely-(üt)t
 Prox-where Prox-where Prox-place-Loc
 all: 'here'
- (iii) i-hol
 Prox-where
 'here'

V. *The multiplicative suffix -szor/-szer/-ször*

The multiplicative suffix (*-szor/-szer/-ször*) combines with numerals and some quantifiers, including *pár* ‘a few’, *több* ‘more’, *kevés* ‘few’ and *sok* ‘many, a lot’. The resulting complex form expresses that the action has taken place X times. An example is given in (299). (See also N2.6.1.1.5.5 and N2.6.2.4.4. point III).

- (299) Ili három-szor / sok-szor járt Braziliában.
 Ili three-Mult / many-Mult go.Past.3Sg Brazil.Ine
 ‘Ili has been to Brazil three / many times.’

Numerals also combine with the accusative case marker to yield adverbs that quantify over events. The accusative and the multiplicative suffix give rise to different meanings, however. Compare (300a) with (300b):

- (300) a. Imi négy-szer kopogott.
 Imi four-Mult knock.Past.3Sg
 ‘Imi knocked four times.’ (four events of knocking)
- b. Imi négy-et kopogott.
 Imi four-Acc knock.Past.3Sg
 ‘Imi made four knocks [on the door].’ (one event of knocking involving four knocks)

Accusative-marked numerals are used only in combination with transitive verbs. (301) shows that *kopogni* ‘to knock’, seen in (300b), can take NP/DP objects.

- (301) Pál morzejelek-et kopogott az asztalon.
 Pál morse.sign.Pl-Acc knock.Past.3Sg the table.Sup
 ‘Pál knocked Morse code on the table.’

(302) demonstrates that *biciklizni* ‘to bike’ does not take NP/DP objects, and it does not combine with accusative-marked numerals either.

- (302) a. Pál (*kirándulások-at / *zarándoklatok-at) biciklizik.
 Pál excursion.Pl-Acc / pilgrimage.Pl-Acc bike.3Sg
 ‘Pál goes (on excursions / pilgrimages) biking.’
- b. Pál (*négy-et) biciklizik.
 Pál four-Acc bike.3Sg
 ‘Pál bikes (four times).’

This can be accounted for if accusative-marked numerals are actually modifiers of an ellipted object. As described in Remark 2., nominal ellipsis affects the head noun (and potentially some of its modifiers), but it strands the noun’s number and case-marker. These stranded suffixes then attach to the last overt N-modifier in the nominal phrase. Thus in accusative marked NumPs that consist of a numeral and a noun, nominal ellipsis causes the accusative case suffix to attach to the numeral.

- (303) a. [_{NUMP} numeral [_{NP} noun]]-accusative [syntactic input]
 b. numeral-accusative [morphological output]

There is one exception to the generalization that accusative marked numerals combine only with transitive verbs. *Egyet*, the accusative form of *egy* ‘one’ can also appear with intransitive predicates (304).

- (304) Pál biciklizik egy-et.
 Pál bike.3Sg one-Acc
 ‘Pál goes biking.’

In this use *egyet* ‘one-Acc’ is referred to as a pseudo-object. The contrast between (302) and (304) shows that in contrast to accusative marked higher numerals, *egyet* does not have an underlying elliptical syntax. (On pseudo-object *egyet*, see Piñón 2001, Csirmaz 2006c, Farkas 2017, Farkas and Kardos 2018.)

Degree quantifiers may also combine with the accusative case marker to yield adverbs that quantify over events. Here, too, the accusative and the multiplicative suffix give rise to different meanings (305).

- (305) a. Imi sok-szor biciklizik.
 Imi many-Mult bike.3Sg
 ‘Imi bikes frequently.’
 b. Imi sok-at biciklizik.
 Imi many-Acc bike.3Sg
 ‘Imi bikes a lot.’

As shown in (305), accusative marked degree quantifiers are not restricted to appearing with transitive verbs. In this respect they pattern with *egyet* ‘one-Acc’ rather than with accusative marked numerals.

VI. The distributive suffix -(V)nként

The distributive suffix *-(V)nként* (allomorphs: *-nként/-anként/-enként/-onként/-önként*) has the meaning ‘per N, after every N’, as in (306). The *é* vowel of the suffix is not subject to vowel harmony; only the linking vowel is.

- (306) Kutya-nként / Ház-anként 5000 Ft adót kell fizetni
 dog-Dist / house-Dist 5000 HUF tax.Acc must pay.Inf
 ‘One must pay 5000 HUF tax per dog / house.’

Names of days productively combine with this suffix, yielding the meaning ‘on every name-of-day’, as in (307).

- (307) Péntek-enként úszni járok.
 Friday-Dist swim.Inf go.1Sg
 ‘[On Fridays] / [Every Friday] I go swimming.’

The distributive suffix productively combines with nouns denoting temporal units, too (308).

- (308) Het-enként / hav-onként / hónap-onként / év-enként járok úszni.
 week-Dist / month-Dist / month-Dist / year-Dist go.1Sg swim.Inf
 ‘I go swimming weekly / monthly / yearly.’

While the noun *nap* ‘day’ may bear the distributive suffix, *nap-onként* ‘day-Dist’ is best when a numeral precedes it (309b).

- (309) a. ^{?(?)}János nap-onként úszni jár.
 János day-Dist swim.Inf go.3Sg
 ‘János goes swimming daily / [every day].’
- b. János két-nap-onként / más-nap-onként úszni jár.
 János two-day-Dist / other-day-Dist swim.Inf go.3Sg
 ‘János goes swimming every second / other day.’

The intended meaning of (309a) is best expressed with the iterative suffix discussed in point VII below (see (317)).

Hónap ‘month’ has two stems: the free stem *hónap* and the bound stem *hav-*. The distributive suffix can combine with either, but in both cases a numeral modifier is preferred, just like with *nap-onként* ‘day-Dist’: (310) and (311).

- (310) a. [?]János hav-onként úszni jár. [bound stem]
 János month-Dist swim.Inf go.3Sg
 ‘János goes swimming monthly / [every month].’
- b. János három-hav-onként úszni jár.
 János three-month-Dist swim.Inf go.3Sg
 ‘János goes swimming every three months.’
- (311) a. ^{?(?)}János hónap-onként úszni jár. [free stem]
 János month-Dist swim.Inf go.3Sg
 ‘János goes swimming monthly / [every month].’
- b. János három-hónap-onként úszni jár.
 János three-month-Dist swim.Inf go.3Sg
 ‘János goes swimming every three months.’

The most neutral way of rendering ‘monthly’ involves the iterative suffix discussed in point VII below (see (318e)).

The distributive suffix may also combine with sortal classifiers (e.g. *szál* lit. ‘thread’, classifying long and thin objects), including the general classifier *darab* ‘piece’, container classifiers (e.g. *doboz* ‘box’), measure classifiers (e.g. *liter* ‘liter’ or *csepp* ‘drop’) and group classifiers (e.g. *csapat* ‘group’). Examples are given in (312). On classifiers, see N2.4 and N2.6.3.

- (312) a. Ez a termék szál-anként / darab-onként / doboz-onként / liter-enként /
 this the product thread-Dist / item-Dist / box-Dist / liter-Dist /
 csepp-enként 100 Ft.
 drop-Dist 100 HUF
 ‘This product costs 100 HUF per piece / item / box / liter / drop.’
- b. A gyerekek csapat-onként két feladatot kapnak.
 the child.Pl group-Dist two exercise.Acc get.3Pl
 ‘The children get two [academic] exercises per group.’

Among the names of the times of the day, some but not all combine with the distributive suffix (313).

- (313) a. reggel-enként, esté-nként, éjjel-enként
 morning-Dist evening-Dist night-Dist
 ‘every morning, every evening, every night’
- b. *éjfél-enként, *napnyugtá-nként
 midnight-Dist sunset-Dist
 Intended meaning: ‘every midnight, at every sunset’

Not all names of seasons combine with the distributive suffix either (314). (See also point VII).

- (314) a. tavasz-onként, nyar-anként, [?]tel-enként
 spring-Dist summer-Dist winter-Dist
 ‘every spring, every summer, every winter’
- b. *ősz-önként
 autumn-Dist
 Intended meaning: ‘every autumn’

The names of the months do not take the distributive suffix (315).

- (315) *január-onként, *március-onként, *december-enként
 January-Dist March-Dist December-Dist
 Intended meaning: ‘every January, every March, every December’

There are some set expressions involving the distributive suffix such that the base is an adjective, an adverb or a numeral (316). (Based on Simonyi 1888: 409, it appears to be the case that this suffix was, at some point, used with a wider range of numerals, perhaps productively.)

- (316) apránként, lass-anként, egy-enként
 tiny-Dist slow-Dist one-Dist
 ‘little by little, bit by bit, one by one’

Another set expression worth mentioning is *hely-enként* lit. place-Dist, which has the meaning ‘at a few/some places’ rather than the expected ‘everywhere’.

VII. The iterative suffix *-(V)nta/- (V)nte*

A noun denoting a temporal unit such as ‘day’, ‘week’ or ‘year’ may bear the iterative (sometimes also called distributive-temporal) suffix *-(V)nta/- (V)nte* (allomorphs: *-nta/-nte/-onta/-ente/-önte*). The resulting phrase means that the action is repeated regularly, once during every temporal unit denoted by N (317).

- (317) Ili nap-onta / het-ente / hav-onta / év-ente eszik egy almát.
 Ili day-Iter / week-Iter / month-Iter / year-Iter eat.3Sg an apple.Acc
 ‘Ili eats an apple [once] every day / week / month / year.’

With some nouns naming units of time, either the iterative or the distributive suffix can be used without a change in meaning (318a-d).

- (318) a. nap-onta, nap-onként
 day-Iter day-Dist
 both: 'daily'
- b. het-ente, het-enként
 week-Iter week-Dist
 both: 'weekly'
- c. hav-onta, hav-onként
 month-Iter month-Dist
 both: 'monthly'
- d. év-ente, év-enként
 year-Iter year-Dist
 both: 'yearly'
- e. *perc-ente, perc-enként
 minute-Iter minute-Dist
 both: 'per minute, every minute'
- f. *óra-nta, órá-nként
 hour-Iter hour-Dist
 both: 'hourly'

The distribution of the iterative suffix is much more limited than that of the distributive suffix discussed in the previous point. The iterative suffix only occurs on nouns denoting units of time. However, it does not combine with the names of the months (319).

- (319) *január-onta, *március-onta, *december-ente
 January-Iter March-Iter December-Iter
 Intended meaning: 'every January, every March, every December'

Furthermore, there are lexeme-based idiosyncrasies in the distribution of this suffix. Among the names of the days, only 'Sunday' combines with it (320a,b). All names of days can combine with the distributive suffix, however (320c).

- (320) a. Ili vasárnap-onta eszik egy almát.
 Ili Sunday-Iter eat.3Sg an apple.Acc
 'Ili eats an apple [once] every Sunday.'
- b. *hétfő-nte, *kedd-ente, *szombat-onta
 Monday-Iter Tuesday-Iter Saturday-Iter
 Intended meaning: 'every Monday, every Tuesday, every Saturday'
- c. hétfő-nként, kedd-enként, szombat-onként, vasárnap-onként
 Monday-Dist Tuesday-Dist Saturday-Dist Sunday-Dist
 'every Monday, every Tuesday, every Saturday, every Sunday'

Among nouns denoting the times of the day, *hajnal* 'dawn', *reggel* 'morning' and *éjjel* 'night' take the iterative suffix. *Este* 'evening' is used with this suffix mostly in the literary language (with an *l* consonant appearing between the noun and the

suffix). *Éjfél* ‘midnight’ does not combine with the iterative suffix, and the acceptability of *dél* ‘noon’ with this suffix is subject to variation (321).

- (321) a. Ili hajnal-onta / reggel-ente / éjjel-ente / ^seste-lente eszik egy almát.
 Ili dawn-Iter / morning-Iter / night-Iter / evening-Iter eat.3Sg an apple.Acc
 ‘Ili eats an apple every dawn / morning / night / evening.’
- b. **éjfél-ente*
 midnight-Iter
 Intended meaning: ‘every midnight’
- c. %*dél-ente*
 noon-Iter
 ‘every noon’

Este ‘evening’ combines with the distributive suffix instead (322).

- (322) *esté-nként*
 evening-Dist
 ‘every evening’

Dél ‘noon’ does not take the distributive suffix, however (323).

- (323) **dél-enként*
 noon-Dist
 Intended meaning: ‘every noon’

The intended meaning of (321c) and (323) can be rendered with the help of the quantifier *minden* ‘every’ and the inessive case suffix for all speakers; and the quantifier strategy (in combination with the temporal suffix, which will be discussed in the next point) also works for *éjfél* ‘midnight’ (324).

- (324) minden dél-ben, minden éjfél-kor
 every noon-Ine every midnight-Tmp
 ‘every noon, every midnight’

The names of the seasons also combine with the iterative suffix in an idiosyncratic way (325).

- (325) a. nyar-anta, tel-ente
 summer-Iter winter-Iter
 ‘every summer, every winter’
- b. **tavas-onta*, **ősz-önte*
 spring-Iter autumn-Iter
 Intended meaning: ‘every spring, every autumn’
- b’. minden tavasszal, minden ősszel
 every spring.Ins every autumn.Ins
 ‘every spring, every autumn’

VIII. The temporal suffix -kor

The temporal suffix combines with bare numerals (326a) or nouns expressing time units such as hour, minute, etc. (326b) to yield adverbs of time. (Note that the vowel of the suffix does not undergo vowel harmony.)

- (326) a. Hat-kor találkozzunk.
 six-Tmp meet.1Pl
 'We shall meet at six.'
- b. [Hat óra-kor] / [Hat óra harminc perc-kor] találkozzunk.
 six-Tmp / six hour thirty minute-Tmp meet.1Pl
 'We shall meet at [six o'clock] / [six thirty].'

The Low Vowel Lengthening rule (replacing a stem-final [ɔ] and [ɛ] by [a:] and [e:] before suffixes) does not apply with *-kor* suffixation. Compare (327a) and (327b), the latter with the sublativ suffix.

- (327) a. napnyugta-kor, vecsernye-kor
 sunset-Tmp evening.mass-Tmp
 'at sunset, at evening mass'
- b. napnyugtá-ra, vecsernyé-re
 sunset-Sub evening.mass-Sub
 'by sunset, by evening mass'

Remark 14. This suffix has grammaticalized from (case-marked forms of) the noun *kor* 'era, time' (Simonyi 1888: 445, 1895: 703, S. Hátori and Tompa 1970: 575).

The temporal suffix regularly appears on nouns naming holidays (328a), on some other nouns such as *ünnep* 'holiday' (328b), and with event nominals (328c).

- (328) a. karácsony-kor, húsvét-kor, pünkösöd-kor, újév-kor
 Christmas-Tmp Easter-Tmp Pentecost-Tmp New.Year-Tmp
 'at Christmas, at Easter, at Pentecost, on New Year's day'
- b. ünnep-kor, múlt-kor
 holiday-Tmp past-Tmp
 'on (a) holiday, the other day'
- c. mos-ás-kor, érkezés-kor, távozás-kor,
 wash-Nmn-Tmp arrive-Nmn-Tmp depart-Nmn-Tmp
 a zebra-n való át-keles-kor
 the zebra.crossing-Sup being through-walk-Nmn-Tmp
 'during washing [the clothes], on arrival, at departure, during / when crossing the zebra crossing'

It can also combine with demonstratives. In this case the *z* of the demonstrative undergoes assimilation to the *k* of the suffix (329). This assimilation also takes place when the demonstrative bears a case suffix (see Section 2.2.1.2 point VI) and when it bears the formal suffix *-képp(en)* (as discussed in the next point).

- (329) ekkor, akkor
 this.Tmp that.Tmp
 ‘at this time, at that time’

Not all nouns denoting time units or points in time combine with the temporal suffix however; the names of the days and the months do not, as shown in (330).

- (330) a. *január-kor, *március-kor, *december-kor
 January-Tmp March-Tmp December-Tmp
 Intended meaning: ‘in January, in March, in December’
 b. *hétfő-kor, *kedd-kor, *vasárnap-kor
 Monday-Tmp Tuesday-Tmp Sunday-Tmp
 Intended meaning: ‘on Monday, on Tuesday, on Sunday’

The names of the months take the inessive case suffix, the names of the days ‘Monday’ through ‘Saturday’ take the superessive case, while as a temporal adverb, ‘Sunday’ remains bare (331).

- (331) a. január-ban, március-ban, december-ben
 January-Ine March-Ine December-Ine
 ‘in January, in March, in December’
 b. hétfő-n, kedden, szerdán, csütörtök-ön, pénteken, szombat-on
 Monday-Sup Tuesday-Sup Wednesday-Sup Thursday-Sup Friday-Sup Saturday-Sup
 ‘on Monday, on Tuesday, on Wednesday, on Thursday, on Friday, on Saturday’
 c. vasárnap
 Sunday
 ‘Sunday / on Sunday’

Not all times of the day take the temporal suffix either (332), but see (327a) for further grammatical examples.

- (332) a. éjfél-kor
 midnight-Tmp
 ‘at midnight’
 b. *reggel-kor, *dél-kor, *este-kor
 morning-Tmp noon-Tmp evening-Tmp
 Intended meaning: ‘in the morning, at noon, in the evening’

Dél ‘noon’ and years combine with the inessive case suffix instead (333), while ‘morning’ and ‘evening’ remain uninflected (333). (The former is diachronically an instrumental marked noun, but this morphemic composition has become completely opaque.)

- (333) a. dél-ben, 2018-ban
 noon-Ine 2018-Ine
 ‘at noon, in 2018’

- b. reggel, este
 morning evening
 ‘in the morning, in the evening’

Days of the month are in the ordinal form and are marked with the possessive suffix and the superessive case suffix rather than the temporal suffix. The noun *nap* ‘day’ is likewise marked with the superessive (334).

- (334) a. január harmadik-á-n
 January third-Poss-Sup
 ‘on the third of January’
- b. az-on a nap-on
 that-Sup the day-Sup
 ‘on that day’

The names of the seasons do not combine with the temporal suffix; ‘summer’ and ‘winter’ take the superessive case, while the relevant forms of ‘spring’ and ‘autumn’ diachronically contain the instrumental case (but this fact is not transparent to contemporary speakers) (335).

- (335) a. *tavasz-kor, *nyár-kor, *ősz-kor, *tél-kor
 spring-Tmp summer-Tmp autumn-Tmp winter-Tmp
 Intended meaning: ‘in the spring, in the summer, in autumn, in winter’
- b. nyár-on, tél-en
 summer-Sup winter-Sup
 ‘in summer, in winter’
- c. tavasszal, ősszel
 spring.Ins autumn.Ins
 ‘in the spring, in autumn’

There are a few exceptional, lexicalized cases in which the temporal suffix combines with an adjective, a numeral or a quantifier (336).

- (336) a. jó-kor, jobb-kor, a legjobb-kor
 good-Tmp better-Tmp the best-Tmp
 ‘at a good time, at a better time, at the best time’
- b. rossz-kor, rosszabb-kor, a legrosszabb-kor
 bad-Tmp worse-Tmp the worst-Tmp
 ‘at a bad time, at a worse time, at the worst time’
- c. más-kor, oly-kor, egy-kor, minden-kor
 other-Tmp such-Tmp one-Tmp every-Tmp
 ‘at another time, sometimes, in the past, always’

Table 8 below summarizes the possible combinations of nouns with the distributive, the iterative and the temporal suffix.

Table 8: The distribution of the distributive, the iterative and the temporal suffix

TYPE OF NOUN	DISTRIBUTIVE SUFFIX -(V)NKÉNT	ITERATIVE SUFFIX -(V)NTA/-(V)NTE	TEMPORAL SUFFIX -KOR
NON-TEMPORAL DENOTING	✓	✗	✗
NAMES OF DAYS	<i>some</i>	<i>very limited</i>	✗
NAMES OF TIMES OF THE DAY	<i>some</i>	<i>some</i>	<i>limited</i>
NAMES OF MONTHS	✗	✗	✗
NAMES OF SEASONS	✗	<i>some</i>	✗
OTHER TEMPORAL UNITS ('hour', 'day', 'month', 'year' etc.)	✓	<i>most</i>	<i>some</i>
CLASSIFIERS	✓	✗	✗

IX. The formal suffix -képp, -képpen

The formal suffix attaches to nouns and yields adverbs with the meaning 'as N, in the role of N' (337).

- (337) A bankkártya a készpénzfizetés alternatívája-képp(en) szolgál.
 the bank.card the cash.payment alternative.Poss-For serve.3Sg
 'A bank card serves as an alternative of cash payment.'

It also productively appears after numeral or quantifier +*féle* 'type' combinations (338).

- (338) a. egy-féle-képp(en), sok-féle-képp(en), minden-féle-képp(en)
 one-type-For many-type-For every-type-For
 'in one way, in many ways, by all means'
- b. A feladatot két-féle-képp(en) lehet értelmezni.
 the task.Acc two-type-For possible understand.Inf
 'One can understand the task in two (different) ways.'

