

# Chapter 3

## The internal syntax of PPs

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### 3.1. Introduction

In this chapter we discuss the internal syntax of postpositional phrases in the broad sense. We begin with the complementation possibilities of adpositions in Section 3.2, then in Section 3.3 we turn to the modifiers of PPs.

### 3.2. Complementation

This section discusses the complementation of adpositional phrases. First, we examine intransitive Ps in Section 3.2.1. In Section 3.2.2 we turn to postpositional heads that take a Noun Phrase complement. Postpositions with adjectival, adverbial and adpositional complements will be examined in Sections 3.2.3 through 3.2.5. Ps with a clausal complement will be the topic of Section 3.2.6. Finally, Section 3.2.7 will be dedicated to absolute PPs.

#### 3.2.1. Intransitive Ps

Adpositional phrases that regularly appear in intransitive structures (i.e., without a complement) are adverbs and verbal particles. Examples involving a degree adverb, a manner adverb and a speaker-oriented adverb are given in (1).

- (1) a. Ili *nagyon* magas.  
Ili very tall  
'Ili is very tall.'
- b. Ili *gyorsan* futott.  
Ili fast run.Past.3Sg  
'Ili ran fast.'
- c. Ili *szerencsére* otthon volt.  
Ili luckily at\_home be.Past.3Sg  
'Luckily, Ili was at home.'

Verbal particles also often occur without a complement, as in (2) (but see Section 3.2.5 and Chapter 2 Section 2.2.3.4 point *I* for some exceptions).

- (2) a. Ili be-jött.  
Ili in-come-Past.3Sg  
'Ili came in.'
- b. Ili félre-tolta a könyvet.  
Ili aside-push.Past.DefObj.3Sg the book  
'Ili pushed the book aside.'

*Pro*-dropped and implicit complements will be discussed in Section 3.2.2.4.

#### 3.2.2. Nominal complements

Case-like postpositions (Chapter 2 Section 2.2.2.2), the case suffixes required by case-assigning postpositions (Chapter 2 Section 2.2.2.3) and case suffixes occurring without an accompanying postposition (Chapter 2 Section 2.2.1) take nominal complements. The complement may be a definite Noun Phrase or indefinite Noun Phrase (with an indefinite article or a numeral / quantifier) without further ado. Bare

NP complements, however, are restricted. They are allowed only if i) the NP is focused or ii) it has a generic reading or iii) it forms a set phrase with the postposition.

Nominal complements with a determiner are referential. In (3), for instance, *Ili* works in the unique (and definite) hospital that is accessible to the discourse participants in the discourse situation.

- (3) *Ili a kórház-ban dolgozik.*  
*Ili the hospital-Ine work.3Sg*  
 ‘Ili works in the hospital.’

Nominal complements without a determiner are non-referential. In (4) there is no unique hospital in the discourse situation and *kórházban* does not refer to a specific building.

- (4) *Ili 'kórház-ban 'dolgozik.*  
*Ili hospital-Ine work.3Sg*  
 ‘Ili works in a hospital.’

While the determiner-less nominal in (4) is non-referential, it can be referred back to with a pronoun such as *ott* ‘there’ or *oda* ‘to there’ (5).

- (5) a. *Ili 'kórház-ban 'dolgozik, mert ott érzi jól magát.*  
*Ili hospital-Ine work.3Sg because there feel.3Sg well self.Acc*  
 ‘Ili works in a hospital, because that’s where she likes it.’
- b. *Ili 'szakiskolá-ban 'tanul, mert csak oda vették fel.*  
*Ili vocational.school-Ine study.3Sg because only there\_to admit.Past.DefObj.3PI up*  
 ‘Ili is studying in vocational school because she didn’t get admitted anywhere else.’

The referentiality of the complement influences its modifiability. Definite nominal complements may be freely modified by attributive adjectives (6).

- (6) *Ili a nagy kórház-ban dolgozik.*  
*Ili the big hospital-Ine work.3Sg*  
 ‘Ili works in the big hospital.’

Bare nominal complements allow adjectival modification if the adjective is focused, if the adjective plus noun unit has a generic or type reading, or if the adjective and the noun constitute a set phrase. (7a), with a bare noun modified by a focused adjective, is felicitous. (7c) is degraded, as the adjective plus noun unit cannot receive a generic or type interpretation here. If the adjective is not focused, the insertion of the indefinite article is necessary (7b).

- (7) a. *Ili "NAGY KÓRHÁZ-BAN dolgozik.*  
*Ili big hospital-Ine work.3Sg*  
 ‘It is a big hospital that Ili works in.’
- b. *Ili egy 'nagy 'kórház-ban 'dolgozik.*  
*Ili a big hospital-Ine work.3Sg*  
 ‘Ili works in a big hospital.’

- c. \*Ili 'nagy 'kórház-ban 'dolgozik.  
 Ili big hospital-Ine work.3Sg  
 Intended meaning: 'Ili works in a big hospital.'

In (8a) and (8b) the adjective is such that a type reading becomes available. Here it is not necessary to focus the adjective, i.e. to add focus stress to it, or to insert an indefinite article.

- (8) a. Ili 'kertvárosi 'kórház-ban 'dolgozik.  
 Ili suburb.Attr hospital-Ine work.3Sg  
 'Ili works in a suburban hospital.'
- b. Ili 'egyházi 'kórház-ban 'dolgozik.  
 Ili church.Attr hospital-Ine work.3Sg  
 'Ili works in a religious hospital.'

PPs inherit the referentiality of their nominal complement. For instance, adpositions with a referential complement can be topicalized, while those with a non-referential complement cannot. In (9) the PP with the definite NP complement can occur in the pre-focal topic position.

- (9) [Az asztalra] / [Az asztal mellé] JÁNOS ült le.  
 the table-Sub / the table to\_next\_to János sit.Past.3Sg down  
 'It is JÁNOS that sat down onto / [next to] the table.'

This is not possible for the PP with the non-referential complement in (10).

- (10) \*[Asztalra] / [Asztal mellé] JÁNOS ült le.  
 table-Sub / table to\_next\_to János sit.Past.3Sg down  
 Intended meaning: 'It is JÁNOS that sat down onto / [next to] a table.'

(10) becomes grammatical if the PP is placed into the contrastive topic position, marked by the characteristic fall-rise intonation associated with this position, and, in writing, also by a comma (189b). Contrastive topics have no referentiality requirement (see the volume on Sentence Structure), so both bare nouns (189a) and PPs with bare noun complements (189b) are allowed here.

- (11) a. [Asztal-t], JÁNOS vett.  
 table-Acc János buy.Past.3Sg  
 'As for buying a table, it is JÁNOS that did it.'
- b. [Asztalra] / [Asztal mellé], JÁNOS ült le.  
 table-Sub / table to\_next\_to János sit.Past.3Sg down  
 'As for sitting down onto / [next to] a table, it was JÁNOS who did it.'

PPs are also transparent for agreement processes between their nominal complement and PP-external constituents. In (12) the dative-marked subject of the infinitive can trigger agreement on the infinitival verb. (See Tóth 2002 for arguments that in such examples *kell* is a monoargumental verb: the inanimate subject *tó* 'lake' cannot be an experiencer or holder of obligation in the main clause,

controlling a PRO subject in the embedded clause; thus it must be a subject internal to the infinitival clause.)

- (12) a. Nem kell a tó-nak befagy-ni-a.  
 not must the lake-Dat in.freeze-Inf-3Sg  
 ‘It is not the case that the lake will certainly freeze.’
- b. Nem kell a tavak-nak befagy-ni-uk.  
 not must the lake.Pl-Dat in.freeze-Inf-3Pl  
 ‘It is not the case that the lakes will certainly freeze.’

Nominals embedded in PPs are also visible for binding purposes, as shown in (13), where co-reference between the children and the anaphor is possible.

- (13) a. Beszélgettem a gyerekek-vel önmaguk-ról / egymás-ról.  
 talk.Past.1Sg the child.Pl-Ins self.3Pl-Del / each.other-Del  
 ‘I talked to the children about themselves / [each other].’
- b. Tettem egy képet a gyerekek mellé önmaguk-ról.  
 put.Past.DefObj.1Sg a picture.Acc the child.Pl to\_next\_to self-Del  
 ‘I have put a picture of themselves next to the children.’

### 3.2.2.1. Referential DP complements

Any referential DP can occur in the complement position of a case suffix or case-like postposition that is semantically compatible with the meaning of the adposition in question (14).

- (14) a. Pál a város-ban lakik.  
 Pál the city-Ine live.3Sg  
 ‘Pál lives in the city.’
- b. Pál az ablak alatt hagyta a könyvet.  
 Pál the window under leave.Past.DefObj.3Sg the book.Acc  
 ‘Pál left the book under the window.’

In some cases the combination of the referential DP with a specific postpositional head requires metonymical extension of the nominal’s meaning (15b,c).

- (15) a. Az asztal alatt sok kacat volt.  
 the table under many bric\_a\_brac be\_Past.3Sg  
 ‘There was a lot of bric-a-brac under the table.’
- b. Mátyás alatt sok erőd épült.  
 Mátyás under many fortification be\_built.3Sg  
 ‘Many fortifications were built during the reign of (King) Mátyás.’
- c. Einstein óta nem volt ilyen felfedezés.  
 Einstein since not be\_Past.3Sg such discovery  
 ‘There has not been such a discovery since Einstein(’s work / time).’

Personal pronouns are also referential DPs. Some case suffixes and case-like postpositions do not take personal pronoun complements. These are discussed in Chapter 2 Section 2.2.1.2 point V and Section 2.2.2.2.2 point V.

3.2.2.2. *Indefinite nominal complements with the indefinite article*

Any nominal with the indefinite article can occur in the complement position of a case suffix or case-like postposition that is semantically compatible with the meaning of the adposition in question (16).

- (16) a. Pál egy város-ban lakik.  
 Pál a city-Ine live.3Sg  
 'Pál lives in a city.'
- b. Pál egy ablak alatt hagyta a könyvet.  
 Pál a window under leave.Past.DefObj.3Sg the book  
 'Pál left the book under a window.'

In the case of *alatt* 'under', the combination of a nominal with the indefinite article and a specific postpositional head may require metonymical extension of the nominal's meaning. Such examples often require an adjectival modifier, as in (17).

- (17) A legtöbb vár egy jó király alatt épült.  
 the most castle a good king under be\_built.3Sg  
 'Most fortifications were built during the reign of a good king.'

3.2.2.3. *Bare nominal complements*A. *Bare nominal complements of case suffixes*

The non-spatial case suffixes exemplified in (18) can appear with bare nominal complements without further ado.

- (18) a. Pál gyerek-ek-nek adott koncertet. [dative]  
 Pál child-Pl-Dat give.Past.3Sg concert.Acc  
 'Pál gave a concert to children.'
- b. Ili kutyá-val ment sétálni. [instrumental]  
 Ili dog-Ins go.Past.3Sg walk.Inf  
 'Ili went for a walk with (her / a) dog.'
- c. A báb lepké-vé változott. [translative(-essive)]  
 the pupa butterfly-TrE transform.Past.3Sg  
 'The pupa transformed into a butterfly.'
- d. Tojás-ért megyek a szomszédba. [causal(-final)]  
 egg-Cau go.1Sg the neighbor's.Ill  
 'I am going to the neighbor's for eggs.'
- e. Ili orvos-ként dolgozik. [essive-formal]  
 Ili doctor-FoE work.3Sg  
 'Ili works as a doctor.'

Bare nouns that denote a body part are fully grammatical as complements of spatial case suffixes, too. Note that the bare noun does not bear the possessive suffix *-ja/-je/-a/-e* (cf. N2.2.1.2.1.2), but there is an implied (though syntactically implicit) possessor: generic 'one' or 'man' for the body part in (19a) and the possessor of the subject in (19b).

- (19) a. A víz boká-ig / térd-ig / nyak-ig ér. [terminative]  
 the water ankle-Ter / knee-Ter / neck-Ter reach.3Sg  
 ‘The water is ankle / knee / neck high.’
- b. A hajad váll-ig / hátközép-ig / fenék-ig ér.  
 the hair.Poss.2Sg shoulder-Ter / back.middle-Ter / bottom-Ter reach.3Sg  
 ‘Your hair reaches [your shoulders] / [the middle of your back] / [your bottom].’

Further examples are given in (20).

- (20) a. hát-ba vág [illative]  
 back-III slap.3Sg  
 ‘slap [sb] on the back’
- b. térd-en rúg, kéz-en fog [superessive]  
 knee-Sup kick.3Sg hand-Sup take.3Sg  
 ‘kick [sb] on the knee, take by the hand’
- c. derék-tól lefelé [ablative]  
 waist-Abl downward  
 ‘from the waist down’

An implicit possessor is also present in (21) due to the part-whole relation between the object noun and the complement of the terminative case; thus these examples are analogous to those in (19) and (20).

- (21) a. Ili vég-ig / fél-ig el-olvasta a könyvet.  
 Ili end-Ter / half-Ter away-read.Past.DefObj.3Sg the book.Acc  
 ‘Ili has read the book completely / halfway.’
- b. Ili sark-ig ki-tárta az ablakot.  
 Ili corner-Ter out-open.Past.DefObj.3Sg the window.Acc  
 ‘Ili opened the window completely.’ (Lit. to corner)
- c. Ili töv-ig nyomta a gázpedált.  
 Ili root-Ter push.Past.DefObj.3Sg the accelerator.pedal.Acc  
 ‘Ili pushed the accelerator pedal to the floor.’ (Lit. to root)

Bare nouns are also grammatical in paired expressions of the form “N-ablative N-terminative”, as in (22).