In lexicalized cases *-képp(en)* can also be found on adjectives, quantifiers or participles (339).

- (339) más-képp(en), minden-képp(en), semmi-képp(en), kívül-t-képp(en)
 other-For every-For nothing-For come.out-Part-For
 'in another way, by all means, in no way, especially'

The vowel of the suffix does not undergo vowel harmony. When it attaches to a demonstrative, the *z* of the demonstrative undergoes assimilation to the *k* of the suffix. (A similar assimilation also takes place when i) the demonstrative bears the *-kor* temporal suffix, as discussed in the previous point, and ii) when the demonstrative is followed by a case suffix or a case-like postposition. On

assimilation to case suffixes and case-like postpositions, see Section 2.2.1.2 point VI and Section 2.2.2.2.2 point VI).

- (340) ekképp(en), akképp(en)
 this.For that.For
 ‘in this way, in that way’

The Low Vowel Lengthening rule does not apply with *-képp(en)* suffixation: when attaching to stems ending in [ɔ] or [ɛ], this suffix does not trigger lengthening of the stem-final vowel to [a:] or [e:]. Compare (341a) with (341b), the latter featuring the dative case suffix.

- (341) a. ruha-képp(en) használ
 clothing-For use.3Sg
 ‘use as clothing’
 b. ruhá-nak használ
 clothing-Dat use.3Sg
 ‘use as clothing’

As shown in the previous examples, the suffix has a shorter and a longer form: *-képp* and *-képpen*. Rebrus (2000) argues that synchronically, the latter is not a combination of the short form and the modal-essive *-n/-an/-en* suffix discussed above. The *-n/-an/-en* suffix is a closing morpheme, but the *-képpen* suffix is not: it can be further suffixed by the attributivizer *-i* (342). (The shorter form *-képp* is, however, a closing morph; cf. (342) with the ungrammatical **tulajdon-képp-i*.)

- (342) tulajdon-képpen-i, valami-képpen-i, más-képpen-i
 property-For-Attr somewhat-For-Attr other-For-Attr
 ‘proper / [properly so called], somehow / [in some way], different’

In some cases the formal suffix can be substituted by the essive-formal case suffix (Section 2.2.1.1) without a change in meaning (343).

- (343) A bankkártya a készpénzfizetés alternatívája-ként szolgál.
 the bank.card the cash.payment alternative.Poss-FoE serve.3Sg
 ‘A bank card serves as an alternative of cash payment.’

In general, however, the distribution of the *-képp(en)* suffix is much more restricted than that of the essive-formal case marker (de Groot 2017).

Remark 15. This suffix originates from (a case-marked form of) the noun *kép* ‘picture’ (Klemm 1928: 217, S. Hámosi and Tompa 1970: 578). The shorter version, *-képp*, is the newer form; before the 18th century only the longer form was in use (Simonyi 1888: 411, 1895: 690, Klemm 1928: 217).

X. *Adverbs with transparent case suffixes*

Some adverbs comprise a noun or an adjective and a case suffix with bleached semantics (see Section 2.2.1.1). Examples are given in (344).

- (344) a. szerencsé-re, rend-re, új-ra, örök-re, jövő-re [sublative]
 luck-Sub order-Sub new-Sub eternal-Sub next-Sub
 ‘luckily, regularly, again, forever, next year’
- b. elv-ben, titok-ban, első-sor-ban, való-ban [inessive]
 theory-Ine secret-Ine first-row-Ine real-Ine
 ‘in principle, in secret, primarily, in reality’
- c. valóság-gal [instrumental]
 reality-Ins
 ‘practically’

Speakers consider some of these (e.g. *szerencsére, újra*) to be monomorphemic units. Even when the morpheme boundaries are transparent, however, their meaning is often non-compositional (e.g. *valósággal*). This is one reason to consider them to be adverbs rather than ordinary case-marked nouns (or resultative adjectives). The other reason is that as we will see in Chapter 3, bare N complements appear with spatial case suffixes under limited circumstances only (under a generic or type interpretation, in contrastive focus and in the subcategorization frame of certain verbs), but the examples in (344) do not satisfy these criteria.

2.2.4.2. Adverbs which are homophonous with adjectives

There are a handful of adverbs that are homophonous with adjectives (cf. English *fast: a fast runner* vs. *to run fast*). Given the view that adverbs are, in fact, opaque PPs (Chapter 1), these can be thought of as being derived from adjectives with a phonologically zero P-head. The examples mostly involve degree modifiers such as *szörnyű* ‘horrible’, *borzasztó* ‘awful’, *rettentő* ‘terrible’, *jó* ‘good’ (345).

- (345) a. egy szörnyű / borzasztó / rettentő / jó nap
 a horrible / awful / terrible / good day
 ‘a horrible / awful / terrible / good day’
- b. szörnyű / borzasztó / rettentő / jó nagy
 horrible / awful / terrible / good big
 ‘horribly / awfully / terribly / very big’

In their adverbial use, *szörnyű* ‘horrible’, *borzasztó* ‘awful’ and *rettentő* ‘terrible’ can optionally be suffixed by the productive modal-essive *-n/-an/-en* suffix (the Hungarian equivalent of English *-ly*, discussed in Section 2.2.4.1.1), as shown in (346).

- (346) szörny-en / borzasztó-an / rettentő-en nagy
 horrible-ly / awful-ly / terrible-ly big
 ‘horribly / awfully / terribly big’

This is not the case for *jó* ‘good’, however. Firstly, the adverbial form of *jó* ‘good’ is formed with the essive(-modal) *-ul/-ül* suffix (with the vowel of the suffix deleted), and secondly, the suffixed form cannot be used as a degree modifier any longer; it is only grammatical as a verb (phrase) modifier (347).

- (347) a. *jó-l nagy
 good-ly big
 Intended meaning: ‘very big’
- b. Ili jó-l táncol.
 Ili good-ly dance.3Sg
 ‘Ili dances well.’

Not all adverbs that are homophonous with adjectives involve degree modifiers, though. *Feltétlen* ‘unconditional(ly), by all means, under all circumstances’, *hirtelen* ‘sudden(ly)’ and *külön* ‘separate(ly)’ are cases in point. The form *feltét-len* comprises the noun *feltétel* ‘condition’ and the caritive suffix (-*tlen*); the nominal base is shortened before the caritive suffix to *feltét-*. The use of *feltétlen* as an adjective is shown in (348a); its use as an adverb is illustrated in (348b).

- (348) a. a feltét-len szeretet
 the condition-Car love
 ‘the unconditional love’
- b. Feltét-len el akarok jönni.
 condition-Car away want.1Sg come.Inf
 ‘I want to come under any circumstance.’

Diachronically, *hirtelen* ‘sudden(ly)’ is also bi-morphemic, comprising the noun *hír* ‘news’ and the caritive suffix (-*telen*), but this is no longer transparent for contemporary speakers. Its uses are shown in (349).

- (349) a. egy hirtelen mozdulat
 a sudden move
 ‘a sudden move’
- b. Ili hirtelen befordult az utcába.
 Ili sudden in.turn.Past.3Sg the street.Ill
 ‘Ili suddenly turned into the street.’

The adverbial use of both *feltétlen* ‘unconditional(ly)’ and *hirtelen* ‘sudden(ly)’ freely alternate with the longer form in (350a,b) that bears the essive(-modal) -*ul/-ül* suffix.

- (350) a. Feltét-len-ül el akarok jönni.
 condition-Car-ly away want.1Sg come.Inf
 ‘I want to come under any circumstance.’
- b. Amilyen váratlan-ul jött, olyan hirtelen-ül tűnt el.
 as unexpected-ly come.Past.3Sg so sudden-ly disappear.Past.3Sg away
 ‘He disappeared as suddenly as he came unexpectedly.’

Külön ‘separate(ly)’ cannot be suffixed either by the modal-essive -*n/-an/-en* suffix or the essive(-modal) -*ul/-ül* suffix in its adverbial use (351).

- (351) a. egy külön kérdés
 a separate question
 ‘a separate question’
- b. Ili külön ment haza.
 Ili separate go.Past.3Sg home_to
 ‘Ili went home separately / [on her own].’

2.2.4.3. Other adverbs

Other adverbs cannot be given a unified formal characterization. Some examples are given in (352). These adverbs are neither headed by a suffixal P head, nor are they homophonous with adjectives. They can only be defined by their distribution in the clause; see Chapter 7.

- (352) tegnap, tavaly, már, még, majdnem, hamar, talán, épp(en), csak
 yesterday last_year already yet almost soon perhaps just only
 ‘yesterday, last year, already, yet, almost, soon, perhaps, just, only’

2.3. Semantic classification

This section provides a semantic classification of Hungarian postpositions. We distinguish three main groups and will discuss them one by one. The three semantic groups are: spatial Ps, temporal Ps, and non-spatial/non-temporal Ps.

2.3.1. Spatial Ps

Spatial postpositions (in the broad sense) may be divided into semantic subclasses based on whether they refer to a location in space or to a path (direction). There is another distinction, which is based on whether they refer to a spatial configuration that is dependent on an anchoring point or not. These properties will be discussed in turn, after Section 2.3.1.1 introduces the distinctive properties in a bit more detail.

A note on terminology is in order here: We will use the term *spatial* as a cover term for all interpretations involving spatial configurations, while *locative* will be used to refer to Ps denoting a location (point or region in space, stative) and *directional* will be used to cover meanings related to change of location (e.g. goal, path, source).

2.3.1.1. Basic semantic distinctions

1. Location and direction

The basic semantic classification in terms of spatial relations is whether a P-element refers to a location or to a change of location. The difference between location and change of location or direction can be tested if one tries to use the PP as a complement of stative (semi-)copular predicates such as *be* or *stay* or positional predicates such as *stand* or *lie* as opposed to dynamic locational/transactional predicates such as *put* or *lay* in English. We use this test in the examples below with (353) showing the grammatical locative examples with the Hungarian verb *marad* ‘stay’, (354) showing ungrammatical sentences where directional PPs are used with the same verb, and (355) and (356) illustrating the reverse of this, when the verb is

dynamic and only directional PPs are grammatical, locative ones are not. Furthermore, a verb such as *tesz* ‘put’ always requires a goal-denoting PP, source-denoting ones are ungrammatical in this context as well, putting a serious limitation on the use of this test with directional Ps.

- (353) a. A kutya a szomszéd-nál maradt.
 the dog the neighbor-Adv stay.Past.3Sg
 ‘The dog stayed at the neighbor’s.’
- b. A kutya az ajtó előtt maradt.
 the dog the door in_front_of stay.Past.3Sg
 ‘The dog stayed in front of the door.’
- (354) a. *A kutya a szomszéd-hoz maradt.
 the dog the neighbor-All stay.Past.3Sg
 Intended meaning: ‘The dog stayed to the neighbor’s.’
- b. *A kutya a szomszéd-tól maradt.
 the dog the neighbor-Abl stay.Past.3Sg
 Intended meaning: ‘The dog stayed from the neighbor’s.’
- c. *A kutya az ajtó elé maradt.
 the dog the door in_front_of_to stay.Past.3Sg
 Intended meaning: ‘The dog stayed (to) in front of the door.’
- d. *A kutya az ajtó elől maradt.
 the dog the door in_front_of_from stay.Past.3Sg
 Intended meaning: ‘The dog stayed from in front of the door.’
- (355) a. Kati az asztal-ra tette a táskát.
 Kati the table-Sub put.Past.DefObj.3Sg the bag.Acc
 ‘Kati put the bag on the table.’
- b. Kati az asztal alá tette a táskát.
 Kati the table under_to put.Past.DefObj.3Sg the bag.Acc
 ‘Kati put the bag under the table.’
- (356) a. *Kati az asztal-on tette a táskát.
 Kati the table-Sup put.Past.DefObj.Sg the bag.Acc
 Intended meaning: ‘Kati put the bag (at) on the table.’
- b. *Kati az asztal-ról tette a táskát.
 Kati the table-Del put.Past.DefObj.3Sg the bag.Acc
 Intended meaning: ‘Kati put the bag from the table.’
- c. *Kati az asztal alatt tette a táskát.
 Kati the table under_at put.Past.DefObj.3Sg the bag.Acc
 Intended meaning: ‘Kati put the bag at a place under the table.’
- d. *Kati az asztal alól tette a táskát.
 Kati the table under_from put.Past.DefObj.3Sg the bag.Acc
 Intended meaning: ‘Kati put the bag from under the table.’

Remark 16. For the Hungarian examples, the use of *áll* 'stand' is not always conducive since it is a verb of spatial configuration that is not only used in the simple position sense (which is nonagentive) but can also be used in the 'assume position' sense of Levin & Rappaport Hovav (1995) in the right context, so it can also be used with directional Ps. The use of inanimate, immobile subjects can help us in avoiding this issue. So, examples (i) and (ii) are both correct, with the difference that (i) is a stative event, while (ii) describes a dynamic event, where the car is stopping, 'assuming position' in front of the house. The sentence in (iii) is semantically odd and would only be appropriate in a fairy-tale context where trees can move on their own and thus can stop in front of a house, i.e., with an agentive subject.

- (i) Az autó a ház előtt állt.
 the car the house in_front_of stand.Past.3Sg
 'The car stood in front of the house.'
- (ii) Az autó a ház elé állt.
 the car the house before_to stand.Past.3Sg
 'The car came to stand in front of the house.'
- (iii) #A fenyőfa a ház elé állt.
 the pine.tree the house before_to stand.Past.3Sg
 'The pine tree came to stand in front of the house.'

Hungarian Ps are not ambiguous between locative and directional meanings, their morphological forms correspond very clearly to this semantic distinction as was already mentioned in Section 2.2. Most case-markers and case-like postpositions show a systematic morphological distinction for three semantic types: a stative locative form-meaning pair, a goal-denoting directional one, and a source-denoting directional form-meaning pair.

II. Deictic, inherent and absolute use of Ps

Ps can refer to points (or regions) in space in a way that is deictic. This means that the spatial configuration of the Figure (the entity that is being located) and the Ground (the landmark that is the basis of locating the Figure) depends on the speaker or another anchoring point in space. For example, in (357) the location of Pál with respect to the tree is determined by the vantage point of the speaker who utters the sentence.

- (357) Pál a fa előtt áll.
 Pál the tree in_front_of stand.3Sg
 'Pál is standing in front of the tree.'

The external anchoring point does not necessarily have to be the speaker; it can be independently established as well, as in (358).

- (358) Az ablak-ból nézve, Pál pont a fa előtt áll.
 the window-Ela looking Pál right the tree in_front_of stand.3Sg
 'If one looks out of the window, Pál is standing right in front of the tree.'

Sometimes the anchoring point is in the Ground, in which case we can speak about the inherent use of the postposition. This is generally the case when the Ground has a natural orientation, e.g. a natural front or back (cf. Kiefer 2000b on *előtt* 'in front of' and *mögött* 'behind'). Cars or buildings have an inherent front, so the meaning of (359) or (360) does not necessarily depend on the speaker, although the position

of the speaker may overwrite the natural interpretation of ‘front’ when speaking about an object like a car.

(359) Pál az autó előtt áll.
 Pál the car in_front_of stand.3Sg
 ‘Pál is standing in front of the car.’

(360) Pál a templom előtt áll.
 Pál the church in_front_of stand.3Sg
 ‘Pál is standing in front of the church.’

These sentences have two distinct readings: one where the spatial configuration between the located object and the Ground is inherently given by the properties of the Ground, e.g. when Pál is in front of the entrance of the church or when he is standing in front of the hood of the car, and another one where an external anchoring point (often the speaker’s) determines the interpretation. For example, if Pál’s position is between us and the car, we can still utter (359) felicitously even if Pál is standing at the side of the car and not at its hood, which is its natural front.

A third possibility is the absolute interpretation of the P. When the orientation of the Ground does not matter in the interpretation of the spatial configuration, we are dealing with an absolute interpretation. For instance, in (361) the table has a natural top surface, so if we say that the lamp hangs above the table, we understand their location in a way that the top of the table is closest to the lamp but not touching. However, even if we were to turn the table upside down so that technically its legs and the ‘underside’ part of the table were closest to the lamp, their relation would remain the same, we would still say that the lamp is above the table. This is an absolute interpretation.

(361) A lámpa az asztal felett lóg.
 the lamp the table above_at hang.3Sg
 ‘The lamp hangs above the table.’

In this case the orientation of the Ground object (the table) does not change the interpretation of the sentence. This, as well, depends on the context and the objects involved, and it is generally not lexically determined.

III. Non-spatiotemporal use of spatial Ps

Both locative and directional Ps can be used to refer to temporal relations based on their spatial meaning, which will be discussed in Section 2.3.2. However, they can also have non-spatiotemporal uses, when they are lexically selected or are adjuncts, as well as in their use as secondary predicates.

There are spatial case suffixes with non-spatial meaning when they are used as complements (362), and we find adjuncts of this kind as well (363).

(362) a. Ezek a gyerekek hisznek a Mikulás-ban.
 these the children believe.3Pl the Santa.Claus-Ine
 ‘These children believe in Santa Claus.’

b. Peti fél a kutyák-tól.

Peti fear.3Sg the dog.Pl-Abl
 ‘Peti is afraid of dogs.’

(363) A diákok pusztán lelkesedés-ből ki-dekorálták a termet.
 the student.Pl barely enthusiasm-Ela out-decorate.Past.DefObj.3Pl the room.Acc
 ‘The students decorated the room out of sheer enthusiasm.’

These uses are not spatial even in the extended metaphorical sense, and the morphological form used in such a context depends on the selecting verb in the case of complement PPs and seems to be idiosyncratic in the case of adjuncts, such as (363). As we can see, the English translation also uses a preposition that denotes direction away from the Ground, so it might not be completely arbitrary what semantic class of P appears on which adjuncts.

The sublative suffix is attached to resultative secondary predicates as a marker of the syntactic and semantic relation, a marker of resultativity, which is another use of a spatial element as a formal marking of a configuration (364).

(364) Juli zöld-re festette az ajtó-t.
 Juli green-Sub paint.Past.DefObj.3Sg the door-Acc
 ‘Juli painted the door green.’

This use of PPs as secondary predicates will be discussed in Chapter 4.

2.3.1.2. Locative Ps

2.3.1.2.1. Locative case suffixes

Table 9 provides the case suffixes with locative readings (repeating from Table 2):

Table 9: Locative case suffixes

	INSIDE / IN	SURFACE / ON	PROXIMITY / AT
PLACE	<i>Inessive</i> -ban, -ben	<i>Superessive</i> -n, -on, -en, -ön	<i>Adessive</i> -nál, -nél

All of these case suffixes may be used with verbs such as *marad* ‘stay’ (365) or *áll* ‘stand’ (366) but are ungrammatical with change-of-state verbs, such as *tesz* ‘put’ (367), which lets us conclude that they only have locative interpretations.

(365) A könyv [a fiók-ban] / [a polc-on] / [az asztal-nál] maradt.
 the book the drawer-Ine / the shelf-Sup / the desk-Ade remain.Past.3Sg
 ‘The book was left [in the drawer] / [on the shelf] / [at the desk].’

(366) A szék [a sarok-ban] / [az erkély-en] / [az ágy-nál] áll.
 the chair the corner-Ine / the balcony-Sup / the bed-Ade stand.3Sg
 ‘The chair is standing [in the corner] / [on the balcony] / [at the bed].’

(367) *Mari [a fiók-ban] / [a polc-on] / [az asztal-nál] tette a könyvet.
 Mari the drawer-Ine / the shelf-Sup / the desk-Ade put.DefObj.3Sg the book.Acc
 Intended meaning: ‘Mari put the book [in the drawer] / [on the shelf] / [at the desk].’

The semantics of the inessive case is that the Figure is inside the Ground, while the supressive case means that it is on the surface of the Ground. The interpretation of the adessive marker allows for the Figure to be anywhere in the region close enough to the Ground that it can be considered to be ‘at’ it, there does not have to be a point where the Figure and the Ground are in contact. For instance in (366), the chair has to be in the vicinity of the bed but they do not have to touch each other. The physical closeness that this requirement of being in the vicinity involves depends both on the Figure and on the Ground and is not strictly grammatically determined.

2.3.1.2.2. *Locative case-like postpositions*

There are several case-like postpositions with only locative meanings, and they all have directional — goal- and source-denoting — counterparts that we will turn to in Section 2.3.1.3.2. The locative ones end in the old locative suffix *-(Vt)t*, but they are perceived as monomorphemic and otherwise this suffix is very limited in its productivity today, as was discussed in Section 2.2.2.2.1 point *I*. The inventory of locative case-like Ps is given in Table 10.

Table 10: *Locative case-like Ps*

CASE-LIKE P	MEANING
<i>alatt</i>	(at) under
<i>előtt</i>	(at) in front of
<i>felett/fölött</i>	(at) above
<i>körül(ött)</i>	around
<i>között, közt</i>	between
<i>mellett</i>	beside
<i>mögött</i>	(at) behind

Similarly to the purely locative case suffixes, these Ps can be used with verbs like *stand* or *stay* (368), but not with verbs such as *put* (369).

- (368) a. A szék [az asztal előtt] / [az ágy mellett] maradt / állt.
 the chair the table in_front_of / the bed next_to stay.Past.3Sg / stand.Past.3Sg
 ‘The chair stayed / stood [in front of the table] / [beside the bed].’
- b. A székek az asztalok körül / között maradtak.
 the chairs the table.Pl around / between stay.Past.3Pl
 ‘The chairs stayed around / between the tables.’
- (369) a. *Mari [az asztal előtt] / [az ágy mellett] tette a széket.
 Mari the table in_front_of / the bed next_to put.Past.DefObj.3Sg the chair.Acc
 Intended meaning: ‘Mari put the chair [at in front of the table] / [at beside the bed].’
- b. *Mari az asztalok körül / között tette a székeket.
 Mari the table.Pl around / between put.Past.DefObj.3Sg the chair.Pl.Acc
 Intended meaning: ‘Mari put the chairs at around / between the tables.’

2.3.1.2.3. *Locative case-assigning postpositions*

Many of the case-assigning postpositions have a locative spatial interpretation. A list of these is given in Table 11.

Table 11: *Locative case-assigning Ps*

	CASE-ASSIGNING P	MEANING
LOCATIVE	<i>alul</i>	below
	<i>belül</i>	inside of
	<i>felül</i>	above
	<i>innen</i>	on this side of
	<i>kívül</i>	outside of
	<i>közel</i>	close to
	<i>szemben</i>	opposite
	<i>szemközt</i>	opposite
	<i>túl</i>	beyond

Most of them, like *alul*, *belül*, *felül*, *kívül*, *közel*, are completely opaque in their morphology and the fact that they probably have the old ablative ending *-(V)l* does not play any part in their present interpretation. Contrary to most of the case-like Ps ending in *-(V)l*, which have a directional, source meaning, these case-assigning Ps specify the location of the Figure with respect to the Ground in stative contexts. Some of them are morphologically more transparent, e.g. *szemben* ‘opposite’ is composed of the noun *szem* ‘eye’ and the inessive suffix *-ben*, or *szemközt* is made up of the same noun and the locative postposition *közt* ‘between’. These are also only locative in meaning.

Most of these Ps take complements with a superessive case ending (370a), the others take instrumental or allative-marked complements, as shown in (370b)-(370c), respectively. As already mentioned in Section 2.2.2.3.2 point *I*, the semantics of the case suffix on the complement of the case-assigning P does not play a real role compositionally, it is a selected case, but the semantics of the whole is determined by the case-assigning P. For instance, the allative case on (370c) has directional semantics on its own, however, here the full phrase is locative.

- (370) a. Az autó a folyó-n túl maradt.
 the car the river-Sup beyond stay.Past.3Sg
 ‘The car stayed beyond the river.’
- b. Az autó az étterem-mel szemben maradt.
 the car the restaurant-Ins opposite_to stay.Past.3Sg
 ‘The car stayed opposite the restaurant.’
- c. Az autó az út-hoz közel maradt.
 the car the road-All close stay.Past.3Sg
 ‘The car stayed close to the road.’

These PPs can be adjuncts with verbs of motion but they are still not directional in those cases. In a sentence like (371a), the verb contributes the motion component to the interpretation and the PP denotes the space where the motion of the Figure (the

car) takes place with respect to the Ground (the bicycle). However, the spatial meaning is not directional, i.e., this sentence does not mean that the car was approaching the bicycle; it means that the car was moving along a path which was in the proximity of the bicycle. Similarly in (371b) the PP denotes the area where the car's movement should take place (it should be moving on the far side of the river) rather than the goal of the movement (i.e. the sentence does not mean that the car should cross the river and end up on the far side).

- (371) a. Az autó a bicikli-hez közel ment.
 the car the bicycle-All close went.3Sg
 'The car was moving close to the bike.'
- b. A ti autótok a folyó-n túl menjen!
 the you(Pl) car.Poss.2Pl the river-Sup beyond go.Subj.3Sg
 'Your car should be going beyond the river.'

However, the case-assigning postpositions *túl* 'beyond' and *közel* 'close to' can also be used as verbal particles, as (372) illustrates. In this use the verbal particle equivalent of the case-assigning P is directional in as much as it provides an endpoint, a goal to the movement expressed by the verb. That is, it provides the boundedness of the path, where the path is given by the fact that a motion verb is involved. The sentence in (372b) does mean that the car approached the bicycle: the change of location is contributed by the verb, while the endpoint of the movement is encoded in the particle. The same applies to the simple intransitive particle used in (373).

- (372) a. Az autó túl-ment a folyón.
 the car beyond-went.3Sg the river-Sup
 'The car went to a place over the river.'
- b. Az autó közel-ment a biciklihez.
 the car close_to-went.3Sg the bike-Ade
 'The car went close to the bicycle.'
- (373) Az autó közel-jött.
 the car close_to-come.Past.3Sg
 'The car came up close.'

These particles most of the time appear with motion verbs, even in their more idiomatic, metaphorical meanings (374).

- (374) Ez túl-megy minden határ-on.
 this beyond-go.3Sg every boundary-Sup
 '[This crosses every boundary.] / [This is too much.]'

2.3.1.2.4. *Locative particles*

Particles are typically directional as was shown in Section 2.2.3.1 and thus will be discussed in Section 2.3.1.3.4. However, there is one particle that is formally locative. It contains the locative superessive suffix, which is to some extent still transparent morphologically although it is opaque semantically. This particle is

agyon, which originally meant ‘on the brain/skull’ in a locative sense, but now means ‘to death, to an extreme degree’ as a verbal particle (375).

- (375) a. A férfit agyon-ütötte a zuhanó fa.
 the man.Acc to_death-hit.Past.DefObj.3Sg the fall.Part tree
 ‘The falling tree killed the man.’
- b. Marit agyon-dicsérte a főnöke.
 Mari.Acc to_death-praise.Past.DefObj.3Sg the boss.Poss.3Sg
 ‘Her boss praised Mari excessively (lit. to death).’

This is a rare case where the form is locative (superessive, i.e. referring to the Figure being on the surface of the Ground) but it has developed into a particle. That the morphemic composition is semantically opaque and is also on the way to becoming morphologically opaque for (at least some) speakers can be seen from cases when another case ending can be added to it. Interestingly, we can find sentences with the form *agyon-ra*, where the sublative suffix (‘onto’) is added to the particle (376), i.e., the original case ending is completely opaque for those speakers who accept it.

- (376) [%]Ezt már agyon-ra ismételték.
 this.Acc already to_death-Sub repeat.Past.DefObj.3Pl
 ‘This has been repeated ad nauseam (lit. to death).’

This sublative suffix is the one we find on resultative secondary predicates, and in this case, it seems to contribute to the result state meaning that the locative *agyon* formally lacks. Encoding the endpoint morphologically is generally necessary to achieve a resultative interpretation, and the sublative suffix is one of the canonical markers of that meaning component.

2.3.1.2.5. Locative adverbs

Those adverbs that have a spatial meaning are mostly locative, contrary to particles, which are mostly directional. Adverbs ending in the *-nn* and *-nt* suffix, as well as adverbs with the locative *-(V)t* suffix belong here.

We find locative adverbs in various semantic opposition pairs: *itt* ‘here’ – *ott* ‘there’, *lenn/lent* ‘down’ – *fenn/fent* ‘up’, *kinn/kint* ‘outside’ – *benn/bent* ‘inside’. They also have directional counterparts that are classified as verbal particles, i.e., the locative and the directional parts of the semantic pairs are in some descriptions taken to belong to different lexical categories (e.g. Marác’s 1989 detailed discussion of PPs). The locative elements, however, have the same syntactic distribution as the directional ones: they can fill the role of the only locative complement of a stative verb but can also appear together with another locative element, in which case they specify an additional semantic dimension in addition to the one expressed by the other locative expression (see Section 2.3.1.3.4, and cf. Kiefer 2000b on particles). In (377), the adverbs are the only locative elements, they serve to specify the location of the subject nominal (the Figure), whereas in (378), the postverbal locative suffixed PP determines the location, while the preverbal

locative adverb provides additional specification of the location in a way that is often deictic.

- (377) a. A macska kint maradt.
 the cat outside stay.Past.3Sg
 ‘The cat stayed outside.’
- b. A kék tollak ott vannak.
 the blue pen.Pl there be.3Pl
 ‘The blue pens are there.’
- (378) a. A macska kint maradt az utcá-n.
 the cat outside stay.Past.3Sg the street-Sup
 ‘The cat stayed out in the street.’
- b. A kék tollak ott vannak az asztal-on.
 the blue pen.Pl there be.3Pl the desk-Sup
 ‘The blue pens are there on the desk.’

The use of *ott* in sentences such as (378b) contributes specification on the proximity (*here* vs. *there*) of the Figure, in addition to the lexically specified Ground in the postverbal part. In other cases, the adverb contributes semantic content concerning orientation, e.g. *up* vs. *down* in (379), in a way that is deictic in the sense that it is related to the vantage point of the speaker or some external point in space.

- (379) a. A papírsárkány fenn maradt a tető-n.
 the kite up stay.Past.3Sg the roof-Sup
 ‘The kite stayed up on the roof.’
- b. A fióka lejjel maradt a tető-n(, de az anyja elrepült).
 the nestling down stay.Past.3Sg the roof-Sup but the mother.Poss.3Sg away.flew.3Sg
 ‘The nestling stayed down on the roof, but its mother flew away.’

There are a few locative adverbs the morphological make up of which is rather uncommon. They consist of the directional element *ide* ‘to here’ or *oda* ‘to there’ and one of the opposition pairs from above (380):

- (380) a. ide-lejt, ide-fent, ide-kint, ide-bent
 here_to-down_at, here_to-up_at, here_to-outside_at, here_to-inside_at
 ‘down here, up here, out here, in here’
- b. oda-lejt, oda-fent, oda-kint, oda-bent
 there_to-down_at, there_to-up_at, there_to-outside_at, there_to-inside_at
 ‘down there, up there, out there, in there’

The combination of the directional first morpheme and the locative second morpheme ends up with a locative meaning together, corresponding to the complex phrases ‘down here’, ‘down there’ and so on (381).

- (381) Anna ide-bent / oda-kint maradt.
 Anna here.to-inside.at / there.to-outside.at stay.Past.3Sg
 ‘Anna stayed [in here] / [out there].’

It is also possible to adjoin two locative elements, ultimately resulting in the same meaning, but those two do not form a morphological unit (382):

- (382) Anna [itt bent] / [ott kint] maradt.
 Anna here_at inside_at / there_at outside_at stay.Past.3Sg
 ‘Anna stayed [here, inside] / [there, outside].’

These adjoined locative adverbs in (382) can also appear separately in the clause, one may be preverbal and the other adjoined postverbally (383), which is not the case with the compound adverbs, as (384) is ungrammatical.

- (383) Anna itt maradt bent.
 Anna here_at stay.Past.3Sg inside_at
 ‘Anna stayed in here.’

- (384) *Anna ide maradt bent.
 Anna here_to stay.Past.3Sg inside_at
 Intended meaning: ‘Anna stayed in here.’

2.3.1.3. Directional Ps

Ps with a directional meaning can be further classified as ones referring to goal (bounded path), (unbounded) path, or source. All directional elements involve some kind of path, but additionally goal-denoting ones involve an endpoint and source-denoting ones involve a point of origin. However, there are also Ps that only include the specification of the path without necessarily having an endpoint in their semantics; these are sometimes called route-denoting Ps (e.g., Zwarts 2005). As we will see, this distinction will be important in some of the subtypes of directional Ps. It is to be noted that the term directional is used in a broad sense here, covering all types of Ps that include a path in their reference.

2.3.1.3.1. Directional case suffixes

The case-markers that were listed in Section 2.3.1.2.1 as the group of locative suffixes have directional counterparts, both goal-denoting ones and ones referring to the source of the change of location.

Table 12: Directional case suffixes

	INSIDE / IN	SURFACE / ON	PROXIMITY / AT	ENDPOINT
GOAL	<i>Illative</i> -ba, -be	<i>Sublative</i> -ra, -re	<i>Allative</i> -hoz, -hez, -höz	<i>Terminative, Dative</i> -ig, -nak/nek
SOURCE	<i>Elative</i> -ból, -ből	<i>Delative</i> -ról, -ről	<i>Ablative</i> -től, -től	N/A

The goal-denoting suffixes are the illative, the sublative, the allative and the terminative cases. The illative and the sublative suffixes have directional meanings where the endpoints of the movements are inside and on the surface of the Ground, respectively. The allative case refers to a direction to the vicinity of the Ground,

which may or may not have an endpoint that is in contact with the Ground. The terminative suffix denotes the Ground as the endpoint of a path.

Remark 17. Note that the inessive and the illative suffixes are often syncretic in spoken language (but not in standard written Hungarian), as noted in Section 2.2.1.1: the illative form is often used for locative meanings, i.e., the illative suffix in (386) is acceptable for most speakers in the spoken register with a stative verb, expressing location.

PPs that include these case suffixes cannot be complements of static verbs like *stand* or *stay* (386), they can, however, appear with dynamic predicates, such as *tesz* ‘put’ as in (385).

(385) Lili [a fiók-ba] / [az asztal-ra] / [a fal-hoz] tette a táskát.
Lili the drawer-III / the table-Sub / the wall-All put.Past.DefObj.3Sg the bag.Acc
‘Lili put the bag into the drawer / onto the table / next to the wall.’

(386) *A táska [a fiók-ba] / [az asztal-ra] / [a fal-hoz] maradt.
the bag the drawer-III / the table-Sub / the wall-All stay.Past.3Sg
Intended meaning: ‘The bag stayed in(to) the drawer / onto the table / next to the wall.’

There are also three source-denoting case suffixes: the elative refers to movement from within the Ground object, the delative refers to movement from the surface of something, and the ablative means movement away from something; it is the least specific with respect to touching the point of origin.

Source denoting PPs can appear in neither of the test environments we have been using as complements of the verb: they cannot be used with stative verbs since they are directional, and they cannot be used with dynamic verbs like *put* since those require a goal PP as their complement, cf. (387).

(387) a. *A táska [a fiók-ból] / [az asztal-ról] / [a fal-tól] maradt.
the bag the drawer-Ela / the table-Del / the wall-Abl stay.Past.3Sg
Intended meaning: ‘The bag stayed out of the drawer / off the table / from the wall.’

b. *Lili [a fiók-ból] / [az asztal-ról] / [a fal-tól] tette a táskát.
Lili the drawer-Ela / the table-Del / the wall-Abl put.Past.DefObj.3Sg the bag.Acc
Intended meaning: ‘Lili put the bag out of the drawer / off the table / from the wall.’

In fact, source PPs are rarely complements: a source-denoting PP can be the complement of motion verbs such as *jön* ‘come’, *ered* ‘originate’ and *távolodik* ‘move away from’ (388) or a complement of the verb *van* ‘be’ when it has a lexical meaning ‘to be made of something, to originate from something or a place’ (389).

(388) a. Ez a levél Angliá-ból jött.
this the letter England-Ela come.Past.3Sg
‘This letter came from England.’

b. A Duna a Fekete-erdő-ből ered.
the Danube the Black-Forest-Ela originate.3Sg
‘The Danube originates in the Black Forest.’

- c. A Tejút egyre távolodik a galaxis belsejé-től.
 the Milky.Way continuously move_away_from.3Sg the galaxy inside.Poss-Abl
 ‘The Milky Way is continuously moving away from the center of the galaxy.’
- (389) a. A cipőm bőr-ből van.
 the shoe.Poss.1Sg leather-Ela is
 ‘My shoes are made of leather.’
- b. A láz a náthá-tól van.
 the fever the cold-Abl is
 ‘The fever is due to the cold.’
- c. Mi mind Szeged-ről vagyunk.
 we all Szeged-Del are
 ‘We are all from Szeged.’

Source-denoting PPs are also completely grammatical when paired with a goal complement, as in (390a), but the same source PP cannot be the complement of the same verb on its own, (390b).

- (390) a. A tükör a padló-tól a mennyezet-ig ér.
 the mirror the floor-Abl the ceiling-Ter reach.3Sg
 ‘The mirror extends from the floor to the ceiling.’
- b. *A tükör a padló-tól ér.
 the mirror the floor-Abl reach.3Sg
 Intended meaning: ‘The mirror extends from the floor.’

PPs that are source-denoting in form can be complements in a non-spatiotemporal use as illustrated in Section 2.3.1.1.

The terminative case suffix can be used to refer to an end-point in space or time. We will see the temporal use in Section 2.3.2 (cf. (431)); its spatial use is illustrated in (390a) and (391).

- (391) a. Mari a sarok-ig futott.
 Mari the corner-Ter run.Past.3Sg
 ‘Mari ran up to the corner.’
- b. A medve a város-ig jutott.
 the bear the city-Ter reach.Past.3Sg
 ‘The bear got as far as the city.’

To a very limited extent, the dative case also has a goal denoting use (with motion verbs), expressing that the Figure has reached an endpoint at the Ground (392a,b). However, most of these sentences sound even more natural with the dative reduplicated and the duplicate acting as a verbal particle in the sentence (392a’,b’) (on duplicating Ps see Chapter 5 Section 5.2.3.5).

- (392) a. Mari az üvegajtó-nak rohant.
 Mari the glass.door-Dat run.Past.3Sg
 ‘Mari ran into the glass door.’

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- a'. Mari neki-rohant az üvegajtó-nak.
 Mari Dat.3Sg-run.Past.3Sg the glass.door-Dat
 'Mari ran into the glass door.'
- b. A labda a kerítés-nek ütközött.
 the ball the fence-Dat clash.Past.3Sg
 'The ball bumped into the fence.'
- b'. A labda neki-ütközött a kerítés-nek.
 the ball Dat.3Sg-clash.Past.3Sg the fence-Dat
 'The ball bumped into the fence.'

There are also some set expressions with the dative case and a motion verb (393).

- (393) a. világ-nak megy
 world-Dat go
 'to go / run away from home'
- b. fal-nak megy
 wall-Dat go
 'to get fed up'

2.3.1.3.2. *Directional case-like postpositions*

The locative case-like Ps have directional counterparts: there are several goal-denoting directional case-like postpositions which also have source-denoting counterparts, and there are a few additional directional Ps that refer to an unbounded path. This latter group involves a direction that does not necessarily reach the Ground as its endpoint, so we cannot really say that they refer to a goal and their distribution is slightly different as well. A goal-denoting P always includes the meaning component of a path, but it is not true the other way around in these cases.

Table 13: *Directional case-like postpositions*

	CASE-LIKE P	MEANING
GOAL	<i>alá</i>	to under
	<i>elé</i>	to in front of
	<i>fölé</i>	to above
	<i>köré</i>	to around
	<i>közé</i>	to between
	<i>mellé</i>	to next to
	<i>mögé</i>	to behind
	<i>után</i>	after
PATH	<i>felé</i>	towards
	<i>iránt</i>	towards, in direction to

SOURCE	<i>alól</i>	from under
	<i>elől</i>	from in front of
	<i>felől</i>	from the direction of
	<i>fölül</i>	from above
	<i>közül</i>	from between
	<i>mellől</i>	from next to
	<i>mögül</i>	from behind

The directional Ps that denote the goal of the movement can appear with the change-of-location verb *tesz* ‘put’ (394).

- (394) Ili [a pad alá] / [a fal mellé] / [a TV mögé] tesz egy dobozt.
 Ili the bench under_to / the wall beside_to / the TV behind_to put.3Sg a box.Acc
 ‘Ili puts a box under the bench / next to the wall / behind the TV.’

Applying this test to those two Ps that we labeled as referring to a path shows us that they cannot be used in this context (395). The reason for the ungrammaticality is that the verb needs a PP that is interpreted as a bounded path: putting something somewhere involves the meaning component that the Figure (which is being located) will end up in some spatial configuration with the Ground (the end location, the goal of the movement). This endpoint (the Ground) is not necessarily reached when we use the postpositions that refer to a simple path, and that is why they cannot be used with verbs like *put*. These Ps can still be used with motion verbs, however, as those only require them to involve a path (396).

- (395) *Pál [az asztal felé] / [a fal iránt] tette a székét.
 Pál the table towards / the wall towards put.Past.DefObj.3Sg the chair.Acc
 Intended meaning: ‘Pál put the chair towards the table / in direction of the wall.’

- (396) Pál [az asztal felé] / [a fal iránt] futott.
 Pál the table towards / the wall towards run.Past.3Sg
 ‘Pál ran towards the table / in direction of the wall.’

The postposition *iránt* ‘towards’ also has a non-spatial, or only metaphorically spatial use, when it is used as a complement of *érdeklődik* ‘be interested (in something)’, or *lelkesedik* ‘be enthusiastic (about something)’ (397).