- (22) A gyerekek tesiórán [fal-tól fal-ig] / [sarok-tól sarok-ig] futottak.  
 the child.Pl gym.class.Sup wall-Abl wall-Ter / corner-Abl corner-Ter run.Past.3Pl  
 ‘The children ran [from wall to wall] / [from corner to corner] during gym class.’

There are also some place-denoting nouns that form a set expression with the terminative case (23). These nouns have a unique reference and allow (but do not require) the definite article in (23).

- (23) a. A fák (az) ég-ig érnek.  
 the tree.Pl the sky-Ter reach.3Pl  
 ‘The trees reach the sky.’

- b. Ili (a) föld-ig hajolt.  
 Ili the ground-Ter bend.Past.3Sg  
 'Ili bent to the ground.'

If neither of the conditions discussed above hold, then the bare noun must be focused; otherwise it is ungrammatical.

- (24) a. <sup>2</sup>Ili SAROK-ig fut, nem híd-ig.  
 Ili corner-Ter run.3Sg not bridge-Ter  
 'Ili runs to a corner, not to a bridge.'
- b. Ili \*(a / egy) sarok-ig fut.  
 Ili the / a corner-Ter run.3Sg  
 Intended meaning: 'Ili runs to (the / a) corner.'

As for terminative PPs with a temporal reading, a bare noun complement is possible if the noun denotes a time of a day or mealtime (25a), if the bare noun denotes a specific point in time (25b, b') or if the bare noun and the terminative case form a set expression (25c). In these cases the event described in the verb phrase remains an activity: no *telos* is introduced, the PP simply marks the time when the activity was finished.

- (25) a. Ili reggel-ig / est-ig / ebéd-ig / vacsorá-ig dolgozott.  
 Ili morning-Ter / evening-Ter / lunch-Ter / dinner-Ter work.Past.3Sg  
 'Ili worked until [the morning] / [the evening] / lunch(time) / dinner(time).'
- b. Ili tegnap-ig / [múlt hét-ig] dolgozott.  
 Ili yesterday-Ter / last week-Ter work.Past.3Sg  
 'Ili worked until yesterday / [last week].'
- b'. Ili má-ig / holnap-ig / [jövő hét-ig] dolgozik.  
 Ili today-Ter / tomorrow-Ter / next week-Ter work.3Sg  
 'Ili works until today / tomorrow / [next week].'
- c. Ili orrvérzés-ig dolgozott.  
 Ili nose.bleeding-Ter work.Past.3Sg  
 'Ili worked ad nauseam.'

The temporal PPs with *-ig* discussed above refer to a point in time. However, terminative-marked nouns can also refer to a time-span. In this reading the bare noun must be plural marked (26).

- (26) Ili perc-\*(ek)-ig / het-\*(ek)-ig / hónap-\*(ok)-ig / év-\*(ek)-ig várt.  
 Ili minute-Pl-Ter / week-Pl-Ter / month-Pl-Ter / year-Pl-Ter wait.Past.3Sg  
 'Ili waited for minutes / weeks / months / years.'

There are two exceptions to this generalization, however. *Élethossz* 'lifespan' (lit. 'life length') and *életfogyt* 'lifespan' (lit. 'life-outrunning') are time-span denoting bare nouns which (presumably due to their meaning) do not combine with the plural marker under any circumstances. These nouns do combine with the terminative case maker, though (27). In fact, *élethossz* and *életfogyt* are only used in collocation with *-ig*; they are thus best characterized as bound stems.



- (27) a. Ili szerint van élethosszig tartó szerelem.  
 Ili according\_to be.3Sg lifespan-Ter lasting love  
 ‘Ili thinks there is such a thing as perpetual love.’
- b. Ili életfogyt-ig kitartott az elvei mellett.  
 Ili lifespan-Ter stand\_by.Past.3Sg the principle.Poss.Pl next\_to  
 ‘Ili stood by her principles all her life.’ (implication: she is not alive any more)

Spatial case suffixes can take a bare nominal complement under limited circumstances. These are the following: i) if the nominal has a generic or type interpretation (28d’,e), ii) if the PP bears strong contrastive stress because it is focused (28a,b,c,d,f,g,h,i) and iii) in collocations and set phrases or when the case is subcategorized by a verb (28a’,b’,c’, f’, h’, i’).

- (28) a. Pál SZÉK-EN ül. [superessive]  
 Pál chair-Sup sit.3Sg  
 ‘Pál is sitting on a CHAIR.’
- a’. Pál szabadság-on van.  
 Pál holiday-Sup be.3Sg  
 ‘Pál is on holiday.’
- b. Pál SZÉK-RE ült. [sublative]  
 Pál chair-Sub sit.Past.3Sg  
 ‘Pál sat down onto a CHAIR.’
- b’. Pál szabadság-ra ment.  
 Pál holiday-Sub go.Past.3Sg  
 ‘Pál went on holiday.’
- c. Pál SZÉK-RŐL kelt fel. [delative]  
 Pál chair-Del rise.Past.3Sg up  
 ‘Pál got up from a CHAIR.’
- c’. Pál sárkány-ok-ról mesélt Ili-nek.  
 Pál dragon-Pl-Del tell\_a\_tale.Past.3Sg Ili-Dat  
 ‘Pál told Ili a tale about dragons.’
- d. A kutya RÓKALYUK-BAN találta ezt a kölyköt. [inessive]  
 the dog fox.den-Ine find.Past.DefObj.3Sg this the puppy  
 ‘The dog found this puppy in a FOX DEN.’
- d’. A bagoly odú-ban fészkel.  
 the owl cavity-Ine nest.3Sg  
 ‘Owls nest in cavities.’
- e. A bagoly ODÚ-BA költözött. [illative]  
 the owl cavity-III move.Past.3Sg  
 ‘The owl has moved into a CAVITY.’
- f. A kutya RÓKALYUK-BÓL hozta ezt a kölyköt. [relative]  
 the dog fox.den-Ela bring.Past.DefObj.3Sg this.Acc the puppy.Acc  
 ‘The dog brought this puppy from a FOX DEN.’

- f. A doboz fá-ból készült.  
 the box wood-Ela made\_of.3Sg  
 ‘The box is made of wood.’
- g. Ili TENGHER-NÉL szeretne nyaralni. [adessive]  
 Ili sea-Ade would\_like.3Sg holiday\_make.Inf  
 ‘Ili would like to spend her holiday at the SEA(SIDE).’
- h. Ili TENGHER-HEZ szeretne utazni. [allative]  
 Ili sea-All would\_like.3Sg travel.Inf  
 ‘Ili would like to travel to the SEA(SIDE).’
- h’. Ili férj-hez ment.  
 Ili husband-All go.Past.3Sg  
 ‘Ili got married.’
- i. Az út KASTÉLY-TÓL indul. [ablative]  
 the road castle-Abl start.3Sg  
 ‘The road starts from a CASTLE.’
- i’. ORVOS-TÓL kaptam a tanácsot.  
 doctor-Abl get.Past.1Sg the advice.Acc  
 ‘I got the advice from a DOCTOR.’

Some set collocations in which a spatial case suffix must take a bare nominal complement are shown in (29).

- (29) a. Pál út-on van. [superessive]  
 Pál way-Sup be.3Sg  
 ‘Pál is on his way.’
- b. A szekrény út-ban van. [inessive]  
 the cupboard way-Ine be.3sg  
 ‘The cupboard is in the way.’

In some cases the case-suffixed bare nominal has a special interpretation: there is a prototypical, conventionalized activity that one typically does at the location referred to. (30) shows some locative examples with the inessive case.

- (30) Pál iskolá-ban / óvodá-ban / kórház-ban / börtön-ben /  
 Pál school-Ine / kindergarten-Ine / hospital-Ine / jail-Ine /  
 színház-ban / mozi-ban / ágy-ban van.  
 theatre-Ine / cinema-Ine / bed-Ine be.3Sg  
 ‘Pál is [at school] / [at kindergarten] / [in hospital] / [in jail] / [in the theatre] / [in the cinema] /  
 [in bed].’

In (30), Pál is a student at school, a small child in kindergarten, a patient in the hospital, an inmate in jail, he watches a play at the theatre or a movie in the cinema or he is lying in bed. The reading that a conventionalized activity is taking place may (but does not have to) be lost when a determiner is used. In (31) Pál could be a parent or employee who happens to be in the school / kindergarten / hospital / jail / theatre / cinema building for any reason, and he may be sitting in bed, but the

special conventionalized interpretation seen in (30) is also available. In other words, the bare nominals force the readings characteristic of conventionalized activities, while these readings are not the only options in (31).

- (31) Pál [az iskolában] / [az óvodá-ban] / [a kórház-ban] /  
 Pál the school-Ine / the kindergarten-Ine / the hospital-Ine /  
 [a börtön-ben] / [a színház-ban] / [a mozi-ban] / [az ágy-ban] van.  
 the jail-Ine / the theatre-Ine / the cinema-Ine / the bed-Ine be.3Sg  
 ‘Pál is in [the school] / [the kindergarten] / [the hospital] / [the jail] / [the theater] / [the cinema] /  
 [the bed].’

(32) shows that in combination with the copula, some bare nouns bearing the adessive case also give rise to the conventionalized reading; and so do some allative-marked bare nouns next to a motion predicate. The nouns in (32) refer to professionals who provide typical, regularly required service for their clients; there is some prototypical/conventionalized activity that one visits these professionals for. In (32a), for instance, Pál is a patient who is visiting the doctor to get a medical consultation or medical exam. Other nouns that can be used like this are shown in (32b,c).

- (32) a. Pál [orvos-nál van] / [orvos-hoz ment].  
 Pál doctor-Ade be.3Sg / doctor-All go.Past.3Sg  
 ‘Pál [is at] / [went to] the doctor.’
- b. Ili szerelő-nél / kozmetikus-nál / masször-nél / ügyvéd-nél van.  
 Ili repairman-Ade / beautician-Ade / massage\_therapist-Ade / lawyer-Ade be.3Sg  
 ‘Ili is at the repairman / beautician / [massage therapist] / lawyer.’
- c. Ili szerelő-höz / kozmetikus-hoz / masször-höz / ügyvéd-hez megy.  
 Ili repairman-All / beautician-All / massage\_therapist-All / lawyer-All go.3Sg  
 ‘Ili is going to the repairman / beautician / [massage therapist] / lawyer.’

Some infelicitous examples are given in (33); these examples are unacceptable because there is no conventionalized activity associated with the professions they feature.

- (33) a. \*Ili politikus-nál / nővér-nél / sofőr-nél van.  
 Ili politician-Ade / nurse-Ade / driver-Ade be.3Sg  
 Intended meaning: ‘Ili is at the / a politician / nurse / driver.’
- b. \*Ili politikus-hoz / nővér-hez / sofőr-höz ment.  
 Ili politician-All / nurse-All / driver-All go.Past.3Sg  
 Intended meaning: ‘Ili went to the / a politician / nurse / driver.’

As before, the reading that a conventionalized activity is taking place may, but does not have to, be lost with a determiner: in (34) Pál could be at the doctor’s house having a drink with him.

- (34) Pál az [orvos-nál van] / [orvos-hoz ment].  
 Pál the doctor-Ade be.3Sg / doctor-All go.Past.3Sg  
 ‘Pál [is at] / [went to] the doctor’s.’

The reading for the conventionalized activity also available with the illative and the sublative case in the collocations in (35):

- (35) a. Pál iskolá-ba / óvodá-ba / egyetem-re jár.  
 Pál school-III / kindergarten-III / university-Sub attend.3Sg  
 ‘Pál attends school / kindergarten / university.’
- b. Pál templom-ba jár.  
 Pál church-III attend.3Sg  
 ‘Pál regularly goes to church.’

Komlósy (1992: 513-514) has shown that the requirement that bare nouns give rise to a conventionalized reading is not specific to bare nouns within PPs: this is characteristic of all phrases that fulfill the verbal modifier role in the sentence, including bare objects. Compare (36a,b), which refer to a conventionalized activity with (36c), which does not.

- (36) a. Pál fá-t vág.  
 Pál tree-Acc cut.3Sg  
 ‘Pál is cutting up wood [specifically for burning].’
- b. Pál újság-ot olvas.  
 Pál newspaper-Acc read.3Sg  
 ‘Pál is reading a newspaper.’
- c. <sup>\*/?</sup>Pál számlá-t olvas.  
 Pál bill-Acc read.3Sg  
 Intended meaning: ‘Pál is reading a bill [to be paid].’

### *B. Bare nominal complements of case-like postpositions*

Case-like postpositions with a spatial interpretation take bare nominal complements if the nominal has a generic or type interpretation, if the PP bears strong contrastive stress, and in idiomatic or set phrases. Some examples are given in (37).

- (37) a. Ili KÖNYV ALÁ rejtette a papírt.  
 Ili book under\_to hide.Past.DefObj.3Sg the paper.Acc  
 ‘It is under a book that Ili hid the paper.’
- b. Ili NEHEZÉK ALATT tartja a papírt.  
 Ili paper\_weight under\_at keep.DefObj.3Sg the paper.Acc  
 ‘It is under a paperweight that Ili keeps the paper.’
- c. Ili FÖLDKUPAC ALÓL húzta elő a fonalat.  
 Ili soil.pile under\_from pull.Past.DefObj.3Sg out the thread.Acc  
 ‘It is from under a pile of soil that Ili pulled out the thread.’

(38) shows cases in which a specific case-like P takes a specific bare noun as a complement in a set phrase. In (38a) either the locative or the directional postposition is acceptable; individual speakers have preferences for one or the other P.

- (38) a. Pál kéz alól / alatt vette a TV-t.  
 Pál hand under\_from / under\_at buy.Past.DefObj.3Sg the TV-Acc  
 ‘Pál bought the TV set [from a non-licensed vendor] / [on the black market].’
- b. torony-iránt  
 tower-towards  
 ‘straight ahead, as the crow flies’

Of case-like postpositions with a temporal interpretation, *múlva* ‘in (X time), after (X time)’ and *óta* ‘since’ combine with plural bare nominal complements (136).

- (39) a. Pál még órá-\*(k) múlva is kint sétált.  
 Pál still hour-Pl after Emph outside walk.Past.3Sg  
 ‘Pál was walking outside even after hours had passed.’
- b. Pál órá-\*(k) óta nézi a TV-t.  
 Pál hour-Pl since watch.DefObj.3Sg the TV-Acc  
 ‘Pál has been watching TV for hours.’

The temporal case-like P *tájt/tájban* ‘around (a point in time)’ does not take bare nominal complements, unless nouns naming parts of the day and mealtimes are taken to be bare nominals (40). (These may perhaps be considered to be proper names, however.)

- (40) a. Pál dél tájban megy az egyetem-re.  
 Pál noon around go.3Sg the university-Sub  
 ‘Pál goes to the university around noon.’
- b. Pál vacsora tájban ér haza.  
 Pál dinner around get.3Sg home\_to  
 ‘Pál gets home around supertime.’

Case-like Ps with a non-spatial and non-temporal semantics take bare nominal complements under the same circumstances as spatial case suffixes: the case-marked P must be focused (41a,b) or must receive a generic / type interpretation (41c).

- (41) a. FÖLDRENGÉS MIATT dőlt össze sok ház.  
 earthquake because\_of fall.Past.3Sg together many house  
 ‘It is because of an earthquake that many houses collapsed.’
- b. Pál [HITEL NÉLKÜL] / [GYEREK NÉLKÜL] / [BIZTOSÍTÁS NÉLKÜL] él.  
 Pál loan without / child without / insurance without live.3Sg  
 ‘Pál lives without a loan / child / insurance.’
- c. Orvos által végzett beavatkozásainkra garanciát adunk.  
 doctor by performed procedure.Poss.Pl.Poss.1Pl.Sub guarantee.Acc give.1Pl  
 ‘A guarantee applies to our procedures performed by a doctor.’

#### 3.2.2.4. Pro-dropped and implicit complements

Case suffixes (except for the morphologically unmarked nominative and the accusative suffix) allow their pronominal complement to be dropped (see Chapter 2

Section 2.2.1.2 point V). This is also true of case-like postpositions (see Chapter 2 Section 2.2.2.2.2 point V). In both cases, the person and number features of the dropped pronoun are recoverable from the agreement suffix that obligatorily appears on the adposition. Representative examples are given in (42).

- (42) a. (Én-)nek-em minden cica tetszik.  
 I-Dat-1Sg every cat appeal.3Sg  
 ‘All cats appeal to me.’
- b. A cica (én-)mellett-em alszik.  
 the cat I-next\_to-1Sg sleep.3Sg  
 ‘The cat is sleeping next to me.’

Some case-assigning postpositions can also appear without a complement, as in (43b) (cf. Chapter 2 Section 2.2.3.2 point III).

- (43) 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 there [wrt a contextually salient reference point].’

In this case the Ps express a (spatial or temporal) relation between the Ground and a deictic center of the utterance. It is therefore reasonable to assume that this is not a genuinely intransitive use: in these cases the case-assigning Ps take an implicit but syntactically represented complement. The same is true of case-assigning Ps that function as verbal modifiers and appear without an overt complement, cf. (44a) with a complement and (44b) without one.

- (44) a. Ili a mező-n át sétált, amikor esni kezdett.  
 Ili the meadow-Sup through walk.Past.3Sg when rain.Inf start.Past.3Sg  
 ‘Ili was walking through the meadow when it started raining.’
- b. Ili át-sétált.  
 Ili through-walk.Past.3Sg  
 ‘Ili walked over [to here / there].’

### 3.2.3. *Adjectival complements*

Postpositional heads typically take nominal complements. Some adverbial suffixes (which this book takes to be opaque P heads, cf. Chapter 1), however, regularly take adjectival complements. In addition, certain case suffixes also combine with adjectival complements either in a productive or in a restricted manner. Postpositions and verbal particles do not take adjectival complements.

#### *VII. Adjectival complements of adverbial suffixes*

Of the adverbial suffixes, the modal-essive suffix *-(V)n* (allomorphs: *-n/-on/-an/-en*) and the essive(-modal) suffix *-Vl* (allomorphs: *-ul/-ül*) take adjectival complements

regularly (on these suffixes, see also Chapter 2 Section 2.2.4.1.1 points *II* and *III*). Examples of the modal-essive suffix are provided in (45).

- (45) a. Kati szép-en / gyors-an / kitartó-an úszik.  
 Kati nice-ly / quick-ly / persistent-ly swim.3Sg  
 ‘Kati swims nicely / quickly / persistently.’
- b. A kávé-t drága-n vettem.  
 the coffee.Acc expensive-ly buy.Past.1Sg  
 ‘The coffee I bought was expensive (for that kind of coffee).’
- c. A kávé-t fekete-n / keserű-n szeretem.  
 the coffee.Acc black-ly / bitter-ly like.1Sg  
 ‘I like coffee black / bitter.’

Examples of the essive(-modal) suffix are given in (46).

- (46) a. Ili orosz-ul beszél.  
 Ili Russian-ly speak.3Sg  
 ‘Ili is speaking Russian.’
- b. Ili jó-l oldotta meg a feladatot.  
 Ili good-ly solve.Past.DefObj.3Sg Perf the assignment.Acc  
 ‘Ili did the assignment well.’

Note that the essive(-modal) suffix may also take certain bare nouns as complement (47):

- (47) a. Pál feleség-ül vette Ili-t.  
 Pál wife-ly take.Past.DefObj.3Sg Ili.Acc  
 ‘Pál married Ili.’ (Lit: Pál took Ili as wife.)
- b. Ember-ül viselkedni nem mindig könnyű.  
 man-ly behave.Inf not always easy  
 ‘To behave in a way worthy of a man is not always easy.’

### VIII. Adjectival complements of case suffixes

Hungarian has bare AP predicates only with copular (e.g. *van* ‘be’, *lesz* ‘will be, become’) and semi-copular verbs (e.g. *marad* ‘remain, stay’):

- (48) a. Te kedves vagy.  
 you(Sg) kind be.2Sg  
 ‘You(Sg) are kind.’
- b. Pál kedves volt / lesz / maradt.  
 Pál kind be\_Past.3Sg / will\_be.3Sg / remain.Past.3Sg  
 ‘Pál was / [will be] / remained kind.’

Secondary AP predicates cannot be bare; they must be case-marked (with the translative(-essive), the sublative, the dative, the inessive or the illative case suffix, depending on the type of secondary predicate). That is, in order to form secondary predicates, adjectives must be embedded in a PP headed by a case suffix. In such cases we are thus dealing with AP complements of P heads.

*A. Adjectival complements of the translative(-essive) case suffix*

The translative(-essive) case suffix productively takes either bare nominal or adjectival complements (49).

- (49) a. A fiú madár-rá változott.  
 the boy bird-TrE change.Past.3Sg  
 ‘The boy turned into a bird.’ (Lit. changed into a bird)
- a’. A fiú fiatal felnőtt-té cseperedett.  
 the boy young adult-TrE grow.Past.3Sg  
 ‘The boy grew up to be a young adult.’ (Lit. grew into a young adult)
- b. Az ég ijesztő-vé vált.  
 the sky threatening-TrE become.Past.3Sg  
 ‘The sky became threatening.’
- b’. Kezelés után a bőr simá-vá válik.  
 treatment after the skin smooth-TrE become.3Sg  
 ‘After treatment the skin becomes smooth.’

The PP headed by the translative(-essive) case denotes the result state of a change and serves as a resultative secondary predicate in the clause. The state before the change has taken place can be expressed by a PP headed by the elative case (50).

- (50) Ili kedves-ből ijesztő-vé változott.  
 Ili kind-Ela threatening-TrE change.Past.3Sg  
 ‘Ili changed from kind to threatening.’

With change of state predicates the PP headed by the elative case must always accompany the PP headed by the translative(-essive) case; it cannot occur on its own (51).

- (51) \*Ili kedves-ből változott.  
 Ili kind-Ela change.Past.3Sg  
 Intended meaning: ‘Ili changed from [being] kind.’

While change of state predicates characteristically take the translative(-essive) case, in one idiomatic expression the illative case is used instead (52). Here, too, the state before the change can be expressed with an optional PP headed by the elative case.

- (52) Ili át ment (kedves-ből) ijesztő-be.  
 Ili over go.Past.3Sg kind-Ela scary-III  
 ‘Ili turned (from kind to) scary.’

*B. Adjectival complements of the sublative case suffix*

Resultative secondary predicates are formed when the sublative case suffix takes an adjectival complement (53). This is an entirely productive process.



- (53) a. Ili lapos-ra kalapálta a vasat.  
 Ili flat-Sub hammer.Past.DefObj.3Sg the iron.Acc  
 ‘Ili hammered the iron flat.’
- b. Ili apró-ra vágta a diót.  
 Ili tiny-Sub cut.Past.DefObj.3Sg the walnut.Acc  
 ‘Ili cut the walnut into small pieces.’

*C. Adjectival complements of the dative case suffix*

A small group of verbs selects for a small clause complement in which the adjectival predicate must be dative marked. The verbs in question include *tart* ‘consider (sb to be Adj)’, *néz* ‘take (sb to be Adj)’, *gondol* ‘think (of sb as Adj)’, *vél* ‘consider (sb to be Adj)’, *tekint* ‘consider (sb/sth to be Adj)’, *tűnik* ‘appear (to be Adj)’ and *látszik* ‘look/appear (to be Adj)’. The PP comprising the dative case and its adjectival complement serves as a secondary predicate next to these verbs. Some examples are given in (54).

- (54) a. Ili okos-nak tartja Pált.  
 Ili clever-Dat consider.DefObj.3Sg Pál.Acc  
 ‘Ili considers Pál to be clever.’
- b. Ili hülyé-nek nézi Pált.  
 Ili stupid-Dat take.DefObj.3Sg Pál.Acc  
 ‘Ili takes Pál to be stupid.’
- c. Ili alkalmas-nak gondolja Pált.  
 Ili stupid-Dat think.DefObj.3Sg Pál.Acc  
 ‘Ili considers Pál to be capable.’
- d. Ili egyenértékű-nek tekinti a megoldásokat.  
 Ili equivalent-Dat consider.DefObj.3Sg the solution.Pl.Acc  
 ‘Ili considers the solutions to be equivalent.’

Note that the dative suffix can also take a nominal complement as the secondary predicate in the small clause selected by one of the verbs listed above. This is shown in (55) for *néz* ‘take (sb to be something)’.

- (55) Ili orvos-nak nézte Pált.  
 Ili doctor-Dat take.Past.DefObj.3Sg Pál.Acc  
 ‘Ili took Pál to be a doctor.’

The dative suffix can also have an adjectival complement in the predicate cleft construction (see the volume on Sentence Structure).

- (56) Szép-nek szép, de túl drága.  
 pretty-Dat pretty but too expensive  
 ‘As for [being] pretty, it is pretty, but it is too expensive.’

*D. Adjectival complements of other case suffixes*

Other case suffixes do not productively take adjectival complements, but they can occur with such complements in set collocations (57). In these examples the case-marked adjective functions as an argument of the verb.

- (57) a. Ili feketé-be / piros-ba / fehér-be öltözött. [illative]  
 Ili black-III / red-III / white-III dress.Past.3Sg  
 ‘Ili dressed in all black / red / white.’
- b. Ili feketé-ben / piros-ban / fehér-ben jár. [inessive]  
 Ili black-III / red-III / white-III walk.3Sg  
 ‘Ili is habitually dressed in all black / red / white.’
- b’. Ili tilos-ban jár. [inessive]  
 Ili forbidden-III walk.3Sg  
 ‘Ili is doing something forbidden.’

*3.2.4. Adverbial complements*

The sublative and the delative case suffix can take certain locative adverbs as complements. Some examples are given in (58) and (59). This is not a productive pattern. (On the adverbs in (59b), see Chapter 2 Section 2.2.4.1.2 point *III*.)

- (58) a. Ili távol-ra és közel-re is jól lát. [sublative]  
 Ili far-Sub and close-Sub too well see.3Sg  
 ‘Ili can see things well from afar and from up close.’
- b. Ili [egymástól távol-ra] / [egymáshoz közel-re] ültet pár virágot.  
 Ili each\_other.Abl far-Sub / each\_other.All close-Sub plant.3Sg couple flower.Acc  
 ‘Ili plants some flowers [far apart] / [close to each other].’
- (59) a. Ili távol-ról / közel-ről nézi a TV-t. [delative]  
 Ili far-Del / close-Del watch.DefObj.3Sg the TV-Acc  
 ‘Ili watches TV [from far away] / [up close].’
- b. Ili bent-ről / kint-ről / lent-ről / fent-ről nézi a TV-t.  
 Ili inside-Del / outside-Del / down-Del / up-Del watch.DefObj.3Sg the TV-Acc  
 ‘Ili is watching TV [from inside] / [from the outside] / [from lower down] / [from up(stairs)].’