- (397) a. Pál érdeklődik a fizika iránt.
 Pál be_interested.3Sg the physics towards
 ‘Pál is interested in physics.’
 b. Mindenki nagyon lelkesedett a tervünk iránt.
 everybody very be_enthusiastic.Past.3Sg the plan.Poss.1Pl towards
 ‘Everyone was very enthusiastic about our plan.’

Source-denoting Ps cannot appear with verbs like *put*, either, since they do not include the endpoint, only the starting point of the movement, and that is not a suitable complement to these verbs (398).

- (398) *Ili [a pad alól] / [a fal mellől] / [a TV mögül]
 Ili the bench under_from / the wall beside_from / the TV behind_from
 tesz egy dobozt.
 put.3Sg a box.Acc
 Intended meaning: 'Ili puts a box [from under the bench] / [from beside the wall] / [from behind the chair].'

Similarly to source-denoting case suffixes, source-denoting case-like postpositions mostly seem to be complements when they are not used spatiotemporally; however, there are fewer such cases with postpositions than with suffixes (399).

- (399) Mari mindig érdeklődik a nagymamám felől.
 Mari always inquire.3Sg the grandmother.Poss.1Sg from_direction_of
 'Mari always inquires about my Grandmother.'

2.3.1.3.3. Directional case-assigning postpositions

There are not as many case-assigning Ps that are directional as there are locative ones. The directional ones have different semantics and some of them refer to a goal, i.e., to a bounded path, one that involves an endpoint, while some of them refer to an unbounded path, i.e., there is no inherent endpoint in their meaning, at least not in their postpositional use. There is also one source-denoting case-assigning postposition.

Table 14: Directional case-assigning postpositions

	CASE-ASSIGNING P	MEANING
GOAL	<i>végig</i>	along (to the end of)
	<i>szembe</i>	to opposite to
PATH	<i>át</i>	through, via, across, over
	<i>keresztül</i>	through, via, across
SOURCE	<i>szemből</i>	from opposite to

Applying the test of the ability to complement change-of-state verbs of the *put* type is slightly more complicated than in the other cases, and there is only one of those Ps in Table 14 that can be the complement of *put* without the need to add anything else (400).

- (400) Peti a színpad-dal szembe tette a székeket.
 Peti the stage-Ins to_opposite_to put.Past.DefObj.3Sg the chair.Pl.Acc
 'Peti put the chairs opposite the stage.'

All of the goal- and path-denoting case-assigning Ps have uses as a verbal particle as well, which influences their use in this context. As a postposition, *át* 'over, through' cannot be a VM with *put*, the full PP in (401) is not a proper VM, as it refers to an unbounded path, and the sentence seems to be missing an endpoint. However, as a particle (i.e., on its own in the preverbal position) *át* can be used with *put*-type verbs (402a) and it can also denote the endpoint of movement with motion verbs (402b), i.e., a goal is part of its meaning.

- (401) *Lili [a kerítés-en át] tette a létrát.
 Lili the fence-Sup over put.Past.DefObj.3Sg the ladder.Acc
 Intended meaning: ‘Lili put the ladder over the fence.’
- (402) a. Lili át-tette a létrát a kerítés-en.
 Lili over-put.Past.DefObj.3Sg the ladder.Acc the fence-Sup
 ‘Lili put the ladder over the fence.’
- b. Lili át-jött.
 Lili over-come.Past.3Sg
 ‘Lili came over.’

2.3.1.3.4. Directional particles

Particles are generally directional, almost without exception: they refer to a bounded path or an endpoint in an event. Hungarian has one particle, the telicizing element *meg*, which is not spatial any more, or at least its spatial use is very limited and non-productive (originally it was a directional particle).

There are also a few relatively newly gramaticalized particles that are not used spatially, although they do contain some directional morpheme formally. An often cited example for this is *tönk-re* ‘(V) to ruins’ (see e.g., Forgács 2004), which contains the sublative case suffix but is only used to refer to endpoints in a non-spatial metaphorical or only telicizing sense.

- (403) a. A bolt *tönk-re* ment.
 the shop stump-Sub go.Past.3Sg
 ‘The shop went bankrupt.’
- b. A *válság* *tönk-re* tette a gazdaságot.
 the crisis stump-Sub put.Past.DefObj.3Sg the economy.Acc
 ‘The crisis wrecked the economy.’

Most particles have obviously directional as well as telicizing uses, where we use the term directional to refer to the fact that there is movement involved, so the particle has a spatial meaning (404).

- (404) a. Ili *ki-ment* a kertbe. [directional]
 Ili out-go.Past.3Sg the garden.Ill
 ‘Ili went out into the garden.’
- b. Ili *ki-olvasta* a könyvet. [telicizing]
 Ili out-read.Past.DefObj.3Sg the book.Acc
 ‘Ili has read the book from cover to cover.’

Importantly, however, there is a path covered in the telicizing use as well, as shown by the fact that we can add the modifier *félig* ‘halfway’ to the predicate (405).

- (405) Ili *fél-ig* *ki-olvasta* a könyvet.
 Ili half-Ter out-read.Past.DefObj.3Sg the book.Acc
 ‘Ili is halfway done reading the book.’

Not all directional particles have a telicizing use in this sense. There are some particles that do not telicize the verbal predicate they are used with (Kiefer 2000b): the event in the next example is atelic, and the particle is simply directional (406).

- (406) Mari tovább-gurította a labdát.
 Mari further-rolled.3Sg the ball.Acc
 ‘Mari passed / rolled the ball on.’

Table 15 below provides a list of directional particles. As mentioned in Section 2.2.3.1, there is no obvious exhaustive list of particles that could be given, but the items below are probably all considered particles in the literature.

Table 15: Directional particles

PARTICLE	MEANING
<i>el</i>	away
<i>ki</i>	out
<i>fel</i>	up
<i>le</i>	down
<i>be</i>	into
<i>át</i>	over, through
<i>túl</i>	over, beyond
<i>össze</i>	together
<i>szét</i>	apart
<i>széjjel</i>	apart
<i>vissza</i>	back
<i>hátra</i>	(to the) back
<i>félre</i>	aside, mis-
<i>tovább</i>	further

The semantic requirement for an item to be considered a particle is generally related to its use in a non-literal spatial sense, which would allow it to be used with a wider range of verbs than a strictly spatial complement (e.g., D. Máta 1989, 1991, 1992 on the diachronic development of Hungarian verbal particles). At the other end of the spectrum, postpositions may be considered fully grammaticalized functional elements when they lose their spatial meaning (Roberts and Roussou 2003). The more general extended use applies to all the particles listed in the table (407).

- (407) a. Pál *el / be / vissza / félre* tette a könyvet (a polc-ra).
 Pál away / into / back / aside put.Past.DefObj.3Sg the book.Acc the shelf-Sub
 ‘Pál put the book away / in / back / aside (on the shelf).’
- b. [?]Pál *tovább*-tette a könyvet (a polc-ra).
 Pál further-put.Past.DefObj.3Sg the book.Acc the shelf-Sub
 ‘Pál put the book further on (on the shelf).’

There is a use of *tovább* with the verb *tesz* ‘put’, where it means ‘to pass on’ or ‘to move further on’, and in this case it appears with a dative-marked beneficiary besides the accusative object, just like with *give*-type verbs, as in (408).

- (408) Pál tovább-teszi a labdát Miki-nek.
 Pál further-put.DefObj.3Sg the ball.Acc Miki-Dat
 ‘Pál passes the ball on to Miki.’

Directional particles often co-occur with other directional PPs (that have case suffixes or postpositions as their P head) in the clause. In these cases the particle specifies an orientation, a specific direction as an additional semantic component to the directional meaning of the case or postposition. Comparing (409a) to (409b) and (410a) to (410b), the postverbal PPs are constant within the pairs but the different particles make the orientation of the paths different. There is a default combination, as in (409a), which shows that direction into the Ground naturally combines with a particle that also expresses orientation inward, but the movement into the Ground may also be oriented out of something at the same time, as in (409b). The expression still refers to a goal, only the vantage point of the speaker changes in the latter case. Similarly, a path onto something is often a path that is oriented upwards, (410a), but it can also be oriented downward if the Ground is lower than another vantage point that is involved, (410b).

- (409) a. Mari be-vette a dobozokat a garázs-ba.
 Mari into-take.Past.DefObj.3Sg the box.Pl.Acc the garage-III
 ‘Mary took the boxes into the garage.’
 b. Mari ki-vette a dobozokat a garázs-ba.
 Mari out-take.Past.DefObj.3Sg the box.Pl.Acc the garage-III
 ‘Mari took the boxes out to the garage.’
- (410) a. A csiga fel-mászott a szék-re.
 the snail up-climb.Past.3Sg the chair-Sub
 ‘The snail climbed up on the chair.’
 b. A csiga le-mászott a szék-re.
 the snail down-climb.Past.3Sg the chair-Sub
 ‘The snail climbed down on the chair.’

The particle *ki* ‘out’ is thus not a source-denoting particle: it specifies the orientation of the path that leads to the goal as one that leads from an inside vantage point to outside.

The particles *szét* and *széjjel* can both be translated as ‘apart’, and in some cases they are interchangeable (with individual preferences for one or the other) (411), but in other cases *szét* is slightly preferred (412), and in some metaphorical uses, only *szét* is possible (413).

- (411) Mari szét- / széjjel-tépte a levelet.
 Mari apart / apart-tear.Past.DefObj.3Sg the letter.Acc
 ‘Mari tore the letter apart.’
- (412) Mari szét- /[?]széjjel-nézett, mielőtt átment az úton.
 Mari apart / apart-look.Past.3Sg before over.go.Past.3Sg the road.Sup
 ‘Mari looked around before she crossed the road.’

- (413) Mari szét-/ *széjjel-aggódta magát a vizsga előtt.
 Mari apart / apart- worry.Past.DefObj.3Sg self.Acc the exam in_front_of
 ‘Mari worried herself silly before the exam.’

2.3.1.3.5. *Directional adverbs*

The adverbs *ide* ‘to here’ and *oda* ‘to there’ are the directional counterparts of the locative *itt* ‘here’ and *ott* ‘there’, and while in many cases the directional counterpart of a locative adverb is considered to be a verbal particle, in these cases, they are still mostly regarded as adverbs, probably due to their deictic meanings (414).

- (414) a. Anna ide-jött.
 Anna here_to-come.Past.3Sg
 ‘Anna came here.’
- b. Anna oda-ment.
 Anna there_to-go.Past.3Sg
 ‘Anna went there.’

2.3.2. *Temporal Ps*

2.3.2.1. *Temporal postpositions*

Temporal Ps are those that refer to a point in time or some duration in time. There are a few P elements in Hungarian that are always temporal; these are listed in Table 16.

Table 16: *Temporal postpositions*

POSTPOSITION	MEANING
<i>múlva</i> / ^s <i>múltán</i>	in (X time), after (X time)
<i>óta</i>	since
<i>tájban</i> / % <i>tájt</i>	around (a point in time)

The temporal postposition *tájt* ‘around’ (lit. place.Loc) is the slightly less frequent equivalent of *tájban* ‘around’ (lit. place.Ine). There are also two further variants with morphologically more transparently possessive structures: *táján* ‘around’ (lit. place.Poss.Sup) and *tájékán* ‘around’ (lit. surroundings.Poss.Sup), which behave like postpositions to some extent but are transparently complex word forms, therefore we will discuss them among the borderline Ps in Section 2.4.2.1 point II.

The use of the regular postpositional forms *tájt* and *tájban* is quite restricted: they require their complement to refer to a certain time on the clock, usually measured in hours or other well-established points of time (e.g. noon, midnight), as in (415). If the time unit is smaller, their grammaticality gets slightly degraded, and if the time unit is of a different kind, they are ungrammatical (416).

- (415) a. 6 óra tájban / tájt
 6 hour around / around
 ‘at around 6 o’clock’
- b. negyed 10 tájban / tájt
 quarter 10 around / around
 ‘at around quarter past nine’
- c. dél tájban / tájt
 noon around / around
 ‘at around noon’
- (416) a. 6 óra 10 (perc) ^(?)tájban / tájt
 6 hour 10 minute around / around
 ‘at around 10 past 6’
- b. húsvét *tájban / tájt
 Easter around / around
 ‘at around Easter’
- c. múlt hét *tájban / *tájt
 last week around / around
 ‘at around last week’
- d. január *tájban / ??tájt
 January around / around
 ‘at around January’

The postposition *során* ‘during’ (lit. line.Poss.Sup) refers to time duration and thus needs a complement that denotes a sufficiently long time unit, as in (417). This is the reason why (417d) is ungrammatical; a point in time cannot be used to denote duration. If we compare (417d) and (417d’), the latter example is grammatical since here *6 óra* ‘6 hour / o’clock’ does not refer to a point in time but to a period of 6 hours (as the modifier makes it explicit), therefore we can refer to something happening during that period.

- (417) a. a múlt hét során
 the last week during
 ‘during last week’
- b. a délelőtt során
 the morning during
 ‘during the morning’
- c. (a) 2016(-os év) során
 the 2016(-Adj year) during
 ‘during (the year) 2016’
- d. *6 óra során
 6 hour during
 Intended meaning: ‘during 6 o’clock’

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- d'. a *börtönben töltött 6 óra során*
 the prison.Ine spend.Part. 6 hour during
 'during the 6 hours spent in prison'

Során requires a nominal complement, hence the contrast between (418a) and (418b).

- (418) a. **tegnap során*
 yesterday during
 Intended meaning: 'during yesterday'
- b. [_{NP} a *tegnap-i nap*] *során*
 the yesterday-Attr day during
 'during yesterday'

The postposition *múlva* 'in, after, later' refers to a point in time, which is temporally removed from an externally given time or event with the amount of time given in its complement. Any time unit is suitable as the complement, as (419) shows.

- (419) a. 6 *óra múlva*
 6 hour after
 'after 6 hours / 6 hours later'
- b. 8 *perc múlva*
 8 minute after
 'after 8 minutes / 8 minutes later'
- c. 3 *hét múlva*
 3 week after
 'after 3 weeks / 3 weeks later'
- d. 2 *év múlva*
 2 year after
 'after 2 years / 2 years later'

Finally, *óta* 'since, for' has a complement that refers either to a starting point or to a period of time and the PP expresses duration (420). Its use in the 'for x time' sense is slightly marked with some complements but is completely fine with others (421), a variation that is unclear at this point as it does not seem to depend on the time unit.

- (420) a. 6 *óra óta*
 6 hour since
 'since 6 o'clock'
- b. *karácsony óta*
 Christmas since
 'since Christmas'
- c. *tavaly óta*
 last_year since
 'since last year'

- (421) a. 3 év óta
 3 year since
 ‘for 3 years’
- b. [?]két hét óta
 two week since
 ‘for two weeks’
- c. 6 nap óta
 6 day since
 ‘for 6 days’
- d. [?]5 perc óta
 5 minute since
 ‘for 5 minutes’

Instead of the strategy using *óta*, duration for a certain time period can also be expressed with a possessive construction, and this one is not semantically restricted with respect to its complement (422).

- (422) a. 3 év-e
 3 year-Poss
 ‘for the past 3 years’
- b. két het-e
 two week-Poss
 ‘for the past two weeks’
- c. 6 nap-ja
 6 day-Poss
 ‘for the past 6 days’
- c. 5 perc-e
 5 minute-Poss
 ‘for the past 5 minutes’

As noted in Section 2.2.2.2.2 point V, in connection with (153), we can find names and third person singular personal pronouns in the complement of *óta*, in which case the resulting phrase refers to the time period since the time (e.g. the life or reign) of that person, (423). It is also grammatical with nominals referring to events, again denoting the time period since the event.

- (423) a. Napóleon óta
 Napoleon since
 ‘since (the time of) Napoleon’
- b. a háború / költözés óta
 the war / moving since
 ‘since [the war] / [the moving]’

2.3.2.2. *Temporal adverbs*

The temporal suffix *-kor* attaches to various nouns to express a point in time (424). When referring to hours or hours plus minutes on the clock, it can also be used with just the numeral, without the temporal unit(s).

- (424) a. 6 óra-kor
6 hour-Tmp
'at 6 o'clock'
- a'. 6-kor
6-Tmp
'at 6'
- b. 5 óra 20 perc-kor
5 hour 20 minute-Tmp
'at 20 minutes past 5 o'clock'
- b'. 5:20-kor
5:20-Tmp
'at 5:20'
- c. éjfél-kor
midnight-Tmp
'at midnight'
- d. karácsony-kor
Christmas-Tmp
'at Christmas'

There are two other suffixes that create temporal adverbs somewhat productively: the distributive *-(V)nként* and the iterative *-(V)nta/- (V)nte*. The distributive suffix combined with a temporal unit expresses repetition distributed across time in the measures expressed by the noun it attaches to (425).

- (425) a. 6 órá-nként
6 hour-Iter
'every 6 hours'
- b. 5 év-enként
5 year-Iter
'every 5 years'

The iterative suffix *-(V)nta/- (V)nte* (also called distributive-temporal) is used with nouns referring to temporal units or points in time. Similarly to the temporal use of the distributive suffix, it also expresses repetition distributed across time in the measures given as its complement (426).

- (426) a. 2 nap-onta
2 day-Iter
'every 2 days'

- b. 5 év-ente
5 year-Iter
'every 5 years'

The syntactic distribution of these semi-productive suffixes is discussed in Section 2.2.4.1.2 VI, VII, VIII.

2.3.2.3. Temporal uses of locative Ps

Many of the primarily spatial Ps can also be used to refer to time. Among the case suffixes, we have the superessive, the inessive, the sublative, and the ablative. The superessive case is used with the days of the week, with exact dates and with the noun *hét* 'week' (427), while the inessive case is used with names of months or when referring to years or larger units, e.g. centuries, (428).

- (427) a. szombat-on
Saturday-Sup
'on Saturday'
 - b. április 1-én
April 1st-Poss.Sup
'on 1st of April'
 - c. múlt hét-en
past week-Sup
'last week'
- (428) a. január-ban
January-Ine
'in January'
 - b. 2017-ben
2017-Ine
'in 2017'
 - c. a 20. század-ban
the 20th century-Ine
'in the 20th century'

The directional sublative suffix is used when something is to happen by a certain time, irrespective of what kind of time unit we are dealing with. Ablative case expresses the opposite: the complement refers to the starting point and the P expresses "direction" in time away from that starting point. The examples in (429) and (430) illustrate these two suffixes, respectively.

- (429) a. 6 órá-ra
6 hour-Sub
'for / by 6 o'clock'
- b. kedd-re
Tuesday-Sub
'for / by Tuesday'

- c. holnap-ra
tomorrow-Sub
'for / by tomorrow'
 - d. jövő hét-re
coming week-Sub
'for / by next week'
 - e. január-ra
January-Sub
'for / by January'
 - f. 2017-re
2017-Sub
'for / by 2017'
 - g. a 20. század-ra
the 20th century-Sub
'by the 20th century'
- (430) a. 6 órá-tól
6 hour-Abl
'from 6 o'clock'
- b. kedd-től
Tuesday-Abl
'from Tuesday'
 - c. holnap-tól
tomorrow-Abl
'from tomorrow'
 - d. jövő hét-től
coming week-Abl
'from next week'
 - e. január-tól
January-Abl
'from January'
 - f. 2017-től
2017-Abl
'from 2017'
 - g. a 20. század-tól
the 20th century-Abl
'from the 20th century'

The semantically opposite meaning, i.e., when the complement refers to the end point of the time period is expressed by the terminative suffix *-ig* with all types of complements (431):

- (431) a. 6 órá-ig
 6 hour-Ter
 ‘until 6 o’clock’
- b. kedd-ig
 Tuesday-Ter
 ‘until Tuesday’
- c. holnap-ig
 tomorrow-Ter
 ‘until tomorrow’
- d. jövő hét-ig
 coming week-Ter
 ‘until next week’
- e. január-ig
 January-Ter
 ‘until January’
- f. 2017-ig
 2017-Ter
 ‘until 2017’
- g. a 20. század-ig
 the 20th century-Ter
 ‘until the 20th century’

At the same time, the terminative suffix can also mark duration in its temporal use (432). Since *6 óra* can both mean the time on the clock and duration in hours, the example in (431a) and (432a) is ambiguous, as the different translations show. (432a’) is an often used alternative of (432a).

- (432) a. 6 órá-ig
 6 hour-Ter
 ‘for 6 hours’
- a’. 6 óra hossz-á-ig
 6 hour length-Poss-Ter
 ‘for (the length of) 6 hours’
- b. 2 hét-ig
 2 week-Ter
 ‘for 2 weeks’

Non-suffixal Ps that are primarily spatial can also be used to refer to temporal relations. When used temporally, the locative P *alatt* ‘under’ refers to duration for a certain period that is specified in the complement (433).

- (433) a. Mari két perc alatt lefutotta a távot.
 Mari two minute under down.run.Past.DefObj.3Sg the distance.Acc
 ‘Mari ran the distance in two minutes.’

- b. Mindenki megoldotta a feladatot fél óra alatt.
 everyone Perf.solve.Past.DefObj.3Sg the task.Acc half hour under
 ‘Everyone solved the task in half an hour.’
- c. Innen egy nap alatt érsz el London-ba.
 here_from one day under reach.2Sg away London-III
 ‘You can reach London in a day from here.’
- d. 5 év alatt épült fel az áruház.
 5 year under be_built.Past.3Sg up the store
 ‘The department store was built in 5 years.’

The two postpositions *előtt* ‘before’ and *után* ‘after’ are opposites when they are used to refer to time: both of them need to specify a point in time in their complement.

- (434) a. karácsony előtt / után
 Christmas before / after
 ‘before / after Christmas’
- b. 1989 előtt / után
 1989 before / after
 ‘before / after 1989’
- c. múlt év előtt / után
 past year before / after
 ‘before / after last year’
- (435) a. tegnap-előtt
 yeasterday-before
 ‘the day before yesterday’
- b. tavaly-előtt
 last_year-before
 ‘the year before last year’
- c. ez-előtt, az-előtt
 this-before that-before
 ‘before this, before that’
- (436) a. holnap-után
 tomorrow-after
 ‘the day after tomorrow’
- b. ez-után az-után
 this-after that-after
 ‘after this, after that’

It is also possible to specify a length in time before or after which the Figure is placed in time, and then the measure phrase appears in the instrumental case (437):

- (437) a. két nap-pal ez-előtt
 two day-Ins this-before
 ‘two days ago’
- b. néhány nap-pal újév után
 some day-Ins New.Year after
 ‘a few days after New Year’s’

The Ps *körül* ‘around’ and *felé* ‘towards’ are very similar when used temporally: they both need a point in time as their complement (438)-(439).

- (438) a. 6 óra körül
 6 hour around
 ‘at around 6 o’clock’
- b. 1989 körül
 1989 around
 ‘in around 1989’
- c. újév körül
 New.Year around
 ‘at around New Year’
- d. a 15. század körül
 the 15th century around
 ‘at around the 15th century’

- (439) a. 6 óra felé
 6 hour towards
 ‘at around 6 o’clock’
- b. 1989 felé
 1989 towards
 ‘in around 1989’
- c. újév felé
 New.Year towards
 ‘at around New Year’
- d. [?]a 15. század felé
 the 15th century towards
 ‘by around the 15th century’

The postposition *között/közt* ‘between’ is used the same way temporally as when referring to spatial relations: it needs two points in time and specifies the time period between them (440).

- (440) karácsony és újév között
 Christmas and New.Year between
 ‘between Christmas and New Year’

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The case-assigning postpositions *át* ‘over, through’, *keresztül* ‘across, through’, as well as the locative *belül* ‘inside’, *felül* ‘above’, and *túl* ‘beyond’ are also used temporally and they refer to a period of time in relation to their complement (441).

- (441) a. két nap-on át
two day-Sup over
‘for two days’
- b. két év-en keresztül
two year-Sup across
‘for two years’
- c. egy hét-en belül
one week-Sup inside
‘within a week’
- d. hat nap-on túl
six day-Sup beyond
‘beyond six days’

2.3.3. Other: non-spatiotemporal Ps

2.3.3.1. Non-spatiotemporal case suffixes

There are a few suffixes that are case-markers but are not spatial or temporal in meaning:

Table 17: Non-spatiotemporal case suffixes

CASE NAME	CASE SUFFIX	MEANING
<i>instrumental</i>	<i>-val, -vel, -Cal, -Cel</i>	with something or somebody
<i>translative(-essive)</i>	<i>-vá, -vé, -Cá, -Cé</i>	into (expressing change of state)
<i>causal(-final)</i>	<i>-ért</i>	for (reason, aim)
<i>essive-formal</i>	<i>-ként</i>	as (role), in the capacity of

The instrumental case has two main uses: it marks the instrument or means of an action (the instrumental use), or it means accompaniment in an event (the comitative use). (442) illustrates each meaning with an example.

- (442) a. Anna dugóhúzó-val nyitotta ki az üveget.
Anna corkscrew-Ins open.Past.DefObj.3Sg out the bottle.Acc
‘Anna opened the bottle with a corkscrew.’
- b. Anna Mari-val megy ma mozi-ba.
Anna Mari-Ins go.3Sg today cinema-III
‘Anna is going to the cinema with Mari today.’

The translative(-essive) case suffix is used as a marker of resultative secondary predicates, it does not have a spatial meaning but is associated with change-of-state. It can be attached to nouns and to adjectives, as (443) and (444) show. The syntax of PPs as secondary predicates will be discussed in Chapter 4.

- (443) Pál a kedvenc tanárom-má vált.
 Pál the favorite teacher.Poss.1Sg-Tra become.Past.3Sg
 ‘Pál became my favorite teacher.’
- (444) A vihar ijesztő-vé vált.
 the storm frightening-Tra become.Past.3Sg
 ‘The storm got frightening.’

The causal(-final) *-ért* suffix can express the cause or reason in an event (445a) or the goal of an event (445b).

- (445) a. Pált lopás-ért tartóztatták le.
 Pál.Acc theft-Cau arrest.Past.DefObj.3Pl down
 ‘Pál was arrested for theft.’
- b. El-mentem kenyér-ért a bolt-ba.
 away-go.Past.1Sg bread-Cau the shop-III
 ‘I went to the shop for bread.’

Finally, the essive-formal is appears on NPs used as depictive secondary predicates, which express the role or state of a participant (446).

- (446) a. Anna asszisztens-ként dolgozik.
 Anna assistant-FoE work.3Sg
 ‘Anna works as an assistant.’
- b. Anna kutató-ként utazott az Antarktisz-ra.
 Anna researcher-FoE travel.Past.3Sg the Antarctica-Sub
 ‘Anna traveled to the Antarctica as a researcher.’

2.3.3.2. Non-spatiotemporal case-like postpositions

There are case-like postpositions that are not spatio-temporal. Those are listed here that do not have a spatial/temporal meaning synchronically, although they may have grammaticalized from spatial Ps.

Table 18: Non-spatiotemporal case-like Ps

CASE-LIKE P	MEANING
<i>által</i>	by
<i>ellen</i>	against
<i>gyanánt</i>	as, in the guise of
<i>helyett</i>	instead
<i>miatt</i>	because of
<i>nélkül</i>	without
<i>szerint</i>	according to
<i>véggett</i>	in order to, due to

The interpretation of the Ps in Table 18 varies greatly but they express typical non-spatial relations such as cause or agent. Some of them are rather opaque (e.g. *miatt*

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‘because of’, *szerint* ‘according to’), even though they contain an obsolete spatial case-marker.

The postposition *által* ‘by’ is used with agentive arguments in standard Hungarian (447).

- (447) a Mari által olvasott könyv
 the Mary by read.Part book
 ‘the book read by Mary’

Diachronically, *által* was a (superessive) case-assigning P and a verbal particle which had a directional meaning: ‘via, through, across, over’ (448). It still has this meaning dialectally, but in the standard language the case-assigning P *át* ‘through, via, across, over’ is used in this meaning (449).

- (448) ezen nemes vármegyé-n által
 this.Sup noble county-Sup via
 ‘via this noble county’

- (449) a vármegyé-n át
 the county-Sup via
 ‘via the county’

The standard meaning of postposition *végett* is ‘in order to’ (450), however, in spoken language and dialectally it is also used to express a reason (‘due to’), as in (451).

- (450) a félreértések elkerülése végett
 the misunderstanding.Pl avoiding.Poss so_as_to
 ‘so as to avoid [any] misunderstandings’

- (451) %Juli a betegsége végett nem tudott iskolába menni.
 Juli the illness.Poss.3Sg with_aim_of not could school.Ill go.Inf
 ‘Juli could not go to school due to her illness.’

2.3.3.3. Non-spatiotemporal case-assigning postpositions

There are only a couple of case-assigning Ps with non-spatiotemporal meanings:

Table 19: Non-spatiotemporal case-assigning Ps

CASE-ASSIGNING P	MEANING
<i>együtt</i>	together with
<i>képest</i>	compared to, for

Együtt ‘together with’ has a comitative meaning, and may take a case-marked nominal that bears the instrumental/comitative case similarly to its English counterpart (452).

- (452) A gyerekek Kati-val együtt érkeztek.
 the children Kati-Ins together arrive.Past.3Pl
 ‘The children arrived together with Kati.’

The other non-spatial case-assigning P has a kind of standard-of-comparison meaning, as illustrated in (453):

- (453) Mari-hoz képest mindenki gyors.
 Mari-All compared_to everyone fast
 ‘Everyone is fast compared to Mari.’

2.3.3.4. Non-spatiotemporal particles

As already mentioned earlier, there is one verbal particle that does not really have a spatial meaning in Modern Hungarian, and that is the particle *meg*, which largely functions as a telicizing element in the clause. However, in a couple of collocations it can still be understood as being used in its old meaning ‘back’ (454):

- (454) Pál meg-adta a pénzt, amivel tartozott.
 Pál Perf-give.Past.DefObj.3Sg the money.Acc which.Ins owe.Past.3Sg
 ‘Pál returned (lit. gave back) the money that he owed.’

This is no longer productive in the language. If we have a sentence such as (455a), the meaning is not that the guests arrived back, it just means that they have arrived, the event of arriving has reached completion, and the same is true for (455b). (456a) is ungrammatical, it cannot mean that the guests went back to a place where they had been before; this meaning can be expressed using a different particle, namely, *vissza* ‘back’ (456b), and the verbal particle *el* ‘away’ (456c) can be used if the intended meaning was that they left (i.e., simple telicity by the particle).

- (455) a. A vendégek meg-érkeztek.
 the guests Perf-arrive.Past.3Pl
 ‘The guests arrived.’
 b. A vendégek meg-jöttek.
 the guests Perf-come.Past.3Pl
 ‘The guests arrived.’
- (456) a. *A vendégek meg-mentek.
 the guest.Pl Perf-went.3Pl
 Intended meaning: ‘The guests went back.’
 b. A vendégek vissza-mentek.
 the guests back-went.3Pl
 ‘The guests went back.’
 c. A vendégek el-mentek.
 the guests away-went.3Pl
 ‘The guests left (lit. went away).’

Chapter 4 will discuss the syntactic behavior and semantic contribution of particles in far more detail, here we only intended to introduce their basic semantic contribution.

2.3.3.5. *Non-spatiotemporal adverbs*

There are many adverbs that are neither spatial nor temporal. Several suffixes discussed in Sections 2.2.4.1.1 and 2.2.4.1.2 form such adverbs. Other non-spatial and non-temporal adverbs (e.g. manner adverbs and all the sentence-level adverbs) have an opaque morphological makeup (often with an obsolete spatial marker). These will be discussed in detail in Chapter 7. Furthermore, the volume on Adjectival Phrases will also deal with the *-n/-an/-en* suffix as it attaches to adjectives to form depictive secondary predicates, and the volume on Non-Finite and Semi-Finite Verb Phrases will describe the properties of the *-va/-ve* adverbial participles, which are not grammaticalized into simple manner PPs.

2.4. **Where to draw the line: Borderline cases of postpositions**

Taking stock of Ps, there is usually a core list of items everyone takes to be postpositional. There are, however, quite a few elements that some grammars list as postpositions, while others do not list them at all. This section discusses two groups of such borderline cases: the first one includes participial forms (Section 2.4.1), which show similarities to case-assigning Ps, while the second group has items of possessive origin (Section 2.4.2), which have some properties in common with case-like Ps. Kenesei *et al.* (1998) call the elements discussed below “transitional postpositions”, referring to the fact that they are not fully grammaticalized members of the group of Ps. É. Kiss (1999, 2002), on the other hand, takes them to be participles and possessive phrases, respectively.

2.4.1. *Participial postpositions*

2.4.1.1. *The inventory and form of participial postpositions*

Participial postpositions comprise a verbal stem and the *-va/-ve* adverbial participial suffix (see the volume on Non-Finite and Semi-Finite Verb Phrases). The ordinary participial use of such forms is illustrated in (457).

- (457) a. Pál [_{PartP} az erkélyen ül-ve] olvas.
 Pál the balcony.Sup sit-Part read.3Sg
 ‘Pál is reading sitting on the balcony.’
- b. A petíciót [_{PartP} mindenki által aláír-va] küldtük el.
 the petition.Acc everybody by under.write-Part send.Past.DefObj.1Pl away
 ‘We sent the petition such that it was signed by everybody.’

Table 20 lists the participial forms that have sometimes been considered to be postpositions, i.e., to have grammaticalized from participial verbs into P elements. As already mentioned above, their status as participles or Ps is somewhat controversial in the literature. The major reason to regard them as members of the category of case-assigning Ps is that they obligatorily take an oblique case-marked complement.

Table 20: Participial postpositions

	P	MEANING	SUBCATEGORIZED CASE
TEMPORAL	<i>kezdve</i>	beginning from	ablative
	<i>fogva</i>	beginning from	ablative
OTHER	<i>fogva</i>	because of, due to	adessive
	<i>nézve</i>	regarding	sublative

I. Temporal Ps

The participle *kezd-ve* is made up of the verb *kezd* ‘begin’ and the adverbial participial suffix. Together they have a temporal interpretation, and the complement has to denote the starting point of the time interval (458).

- (458) a. 1900-tól kezdve
1900-Abl begin.Part
‘beginning from 1900’
- b. január-tól kezdve
January-Abl begin.Part
‘beginning from January’
- c. tegnap-tól kezdve
yesterday-Abl begin.Part
‘beginning from yesterday’
- d. 6 órá-tól kezdve
6 hour-Abl begin.Part
‘beginning from 6 o’clock’

Compare the garden variety participial use of *kezdve* in (459).

- (459) a. [A kezelést kezd-ve] ne felejtsek el a fertőtlenítést.
the treatment.Acc start-Part not forget.Subj.1Pl away the disinfection.Acc
‘When stating the treatment, let us not forget about disinfection.’
- b. A szavakat [hátról kezd-ve] / [az e betű-vel kezd-ve] tanulom.
the word.Pl.Acc back-Del start-Part / the e letter-Ins start-Part learn.DefObj.1Sg
‘I learn the words [starting from the back of the list] / [starting with the letter E].’

The participial element *fog-va* contains the verb *fog* ‘hold’ and the adverbial participial suffix. Both the form of the complement and the fact that the complement has to refer to the starting point of the time period makes this construction similar to *kezdve*, and it is also used in the same contexts where *kezdve* is grammatical, as illustrated in (460).

- (460) a. 1900-tól fogva
1900-Abl hold.Part
‘beginning from 1900’
- b. január-tól fogva
January-Abl hold.Part
‘beginning from January’

- c. tegnap-tól fogva
 yesterday-Abl hold.Part
 ‘beginning from yesterday’
- d. 6 órá-tól fogva
 6 hour-Abl hold.Part
 ‘beginning from 6 o’clock’

The genuine participial use of *fogva* is illustrated in (461) for comparison.

- (461) a. Pál [a kislánya kezé-t fog-va] sétál.
 Pál the little.daughter hand.Poss-Acc hold-Part walk.3Sg
 ‘Pál is walking holding his little daughter’s hand.’
- b. Pált [a lábá-nál fog-va] húzták ki a gödörből.
 Pál.Acc the leg.Poss-Ade hold-Part pull.Past.DefObj.3Pl out the pit.Ela
 ‘They pulled Pál out of the pit holding his legs.’

There are a couple of interesting combinations with this participial form. (462a) shows that the participial P-like element can have ‘now’ as its complement, however, the form is restricted, and it has to be the longer, transparently adverbial form *mostan* ‘now’; the regularly used form *most* ‘now’ is ungrammatical. (462b) provides an example with more or less the same meaning. While the complement is a locative element, the temporal reading is still the more salient one (although the locative reading is available as well).

- (462) a. *mostan-tól* / **most-tól* fogva
 now-Abl / now-Abl hold.Part
 ‘beginning from now’
- b. *innen-től* fogva
 from_here-Abl hold.Part
 ‘beginning from now / here’

II. Other Ps

Fogva also has a non-temporal use. In this use it means ‘because of, due to’ and it takes an adessive rather than an ablative complement (463).

- (463) a törvény erejé-nél fogva
 the law power.Poss-Ade hold.Part
 ‘by the power of law’

The third P-like participial element is not temporal either: it consists of the verb *néz* ‘look, regard’ and the participial suffix and its complement carries the sublative suffix (464).

- (464) mindenki-re nézve
 everyone-Sub regard.Part
 ‘regarding everyone’

The ordinary participial use of *nézve* is shown in (465).

- (465) Ili [a kirakatok-at néz-ve] sétált.
 Ili the shop_window.Pl-Acc look-Part walk.Past.3Sg
 ‘Ili was walking looking at the shop windows.’

Finally, the temporal P *múlva* ‘in / after (X time)’ was originally also a participle, *múl-va* ‘go.by-Part’, but the morpheme boundary no longer seems transparent. *Múlva* is generally treated as a postposition. We also discussed it among case-like postpositions (Section 2.2.2.2.1 point II) and argued in detail that its properties are no longer compatible with a participial analysis.

2.4.1.2. Complementation

I. The form of the complement

As shown in the previous Section, participial Ps obligatorily take an oblique case-marked complement: *kezdve* (458) and temporal *fogva* (460), both meaning ‘beginning from’, take an ablative marked complement, causal *fogva* ‘because of, due to’ takes an adessive complement (463), and the complement of *nézve* ‘regarding’ bears the sublative case (464). The oblique marked complement is the major reason to regard these items as case-assigning Ps. As shown in (459a), (461a) and (465), in their genuine participial use these elements combine with an accusative object, and in this use they take oblique modifiers with cases different from the subcategorized case in their P use: (459b) and (461b).

II. PP-internal position with respect to the complement

Participial Ps always follow their complement.

- (466) a. 1900-tól kezdve
 1900-Abl start.Part
 ‘starting from 1900’
 a’. *kezdve 1900-tól
 start.Part 1900-Abl
 Intended meaning: ‘starting from 1900’
 b. január-tól fogva
 January-Abl hold.Part
 ‘beginning from January’
 b’. *fogva január-tól
 hold.Part January-Abl
 Intended meaning: ‘beginning from January’
 c. ennél fogva
 this.Ade hold.Part
 ‘due to this’
 c’. *fogva ennél
 hold.Part this.Ade
 Intended meaning: ‘due to this’

- d. az elnök-re nézve
 the president-Sub look.Part
 ‘regarding / for the president’
- d’. *nézve az elnök-re
 look.Part the president-Sub
 Intended meaning: ‘regarding / for the president’

Many case-assigning and all case-like Ps are also strictly postpositional (Section 2.2.2.3.2 point *II* and Section 2.2.2.2.2 point *II*), and all genuine participial phrases, including adverbial participles, are also strictly head-final.

III. Dropping the complement

Participial Ps must have an overt complement. In (467), the star means that the use of P without its complement is ungrammatical; it does not mean that the participial form itself is ill-formed.

- (467) a. *kezdve
 start.Part
 Intended meaning: ‘starting from’
- b. *fogva
 hold.Part
 Intended meaning: ‘beginning from’
- c. *fogva
 hold.Part
 Intended meaning: ‘due to’
- d. *nézve
 look.Part
 Intended meaning: ‘regarding / for’

As shown in Section 2.2.2.3.2 point *III*, some case-assigning Ps can be used without a complement, expressing (spatial or temporal) relation between the Ground and a deictic center of the utterance (468).

- (468) a. A labda a vonal-on alul van. [case-assigning P]
 the ball the line-Sup under be.3Sg
 ‘The ball is under the line.’
- b. A labda alul van.
 the ball under be.3Sg
 ‘The ball is down / [down there] (with respect to a reference point).’

This, however, does not characterize all case-assigning Ps, and case-like Ps cannot be used in this way either (Section 2.2.2.2.2 point *III*). *Kezdve* ‘beginning with’, *fogva* ‘beginning with, due to’ and *nézve* ‘regarding’ are based on transitive verbs; their garden variety participial uses thus take an accusative marked complement. These participles, however, can be used without an oblique phrase, as shown in (459a), (461a) and (465).

IV. The complement's demonstrative modifier

If the DP complement of the participial P has a demonstrative modifier, then the case selected by the P appears on the demonstrative, too (469).

- (469) a. ettől az év-től fogva / kezdve [participial P]
 this.Abl the year-Abl hold.Part / start.Part
 'beginning from this year'
- b. ennél az indok-nál fogva
 this.Ade the reason-Ade hold.Part
 'due to this reason'
- c. erre a teljesítmény-re nézve
 this.Sub and achievement-Sub look.Part
 'regarding this achievement'

In this regard the case selected by partitive Ps has the same distribution as the case selected by case-assigning Ps (Section 2.2.2.3.2 point IV) and case suffixes not selected by a P (Section 2.2.1.2 point IV).