There are also collocations which do not represent a productive pattern, such as (60).

- (60) késő-re jár (az idő)  
 late-Sub go.3Sg the time  
 ‘it is late, it is getting late’

*3.2.5. Adpositional complements*

Of adpositional heads, it is case-assigning postpositions (Chapter 2 Section 2.2.2.3) whose complement is adpositional by default. Verbal particles take adpositional complements only when the particle also functions as a case-assigning postposition. Among case suffixes, only the delative and the sublative case suffixes can have an

adpositional complement and then only under restricted circumstances (see below and also Chapter 2 Section 2.2.2.2.4).

### *I. Adpositional complements of case-assigning postpositions*

Case-assigning postpositions take PP complements headed by a superessive, allative or instrumental case suffix (61). The choice of the case suffix is determined by the individual postposition.

- (61) a. Az erdő a kertítés-en túl kezdődik. [superessive complement]  
 the forest the fence-Sup beyond start.3Sg  
 ‘The forest starts beyond the fence.’
- b. Az erdő a kertítés-hez közel kezdődik. [allative complement]  
 the forest the fence-All close\_to start.3Sg  
 ‘The forest starts close to the fence.’
- c. Az erdő a kertítés-sel szemben kezdődik. [instrumental complement]  
 the forest the fence-Ins opposite\_to start.3Sg  
 ‘The forest starts opposite the fence.’

### *II. Adpositional complements of verbal particles*

Some case-assigning postpositions can function as verbal particles. In this case they appear in the preverbal verb modifier position (in neutral sentences) and the PP that they subcategorize for may be dropped or may appear postverbally (62). The latter case can be thought of as involving a verbal particle taking an adpositional complement (cf. also Chapter 2 Section 2.2.3.4).

- (62) Az ág túl-nyúlik (a kertítés-en).  
 the branch beyond-reach.3Sg the fence-Sup  
 ‘The branch goes beyond (the fence).’

### *III. Adpositional complements of case suffixes*

Case suffixes normally do not take adpositional complements. The exceptions are the sublative and the delative case suffixes, which may, under very limited conditions, take a PP complement headed by a postposition expressing a location.

#### *A. Adpositional complements headed by a case-like P*

As discussed in Chapter 2 Section 2.2.2.2.1, many case-like Ps form semantically and morphologically related triplets. A P with the  $-(Vt)t$  locative suffix expresses static location at a position, a P with the  $-á/-é$  lative suffix expresses motion to a location, while a P with the  $-(V)l$  source suffix expresses motion away from a location (63).

- (63) az asztal alatt / alá / alól  
 the table under\_at / under\_to / under\_from  
 ‘under / [to under] / [from under] the table’

In special cases, motion to a location may be expressed by the combination of a locative ( $-(Vt)t$  marked) P and the sublative case instead of a lative marked P (64).

- (64) a. a felszín alá tervezett garázs  
 the surface under\_to designed garage  
 ‘the garage designed to be located under the surface’
- b. ?a felszín alatt-ra tervezett garázs  
 the surface under\_at-Sub designed garage  
 ‘the garage designed to be located under the surface’

Such combinations may become obligatory if the sublative case is subcategorized by a verb (65).

- (65) a. A benzinfogyasztást ki lehet hozni 6 liter alatt-ra / alá.  
 the petrol.consumption.Acc out possible bring.Inf 6 liter under\_at-Sub / under\_to  
 ‘Petrol consumption can be reduced to under 6 liters.’
- b. A játékban az asztal alatt-ra / \*alá fogadtam.  
 the game.Ine the table under\_at-Sub / under\_to bet.Past.1Sg  
 ‘In the game I placed my bet on ‘under the table’ (being the correct solution).’
- c. Ez a felszín alatt-ra / \*alá nem vonatkozik.  
 this the surface under\_at-Sub / under\_to not concern.3Sg  
 ‘This does not concern (the area) under the surface.’

Similarly, in special cases motion away from a location may be expressed by the combination of a locative (-(*Vt*)*t* marked) P and the delative case instead of a -(*V*)*l* marked P (66).

- (66) a. a felszín alól érkező hangok  
 the surface under\_from coming sound.Pl  
 ‘the sounds coming from under the surface’
- b. ?a felszín alatt-ról érkező hangok  
 the surface under\_at-Del coming sound.Pl  
 ‘the sounds coming from under the surface’

Again, these unusual combinations may become obligatory if the verb subcategorizes for the delative case (67):

- (67) A felszín alatt-ról / \*alól még nem is beszéltünk.  
 the table under\_at-Del / under\_from yet not too speak.Past.1Pl  
 ‘We haven’t even spoken about the area under the surface.’

The case-like Ps *előtt* ‘in front of’, *alatt* ‘under’ and *után* ‘behind’ may have temporal readings (‘before’, ‘during’ and ‘after’, respectively). In the temporal reading these Ps combine with the sublative or delative case suffix and the corresponding goal / source Ps are either degraded or outright ungrammatical (68), (69).

## (68) ● Case-like Ps with the sublative suffix

- a. A szobrot a vaskor előtt-re / <sup>?(?)</sup>elé datálják.  
 the sculpture.Acc the iron.age in\_front\_of-Sub / before\_from date.3Pl  
 ‘The sculpture is dated (by experts) to be from before the Iron Age.’
- b. A szobrot a vaskor alatt-ra / \*alá datálják.  
 the sculpture.Acc the iron.age under\_at-Sub / under\_to date.3Pl  
 ‘The sculpture is dated (by experts) to be from the Iron Age.’
- c. A szobrot a vaskor után-ra datálják.  
 the sculpture.Acc the iron.age behind\_at-Sub date.3Pl  
 ‘The sculpture is dated (by experts) to be from after the Iron Age.’

## (69) ● Case-like Ps with the delative suffix

- a. A szobor a vaskor előtt-ről / \*elől származik.  
 the sculpture the iron.age in\_front\_of-Del / before\_from be\_from.3Sg  
 ‘The sculpture dates from before the Iron Age.’
- b. A szobor a vaskor után-ről származik.  
 the sculpture the iron.age behind\_at-Del be\_from.3Sg  
 ‘The sculpture dates from after the Iron Age.’

Remark 1. Note that while *után* does have a spatial use, as in (i), it does not involve the *-(V)t* suffix, and it has no lative or *-(V)* marked forms either.

- (i) Ili Pál után baktat.  
 Ili Pál behind amble.3Sg  
 ‘Ili is ambling behind Pál.’

In contrast to the previous examples, in (70a) neither alternative is genuinely grammatical; this is because the availability of an alternative form with a case-marked noun (70b).

## (70) ● Case-like P blocked by case suffix

- a. A szobor a vaskor <sup>\*?</sup>alatt-ról / \*alól származik.  
 the sculpture the iron.age under\_at-Del / under\_from be\_from.3Sg  
 ‘The sculpture dates from the Iron Age.’
- b. A szobor a vaskor-ból származik.  
 the sculpture the iron.age-Ela be\_from.3Sg  
 ‘The sculpture dates from the Iron Age.’

*B. Adpositional complements headed by a case-assigning P*

In contrast to case-like postpositions, case-assigning Ps generally do not come in morphologically related triplets. The Ps that express a location but have no source or goal counterparts form goal and source PPs with the sublative and the delative case, respectively. (71) shows this for *túl* ‘beyond’.

- (71) a. A madár a folyó-n túl lakik.  
 the bird the river-Sup beyond live.3Sg  
 ‘The bird lives beyond the river.’
- b. A madár a folyó-n túl-ra repült.  
 the bird the river-Sup beyond-Sub fly.Past.3Sg  
 ‘The bird flew (to the area) beyond the river.’
- c. A madár a folyó-n túl-ról érkezett.  
 the bird the river-Sup beyond-Del arrive.Past.3Sg  
 ‘The bird came from (the area) beyond the river.’

### 3.2.6. Clausal complements

#### 3.2.6.1. Finite clausal complements

Adpositions do not take finite clausal complements directly. Case suffixes and case-like postpositions can combine with a proleptic demonstrative pronoun *az* ‘that’ associated with a finite embedded clause in the clause-final position of the matrix clause, however, to the extent that the semantics of the P allows this. Case-assigning postpositions occur either with a PP complement or intransitively, but a proleptic pronoun (or a clause) is never a direct complement of such a postposition; their complement is always a PP headed by a case suffix. Verbal particles and the adverbial endings discussed in Chapter 2 Section 2.2.4.1 do not take finite clausal complements either.

#### I. Finite clausal complements of case suffixes

Almost all case suffixes may combine with a proleptic pronoun with a clausal associate (72). (The exceptions will be discussed shortly below, clauses and their associated pronouns will be discussed in detail in the volume on Finite Embedding.)

- (72) a. Ili tudja (*az-t*), hogy Pál 8-ra jön. [accusative]  
 Ili know.3Sg that-Acc that Pál 8-Sub come.3Sg  
 ‘Ili knows that Pál comes at 8.’
- b. Ili örül (*annak*), hogy Pál 8-ra jön. [dative]  
 Ili happy that.Dat that Pál 8-Sub come.3Sg  
 ‘Ili is happy that Pál comes at 8.’
- b’. Ili *annak* szenteli az életét, hogy állatokat ment.  
 Ili that.Dat dedicate.3Sg the life.Poss.Acc that animal.Pl.Acc rescue.3Sg  
 ‘Ili dedicates her life to rescuing animals.’
- c. Ili bízik *abban*, hogy Pál 8-ra jön. [inessive]  
 Ili hope.3Sg that.Ine that Pál 8-Sub come.3Sg  
 ‘Ili hopes that Pál comes at 8.’
- d. Ili nem tehet *arról*, hogy kirúgták. [delative]  
 Ili not be\_blamed\_for.3Sg that.Del that out.fire.Past.3Pl  
 ‘Ili cannot be blamed for having been fired.’

- e. Ili (*az-ért*) izgul, hogy Pál odaérjen 8-ra. [causal(-final)]  
 Ili that-Cau be\_anxious.3Sg that Pál there.get.Subj.3Sg 8-Sub  
 ‘Ili is anxious for Pál to get there by 8.’

We use the term ‘proleptic pronoun’ in a way that is neutral with respect to word order, noting that it can also follow the associated clause (e.g. when the clause appears in the sentence-initial contrastive topic position). As shown in (72), in certain cases the proleptic pronoun can be dropped.

In the examples in (72) the proleptic pronoun is a demonstrative. In the postverbal position the proleptic pronoun can also be a dropped *pro*. This is shown in (73a) for the dative, in (73b) for the inessive and in (73c) for the delative.

- (73) a. Ili örül *nek-i*, hogy Pál 8-ra jön. [dative]  
 Ili happy Dat-3Sg that Pál 8-Sub come.3Sg  
 ‘Ili is happy that Pál comes at 8.’
- b. Ili bízik *benn-e*, hogy Pál 8-ra jön. [inessive]  
 Ili hope.3Sg Ine-3Sg that Pál 8-Sub come.3Sg  
 ‘Ili hopes that Pál comes at 8.’
- c. Ili nem tehet *ról-a*, hogy kirúgták. [delative]  
 Ili not be\_blamed\_for.3Sg Del-3Sg that out.fire.Past.3Pl  
 ‘Ili cannot be blamed for having been fired.’

As detailed in Chapter 2 Section 2.2.1.2 point *V/B* and *V/E*, an oblique-marked personal pronoun has the form ‘pronoun–oblique case–possessive agreement’. The pronoun itself can be dropped, leaving only the case suffix and the agreement suffix overt. This is shown for the third person singular pronoun *ő* ‘s/he’ in (74).

- (74) (*ő*-)benn-e, (*ő*-)ról-a, (*ő*-)től-e  
 he-Ine-3Sg he-Del-3Sg he-Abl-3Sg  
 ‘in him, from/about him, from him’

When the oblique pronoun refers to a [–human] noun, however, then the third person singular pronoun *ő* ‘s/he’ must be dropped. Differently put, an overt *ő* ‘s/he’ forces a [+human] interpretation (75). (In the examples below, *is* ‘too’ makes it possible for *ő* ‘s/he’ to appear in a postverbal position; it does not influence the [+human] or [–human] interpretation.)

- (75) a. Ili örült *ő-nek-i* is. [dative]  
 Ili be\_happy.Past.3Sg he-Dat-3Sg too  
 ‘Ili was happy about him / her, too.’
- a’. Ili örült *nek-i* is.  
 Ili be\_happy.Past.3Sg Dat-3Sg too  
 ‘Ili was happy about him / her / it, too.’

- b. Ili bízik *ő-benn-e* is. [inessive]  
 Ili trust.3Sg he-Ine-3Sg too  
 ‘Ili trusts in him / her, too.’
- b’. Ili bízik *benn-e* is.  
 Ili trust.3Sg Ine-3Sg too  
 ‘Ili trusts in him / her / it, too.’
- c. Ili sokat beszélt *ő-róla* is. [delative]  
 Ili lot.Acc speak.Past.3Sg he-Del.3Sg too  
 ‘Ili talked a lot about him / her, too.’
- c’. Ili sokat beszélt *ról-a* is.  
 Ili lot.Acc speak.Past.3Sg Del-3Sg too  
 ‘Ili talked a lot about him / her / it, too.’