- (470) a. ettől a ház-tól távol [case-assigning P]
 this.Abl the house-Abl far_from
 'far from this house'
- b. ettől a ház-tól [case suffix]
 this.Abl the house-Abl
 'from this house'

V. Personal pronoun complements

If the complement of participial Ps is a personal pronoun, the case marker is followed by an agreement suffix (471). The personal pronoun itself can be dropped, as its reference is recoverable from the agreement.

- (471) a. (én-)től-em kezdve [participial P]
 I-Abl-1Sg begin.Part
 'beginning from me'
- b. (te-)rá-d nézve
 you-Sub-2Sg regard.Part
 'regarding you'

This is similar to what we see with ordinary case-assigning Ps and case suffixes (472).

- (472) a. (én-)rajt-am kívül [case-assigning P]
 I-Sup-1Sg outside_of
 'apart from me'
- b. (én-)rajt-am [case suffix]
 I-Sup-1Sg
 'on me'

Fogva in its temporal sense seems to always require a complement that expresses a ‘location’ in time, so its complement cannot be a personal pronoun (473). (The complement of *kezdve* can be a nominal which does not refer to a static point in time but to a source point in a spatial or temporal path, and so it allows for a pronominal complement, too (471a).)

- (473) **én-től-em fogva*
 I-Abl-1Sg begin.Part
 Intended meaning: ‘beginning from me’

The causal use of *fogva* is also incompatible with a personal pronoun complement (474).

- (474) **én-nál-am fogva*
 I-Ade-1Sg begin.Part
 Intended meaning: ‘because of me’

2.4.1.3. Separability of the P and its complement in the clause

Participial Ps are not separable from their complement; they must stay within the same constituent as their complement and cannot be P-stranded in constituent questions, for instance, cf. (475) and (476).

- (475) a. *Mikor-tól fogva kell elektronikusan pályázni?* [participial P]
 when-Abl hold.Part must.3Sg electronically apply.Inf
 ‘From when does one have to apply electronically?’
- b. *Mikor-tól kezdve kell elektronikusan pályázni?*
 when-Abl start.Part must.3Sg electronically apply.Inf
 ‘From when does one have to apply electronically?’
- c. *Mi-nél fogva jelenthetjük ezt ki?*
 what-Ade hold.Part state.Mod.1Pl this.Acc out
 ‘For what reason can we state this?’
- d. *Kik-re nézve káros ez?*
 who.Pl look.Part harmful this
 ‘For whom is this harmful?’
- (476) a. **Mikor-tól kell elektronikusan pályázni fogva?*
 when-Abl must.3Sg electronically apply.Inf hold.Part
 Intended meaning: ‘From when does one have to apply electronically?’
- b. **Mikor-tól kell kezdve elektronikusan pályázni?*
 when-Abl must.3Sg start.Part electronically apply.Inf
 Intended meaning: ‘From when does one have to apply electronically.’
- c. **Mi-nél jelenthetjük fogva ezt ki?*
 what-Ade state.Mod.1Pl hold.Part this.Acc out
 Intended meaning: ‘For what reason can we state this?’

- d. *Kik-re káros ez nézve?
who.Pl. harmful this look.Part
Intended meaning: 'For whom is this harmful?'

This makes participial Ps similar to some case-assigning postpositions: recall from Section 2.2.2.3.3 that some case-assigning Ps are also inseparable from their complement (and so are case-like Ps, cf. Section 2.2.2.2.3).

- (477) a. Mi-n sétáltál át? [case-assigning P]
what-Sup walk.Past.2Sg through
'What did you walk through?'
- b. [?]Mi-vel van szemközt a posta?
what-Ins be.3Sg opposite_to the post.office
'What is the post office opposite to?'
- c. *Mi-vel jött szemből a labda?
what-Sup come.Past.3Sg from_opposite_to the ball
Intended meaning: 'What is such that the ball came from opposite to it?'

However, this is not an argument for the P-status of these elements in itself, as subextraction from adverbial participial constituents is also disallowed.

2.4.1.4. *Combination with the Delative and Sublative case*

Participial Ps do not combine with the delative and the sublative case (478).

- (478) a. *1900-tól kezdve-ről/re
1900-Abl start.Part-Del/Sub
Intended meaning: 'from / until beginning with 1900'
- b. *január-tól fogva-ról/ra
January-Abl hold.Part-Del/Sub
Intended meaning: 'from / until beginning with January'
- c. *ennél fogva-ról/re
this.Ade hold.Part-Del/Sub
Intended meaning: 'from / to therefore'
- d. *az elnök-re nézve-ről/re
the president-Sub look.Part-Del/Sub
Intended meaning: 'from / to considering the president'

All case-assigning Ps and most case-like Ps also reject combination with these case suffixes (see Sections 2.2.2.2.4 and 2.2.2.3.4), and adverbial participles in general cannot be case-marked (with any case suffix) either.

2.4.1.5. *N + participial Ps modifying a noun*

PPs headed by participial Ps cannot function as noun modifiers. In the pre-N position they can be licensed by a verb in the present participial form (479).

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- (479) a. a [tavalý-tól fogva / kezdve] *(tart-ó) bojkott
the last_year-Abl hold.Part/ start.Part last-ing boycott
'the boycott that has been going on since last year'
- b. a [megalapozatlan indok-nál fogva] *(történ-ő) átalakítás
the unsubstantiated reason-Ade hold.Part happen-ing reorganization
'the reorganization that happens for unsubstantiated reasons'
- c. a [teljesítmény-re nézve] *(val-ó) hatás
the achievement-Sub look.Part be-ing effect
'the effect regarding / on the achievement'

Attributivization by *-i* is not compatible with participial Ps, however (480).

- (480) a. *a [tavalý-tól fogva]-i bojkott
the last_year-Abl hold.Part-Attr boycott
Intended meaning: 'the boycott that has been going on since year'
- a'. *a [tavalý-tól kezdve]-i bojkott
the last_year-Abl start.Part-Attr boycott
Intended meaning: 'the boycott that has been going on since year'
- b. *a [megalapozatlan indok-nál fogva]-i átalakítás
the unsubstantiated reason-Ade hold.Part-Attr reorganization
Intended meaning: 'the reorganization that happens for unsubstantiated reasons'
- c. *a [teljesítmény-re nézve]-i hatás
the achievement-Sub look.Part-Attr effect
Intended meaning: 'the effect regarding / on the achievement'

As described in Section 2.2.2.3.5, case-assigning Ps can be turned into N-modifiers either via a present participle or via *-i* attributivization (481).

- (481) a. *a vonal-on felül minta [case-assigning P]
the line-Sup above pattern
Intended meaning: 'the pattern above the line'
- b. a vonal-on felül-i minta
the line-Sup above-Attr pattern
'the pattern above the line'
- c. a vonal-on felül levő minta
the line-Sup above be.Part pattern
'the pattern above the line'

Genuine adverbial participles, on the other hand, serve as modifiers of verb phrases and cannot be turned into N-modifiers either via the addition of a present participle or the *-i* attributivizer.

2.4.1.6. *Modification*

Degree modifiers precede the complement of participial Ps (482). They cannot intervene between the P and its complement and cannot follow the P either.

- (482) a. pontosan / egészen / majdnem 1900-tól kezdve
 exactly / completely / almost 1900-Abl start.Part
 ‘starting [all the way] / almost from 1900’
- a’. *1900-tól pontosan / egészen / majdnem kezdve
 1900-Abl exactly / completely / almost start.Part
 Intended meaning: ‘starting [all the way] / almost from 1900’
- a’’. *1900-tól kezdve pontosan / egészen / majdnem
 1900-Abl start.Part exactly / completely / almost
 Intended meaning: ‘starting [all the way] / almost from 1900’
- b. pontosan / egészen / majdnem január-tól fogva
 exactly / completely / almost January-Abl hold.Part
 ‘beginning [all the way] / almost from January’
- b’. *január-tól pontosan / egészen / majdnem fogva
 January-Abl exactly / completely / almost hold.Part
 Intended meaning: ‘beginning [all the way] / almost from January’
- b’’. *január-tól fogva pontosan / egészen / majdnem
 January-Abl hold.Part exactly / completely / almost
 Intended meaning: ‘beginning [all the way] / almost from January’
- c. pontosan ennél (*pontosan) fogva (*pontosan)
 exactly this.Ade exactly hold.Part exactly
 ‘exactly due to this’
- d. pontosan az elnök-re (*pontosan) nézve (*pontosan)
 exactly the president-Sub exactly look.Part exactly
 ‘regarding / for exactly president’

Many case-assigning Ps and all case-like Ps have this distribution, too (Sections 2.2.2.3.6 and 2.2.2.2.6 respectively). Genuine adverbial participles are also strongly head-final and do not allow modifiers to appear after the participial verb (483).

- (483) az előadást pontosan kezd-ve (*pontosan) [participle]
 the lecture.Acc exactly start-Part exactly
 ‘starting the lecture on time’

They do, however, allow a degree modifier to intervene between the participle and its oblique modifier. (484) shows the adverbial participial use of *fogva*. Unlike in (482c), here it is possible for a semantically appropriate degree modifier to intervene between an adessive NP/DP modifier and *fogva*.

- (484) Pált [a lábá-nál erősen fog-va] kilógatják az ablakon.
 Pál.Acc the foot.Poss.3Sg-Ade strongly hold-Part out.hang.DefObj.3Pl the window.Sup
 ‘They are hanging Pál out of the window, holding him strongly by his foot.’

Measure phrases are not compatible with participial Ps. In (485c,d) modification by measure phrases is expected to fail independently, too, due to the meaning of these Ps.

- (485) a. *két nappal 1900-tól kezdve
two day.Ins 1900-Abl start.Part
Intended meaning: ‘two days starting from 1900’
- b. *két nappal január-tól fogva
two day.Ins January-Abl hold.Part
Intended meaning: ‘two days starting from January’
- c. *sokkal ennél fogva
much.Ins this.Ade hold.Part
Intended meaning: ‘very much therefore’
- d. *sokkal az elnök-re nézve
much.Ins the president-Sub look.Part
Intended meaning: ‘as (very) much regards the president’

2.4.1.7. Conjunction reduction

Backward conjunction reduction is possible with participial Ps (486), similarly to case-like and case-assigning Ps (Sections 2.2.2.2.7 and 2.2.2.3.7).

- (486) ● Backward conjunction reduction
- a. 1900-tól vagy 2000-től fogva / kezdve
1900-Abl or 2000-Abl hold.Part / start.Part
‘beginning from 1900 or 2000’
- b. koránál és beosztásánál fogva
age.Poss-Ade and rank-Ade hold.Part
‘due to his age and rank’
- c. az elnök-re és az osztályvezető-re nézve
the president-Sub and the department.leader-Sub look.Part
‘regarding the president and the department leader’

Forward conjunction reduction cannot be tested with participial Ps. This test would require two different participial Ps which subcategorize for the same oblique case. There are only two Ps which take the same case: *kezdve* and *fogva* both take the ablative case. However, these are synonyms, thus coordinating PPs with them produces semantically anomalous phrases. (487a) and (487b) could be used in a question in a context in which the addressee did not hear clearly which P was used by the speaker.

- (487) ● Forward conjunction reduction
- a. #1900-tól kezdve vagy 1900-tól fogva
1900-Abl start.Part or 1900-Abl hold.Part
‘starting with 1900 or beginning with 1900’
- b. #1900-tól kezdve vagy fogva
1900-Abl start.Part or hold.Part
‘starting or beginning with 1900’

2.4.1.8. *Combination with a verbal particle*

Like other non-finite forms, adverbial participles can be formed from particle-verbs (488).

- (488) a. az előadást el-kezd-ve [participle]
 the lecture.Acc away-start-Part
 ‘starting the lecture’
- a’. az előadást meg-kezd-ve
 the lecture.Acc Perf-start-Part
 ‘starting the lecture’
- b. a lábánál meg-fog-va
 the foot.Poss.3Sg-Ade Perf-hold-Part
 ‘holding him by his foot’
- c. a kép-re rá-néz-ve
 the picture-Sub onto-look-Part
 ‘looking at the picture’
- c’. a filmet meg-néz-ve
 the movie.Acc Perf-look-Part
 ‘having watched the movie’

Verbal particles cannot appear with participial Ps. (489) forms a minimal pair with (488a’). While the particle *meg* is perfectly compatible with the participle of ‘start’, it cannot occur with the transitional P *kezdve* ‘beginning with’.

- (489) *1900-tól meg-kezd-ve
 1900-Abl Perf-start-Part
 ‘starting from 1900’

Meg is also compatible with the participle of *fog* ‘hold’ (488b), but its presence forces a participial reading and excludes the P use, even in the presence of the adessive NP (490).

- (490) ennél meg-fog-va
 this.Ade Perf-hold-Part
 ‘grabbing it by this’ (Not: ‘due to this’)

Similarly, *rá* ‘onto’ can occur with the participle of *néz* ‘look, regard’ (488c), but this disallows the P reading even if the sublative NP is present (491).

- (491) az elnök-re rá-néz-ve
 the president-Sub onto-look-Part
 ‘looking at the president’ (Not: ‘regarding the president’)

2.4.1.9. *Taking stock: participial Ps between participles and Ps*

Participial Ps have some distributional properties which are shared with both case-assigning Ps and participles. They do not combine with the delative or the sublative case suffix and cannot be followed by degree (or other) modifiers. As these

properties characterize both case-assigning Ps and adverbial participles, they are not revealing about the syntactic category of the forms discussed in this section.

The way participial Ps interact with personal pronoun complements and the appearance of demonstrative concord in their NP/DP complement does not shed light on their syntactic category either. These properties are solely due to the presence of the oblique case suffix and have no bearing on whether the lexeme selecting the oblique case is an adverbial participle or a P.

Some properties, however, firmly group participial Ps with case-assigning Ps rather than with ordinary adverbial participles. They have lost the participial verb's ability to take an accusative complement and a wide variety of optional oblique modifiers. Like case-assigning Ps, they must occur with an oblique NP headed by a particular (subcategorized) case suffix and compared to the participial verb, some have acquired a more specialized meaning (*fogva* means 'holding (with one's hands), taking' as an adverbial participle and 'beginning with, due to' as a transitional P; *nézve* means 'looking, regarding' in its adverbial participle use but as a transitional P it can only mean 'regarding, with respect to'). A further property that groups them with Ps is that they can be turned into prenominal N-modifiers by the addition of a present participial verb (crucially, this is not possible for genuine adverbial participles). The strict adjacency between the selected oblique NP/DP and the participial form (i.e. the impossibility of inserting a degree modifier into the position directly preceding the participle) also reinforces the similarity to postpositions, and the ban on the appearance of verbal particles further distances participial Ps from genuine adverbial participles. At the same time, the morpheme boundary between the verbal stem and the participial suffix has not become opaque for speakers. For these reasons, we may consider these forms to be transitional, in-between two categories, though closer to Ps than to participles.

2.4.2. *Possessive postpositions*

2.4.2.1. *The inventory and form of possessive postpositions*

In Section 2.2.2.2.1 point *III* we saw that the case-like Ps *helyett* 'instead of' and *gyanánt* 'as, by way of, in lieu of' originated in possessive structures but have become fully grammaticalized Ps and do not share the morpho-syntactic properties of possessed noun phrases any longer. However, some Ps originating in possessive constructions have not yet fully grammaticalized into Ps. These forms, listed in Table 21, may be regarded as transitional elements (Kenesei *et al.* 1998, in fact, call them transitional Ps). In this section we shall discuss their properties in detail, comparing them with garden variety case-like Ps with and without a possessive origin.

Table 21: *Possessive postpositions*

	POSSESSIVE P	MEANING
SPATIAL	<i>helyében</i>	in X's place/shoes
TEMPORAL	<i>táján</i>	around (a point in time)
	<i>tájékán</i>	around (a point in time)
	<i>folyamán</i>	during

	<i>során</i>	during
OTHER	<i>folytán</i>	owing to
	<i>révén</i>	by means of, through
	<i>útján</i>	by way of
	<i>esetén</i>	in case of
	<i>nyomán</i>	based on X, following X
	<i>ellenére</i>	despite
	<i>részére</i>	for (beneficent)
	<i>számára</i>	for (beneficent, experiencer)
	<i>fejében</i>	in exchange for

Possessive Ps are made up of a noun, the possessive suffix *-a/-e/-ja/-je* and a spatial case suffix.

- (492) János hely-é-ben
 János place-Poss-Ine
 ‘in János’ place / shoes’

If the complement of a possessive P is a personal pronoun, then (much like case-like Ps) the P agrees with the pronoun’s person-number features. This agreement precedes the spatial case suffix (493).

- (493) az én hely-em-ben, a te hely-ed-ben, az ő hely-é-ben
 the I place-Poss.1Sg-Ine the you(Sg) place-Poss.2Sg-Ine, the he place-Poss.3Sg-Ine
 ‘in my place / shoes, in your place / shoes, in his place / shoes’

This is the same morpheme order that we find in genuine possessive constructions (494).

- (494) az én kez-em-ben, a te kez-ed-ben, az ő kez-é-ben
 the I hand-Poss.1Sg-Ine the you(Sg) hand-Poss.2Sg-Ine, the he hand-Poss.3Sg-Ine
 ‘in my hand, in your hand, in his hand’

In the case of oblique marked personal pronouns and case-like Ps with a personal pronoun complement, the case suffix (495) or case-like P (496) precedes the agreement, however (see Section 2.2.1.2 point VB and Section 2.2.2.2.2 point V).

- (495) én-benn-em, te-benn-ed, ő-benn-e [case suffix]
 I-Ine-Poss.1Sg you(Sg)-Ine-Poss.2Sg he-Ine-Poss.3Sg
 ‘in me, in you(Sg), in him’

- (496) én-mellett-em, te-mellett-ed, ő-mellett-e [case-like P]
 I-next_to-Poss.1Sg you(Sg)-next_to-Poss.2Sg he-next_to-Poss.3Sg
 ‘next to me, next to you(Sg), next to him’

In this respect possessive Ps are closer to ordinary possessive constructions than to case-like Ps.

I. Spatial Ps

The only spatial possessive P is *helyében* ‘in X’s place / shoes’, which comprises the noun *hely* ‘place’, the possessive suffix and the inessive (*-ban/-ben*) case marker (497).

- (497) Pál hely-é-ben otthon maradnék.
 Pál place-Poss-Ine at_home stay.Cond.1Sg
 ‘[If I were] in Pál’s place / shoes, I would stay at home.’

As discussed in Section 2.2.2.2.1 point III, the case-like P *helyett* ‘instead of’ has a similar morphemic composition, but instead of the productive inessive case, it involves the obsolete *-(V)t* locative suffix (498).

- (498) Pál helyett Katit hívom meg.
 Pál instead_of Kati.Acc invite.DefObj.1Sg Perf
 ‘I shall invite Kati instead of Pál.’

The meaning of the case-like *helyett* ‘instead of’ is less transparently compositional than that of the possessive *helyében* ‘in X’s place / shoes’. The morphemic composition of case-like *helyett* ‘instead of’ is also opaque to speakers, while the internal structure of *helyében* ‘in X’s places / shoes’ is still transparent to a large degree.

II. Temporal Ps

The temporal elements *táján* and *tájékán* ‘around (a point in time)’ comprise the noun *táj* or *tájék*, both meaning ‘region, country, land’, the possessive suffix and the suppressive (*-n/-on/-en/-ön*) case suffix (499).

- (499) karácsony táj-á-n / tájék-á-n
 Christmas area-Poss-Sup / area-Poss-Sup
 ‘around Christmas’

These Ps are used as alternatives to the fully grammaticalized *tájban / tájt* ‘around’ discussed in Section 2.2.2.2.1 point II (500).

- (500) a. 6 óra 10 perc [?]táján / tájékán
 6 hour 10 minute around / around
 ‘at around 10 past 6’
- b. húsvét táján / tájékán
 Easter around / around
 ‘at around Easter’
- c. múlt hét táján / tájékán
 last week around / around
 ‘around last week’
- d. január táján / tájékán
 January around / around
 ‘(in) around January’

In some contexts the possessive Ps *táján* and *tájékán* are not fully grammatical, however (501). In these cases the full-fledged Ps *tájban* / *tájt* ‘around’ can be used instead.

- (501) a. 6 óra tájban / ?tájékán / ?táján
 6 hour around / around / around
 ‘at around 6 o’clock’
- b. negyed 10 tájban / ?tájékán / ?táján
 quarter 10 around / around / around
 ‘at around quarter past nine’
- c. dél tájban / *tájékán / *táján
 noon around / around / around
 ‘at around noon’

Folyamán and *során* both mean ‘during’. They can be decomposed into the noun *folyam* ‘course, river’ or *sor* ‘row, line, queue’ the possessive suffix and the superessive (-*n/-on/-en/-ön*) case suffix. As Ps they refer to a temporal duration specified in their complement (502).

- (502) a. a múlt év folyam-á-n
 the past year course-Poss-Sup
 ‘[in the course of] / during the past year’
- b. a múlt év sor-á-n
 the past year line-Poss-Sup
 ‘during the past year’

The primarily spatial case-like P *alatt* ‘under’ can also be used in some temporal contexts, and in one such use, illustrated in (503b), its meaning is similar to that of *folyamán* and *során* ‘during’.

- (503) a. Mari két perc alatt lefutotta a távot.
 Mari two minute under down.run.Past.DefObj.3Sg the distance.Acc
 ‘Mari ran the distance in two minutes.’
- b. I. István uralkodása alatt
 1st István reign.Poss under
 ‘during the reign of István the First’
- b’. I. István alatt
 1st István under
 ‘under [the reign of] István the First’

In its temporal use, *alatt* ‘under’ takes a complement which i) refers to a temporal unit and has a numeral modifier (503a), ii) is a deverbal noun which refers to a period in time (503b) or iii) is a proper name which is understood, via metaphorical extension, to refer to a period in time (503b’). Nouns which refer to a temporal unit but have no numeral modifier can only be used with *folyamán* and *során* ‘during’, cf. (502) and (504).

- (504) *a múlt év alatt
 the past year under
 Intended meaning: '[in the course of] / during the past year'

III. Other Ps

Non-spatial and non-temporal possessive Ps comprise a noun, the possessive suffix and the superessive (-*n/-on/-en/-ön*) or the sublative (-*ra/-re*) case marker.

A. Ps with the superessive case

Several Ps originate in a superessive marked possessed noun. *Folytán* 'owing to' is built on the deverbal nominal *folyt-* 'course, flowing' (505a), *révén* 'by means of, through' contains *rév* 'ferry' (505b), *útján* 'by way of' includes *út* 'road, way' (505c), *esetén* 'in case of' contains *eset* 'case' (505d) and *nyomán* 'based on X, following X' is built on *nyom* 'sign, track, evidence' (505e).

- (505) a. [Szerencsés véletlen folyt-á-n] egymás mellé tudtunk ülni.
 lucky coincidence course-Poss-Sup each_other to_next_to could.1Pl sit.Inf
 'Due to a happy coincidence, we could sit next to each other.'
- b. A projekt [nemzetközi együttműködés rév-é-n] valósul meg.
 the project international cooperation ferry-Poss-Sup realize.3Sg Perf
 'The project will be realized through international cooperation.'
- c. A dokumentumot [postai levél út-já-n] küldje be.
 the document.Acc postal letter way-Poss.Sup send.Subj.3Sg in
 'Send the document via post.'
- d. [Tűz eset-é-n] csak a lépcső használható.
 fire case-Poss-Sup only the stairs usable
 'In case of fire only the stairs can be used.'
- e. [Az új intézkedés nyom-á-n] javult a közbiztonság.
 the new measure track-Poss-Sup improve.Past.3Sg the public.safety
 'Following the new measures, public safety has improved.'

B. Ps with the sublative case

There are also possessive Ps which originate in a sublative marked possessed noun. *Részére* 'for (beneficiary)' is built on *rész* (formerly: 'share, religious denomination' cf. Benkő 1976: 394, currently: 'part'); *számára* 'for (beneficiary, experiencer)' contains *szám* (obsolete meaning: 'group, order or row of animates', see Benkő 1976: 669, glossed here as 'sake'; current meaning: 'number'); and *ellenére* 'despite' includes *ellen*, which has a nominal use ('enemy') and a case-like P use ('against'). These Ps are illustrated in (506).

- (506) a. [Viszonteladók rész-é-re] kedvezményt biztosítunk.
 distributor.Pl share-Poss-Sub discount.Acc provide.1Pl
 'We offer a discount for distributors.'

- b. Ez egy jó lehetőség [Európa szám-á-ra].
 this a good opportunity Europe sake-Poss-Sub
 ‘This is a good opportunity for Europe.’
- c. [Az eső ellen-é-re] elmegyünk.
 the rain against-Poss-Sub away.go.1Pl
 ‘We’ll go in spite of the rain.’

Részére ‘for (beneficient)’ and *számára* ‘for (beneficient, experiencer)’ are largely synonymous. In many cases either of them can be used. (506a), for instance, would also be grammatical with *számára*. However, if the complement refers to an abstract concept, then *számára* is highly preferred: (506b) would be odd with *részére*. Experiencers are also only compatible with *számára* (507).

- (507) Ez kellemetlen volt Pál szám-á-ra / *rész-é-re.
 this inconvenient was Pál sake-Poss-Sub / share-Poss-Sub
 ‘This was inconvenient for Pál.’

In most cases both *részére* ‘for (beneficient)’ and *számára* ‘for (beneficient, experiencer)’ can be substituted with the dative suffix: (508) and (509).

- (508) a. Viszonteladók-nak kedvezményt biztosítunk.
 distributor.Pl-Dat discount.Acc provide.1Pl
 ‘We offer a discount for distributors.’
- b. Ez egy jó lehetőség Európá-nak.
 this a good opportunity Europe-Dat
 ‘This is a good opportunity for Europe.’
- c. Ez kellemetlen volt Pál-nak.
 this inconvenient was Pál-Dat
 ‘This was inconvenient for Pál.’
- (509) a. Pál szótárakat adományoz a könyvtár-nak.
 Pál dictionary.Pl.Acc donate.3Sg the library-Dat
 ‘Pál donates dictionaries to the library.’
- b. Pál szótárakat adományoz a könyvtár szám-á-ra.
 Pál dictionary.Pl.Acc donate.3Sg the library sake-Poss-Sub
 ‘Pál donates dictionaries to the library.’
- c. Pál szótárakat adományoz a könyvtár rész-é-re.
 Pál dictionary.Pl.Acc donate.3Sg the library share-Poss-Sub
 ‘Pál donates dictionaries to the library.’

C. Ps with the inessive case

The possessive P *fejében* ‘in exchange for’ comprises the noun *fej* ‘head’, the possessive suffix and the *-ban/-ben* inessive case suffix. The literal possessive use of *fejében* is shown in (510a), while the possessive P use is illustrated in (510b).

- (510) a. Nehéz kitalálni, mi járhat Pál fej-é-ben. [possessive phrase]
 difficult guess.Inf what go.Mod.3Sg Pál head-Poss-Ine
 ‘It is difficult to guess what may be going on in Pál’s head.’
- b. Váltásdíj fej-é-ben elengedték a túsokat. [possessive P]
 ransom head-Poss-Ine away.let.Past.DefObj.3Pl the hostage.Pl.Acc
 ‘The hostages were let go in exchange for a ransom.’

Having shown the morphemic composition of possessive Ps, in the following sections we shall gloss them for the reader’s convenience with their P meaning rather than as genuine possessive constructions, unless their internal make-up is relevant to the examples.

Remark 18. The reanalysis of possessive structures into possessive postpositions is a process that is still active in the language. In Table 21 we included the possessive Ps which are both semantically and grammatically different from their possessive phrase sources. There are further possessive phrases which can be considered to be at the initial phase of semantic bleaching. These include *alapján* ‘based on’, *árán* ‘at the expense of’, *ellenében* ‘in return for’, *érdekében* ‘in order to’, *kedvéért* ‘for the sake of’, *képében* ‘in the form of’, *keretében* ‘in the framework of’, *körében* ‘in the sphere of’, *környékén* ‘around (temporal)’, *magasságában* ‘around (temporal)’, *nevében* ‘on behalf of’, *szellemében* ‘in the spirit of’, *szemében* ‘in the eyes of’.

2.4.2.2. *Complementation*

1. *The form of the complement*

In regular possessive constructions the possessor can be either unmarked or dative marked (511).

- (511) a. Pál könyv-é-ben / könyv-é-n / könyv-é-re
 Pál book-Poss-Ine / book-Poss-Sup / book-Poss-Sub
 ‘in / on / onto Pál’s book’
- b. Pál-nak a könyv-é-ben / könyv-é-n / könyv-é-re
 Pál-Dat the book-Poss-Ine / book-Poss-Sup / book-Poss-Sub
 ‘in / on / onto Pál’s book’

Common noun and proper name complements of possessive Ps must be morphologically unmarked, however; dative case on the complement is ungrammatical (512). (The definite article is required to follow dative possessors. With possessive Ps, neither the presence nor the absence of the definite article after a dative-marked complement improves grammaticality. This is shown by the parentheses around the article.)

- (512) a. *6 órá-nak (a) táján / tájékán [temporal possessive P]
 6 hour-Dat the around / around
 Intended meaning: ‘around 6 o’clock’
- b. *Pál-nak (a) révén [other possessive P]
 Pál-Dat the by_means_of
 Intended meaning: ‘through Pál’

Only the spatial possessive P *helyében* ‘in the shoes of’ allows a dative complement to some degree; but this is a highly marked option compared to the morphologically unmarked complement (513).

- (513) ^{?(?)}Pál-nak a helyében [spatial possessive P]
 Pál-Dat the place.Poss.Ine
 Intended meaning: ‘[in the shoes of] / [if I were] Pál’

This makes possessive Ps similar to case-like Ps, whose complement must also be unmarked. (514a) features *helyett* ‘instead of’, which has a possessive origin but has already fully grammaticalized into a case-like P, while (514b) involves *nélkül* ‘under’, which does not derive from a possessed noun. They pattern alike, and as shown in (512), possessive Ps pattern with them. (Inserting the definite article into the ungrammatical examples would not improve grammaticality here either.)

- (514) a. Pál helyett [case-like P, with possessive origin]
 Pál instead_of
 ‘instead of Pál’
 a’. *Pál-nak helyett
 Pál-Dat instead_of
 Intended meaning: ‘instead of Pál’
 b. Pál nélkül [case-like P, without possessive origin]
 Pál without
 ‘without Pál’
 b’. *Pál-nak nélkül
 Pál-Dat without
 Intended meaning: ‘without Pál’

II. PP-internal position with respect to the complement

Possessive Ps must follow their complement (515).

- (515) a. Pál helyében [spatial possessive P]
 Pál place.Poss.Ine
 ‘in Pál’s shoes / place’
 a’. *helyében Pál
 place.Poss.Ine Pál
 Intended meaning: ‘in Pál’s shoes / place’
 b. 6 óra táján / tájékán [temporal possessive P]
 6 hour around / around
 ‘around 6 o’clock’
 b’. *táján / tájékán 6 óra
 around / around 6 hour
 Intended meaning: ‘around 6 o’clock’

- c. Pál révén [other possessive P]
 Pál by_means_of
 ‘through Pál’
- c’. *révén Pál
 by_means_of Pál
 Intended meaning: ‘through Pál’

This is expected on their analysis as possessive phrases and as case-like postpositions, too: a possessum must follow a morphologically unmarked possessor, and a case-like P also must follow its complement (516).

- (516) a. Pál könyv-e [possessive phrase]
 Pál book-Poss
 ‘Pál’s book’
- a’. *könyv-e Pál
 book-Poss Pál
 Intended meaning: ‘Pál’s book’
- b. Pál helyett [case-like P, with possessive origin]
 Pál instead_of
 ‘instead of Pál’
- b’. *helyett Pál
 instead_of Pál
 Intended meaning: ‘instead of Pál’
- c. Pál nélkül [case-like P, without possessive origin]
 Pál without
 ‘without Pál’
- c’. *nélkül Pál
 without Pál
 Intended meaning: ‘without Pál’

III. Dropping the complement

Possessive Ps cannot be used intransitively. The stars in (517) mean that the lexical items in question cannot stand on their own; they do not mean that the forms themselves are ungrammatical.

- (517) a. *táján / tájékán [temporal possessive P]
 around / around
- b. *révén [other possessive P]
 by_means_of
- c. *ellenére
 in spite_of

This follows from the fact that the possessive marker in these forms has not become opaque, and hence they must occur with a possessor. Only *helyében* ‘in X’s place/shoes’, *részére* ‘for’ and *számára* ‘for’ occur without an overt complement (518), but in this case they are understood to have a *pro*-dropped third person

singular complement. This is because pronominal third person singular possessors induce a phonologically zero agreement on the possessum (Bartos 1999), thus the forms in (518) are understood to have this zero agreement and a 3Sg possessor. A truly intransitive use is thus not possible for possessive Ps.

- (518) a. a hely-é-ben
the place-Poss-Ine
‘in his place / shoes’
- b. (a) szám-á-ra
the share-Poss-Sub
‘for him’
- c. (a) rész-é-re
the share-Poss-Sub
‘for him’

We will see in point V that possessive Ps other than *helyében* ‘in X’s place / shoes’, *részére* ‘for’ and *számára* ‘for’ do not take pronominal complements in the first place, so they cannot be understood as Ps with a *pro*-dropped complement.

Common nouns with a possessive marker also must have a possessor (which may be *pro*-dropped), and case-like Ps, too, must occur with a complement (which again can be *pro*-dropped, see Section 2.2.2.2.2 point V).

IV. The complement’s demonstrative modifier

If the possessive P’s complement has a demonstrative modifier, then the P’s complement must bear dative case, and dative must also appear on the demonstrative (519b,e).

- (519) a. a dolgozó helyében [spatial possessive P]
the worker place.Poss.Ine
‘in the place / shoes of the worker’
- b. ennek a dolgozó-nak a helyében
this.Dat the worker-Dat the place.Poss.Ine
‘in the place / shoes of this worker’
- c. *ez a dolgozó helyében
this the worker place.Poss.Ine
Intended meaning: ‘in the place / shoes of this worker’
- d. az ajánlás nyomán [other possessive P]
the recommendation following
‘[based on] / following the recommendation’
- e. ennek az ajánlás-nak a nyomán
this.Dat the recommendation-Dat the following
‘[based on] / following this recommendation’
- f. *ez az ajánlás nyomán
this the recommendation following
Intended meaning: ‘[based on] / following this recommendation’

This is similar to what we see with real possessive constructions: possessors with a demonstrative modifier must be dative-marked; being morphologically unmarked is not compatible with having a demonstrative modifier (520b,c).

- (520) a. a dolgozó lakása [possessive phrase]
 the worker apartment.Poss
 ‘the worker’s apartment’
- b. ennek a dolgozó-nak a lakása
 this.Dat the worker-Dat the apartment.Poss
 ‘this worker’s apartment’
- c. *ez a dolgozó lakása
 this the worker apartment.Poss
 Intended meaning: ‘this worker’s apartment’

Real case-like Ps, on the other hand, take an unmarked complement and they are copied onto the demonstrative modifier themselves: (521b, 522b) and Section 2.2.2.2.2 point IV.

- (521) a. a dolgozó helyett [case-like P, with possessive origin]
 the worker instead_of
 ‘next to the worker’
- b. e-helyett a dolgozó helyett
 this-next_to the worker instead_of
 ‘instead of this worker’
- c. *ez a dolgozó helyett
 this the worker instead_of
 Intended meaning: ‘instead of this worker’
- d. *ennek a dolgozó-nak helyett
 this.Dat the worker-Dat instead_of
 Intended meaning: ‘instead of this worker’
- (522) a. a dolgozó nélkül [case-like P, without possessive origin]
 the worker without
 ‘without the worker’
- b. e-nélkül a dolgozó nélkül
 this-without the worker without
 ‘without this worker’
- c. *ez a dolgozó nélkül
 this the worker without
 Intended meaning: ‘without this worker’
- d. *ennek a dolgozó-nak nélkül
 this.Dat the worker-Dat without
 Intended meaning: ‘without this worker’

V. Personal pronouns in the complement position

If the possessive P's complement is a personal pronoun, then the possessive marker between the nominal base and the case suffix shows agreement with the pronoun's number and person features (523).

- (523) a. az én rész-em-re
the I share-1Sg-Sub
'for me'
- b. a te rész-ed-re
the you(Sg) share-2Sg-Sub
'for you(Sg)'
- c. az ő rész-é-re
the he share-3Sg-Sub
'for him'
- d. a mi rész-ünk-re
the we share-1Pl-Sub
'for us'
- e. a ti rész-etek-re
the you(Pl) share-2Pl-Sub
'for you(Pl)'
- f. az ő rész-ük-re
the he share-3Pl-Sub
'for them'

This also characterizes genuine possessive constructions (524).

- (524) a. az én könyv-em-re
the I book-1Sg-Sub
'onto my book'
- b. a te könyv-ed-re
the you(Sg) book-2Sg-Sub
'onto your(Sg) book'
- c. az ő könyv-é-re
the he book-3Sg-Sub
'onto his book'
- d. a mi könyv-ünk-re
the we book-1Pl-Sub
'onto our book'
- e. a ti könyv-etek-re
the you(Pl) book-2Pl-Sub
'onto your(Pl) book'
- f. az ő könyv-ük-re
the he book-3Pl-Sub
'onto their book'

With case-like Ps the agreement appears after the obsolete locative, lative or source case suffix. In the examples in (525) we see the obsolete *-(V)t* locative case suffix.

- (525) a. *én-alatt-am*
I-under-1Sg
'under me'
- b. *te-alatt-ad*
you(Sg)-under-2Sg
'under you(Sg)'
- c. *ő-alatt-a*
he-under-3Sg
'under him'
- d. *mi-alatt-unk*
we-under-1Pl
'under us'
- e. *ti-alatt-atok*
you(Pl)-under-2Pl
'under you(Pl)'
- f. *ők-alatt-uk*
he-under-3Pl
'under them'

In both possessive phrases and possessive PPs, an overt personal pronoun must be preceded by the definite article, cf. (526) with (524a) and (523a).

- (526) a. **én rész-em-re* [possessive P]
I share-1Sg-Sub
Intended meaning: 'for me'
- b. **én könyv-em-re* [possessive phrase]
I book-1Sg-Sub
Intended meaning: 'onto my book'

In case-like PPs, on the other hand, a definite article preceding the personal pronoun complement leads to ungrammaticality (527).

- (527) a. *én-helyett-em* [case-like P, with possessive origin]
I-instead_of-1Sg
'instead of me'
- a'. **az én-helyett-em*
the I-instead_of-1Sg
Intended meaning: 'instead of me'
- b. *én-nélkül-em* [case-like P, without possessive origin]
I-without-1Sg
'without me'

- b'. *az én-nélkül-em
 the I-without-1Sg
 Intended meaning: 'without me'

In possessive phrases, possessive PPs and case-like PPs alike, the personal pronoun complement can undergo *pro*-drop (528).

- (528) a. rész-em-re, szám-om-ra [possessive P]
 share-1Sg-Sub share-1Sg-Sub
 'for me, for me'
- b. a könyv-em-re [possessive phrase]
 the book-1Sg-Sub
 'onto my book'
- c. helyett-em [case-like P, with possessive origin]
 instead_of-1Sg
 'instead of me'
- d. nélkül-em [case-like P, without possessive origin]
 without-1Sg
 'without me'

In (528b) we can see that the article on the possessum is normally retained with pro-dropped possessors.

The article is also obligatory when the complement of *helyében* 'in X's place / shoes' is *pro*-dropped (529).

- (529) a. a hely-em-ben
 the place-1Sg-Ine
 'in my place / shoes'
- b. *hely-em-ben
 place-1Sg-Ine
 Intended meaning: 'in my place / shoes'

Részére and *számára* (both: 'for') are different, however. If they serve as a recipient, then the article may be retained (530a). When *számára* serves as an experiencer, however, then the article cannot appear (530b). (*Részére* cannot function as an experiencer at all.)

- (530) a. Érkezett [(a) rész-em-re] / [(a) szám-om-ra] egy csomag.
 arrive.Past.3Sg the share-1Sg-Sub / the share-1Sg-Sub a parcel
 'A package has arrive for me.'
- b. [(*A) szám-om-ra] ez kellemetlen volt.
 the share-1Sg-Sub this inconvenient was
 'This was inconvenient for me.'

This makes *helyében* PPs more similar to possessive constructions than *részére* or *számára* PPs. We will see below that other possessive Ps either do not allow a personal pronoun complement or the personal pronoun complement must be third

person singular and overt, hence the issue of *pro*-drop is not relevant for other possessive Ps.

Possessive PPs with a third person plural pronoun complement exhibit an anti-agreement phenomenon: the pronoun must be formally singular (*ő* ‘he’ instead of *ők* ‘they’) and the plural feature of the pronoun is only reflected in the third person plural agreement on the P (523f). The same phenomenon can also be observed in case-like PPs (525f) and possessive phrases (524f); in both cases, the plurality of the pronoun is only indicated by the agreement on the P and the possessum, respectively.

Helyében ‘in X’s place/shoes’, *részére* ‘for’ and *számára* ‘for’ may combine with any personal pronoun. The full paradigm for *részére* ‘for’ was shown in (523). There are possessive Ps, however, whose combination with personal pronouns is highly restricted: they only combine with third person singular pronouns. This group includes *révén* ‘by means of, through’ (531) and *nyomán* ‘based on X, following X’ (532).