For this reason, the third person singular pronoun must also be dropped when used as a proleptic pronoun (76); that is, the proleptic pronoun comprises only the oblique case suffix and the agreement.

- (76) a. Ili örül (\**ő-*)*nek-i*, hogy Pál 8-ra jön. [dative]  
 Ili be\_happy.3Sg he-Dat-3Sg that Pál 8-Sub come.3Sg  
 ‘Ili is happy that Pál will come at 8.’
- b. Ili bízik (\**ő-*)*benn-e*, hogy Pál 8-ra jön. [inessive]  
 Ili trust.3Sg he-Ine-3Sg that Pál 8-Sub come.3Sg  
 ‘Ili trusts that Pál will come at 8.’
- c. Ili sokat beszélt (\**ő-*)*róla*, hogy kirúgták. [delative]  
 Ili lot.Acc speak.Past.3Sg he-Del.3Sg that out.fire.Past.3Pl  
 ‘Ili talked a lot about [the fact] that she has been fired.’

An overt accusative-marked personal pronoun cannot function as a proleptic pronoun either (77).

- (77) Ili tudja (\**ő-t*), hogy Pál 8-ra jön. [accusative]  
 Ili know.3Sg that-Acc that Pál 8-Sub come.3Sg  
 ‘Ili knows that Pál will come at 8.’

As for the accusative case suffix, it cannot appear in the pattern in (74), without an overt pronoun preceding it, under any circumstances. Therefore the grammatical version of (77) involves *pro*-drop of the entire inflected pronoun, that is, silence of both *ő* and the accusative case (78).

- (78) Ili tudja, hogy Pál 8-ra jön.  
 Ili know.3Sg that Pál 8-Sub come.3Sg  
 ‘Ili knows that Pál will come at 8.’

In the preverbal field the proleptic pronoun appears either in the topic, distributive quantifier or focus position. In this case only the demonstrative can be used; the *pro* leads to ungrammaticality (Elekfi 1980, Kenesei 1992, Kenesei 1994, É. Kiss 2002: 231-232). This is shown with focused pronouns in (79).



- (79) a. Ili AZ-T / \*Ő-T tudja, hogy Pál 8-ra jön.  
 Ili that-Acc / he-Acc know.3Sg that-Acc Pál 8-Sub come.3Sg  
 ‘What Ili knows is that Pál will come at 8.’
- b. Ili ANNAK / \*NEK-I örül, hogy Pál 8-ra jön.  
 Ili that.Dat / Dat-3Sg happy that Pál 8-Sub come.3Sg  
 ‘What Ili is happy about is that Pál will come at 8.’
- c. Ili ABBAN / \*BENN-E bízik, hogy Pál 8-ra jön.  
 Ili that.Ine / Ine-3Sg hope.3Sg that Pál 8-Sub come.3Sg  
 ‘What Ili hopes is that Pál will come at 8.’
- d. Ili ARRÓL / \*RÓL-A beszélt, hogy kirúgták.  
 Ili that.Ine / Ine-3Sg speak.Past.3Sg that out.fire.Past.3PI  
 ‘What Ili talked about is that she has been fired.’

That personal pronouns as proleptic pronouns are restricted to the post-verbal field stems from the fact that forms without an overt *ő*, such as *neki*, *benne* and *róla* as proleptic pronouns are weak, and weak pronouns cannot be focused.

Probably due to their meanings, the translative(-essive) *-vá/-vé* and the essive-formal *-ként* do not take clausal complements, therefore they do not occur in the [[proleptic *az* ‘that’+case] ... clausal associate] construction where the clausal associate would be the semantic complement of the case suffix.

Remark 2. The translative(-essive) *-vá/-vé* and the essive-formal *-ként* can combine with an *az* ‘that’ that is associated with a clause, however, these are always relative clauses, which are (with the exception of some free relatives) not complements, see the volume on Finite Embedding. In (i) the associate clause is a correlative clause. As argued by Lipták (2008, 2012), Hungarian correlatives are base-generated topics; thus there is no complementation relation between the oblique case and the clause (or between the demonstrative and the clause).

- (i) a. [Aki akart lenni], Ili az-zá vált.  
 rel.who want.Past.3Sg be.Inf Ili that-TrE become.Past.3Sg  
 ‘Ili has become who she wanted to be.’
- b. [Ahogy teljesítettek], Ili ak-ként jutalmazta  
 rel.how deliver.Past.3PI Ili that-FoE reward.Past.DefObj.3Sg  
 a beosztottakat.  
 the employee.Pl.Acc  
 ‘Ili rewarded the employees commensurate with their achievements.’

A demonstrative with a translative(-essive) or essive-formal case can also function as the head of the relative clause (leading to a so-called light-headed relative clause, cf. Citko 2004). This is illustrated in (ii), with an extraposed relative clause. There is no selection between the oblique case and the clause here either: the case selects for the referential demonstrative pronoun and we are not dealing with a proleptic pronoun. The relative clause itself is an adjunct of the pronoun (see the volume on Finite Embedding).

- (ii) a. Ili az-zá vált, [aki akart lenni].  
 Ili that-TrE become.Past.3Sg rel.who want.Past.3Sg be.Inf  
 ‘Ili has become who she wanted to be.’
- b. Ili ak-ként jutalmazta a beosztottakat,  
 Ili that-FoE reward.Past.DefObj.3Sg the employee.Pl.Acc  
 [ahogy teljesítettek].  
 rel.how deliver.Past.3PI  
 ‘Ili rewarded the employees commensurate with their achievements.’

*II. Finite clausal complements of case-like postpositions*

Case-like Ps can combine with a proleptic *az* ‘that’ associated with a finite clause under limited circumstances. The pattern is always felicitous with the temporal reading of those Ps that also have a spatial reading, e.g. *alatt* ‘under, during’, *körül* ‘around’, *mellett* ‘next to’, *előtt* ‘in front of, before’, *után* ‘behind, after’ (80b).

- (80) a. Sok mindent láttam az-alatt, hogy katona voltam.  
 much everything.Acc see.Past.3Sg that-under that soldier be.Past.1Sg  
 ‘I saw a lot while I was a soldier.’
- b. Választani kell aközött, hogy maradjak vagy hogy menjek.  
 choose.Inf must that.between that stay.Subj.1Sg or that go.Subj.1Sg  
 ‘I have to choose between staying and going.’

The case of *mellett* ‘next to’ is special in the sense that *amellett* ‘next to that’ has assumed the broader reading ‘in addition to’ (81).

- (81) a. Amellett, hogy tanul, rendszeresen edz is.  
 that.next\_to that study.3Sg regularly work\_out.3Sg too  
 ‘In addition to studying, he regularly works out, too.’
- b. Amellett, hogy igaza van, még udvarias is.  
 that.next\_to that right.Poss be.3Sg also polite too  
 ‘In addition to being right, he is also polite.’

Moreover, while directional case-like Ps normally do not combine with proleptic pronouns of clauses, the lative-marked *mellé* ‘to next to’ does, also with the meaning ‘in addition to’ (82).

- (82) Amellé, hogy megírok egy könyvet, más munkát nem vállalok.  
 that.to\_next\_to that Perf.write.1Sg a book.Acc other work.Acc not undertake.1Sg  
 ‘I do not undertake any tasks beyond writing a book.’

Directional (goal or source) case-like postpositions can combine with a proleptic pronoun if the postposition is part of a collocation or set phrase, as in (83), for instance.

- (83) a. kihúzza magát valami alól  
 out.pull self.Acc something under\_from  
 ‘back out of something’
- b. Ili kihúzta magát az-alól, hogy ebédet főzzön.  
 Ili out.pull.Past.DefObj.3Sg self.Acc that-under\_from that lunch.Acc cook.Subj.3Sg  
 ‘Ili backed out of cooking lunch.’

Of case-like Ps that have only a temporal reading, only *óta* ‘since’ is clearly grammatical with proleptic *az* ‘that’ (84).

- (84) Sok mindent láttam az-óta, hogy katona voltam.  
 lot everything.Acc see.Past.3Sg that-since that soldier be.Past.1Sg  
 ‘I saw a lot since I was a soldier.’

*Múlva* ‘since’ and *tájban* ‘(temporal) around’ are ungrammatical with both unmarked and dative marked proleptic pronouns; they do not combine with a proleptic pronoun at all (85).

- (85) a. \*Sok mindent láttam a-múlva, hogy katona voltam.  
 lot everything.Acc see.Past.3Sg that-after that soldier be.Past.1Sg  
 Intended meaning: ‘I have seen a lot since I was a soldier.’
- a’. \*Sok mindent láttam annak múlva, hogy katona voltam.  
 lot everything.Acc see.Past.3Sg that.Dat after that soldier be.Past.1Sg  
 Intended meaning: ‘I have seen a lot since I was a soldier.’
- b. <sup>2</sup>Sok mindent láttam a-tájban, hogy katona voltam.  
 lot everything.Acc see.Past.3Sg that-around that soldier be.Past.1Sg  
 Intended meaning: ‘I saw a lot around the time when I was a soldier.’
- b’. \*Sok mindent láttam annak tájban, hogy katona voltam.  
 lot everything.Acc see.Past.3Sg that.Dat around that soldier be.Past.1Sg  
 Intended meaning: ‘I saw a lot around the time when I was a soldier.’

Most case-like Ps with a non-spatial and non-temporal reading (the ‘other’ group in Chapter 2 Table 4) can take a proleptic pronominal complement associated with a finite clause (86).

- (86) a. Az-által, hogy időben indult, nem késett el.  
 that-by that time.Ine start.Past.3Sg not be\_late.Past.3Sg away  
 ‘Thanks to the fact that he started early, he was not late.’
- b. Szomorú vagyok a-miatt, hogy elkéstél.  
 sad be.1Sg that-because\_of that away.be\_late.Past.3Sg  
 ‘I am sad because you were late.’

However, *gyanánt* ‘as, in the guise of’ does not combine with a proleptic pronoun (87).

- (87) Tulipánt ültettek \*annak / \*az gyanánt, hogy  
 tulip.Acc plant.Past.3Pl that.Dat / that in\_guise\_of that  
 [szépítsék a kertet] / [bosszantsák a szomszédot].  
 beautify.Subj.3Pl the garden.Acc / annoy.Subj.3Pl the neighbour.Acc  
 ‘They planted tulips to [beautify the garden] / [annoy the neighbor].’

### 3.2.6.2. Non-finite clausal complements

Of non-finite clauses, infinitives, -ÁS nominalizations and -T nominalizations can appear in nominal positions. Of these non-finite clauses, infinitives cannot appear in the complement position of either case suffixes or case-like postpositions (88).

- (88) a. \*Örülök (a) [telefonál-ni]-nak.  
 rejoice.1Sg the phone-Inf-Dat  
 Intended meaning: ‘I am happy about the phone call.’

- b. \*[Telefonál-ni ] *mellett* enni is akarok.  
 phone-Inf next\_to eat.Inf too want.1Sg  
 Intended meaning: ‘In addition to making a phone call, I also want to eat.’

-ÁS nominalizations, discussed in detail in N1.3.1.2, Szabolcsi and Laczkó (1992), Laczkó (1995, 1997, 2000, 2009, 2010, 2015) and Kenesei (2005), regularly combine with case suffixes (89).

- (89) Örülök [az utcára vonul-ás]-*nak*.  
 rejoice.1Sg the street.Sub march-Nmn-Dat  
 ‘I am happy about the marching to the street.’

They also combine with case-like Ps that i) have both a spatial and a temporal reading, as in (90a), ii) have a temporal-only reading (except for *múlva* ‘after X time’, which only takes complements that denote a time-period), as in (90b), and also iii) case-like Ps with a non-spatial and non-temporal reading, as in (90c).

- (90) a. [Az utcára vonul-ás] *mellett* mást is kell tennünk.  
 the street.Sub march-Nmn next\_to other.Acc too must do.Inf.1PI  
 ‘In addition to marching to the street, we also have to do something else.’
- b. [Az utcára vonul-ás] *óta* megváltoztak a dolgok.  
 the street.Sub march-Nmn since Perf.change.Past.3PI the thing.PI  
 ‘Things have changed since the marching to the street.’
- c. [Az utcára vonul-ás] *nélkül* nem változtak volna a dolgok.  
 the street.Sub march-Nmn without not change.Past.3PI be.Cond the thing.PI  
 ‘Things would not have changed without the marching to the streets.’

-T nominalizations that correspond to English gerunds, discussed at length in N1.3.1.4 and in the volume on Non-Finite and Semi-Finite Verb Phrases, Radics (1992), Tóth (2011) and Dékány (2014), obligatorily show agreement with the subject’s person and number, and are not productive any more. They can be the complements of case suffixes, especially when the case is subcategorized by the matrix verb (91a), or when the case-marker is the inessive (91b,c). The inessive on these nominalizations expresses that the event in the matrix clause and the embedded clause are cotemporaneous.

- (91) a. [Ott-jár-t-unk]-*nak* nem örültek a helyiek.  
 there-go-Nmn-1PI-Dat not rejoice.Past.3PI the local.PI  
 ‘The locals were not happy about our going there.’
- b. [Arrafelé jár-t-unk]-*ban* sok helyi embert megismertünk.  
 there.towards go-Nmn-1PI-Ine many local person.Acc Perf.know.Past.1PI  
 ‘We got to know many local people when we went there.’
- c. A sas [röp-t-é]-*ben* kapta el a galambot.  
 the eagle fly-Nmn-3Sg-Ine catch.Past.3Sg away the dove.Acc  
 ‘The eagle caught the dove while flying.’ (Either the eagle or the dove was flying; or both.)

-T nominalizations also combine with case-like Ps that have a temporal reading (92).

- (92) [Ott-jár-t-unk] *előtt* / *alatt* / *után* / *óta* *lettem* *beteg.*  
 there-go-Nmn-1Pl in\_front\_of / under / after / since become.Past.1Sg sick  
 ‘I became sick before / during / after / since our going there.’

### 3.2.7. Absolute PPs

In this section we turn to absolute PPs, that is, constructions in which the complement of P is a small clause that comprises a subject nominal and a predicate. Absolute constructions are headed by Ps corresponding to ‘with’ and ‘without’, as in the English examples in (93). In these examples ‘John’ is the subject nominal and ‘on the team’ is the predicate.

- (93) a. With [John on the team], we will have no difficulties.  
 b. Without [John on the team], we will have major difficulties.

#### 1. Absolute -val/-vel ‘with’ PPs

The meaning ‘with’ is expressed in Hungarian by the instrumental case suffix *-val/-vel*. (The first consonant of the suffix undergoes assimilation to the consonant of consonant-final stems, cf. Chapter 2 Section 2.2.1.1 point II). This P can take a small clause complement comprising an NP/DP subject and a spatial PP predicate. In this scenario the instrumental ending appears suffixed to the subject nominal of the small clause (94).

- (94) a. [János-*sal* a csapat-ban] *biztosan nyerni fogunk.*  
 János-Ins the team-Ine surely win.Inf will.1Pl  
 ‘With John on the team, we will surely win.’  
 b. A *díjátadón* [a felesége-*vel* az oldalá-n] *jelent meg.*  
 the award.ceremony.Sup the wife.Poss-Ins the side.Poss-Sup appear.Past.3Sg Perf  
 ‘He came to the award ceremony with his wife (by his side).’  
 c. A *sztárvendégek* [Cher-*rel* az él-en] *nagy csalódást okoztak.*  
 the star.guest.Pl Cher-Ins the lead-Sup huge disappointment cause.Past.3Pl  
 ‘The guest stars, with Cher in the lead, caused a huge disappointment.’

While the case takes the whole small clause as its complement, it cannot appear suffixed to the clause (95).

- (95) \*[János a csapat-ban]-*nal* *biztosan nyerni fogunk.*  
 János the team-Ine-Ins surely win.Inf will.1Pl  
 Intended meaning: ‘With John on the team, we will surely win.’

The predicate of the small clause can only be adpositional, as in (94); adjectival and nominal predicates lead to ungrammaticality (96).

- (96) a. \*[János beteg]-*gel* *nem fogunk nyerni.*  
 János sick-Ins not will.1Pl win.Inf  
 Intended meaning: ‘With John (being) sick, we will not win.’  
 a’. \*[János-*sal* beteg] *nem fogunk nyerni.*  
 János-Ins sick not will.1Pl win.Inf  
 Intended meaning: ‘With John (being) sick, we will not win.’

- b. \*[János orvos]-sal van a csapatban egészségügyi dolgozó.  
 John doctor-Ins be.3Sg the team.Ine health.care.Attr worker  
 Intended meaning: 'With John being a doctor, there is a healthcare worker on the team.'
- b'. \*[János-sal orvos] van a csapatban egészségügyi dolgozó.  
 John-Ins doctor be.3Sg the team.Ine health.care.Attr worker  
 Intended meaning: 'With John being a doctor, there is a healthcare worker on the team.'

Moreover, not all adpositional predicates are felicitous. While predicates headed by case suffixes and postpositions are acceptable, adverbs (which Chapter 2 Section 2.2.4 argued are also PPs) are not. Compare (94a) and (97).

- (97) \*[János-sal otthon] nem fogunk nyerni.  
 János-Ins at\_home not will.1Pl win.Inf  
 Intended meaning: 'With John at home, we will not win.'

As shown in the previous examples, the absolute *-val/-vel* 'with' PPs are used adverbially: they refer to some accessory circumstance under which the event denoted by the verb takes place. Given that the head of the absolute *-val/-vel* 'with' PP is the case suffix, and PPs headed by case suffixes do not function as prenominal attributive modifiers of Ns (98a) (cf. also Chapter 2 Section 2.2.1.5), absolute *-val/-vel* 'with' PPs have no prenominal attributive use either (98b).

- (98) a. \*a [cukor-ral] kávé  
 the sugar-Ins coffee  
 Intended meaning: 'the coffee with sugar'
- b. \*a [János-sal a csapat-ban] terv  
 the János-Ins the team-Ine plan  
 Intended meaning: 'the plan with John on the team'

## II. Absolute nélkül 'without' PPs

The meaning 'without' is expressed in Hungarian by the case-like postposition *nélkül*. This P does not take a small clause predicate, in other words, absolute 'without' PPs do not exist in Hungarian. *Nélkül* cannot appear outside of a small clause (99a), nor can it be linearized on the subject nominal of the small clause (99b).

- (99) a. \*[János a csapat-ban] nélkül nem fogunk nyerni.  
 János the team-Ine without not will.1Pl win.Inf  
 Intended meaning: 'Without John on the team, we will not win.'
- b. \*[János nélkül a csapat-ban] nem fogunk nyerni.  
 János without the team-Ine not will.1Pl win.Inf  
 Intended meaning: 'Without John on the team, we will not win.'

In case the small clause predicate is nominal or adjectival, placing *nélkül* on the subject nominal has no ameliorating effect (100).

- (100) a. \*[János beteg] nélkül nyerni fogunk.  
 János sick without win.Inf will.1Pl  
 Intended meaning: ‘Without John (being) sick, we will win.’
- a’. \*[János nélkül beteg] nyerni fogunk.  
 János without sick win.Inf will.1Pl  
 Intended meaning: ‘Without John (being) sick, we will win.’
- b. \*[János orvos] nélkül nincs a csapatban egészségügyi dolgozó.  
 John doctor without not\_be.3Sg the team.Ine health.care.Attr worker  
 Intended meaning: ‘Without János being a doctor, there is no healthcare worker on the team.’
- b’. \*[János nélkül orvos] nincs a csapatban egészségügyi dolgozó.  
 János without doctor not\_be.3Sg the team.Ine health.care.Attr worker  
 Intended meaning: ‘Without János being a doctor, there is no healthcare worker on the team.’

### 3.3. Modification

We will now turn to the modification possibilities of PPs, and will proceed as follows. Section 3.3.1 will discuss the modifiers that can be found with spatial (locative or directional) and temporal PPs. We will cover modifiers of PPs that are neither spatial nor temporal in Section 3.3.2, and finally we will examine the modification possibilities with comparative and superlative formation in Section 3.3.3.

#### 3.3.1. Modification of spatial and temporal postpositions

Depending on their meaning, spatial PPs combine with different modifiers but a shared property is that both locative and directional ones allow for modifiers expressing orientation and distance, as well as measure phrases. Temporal PPs are not different in this respect. Categorially, these modifiers are quite uniform in Hungarian since they are all PPs themselves, i.e., we do not find simple NPs or APs as modifiers; they are either adorned with an adverbial suffix (mostly *-n/-an/-en*) or a case suffix (sublative or instrumental).

The most general modifiers that can combine with spatial (locative and directional) and temporal PPs as well are *pontos-an* ‘precisely, exactly’ and *épp-en* ‘right’, which have the adverbial *-n/-an/en* suffix (Kenesei *et al.* 1998). There are various other adverbs used as modifiers that are limited in their distribution to varying degrees. Furthermore, there are two types of measure phrases (one with the instrumental suffix and one with the sublative suffix) that are used to modify spatial and temporal PPs.

This section will first look at the general word order properties of PPs with modifiers in Section 3.3.1.1, and then Sections 3.3.1.2 through 3.3.1.9 will discuss the modifiers in more detail.

##### 3.3.1.1. Word order properties

Modifiers precede the complement of case-suffixes and case-like postpositions, as illustrated in (101)-(104).

- (101) A virágos [*pontosan* az-on a sark-on] van. [locative case suffix]  
 the florist exactly that-Sup the corner-Sup be.3Sg  
 ‘The florist is right on that corner.’
- (102) A kutya ki-szaladt, [*egyenesen* a kert-be]. [directional case suffix]  
 the dog out-run.Past.3Sg straight.ly the garden-III  
 ‘The dog ran out, straight into the garden.’
- (103) A busz [*épp(en)* a kapu előtt] áll meg. [locative case-like P]  
 the bus right.ly the gate in\_front\_of stop.3Sg Perf  
 ‘The bus stops right in front of the gate.’
- (104) Anna [*közvetlenül* az iskola mellé] költözött. [directional case-like P]  
 Anna immediately the school to\_next\_to move.Past.3Sg  
 ‘Anna moved right next to the school.’

The modifier may never intervene between the complement and the P with case-like postpositions (105)-(106).

- (105) \*A busz [a kapu *éppen* előtt] áll meg.  
 the bus the gate right.ly in\_front\_of stop.3Sg Perf  
 Intended meaning: ‘The bus stops right in front of the gate.’
- (106) \*Anna [az iskola *közvetlenül* mellé] költözött.  
 Anna the school immediately to\_next\_to move.Past.3Sg  
 Intended meaning: ‘Anna moved right next to the school.’

However, with case-assigning postpositions, there are two possible word orders: the modifier may precede the complement of the case-assigning P (107a), and it may also intervene between the complement and the case-assigning P (107b) (see also Dékány & Hegedűs 2015).

- (107) a. Az út [*egészen* az erdő-höz közel] fog vezetni.  
 the road completely the forest-All close\_to will.3Sg lead.Inf  
 ‘The road will lead very close to the forest.’
- b. Az út [az erdő-höz *egészen* közel] fog vezetni.  
 the road the forest-All completely close\_to will.3Sg lead.Inf  
 ‘The road will lead very close to the forest.’

The order in (107b), however, is dispreferred with *alul* ‘below’ and *innen* ‘on this side of’ and it is ungrammatical with *felül* ‘above’ (108).

- (108) a. A művész aláírása [*közvetlenül* a vonal-on alul] látható.  
 the artist signature.Poss directly the line-Sup below visible  
 ‘The artist’s signature can be seen directly below the line.’
- a.’ ?A művész aláírása [a vonal-on *közvetlenül* alul] látható.  
 the artist signature.Poss the line-Sup directly below visible  
 ‘The artist’s signature can be seen directly below the line.’



- b. A labda [*közvetlenül* a vonal-on innen] esett le.  
 the ball directly the line-Sup this\_side fall.Past.3Sg down  
 ‘The ball fell down right on this side of the line.’
- b.’ ?A labda [a vonal-on *közvetlenül* innen] esett le.  
 the ball the line-Sup immediately this\_side fall.Past.3Sg down  
 ‘The ball fell down right on this side of the line.’
- c. A művész aláírása [*közvetlenül* a vonal-on felül] látható.  
 the artist signature.Poss directly the line-Sup above visible  
 ‘The artist’s signature can be seen directly above the line.’
- c’. \*A művész aláírása [a vonal-on *közvetlenül* felül] látható.  
 the artist signature.Poss the line-Sup directly above visible  
 Intended meaning: ‘The artist’s signature can be seen directly above the line.’

The word order possibilities are determined by the fact that case-like postpositions (just like case suffixes) cannot be separated from their complement at all (Chapter 2 Sections 2.2.2.2.6 and 2.2.2.2.3), while case-assigning postpositions are morphologically more independent and can be separated from their complement to some extent (Chapter 2 Sections 2.2.2.3.6 and 2.2.2.3.3).

It can be tested whether the modifier is really a modifier of the PP and not of a larger constituent, by trying to dislocate the full modified PP, i.e., to have the phrase including the modifier as a contrastive topic or as a preverbal focus (e.g. with the focus particle *csak* ‘only’):

- (109) [Pontosan az-on a sark-on], sosem volt virágbolt.  
 exactly that-Sup the corner-Sup never was florist  
 ‘There’s never been a florist right on that corner.’
- (110) a. Az utat [csak egyenes-en az erdő-n át] tudták megépíteni.  
 the road.Acc only straight.ly the forest-Sup through could.3PI Perf.build.Inf  
 ‘The road could only be built straight through the forest.’
- b. Az utat [csak az erdő-n egyenes-en át] tudták megépíteni.  
 the road.Acc only the forest-Sup straight.ly through could.3PI Perf.build.Inf  
 ‘The road could only be built straight through the forest.’

Applying this test highlights that the modification of verbal particles is not a straightforward issue. So far, they have been conspicuously missing from our examples and that is because they are not modified on their own. Consider the sentence in (111a), which contains the particle *ki* ‘out’ preverbally and the modifier *egyenesen* ‘straight’. Based on this sentence, we can come up with the grammatical PP-with-DP constructions shown in (112). These sentences show that the modifier and the particle form a constituent, and they suggest that either the particle and the case suffixed PP together or the particle on its own can be modified. However, we also have (111b), where the same particle appears but it cannot be used on its own with the PP-with-DP construction in (113). The reason for this is that in the latter example there is no other directional element. As Chapter 2 Section 2.3.1.3.4 has shown, particles in their telicizing use involve a path in their meaning, but this path on its own does not seem to be suitable for modification. If there is a more lexical

directional element or the particle is used in its literal directional sense, modification becomes possible, since then the modifier can be semantically related to the full phrase.