- (531) a. [az adatok] / Pál rév-é-n
 the datum.Pl / Pál ferry-Poss-Sup
 ‘by means of [the data] / Pál’
- b. az ő rév-é-n
 the he ferry-Poss-Sup
 ‘by means of him’
- c. *az én rév-em-en, *a te rév-ed-en
 the I ferry-1Sg-Sup the you(Sg) ferry-2Sg-Sup
 Intended meaning: ‘by means of me, by means of you(Sg)’
- d. *a mi rév-ünk-ön, *a ti rév-etek-en, *az ő rév-ük-ön
 the we ferry-1Pl-Sup the you(Pl) ferry-2Pl-Sup the he ferry-3Pl-Sup
 Intended meaning: ‘by means of us, by means of you(Pl), by means of them’

- (532) a. [az adatok] / Chomsky nyom-á-n
 the datum.Pl / Chomsky trace-Poss-Sup
 ‘[based on the data] / [following Chomsky]’
- b. az ő nyom-á-n
 the he trace-Poss-Sup
 ‘following / [based on] his (work)’
- c. *az én nyom-om-on, *a te nyom-od-on
 the I trace-1Sg-Sup the you(Sg) trace-2Sg-Sup
 Intended meaning: ‘following me, following you(Sg)’
- d. *a mi nyom-unk-on, *a ti nyom-otok-on, *az ő nyom-uk-on
 the we trace-1Pl-Sup the you(Pl) trace-2Pl-Sup the he trace-3Pl-Sup
 Intended meaning: ‘following us, following you(Pl), following them’

Note that as full-fledged possessive constructions, with a literal nominal interpretation for *rév* ‘ferry’ and *nyom* ‘trace, trail’, the phrases in (531c,d) and (532) are fully grammatical: (533) and (534).

- (533) a. az én rév-em-en, a te rév-ed-en
 the I ferry-1Sg-Sup the you(Sg) ferry-2Sg-Sup
 ‘on my ferry, on your(Sg) ferry’
- b. a mi rév-ünk-ön, a ti rév-etek-en, az ő rév-ük-ön
 the we ferry-1Pl-Sup the you(Pl) ferry-2Pl-Sup the he ferry-3Pl-Sup
 ‘on our ferry, on your(Pl) ferry, on their ferry’
- (534) a. az én nyom-om-on, a te nyom-od-on
 the I trace-1Sg-Sup the you(Sg) trace-2Sg-Sup
 ‘on my trace, on your(Sg) trace’
- b. a mi nyom-unk-on, a ti nyom-otok-on, az ő nyom-uk-on
 the we trace-1Pl-Sup the you(Pl) trace-2Pl-Sup the he trace-3Pl-Sup
 ‘on our trace, on your(Pl) trace, on their trace’

The rest of the possessive Ps, that is, *táján* ‘around (a point in time)’, *tájékán* ‘around (a point in time)’, *folyamán* ‘during’, *során* ‘during’, *folytán* ‘owing to’, *útján* ‘by way of’, *esetén* ‘in case of’ and *ellenére* ‘despite’, do not take pronominal complements at all. (535) and (536) illustrate this with third person singular pronouns.

- (535) a. húsvét táján [temporal possessive P]
 Easter around
 ‘around Easter’
- a’. *az ő táján
 the he around
 Intended meaning: ‘around him / [his time]’
- b. húsvét tájékán
 Easter around
 ‘around Easter’
- b’. *az ő tájékán
 the he around
 Intended meaning: ‘around him / [his time]’
- c. jövő hét folyamán
 next week during
 ‘during next week’
- c’. *az ő folyamán
 the he during
 Intended meaning: ‘around him / [his time]’
- d. az eljárás során
 the proceedings during
 ‘during the proceedings’
- d’. *az ő során
 the he during
 Intended meaning: ‘during him / [his time]’

- (536) a. szerencse folytán [other possessive P]
 luck due_to
 ‘due to luck’
- a’. *az ő folytán
 the he due_to
 Intended meaning: ‘due to him’
- b. közvetítő útján
 mediator by_way_of
 ‘[by way of] / through a mediator’
- b’. *az ő útján
 the he by_way_of
 Intended meaning: ‘[by way of] / through him’
- c. válás esetén
 divorce in_case_of
 ‘in case of a divorce’
- c’. *az ő esetén
 the he in_case_of
 Intended meaning: ‘in case of him’
- d. a hőség ellenére
 the heat despite
 ‘despite the heat’
- d’. *az ő ellenére
 the he despite
 Intended meaning: ‘despite him’

Note that postposition *folytán* ‘as a consequence of, due to’ does not combine with proper names either (537c).

- (537) a. balszerencse folytán
 misfortune due_to
 ‘due to misfortune’
- b. *az ő folytán
 the he due_to
 Intended meaning: ‘due to him’
- c. *Napóleon folytán
 Napoleon due_to
 Intended meaning: ‘due to Napoleon’

Table 22 summarizes the combination of possessive postpositions with personal pronouns.

Table 22: Possessive postpositions and personal pronouns

	POSSESSIVE P	MEANING
ALL PRONOUNS	<i>helyében</i>	in X's place/shoes
	<i>részére</i>	for (beneficient)
	<i>számára</i>	for (beneficient, experiencer)
ONLY 3SG PRONOUNS	<i>révén</i>	by means of, through
	<i>nyomán</i>	based on X, following X
NO COMBINATION	<i>fejében</i>	in return for
	<i>táján</i>	around (a point in time)
	<i>tájékán</i>	around (a point in time)
	<i>folyamán</i>	during
	<i>során</i>	during
	<i>folytán</i>	owing to
	<i>útján</i>	by way of
	<i>esetén</i>	in case of
	<i>ellenére</i>	despite

VI. Demonstrative pronouns in the complement position

As shown in (511), possessors are unmarked or dative marked. A demonstrative pronoun that functions as a possessor, however, can only be dative marked (538).

- (538) a. *ennek a könyv-e* [possessive phrase]
 this.Dat the book-Poss
 'the book of this'
- b. **ez könyv-e*
 this book-Poss
 Intended meaning: 'the book of this'

Demonstrative pronoun complements of possessive Ps also require dative marking (539).

- (539) a. *ennek [?](a) hely-é-ben* [spatial possessive P]
 this.Dat the place-Poss-Ine
 'in the place / shoes of this'
- a'. **ez hely-é-ben*
 this place-Poss-Ine
 Intended meaning: 'in the place / shoes of this'
- b. *ennek (^{??}a) táján* [temporal possessive P]
 this.Dat the around
 'around this [time]'
- b'. **ez táján*
 this around
 Intended meaning: 'around this [time]'

- c. ennek (^{??}a) számára [other possessive P]
 divorce the for
 ‘for this’
- c’. *ez számára
 this for
 Intended meaning: ‘for this’

Demonstrative pronoun complements of real case-like Ps resist dative case (540).

- (540) a. e-helyett [case-like P, with possessive origin]
 this-instead_of
 ‘instead of this’
- a’. *ennek (a) helyett
 this.Dat the instead_of
 Intended meaning: ‘instead of this’
- b. ez által [case-like P, without possessive origin]
 this via
 ‘via / [as a result of] this’
- b’. *ennek (az) által
 this.Dat the via
 Intended meaning: ‘via / [as a result of] this’

This parallel between possessive Ps and possessive constructions is not perfect, however. In ordinary possessive phrases the dative demonstrative pronoun must be followed by the definite article (542).

- (541) ennek *(a) könyv-e [possessive phrase]
 this.Dat the book-Poss
 ‘the book of this’

The definite article is preferred but not obligatory with a demonstrative complement of *helyében* ‘in X’s place / shoes’ (542), sharply ungrammatical with a demonstrative complement of *folytán* ‘owing to’ and *ellenére* ‘in spite of’ (543), and highly dispreferred with the demonstrative complement of the rest of the possessive Ps (544). Thus again *helyében* ‘in X’s place / shoes’ is the most similar to genuine possessive constructions exemplified in (538).

- (542) ennek [?](a) hely-é-ben
 this.Dat the place-Poss-Inc
 ‘instead of this’
- (543) a. ennek (*a) folytán
 this.Dat the owing_to
 ‘owing to this’
- b. ennek (*az) ellenére
 this.Dat the despite
 ‘in spite of this’

- (544) a. ennek (^{??}a) táján / tájékán
 this.Dat the around / around
 ‘around this [time]’
- b. ennek (^{??}a) során / folyamán
 this.Dat the during / during
 ‘for this’
- c. ennek (^{??}a) révén
 this.Dat the through
 ‘[by means of] / through this’
- d. ennek (^{??}az) útján
 this.Dat the by_way_of
 ‘by way of this’
- e. ennek (^{??}az) esetén
 this.Dat the in_case_of
 ‘in case of this’
- f. ennek (^{??}a) nyomán
 this.Dat the following
 ‘[based on] / following this’
- g. ennek (^{??}a) számára / részére
 divorce the for / for
 ‘for this’

Demonstrative complements thus show that possessive Ps are truly in between possessive phrases and case-like Ps, not having identical properties to either of these.

As already shown in (512) and (523), common noun, proper name and personal pronoun complements of possessive Ps resist dative marking; these types of complements must be morphologically unmarked.

2.4.2.3. Separability of the P and its complement in the clause

A further test illustrating their partial P-status concerns the original possessor: when a dative-marked possessor is allowed to some extent (545b), separating the possessor from the rest of the phrase is still ungrammatical (545c).

- (545) a. Pál hely-é-ben nem tenném ezt.
 Pál place-Poss-Ine not do.Cond.1Sg this.Acc
 ‘I wouldn’t do this in Pál’s shoes / place.’
- b. ^{??}Pál-nak a hely-é-ben nem tenném ezt.
 Pál-Dat the place-Poss-Ine not do.Cond.1Sg this.Acc
- c. *Pál-nak nem tenném ezt a hely-é-ben.
 Pál-Dat not do.Cond.1Sg this.Acc the place-Poss-Ine

These illustrate the fact that the possessive structure is still slightly transparent, nevertheless we are not dealing with genuine possessives in these cases. We take this to mean that these possessors are no longer regular possessors, they have begun

to grammaticalize into postpositions. However, they have not been reanalyzed as monomorphemic P heads yet.

2.4.2.4. *Combination with the Delative and Sublative case*

Possessive Ps do not combine with the delative or sublative case. Among all Ps, only some case-like Ps do (see Section 2.2.2.3.4).

- (546) a. *Pál hely-é-ben-ről [spatial possessive P]
 Pál place-Poss-Ine-Del
 Intended meaning: ‘from in Pál’s shoes’
- a’. *Pál hely-é-ben-re
 Pál place-Poss-Ine-Sub
 Intended meaning: ‘to in Pál’s shoes’
- b. *pünkösd folyamán-ról [temporal possessive P]
 Pentecost during-Del
 Intended meaning: ‘since during Pentecost’
- b’. *pünkösd folyamán-ra
 Pentecost during-Sub
 Intended meaning: ‘by during Pentecost’
- c. *levél útján-ról [other possessive P]
 letter by_way_of-Del
 Intended meaning: ‘from by way of a letter’
- c’. *levél útján-ra
 letter by_way_of-Sub
 Intended meaning: ‘to by way of a letter’

2.4.2.5. *N + possessive P modifying a noun*

As shown in Section 2.2.1.5, PPs headed by case suffixes can be turned into prenominal N-modifiers by the addition of a participial verb, while PPs containing case-like Ps and case-assigning Ps can function as prenominal N-modifiers if embedded under either a participle or the attributivizing *-i* suffix (Sections 2.2.2.2.5 and 2.2.2.3.5).

The combination of possessive Ps with *-i* is very limited. The following examples are based on naturally occurring examples on the web and in the Hungarian Gigaword Corpus (Oravecz, Váradi & Sass 2014). For possessive Ps not included in (547), we have not found any examples with *-i*.

- (547) a. az eljárás során-i döntések
 the procedure during-Attr decision.Pl
 ‘the decisions during the procedure’
- b. tagság lemondás folytán-i megszűnése
 membership cancellation owing_to-Attr termination
 ‘termination of membership due to cancellation’

- c. rokoni kapcsolatok révén-i érvényesülés
relative.Attr relationship.Pl through-Attr advancement
'advancement through / [by means of] relatives'
- d. sajtó útján-i véleménynyilvánítás
media by_way_of-Attr opinion.expression
'expression of opinion via the media'
- e. feljelentés nyomán-i intézkedés
report_to_police based_on-Attr measure
'measures [based on] / following a report to the police'
- f. jó teljesítés esetén-i előrelépés
good performance in_case_of-Attr promotion
'promotion in case of good performance'

The attributivized forms in (547) mostly appear in official or legal contexts. The participial strategy is preferred over these forms (548), and is also available for possessive Ps which have no *-i* attributivized forms. Some examples of these are given in (549).

- (548) a. az eljárás során hoz-ott döntések
the procedure during make-Part decision.Pl
'the decisions made during the procedure'
 - b. tagság lemondás folytán bekövetkez-ő megszűnése
membership cancellation owing_to occur-Part termination
'termination of membership due to cancellation'
 - c. rokoni kapcsolatok révén történ-ő érvényesülés
relative.Attr relationship.Pl through happen-Part advancement
'advancement through / [by means of] relatives'
 - d. sajtó útján kiad-ott véleménynyilvánítás
media by_way_of publish-Part opinion.expression
'expression of opinion via the media'
 - e. feljelentés nyomán folytat-ott intézkedés
report_to_police based_on conduct-Part measure
'measures [based on] / following a report of the police'
 - f. jó teljesítés esetén bekövetkez-ő előrelépés
good performance in_case_of occur-Part promotion
'promotion in case of good performance'
- (549) a. a Pál számára / részére küldött levelek
the Pál for / for send-Part letter.Pl
'the letters sent to Pál'
 - b. az akarata ellenére kiad-ott állásfoglalás
the will.Poss.3Sg against publish-Part position.statement
'the position statement published against his will'

- c. a karácsony tájt / tájékán zajl-ó események
 the Christmas around / around happen-Part event.Pl
 ‘the events happening around Christmas’

The fact that some possessive Ps can undergo *-i* attributivization shows that their morphemic composition, and especially the identity of the last morpheme as an ordinary case suffix is becoming more opaque and they are becoming more like postpositions (as already pointed out above, PPs headed by case suffixes are not compatible with *-i*, but PPs headed by case-like and case-assigning Ps are).

2.4.2.6. *Modification*

Possessive PPs can host degree modifiers, which must precede the P’s complement (550).

- (550) a. pontosan karácsony (*pontosan) folyamán (*pontosan) [temporal]
 exactly Christmas exactly during exactly
 ‘exactly during Christmas’
- b. majdnem az akarata (*majdnem) ellenére (*majdnem) [other]
 almost the will.Poss3Sg almost against almost
 ‘almost against his will’

This is expected if possessive Ps are grammaticalizing into case-like Ps, as case-like Ps do not allow modifiers to intervene between the NP/DP and the P or to occur after the P either (see (551) for case-like Ps with and without possessive origin and Section 2.2.2.2.6).

- (551) a. pontosan Pál (*pontosan) helyett (*pontosan)
 exactly Pál exactly instead_of exactly
 ‘exactly instead of Pál’
- b. majdnem Pál (*majdnem) nélkül (*majdnem)
 almost Pál almost without almost
 ‘almost without Pál’

Possessive constructions, on the other hand, allow modifiers to intervene between the possessor and the possessum (NPs do not allow degree modifiers, however, so the relevant modifiers are numerals, classifiers and adjectives, as in (552)).

- (552) a. Pál három cső zöld paprikája [possessive phrase]
 Pál three Cl green pepper.Poss
 ‘Pál’s three green peppers’

Measure phrases are not compatible with possessive PPs (553).

- (553) a. *sokkal / *kevéssel Pál hely-é-ben [spatial possessive P]
 a_lot / a_bit Pál place-Poss-Ine
 Intended meaning: ‘[a lot] / [a bit] in Pál’s shoes’

- b. *sokkal / *kevéssel 6 óra táján / tájékán [temporal possessive P]
 a_lot / a_bit 6 hour around / around
 Intended meaning: '[a lot] / [a bit] around 6 o'clock'
- c. *sokkal / *kevéssel Pál révén [other possessive P]
 a_lot / a_bit Pál through
 Intended meaning: '[a lot] / [a bit] through Pál'

2.4.2.7. Conjunction reduction

Possessive PPs allow both forward and backward conjunction reduction: (554) and (555).

(554) ● Backward conjunction reduction

- a. Ili és Pál helyében [spatial possessive P]
 Ili and Pál instead
 'in the shoes of Ili and Pál'
- b. karácsony vagy újév táján [temporal possessive P]
 Christmas or New.Year around
 'around Christmas or New Year's Eve'
- c. Ili és Pál révén [other possessive P]
 Ili and Pál through
 '[by means of] / through Ili and Pál'

(555) ● Forward conjunction reduction

- a. karácsony táján vagy folyamán [temporal possessive P]
 Christmas around or during
 'around or during Christmas'
- b. a ellenállás folytán vagy ellenére [other possessive P]
 the resistance owing_to or despite
 'owing to or despite the resistance'

Sections 2.2.2.2.7 and 2.2.2.3.7 have shown that both types of conjunction reductions are also possible with case-like and case-assigning Ps, and this is also an option for ordinary possessive phrases (556).

- (556) a. Pál és Kati könyvei [backward conjunction reduction]
 Pál and Kati book.Poss.PI
 'Pál and Kati's books'
- b. Pál könyvei és lemezei [forward conjunction reduction]
 Pál book.Poss.PI and LP.Poss.PI
 'Pál's books and LPs'

2.4.2.8. Taking stock: possessive Ps between possessive NPs and Ps

The possessive construction has been and still is a relatively productive source of emerging postpositions. To the extent that the category of Ps can be extended, most of the new ones seem to originate in the type of syntactic environment illustrated here. When the emerging P-like elements i) lose the syntactic properties shared with

genuine possessives (most prominently their ability to alternate with dative-marked possessors, the separability of that possessor, the loss of the article after a dative-marked demonstrative pronoun and they become compatible with the *-i* attributivizer) and ii) when their lexical content becomes bleached, we can talk about newly developed P items in the language.

We have also seen that *helyében* ‘in X’s place / shoes’ is the least grammaticalized of the borderline cases discussed here: this is the only possessive P which a) allows lexical NP complements to bear dative case to some extent, b) requires the definite article if its complement is *pro*-dropped, and c) requires the definite article after a demonstrative pronoun complement. Its meaning is also perhaps the most transparent, least bleached of all the possessive Ps.

2.5. Bibliographical notes

Simonyi (1888, 1892, 1895) provides an early detailed description of what he calls adverbials (according to our terminology: various types of Ps and PPs) and provides historical insight as well. More recently, in descriptive works, case suffixes and the case system of Hungarian are comprehensively presented in Antal (1961), and Abondolo (1998), among others. A study of the inventory of Hungarian postpositions in the narrow sense is given in Sebestyén (1965).

The descriptive grammar *Hungarian* by Kenesei *et al.* (1998) briefly discusses the properties of case suffixes, postpositions, adverbs and particles, and introduces “transitional postpositions” (our possessive and participial postpositions), as well. The essive forms received special attention in de Groot (2017). The 3rd volume of the structuralist grammar of Hungarian (*Strukturális magyar nyelvtan 3.*) edited by Ferenc Kiefer is on morphology (Kiefer 2000c). Several chapters from the volume are important contributions to our understanding of word classes, inflection and derivation (Kenesei 2000, Kiefer and Ladányi 2000a, Laczkó 2000), of morphophonological (Rebrus 2000) and morphosyntactic (Bartos 2000) phenomena concerning the PP as defined here, and of particles (Kiefer and Ladányi 2000b).

Marác (1986, 1989) gave the first generative syntactic analysis of postpositions, systematically distinguishing between case-like (“dressed”) as case-assigning (“naked”) postpositions. Postpositions were later analyzed in É. Kiss (2002 Chapter 8), Hegedűs (2006), Rákosi and Laczkó (2011), Rákosi (2012b). That postpositions and case suffixes are instantiations of the same category P is discussed in detail in Bartos (1999), Asbury *et al.* (2007), Spencer (2008), Trommer (2008). The morphosyntactic structure of Hungarian case suffixes and postpositions proper are featured in the dissertations by Asbury (2005), Dékány (2011), Hegedűs (2013). Spencer and Stump (2013) and Dékány (2018) focus specifically on the analysis of PP-internal agreement.

That Hungarian verbal particles are instantiations of the category P was first suggested in Horvath (1978). The syntactic properties of verbal particles have recently been analyzed, among others, by É. Kiss (2005, 2006a,b), Surányi (2009a,b,c), Hegedűs (2013), Hegedűs and Dékány (2017). Kiefer (2000b) gives a detailed semantic description of verbal particles, spatial and non-spatial alike.

For a historical overview, see Zsilinszky (1989) on postpositions, J. Soltész (1959) and D. Máta (1989, 1991, 1992) on verbal particles. A generative syntactic

analysis of the grammaticalization of postpositions in the broad sense is proposed by Hegedűs (2014, 2015).