- (111) a. János egyenesen ki-vitte az üres üvegeket a kukába.  
 János straight.ly out-take.Past.DefObj.3Sg the empty bottle.Pl.Acc the trash.Ill  
 ‘John took the empty bottles straight out to the trashcan.’
- b. Az igazgató egyenesen ki-mondta a véleményét.  
 the director straight.ly out-say.Past.DefObj.3Sg the opinion.Poss.3Sg.Acc  
 ‘The director stated his opinion straight out.’
- (112) a. Egyenesen ki a kuká-ba az üres üvegek-vel!  
 straight.ly out the trash-Ill the empty bottle.Pl-Ins  
 ‘Straight to the trashcan with the empty bottles!’
- b. Egyenesen ki az üvegek-vel!  
 straight.ly out the bottle.Pl-Ins  
 ‘Straight out with the bottles!’
- (113) \*Egyenesen ki az igazgató véleményé-vel!  
 straight.ly out the director opinion.Poss-Ins  
 Intended meaning: ‘Straight out with the director’s opinion!’

A similar conclusion can be drawn if we try to have the modifier and the particle as a contrastive topic together, as one constituent. The only modifier that seems to work to some extent is *egyenesen* ‘straight’, however, even that is limited to the straightforwardly directional, semantically more transparent use of particles. In other instances, the same modifier can be a modifier of the VP in which the particle happens to be the first element in a neutral sentence with straight word order, e.g. (114c).

- (114) a. Mari egyenesen haza-vitte a gyerekeket.  
 Mari straight.ly home\_to-take.Past.DefObj.3Sg the kid.Pl.Acc  
 ‘Mari took the kids straight home.’
- b. Egy galamb egyenesen be-repült az ablak-on.  
 a pigeon straight.ly into-fly.Past.3Sg the window-Sup  
 ‘A pigeon flew straight in through the window.’
- c. Mari egyenesen fel-háborodott a feltételezések-en.  
 Mari straight.ly up-got\_indignant the assumption.Pl-Sup  
 ‘Mary became downright indignant about the assumptions.’
- (115) a. [Egyenesen haza], csak Mari vitte a gyerekeket.  
 straight.ly home\_to only Mari take.Past.DefObj.3Sg the kid.Pl.Acc  
 ‘It was only Mari who took the kids straight home.’
- b. ?[Egyenesen be], csak egy galamb repült az ablak-on.  
 straight.ly into only one pigeon fly.Past.3Sg the window-Sup  
 ‘Only one pigeon flew straight in through the window.’

- c. \*[Egyenesen fel], csak Mari háborodott a feltételezések-en.  
 straight.ly up only Mari got\_indignant the assumption.Pl-Sup  
 Intended meaning: 'Only Mari became downright indignant about the assumptions.'

When such modifiers do not belong only to the PP, they often have a considerably different meaning, as is the case in (114c) and in the examples in (116). In these sentences, we are dealing with the modification of a larger syntactic unit and these will not be discussed in this chapter (see Chapter 7).

- (116) a. Ili éppen el-értte a buszt.  
 Ili just away-reach.Past.DefObj.3Sg the bus.Acc  
 'Ili just managed to catch the bus.'
- b. Pál pontosan fel-mérte a helyzetet.  
 Pál exactly up-measure.Past.DefObj.3Sg the situation.Acc  
 'Pál gauged the situation accurately.'

In the following sections we will look at the individual modifiers in more detail but will leave particles out of the discussion for the reasons illustrated here.

### 3.3.1.2. Pontosán 'precisely, exactly'

The modifier *pontosan* 'precisely, exactly' can appear with Ps referring to points or well-defined regions. It can be used modifying locative and directional case suffixes, case-like and case-assigning postpositions, as well as adverbs, as illustrated in (117) and (118), respectively.

- (117) a. pontosan a sarok-nál [locative case suffix]  
 exactly the corner-Ade  
 'right at the corner'
- b. pontosan a ház felett [locative case-like P]  
 exactly the house above\_at  
 'right above the house'
- c. pontosan a ház-zal szemben [locative case-assigning P]  
 exactly the house-Ins opposite  
 'exactly opposite the house'
- d. pontosan itt [locative adverb]  
 exactly here\_at  
 'right here'
- (118) a. pontosan a sarok-tól [directional case suffix]  
 exactly the corner-Abl  
 'right from the corner'
- b. pontosan a ház fölé [directional case-like P]  
 exactly the house above\_to  
 'right (to) above the house'

- c. pontosan a ház-zal szembe [directional case-assigning P]  
 exactly the house-Ins to\_opposite\_to  
 ‘exactly (to) opposite the house’
- d. pontosan ide [directional adverb]  
 exactly here\_to  
 ‘right here’

However, this modifier cannot be used with all spatial Ps. The examples in (119) show that it cannot modify locative PPs that refer to a region which is not well-defined enough for the Figure to be precisely at that point or in that region.

- (119) a. \*pontosan a ház-hoz közel  
 exactly the house-All close\_to  
 Intended meaning: ‘right close to the house’
- b. \*pontosan a folyó-n túl  
 exactly the river-Sup beyond  
 Intended meaning: ‘right beyond the river’
- c. \*pontosan benn (a konyhá-ban)  
 exactly inside the kitchen-Ins  
 Intended meaning: ‘right in(side) the kitchen’
- d. \*pontosan fenn (a padlás-on)  
 exactly up the attic-Sup  
 Intended meaning: ‘right up in the attic’

(120) provides examples where the modified PPs are constituents (in focus or contrastive topic), and they are ungrammatical.

- (120) a. \*A repülő [pontosan a folyó-n túl] szállt le.  
 the plane exactly the river.Sup beyond fly.Past.3Sg down  
 Intended meaning: ‘The plane landed exactly beyond the river.’
- b. \*A busz [pontosan a ház-hoz közel] áll meg.  
 the bus exactly the house-All close\_to stop.3Sg Perf  
 Intended meaning: ‘The bus stops right close to the house.’
- c. \*[Pontosan benn (a konyhá-ban)], csak kevesen akartak maradni.  
 exactly inside the kitchen-Ins only few want.Past.3Pl stay.Inf  
 Intended meaning: ‘Only few people wanted to stay right inside (in the kitchen).’
- d. \*[Pontosan fenn (a padlás-on)], egy üres dobozt se találtunk.  
 exactly up the attic-Sup one empty box.Acc not\_even find.Past.1Pl  
 Intended meaning: ‘We didn’t even find one empty box right up (in the attic).’

*Pontosan* is also the most general modifier of temporal Ps, as well as of primarily spatial Ps in their temporal use. With strictly time-denoting Ps, it can modify points and periods in time, as shown in (121a,b). Similarly to the restriction on its use with spatial Ps, if it modifies a PP referring to a time period, the period has to be well-defined so that we can refer to exactly that period (121c,c’).

- (121) a. *pontosan dél óta*  
 exactly noon since  
 ‘exactly since noon’
- b. *pontosan [10 perc] / [1 óra] / [2 hét] / [5 év] múlva*  
 exactly 10 minute / 1 hour / 2 week / 5 year after  
 ‘after exactly 10 minutes / 1 hour / 2 weeks / 5 years’
- c. *pontosan 2 hét alatt*  
 exactly 2 week under  
 ‘exactly in 2 weeks’
- c’. \**pontosan hetek alatt*  
 exactly week.Pl under

This modifier semantically clashes with the temporal postposition *tájban/tájt* ‘around’ since being at around some point in time and at exactly a certain point in time are incompatible. It is not completely ungrammatical, however, if one regards being at around a point in time as a “region”, as then we can refer to exactly that region (i.e., period in time), with (122) then being acceptable but pragmatically marked (as it goes against the Gricean Maxim of Quantity).

- (122) #*pontosan 6 óra tájban / tájt*  
 exactly 6 hour around / around  
 ‘exactly at around 6 o’clock’

The temporal suffix *-kor* is fully compatible with *pontosan*, (123). The modifier is also compatible with those spatial case suffixes that have a temporal meaning (124) if their complement refers to a unit in time that matches the requirement of being a point or a well-defined period or can be interpreted as such.

- (123) *pontosan fél 9-kor*  
 exactly half 9-Tmp  
 ‘exactly at half past 8’
- (124) a. *pontosan április 1-én*  
 exactly April 1st-Poss.Sup  
 ‘exactly on April 1’
- b. *pontosan dél-ben*  
 exactly noon-Ine  
 ‘exactly at noon’
- c. *pontosan 12-re*  
 exactly 12-Sub  
 ‘by exactly 12 o’clock’
- d. *pontosan 12-től*  
 exactly 12-Abl  
 ‘from exactly 12 o’clock’

- (125) a. pontosan húsvét előtt  
 exactly Easter before  
 ‘right before Easter’
- b. pontosan két nap alatt  
 exactly two day under  
 ‘in exactly two days’
- c. pontosan 6 hét után  
 exactly 6 week after  
 ‘exactly after 6 weeks’

*Pontosan* is sometimes used in a shorter, truncated form *pont*, literally meaning ‘dot’, and its use and meaning is generally the same as that of the regular long form (126).

- (126) a. A busz pont a házunk előtt áll meg.  
 the bus right the house.Poss.1Pl in\_front\_of stop.3Sg Perf  
 ‘The bus stops right in front of our house.’
- b. Mari pont 6 óra-kor ért haza.  
 Mari exactly 6 hour-Tmp reach.Past.3Sg home\_to  
 ‘Mary got home exactly at 6.’

Remark 3. It is interesting to note that while the truncated form *pont* ‘precisely, exactly’ generally seems to alternate with the full adverb form *pontosan*, with the short version being a variant used typically in spoken language, sentences such as (i), have two meanings, and with the second meaning given below (i) only the truncated adverb form is possible.

- (i) Miért pont az ablak elé ültettél fát?  
 why exactly the window before\_to plant.Past.2Sg tree.Acc  
 ‘Why did you plant a tree right in front of the window?’  
 ‘Why did you plant a tree in front of the window and not somewhere else?’

In this use, the truncated form *pont* seems to function as a focus modifier and not a degree modifier of the PP.

### 3.3.1.3. Épp(en) ‘right’

The adverbial modifier *éppen* ‘right, just’ expresses the lack or minimality of distance – both spatial and temporal – between the Figure and the Ground. Its form is often truncated to *épp*, without any change in meaning or use. It can co-occur with locative and directional Ps alike (127)-(128).

- (127) a. épp(en) az iskolá-nál [locative case suffix]  
 right the school-Ade  
 ‘right at the school’
- b. épp(en) az iskola előtt [locative case-like P]  
 right the school in\_front\_of  
 ‘right in front of the school’
- c. épp(en) az iskolá-val szemben [locative case-assigning P]  
 right the school-Ins opposite\_to  
 ‘right opposite the school’

- d. *épp(en) ott* [locative adverb]  
 right there\_at  
 ‘right there’
- (128) a. *épp(en) az iskolá-hoz* [directional case suffix]  
 right the school-All  
 ‘right to the school’
- b. *épp(en) az iskola elé* [directional case-like P]  
 right the school before\_to  
 ‘right (to) in front of the school’
- c. *épp(en) az iskolá-val szembe* [directional case-assigning P]  
 right the school-Ins to\_opposite\_to  
 ‘right opposite the school’
- d. *épp(en) oda* [directional adverb]  
 right there\_to  
 ‘right there’

This modifier is compatible with some of the Ps with which *pontosan* ‘exactly’ does not co-occur (compare (129a)-(129b) with (120a)-(120b)). However, *éppen* ‘right’ (similarly to *pontosan* ‘exactly’) does not seem to work with the spatial adverbs that are not deictic (compare (129c)-(129d) with (120c)-(120d)).

- (129) a. A repülő [*éppen a folyó-n túl*] szállt le.  
 the plane right the river.Sup beyond fly.Past.3Sg down  
 ‘The plane landed right beyond the river.’
- b. A busz [*éppen a ház-hoz közel*] áll meg.  
 the bus right the house-All close\_to stop.3Sg Perf  
 ‘The bus stops right close to the house.’
- c. \**[Éppen benn (a konyhá-ban)], csak kevesen akartak maradni.*  
 right inside the kitchen-Ins only few want.Past.3Pl stay.Inf  
 Intended meaning: ‘Only few people wanted to stay right inside (in the kitchen).’
- d. \**[Éppen fenn (a padlás-on)], egy üres dobozt se találtunk.*  
 right up the attic-Sup one empty box.Acc not\_even find.Past.1Pl  
 Intended meaning: ‘We didn’t even find one empty box right up (in the attic).’

There is also a set expression with *épp(en)*, shown in (130), which involves the deictic adverb *itt* ‘here’:

- (130) *Épp(en) (itt az) ideje (ennek).*  
 right here the time.Poss (this.Dat)  
 ‘It’s high time (for this).’

This modifier is also used with temporal PPs (131). The phrase expresses being right at a point or period of time. The complement of the P can be any time unit.

- (131) a. épp(en) 6 óra-kor  
 right 6 hour-Tmp  
 ‘right at 6 o’clock’
- b. épp(en) 10 perc múlva  
 right 10 minute after  
 ‘after exactly 10 minutes’
- c. épp(en) éjfél óta  
 right midnight since  
 ‘since (exactly at) midnight’
- d. épp(en) 10 óra tájban / tájt  
 right 10 hour around / around  
 ‘right around 10 o’clock’

*Éppen* also modifies spatial Ps in their temporal use, without any restrictions:

- (132) a. épp(en) április 1-én  
 right April 1st-Poss.Sup  
 ‘right on April 1’
- b. épp(en) dél-ben  
 right noon-Ine  
 ‘right at noon’
- c. épp(en) 12-re  
 right 12-Sub  
 ‘right by 12 o’clock’
- d. épp(en) 12-től  
 right 12-Abl  
 ‘right from 12 o’clock’
- (133) a. épp(en) húsvét előtt  
 right Easter before  
 ‘right before Easter’
- b. épp(en) két nap alatt  
 right two day under  
 ‘right in two days’
- c. épp(en) 6 hét után  
 right 6 week after  
 ‘right after 6 weeks’

*Pontosan* ‘exactly’ and *éppen* ‘right’ are the two general PP-modifiers that are compatible with the most PPs with respect to both semantic compatibility and formal compatibility.

#### 3.3.1.4. Közvetlenül ‘directly’, mindjárt ‘right away’, rögtön ‘immediately’

There are two types of modifiers expressing distance: they can formally be simple modifiers or measure phrases. We will turn to measure phrases in Section 3.3.1.9,



and discuss the simple modifiers *közvetlenül* ‘directly, immediately’, *mindjárt* ‘soon, right away’, and *rögtön* ‘immediately, right’ in this section. These modifiers are used to refer to the smallest distance, namely, when something is or ends up located in the closest vicinity of the Ground.

The modifier *közvetlenül* ‘directly, immediately, right’ is used to modify spatial PPs without restrictions. (134) shows its combinations with locative PPs, and (135) shows that it can also modify directional PPs.

- (134) a. *közvetlenül az ajtó-nál* [locative case suffix]  
 directly the door-Ade  
 ‘directly at the door’
- b. *közvetlenül a ház mögött* [locative case-like P]  
 directly the house behind\_at  
 ‘directly behind the house’
- c. *közvetlenül a város-on kívül* [locative case-assigning P]  
 directly the city-Sup outside\_of  
 ‘directly outside of the city’
- d. *közvetlenül itt* [locative adverb]  
 directly here\_at  
 ‘directly here’
- (135) a. *közvetlenül az ajtó-hoz* [directional case suffix]  
 directly the door-All  
 ‘directly to the door’
- b. *közvetlenül a ház mögé* [directional case-like P]  
 directly the house to\_behind  
 ‘directly(to) behind the house’
- c. *közvetlenül a belváros-on át* [directional case-assigning P]  
 directly the downtown-Sup through  
 ‘directly through the downtown’
- d. *közvetlenül ide* [directional adverb]  
 directly here\_to  
 ‘directly here’

This modifier cannot co-occur with strictly temporal PPs at all, regardless of whether they refer to a point or period of time (136).

- (136) a. *\*közvetlenül fél 9-kor*  
 directly half 9-Tmp  
 Intended meaning: ‘exactly at half past 8’
- b. *\*közvetlenül 1 óra múlva*  
 directly 1 hour after  
 Intended meaning: ‘exactly after an hour’

- c. \*közvetlenül karácsony óta  
 directly Christmas since  
 Intended meaning: ‘exactly since Christmas’
- d. \*közvetlenül 6 óra tájban / tájt  
 directly 6 hour around / around  
 Intended meaning: ‘exactly around 6 o’clock’

It has a very limited use with some spatial Ps referring to time (137): only *után* ‘after’ and *előtt* ‘before’ can be modified by *közvetlenül* ‘directly’ (137a)-(137b). These take complements that refer to points in time, but Ps that refer to a time period with a primarily locative or directional P in them are incompatible with *közvetlenül* ‘directly’ (137c)-(137e), similarly to the strictly temporal PPs in (136).

- (137) a. közvetlenül karácsony után  
 directly Christmas after  
 ‘right after Christmas’
- b. közvetlenül 5 óra előtt  
 directly 5 hour before  
 ‘right before 5 o’clock’
- c. \*közvetlenül karácsony körül  
 directly Christmas around  
 Intended meaning: ‘right around Christmas’
- d. \*közvetlenül egy hét-en belül  
 directly one week-Sup inside  
 Intended meaning: ‘right within a week’
- e. \*közvetlenül 5 órá-n át  
 directly 5 hour-Sup through  
 Intended meaning: ‘exactly for 5 hours’

There are two other modifiers with a very similar meaning: *mindjárt* ‘soon’ and *rögtön* ‘immediately’. In the sentence, they are temporal, aspectual adverbials (see Chapter 7). When they are modifiers within the PP, their original temporal meaning seems to be extended to refer to a very small distance in space. Similarly to the related *közvetlenül* ‘directly’, they can be used with locative PPs (138), however, their use is restricted with directional PPs, as (139a,b) vs. (139c,d) show. While (139c) may be ungrammatical because the meaning of *át* ‘through’ as a postposition does not involve an endpoint, the directional P in (139d) is an adverb with a goal meaning, so the lack of an endpoint in (139c) cannot fully explain the ungrammaticality.

- (138) a. mindjárt / rögtön az ajtó-nál [locative case suffix]  
 soon / immediately the door-Ade  
 ‘immediately at the door’
- b. mindjárt / rögtön a ház mögött [locative case-like P]  
 soon / immediately the house behind\_at  
 ‘immediately behind the house’

- c. *mindjárt* / *rögtön* a város-on kívül [locative case-assigning P]  
 soon / immediately the city-Sup outside  
 ‘immediately outside the city’
- d. *mindjárt* / *rögtön* ott [locative adverb]  
 soon / immediately there\_at  
 ‘immediately there’
- (139) a. *mindjárt* / *rögtön* az ajtó-hoz [directional case suffix]  
 soon / immediately the door-All  
 ‘right to the door’
- b. *mindjárt* / *rögtön* a ház mögé [directional case-like P]  
 soon / immediately the house behind\_to  
 ‘right (to) behind to house’
- c. \**mindjárt* / \**rögtön* a belváros-on át [directional case-assigning P]  
 soon / immediately the downtown-Sup through  
 Intended meaning: ‘right through the downtown area’
- d. ??*mindjárt* / ??*rögtön* oda [directional adverb]  
 soon / immediately there\_to  
 Intended meaning: ‘right there’

Perhaps due to the fact that *mindjárt* ‘right’ and *rögtön* ‘immediately’ are originally temporal adverbs, they are compatible with some of the strictly temporal PPs. The distribution is semantically restricted, since these modifiers are perfectly good with temporal PPs referring to points in time but are degraded or ungrammatical with temporal PPs that refer to time periods.

- (140) a. *mindjárt* / *rögtön* fél 9-kor  
 soon / immediately half 9-Tmp  
 ‘right at half past 8’
- b. *mindjárt* / *rögtön* 1 óra múlva  
 soon / immediately 1 hour after  
 ‘immediately after an hour’
- c. ??*mindjárt* / ??*rögtön* karácsony óta  
 soon / immediately Christmas since  
 Intended meaning: ‘right since Christmas’
- d. \**mindjárt* / \**rögtön* az elmúlt 2 hét alatt  
 soon / immediately the past 2 week under  
 Intended meaning: ‘right during the past 2 weeks’
- e. *mindjárt* / *rögtön* 6 óra tájban / tájt  
 soon / immediately 6 hour around / around  
 ‘immediately around 6 o’clock’

These two modifiers are generally used when the event takes place slightly later than some other event. Therefore (141a) is grammatical, (141b) is used only when we actually mean some time after Christmas, (141c) is degraded. Perhaps related to

the ‘slightly later’ meaning component, these modifiers are not used with PPs that refer to time periods (141d,e).

- (141) a. *mindjárt / rögtön karácsony után*  
 soon / immediately Christmas after  
 ‘immediately after Christmas’
- b. *mindjárt / rögtön karácsony körül*  
 soon / immediately Christmas around  
 ‘right around Christmas’
- c. *??mindjárt / ??rögtön 5 óra előtt*  
 soon / immediately 5 hour before  
 Intended meaning: ‘immediately before 5 o’clock’
- d. *\*mindjárt / \*rögtön egy hét-en belül*  
 soon / immediately one week-Sup inside  
 Intended meaning: ‘right within a week’
- e. *\*mindjárt / \*rögtön 5 órá-n át*  
 soon / immediately 5 hour-Sup through

Remark 4. There is a further modifier that refers to a point in time slightly later than another one, but it is even more restricted. The adverb *azonnal* ‘immediately’ can be used as a PP-modifier only with the postposition *után* ‘after’:

- (i) a. *azonnal 6 óra után*  
 immediately 6 hour after  
 ‘immediately after 6 o’clock’
- b. *azonnal a születésnapja után*  
 immediately the birthday.Poss.3Sg after  
 ‘immediately after his birthday’

The use of this adverb as a modifier in a PP is very literal, and so its distribution is rather limited, contrary to the slightly more general use of the other modifiers with a similar meaning.

### 3.3.1.5. *Messze* ‘far’

The adverb *messze* ‘far’ expresses distance and can be the modifier of spatial PP in general: both locative PPs (142) and directional PPs are compatible with it, except for the deictic directional adverb, which is ungrammatical with this modifier (143).

- (142) a. *messze az erdő-ben* [locative case suffix]  
 far the forest-Ine  
 ‘far in the forest’
- b. *messze a ház mögött* [locative case-like P]  
 far the house behind\_at  
 ‘far behind the house’
- c. *messze a város-on túl* [locative case-assigning P]  
 soon the city-Sup beyond  
 ‘far beyond the city’

- d. messze kinn [locative adverb]  
 far outside  
 ‘far outside’
- (143) a. messze az erdő-be [directional case suffix]  
 far the forest-III  
 ‘far into the forest’
- b. messze a ház mögé [directional case-like P]  
 far the house behind\_to  
 ‘(to) far behind to house’
- c. messze az út-on végig [directional case-assigning P]  
 far the road-Sup along  
 ‘far along the road’
- d. \*messze oda [directional adverb]  
 far there\_to  
 Intended meaning: ‘(to) far there’

It never co-occurs with any of the strictly temporal PPs (irrespective of their reference to points or periods in time) as illustrated in (144) with a few examples, but it is compatible with some spatial PPs in their temporal use (145). This may be due to its very transparent spatial meaning, which requires the PP to have a reference to points in space (metaphorically, time) from which the distance can be measured.

- (144) a. \*messze fél 9-kor  
 far half 9-Tmp
- b. \*messze 1 óra múlva  
 far 1 hour after
- (145) a. messze karácsony után  
 far Christmas after  
 ‘far after Christmas’
- b. messze 5 óra előtt  
 far 5 hour before  
 ‘far before 5 o’clock’
- c. \*messze karácsony körül  
 far Christmas around
- d. \*messze egy hét-en belül  
 far one week-Sup inside
- e. \*messze 5 órá-n át  
 far 5 hour-Sup through

### 3.3.1.6. Egyenesen ‘straight’

Limited in its use to spatial, directional PPs, we find *egyenesen* ‘straight’ as the modifier expressing orientation (146). This modifier cannot be used with locative PPs (147).

- (146) a. egyenesen az erdő-be [directional case suffix]  
 straight.ly the forest-ill  
 ‘straight into the forest’
- b. egyenesen az ágy alá [directional case-like P]  
 straight.ly the bed under\_to  
 ‘straight under the bed’
- c. egyenesen az erdő-n át [directional case-assigning P]  
 straight.ly the forest-Sup through  
 ‘straight through the forest’
- d. egyenesen oda [directional adverb]  
 straight.ly there\_to  
 ‘straight there’
- (147) a. \*egyenesen az erdő-ben [locative case suffix]  
 straight.ly the forest-Ine  
 Intended meaning: ‘straight in the forest’
- b. \*egyenesen az ágy alatt [locative case-like P]  
 straight.ly the bed under\_at  
 Intended meaning: ‘straight (at) under the bed’
- c. \*egyenesen az erdő-n belül [locative case-assigning P]  
 straight.ly the forest-Sup inside  
 Intended meaning: ‘straight through the forest’
- d. \*egyenesen ott [locative adverb]  
 straight.ly there\_at  
 Intended meaning: ‘straight there’

*Egyenesen* is not used with PPs expressing temporal meanings, as it seems to literally relate to the path meaning component of directional spatial PPs. This is illustrated by the difference between (146a,c) and (148a,b), where the PPs modified by *egyenesen* ‘straight’ contain the same case-assigning P *át* ‘through’ with a spatial meaning and with a temporal meaning, respectively, and the latter is ungrammatical.

- (148) a. \*egyenesen 5 órá-ra  
 straight.ly 5 hour-Sub  
 Intended meaning: ‘straight for 5 o’clock’
- b. \*egyenesen 3 héten át  
 straight.ly 3 week-Sup through  
 Intended meaning: ‘straight through 3 weeks’

### 3.3.1.7. Magasan ‘high’ and mélyen ‘deep’

There are a couple of modifiers that only combine with certain spatial postpositions. The modifier *magasan* ‘high(ly)’ only combines with Ps meaning ‘above’ (both locative and directional), as in (149), while *mélyen* ‘deeply’ only appears with Ps meaning ‘under’ (both locative and directional) (150).

- (149) a. A repülő magas-an a hegyek fölött / fölé repült.  
 the plane high-ly the mountain.Pl above\_at/ above\_to fly.Past.3Sg  
 ‘The plane flew high [above the mountains] / [(to) above the mountains].’
- b. A repülő magas-an a hegyek fölül kezdett ereszkedni.  
 the plane high-ly the mountain.Pl above\_from start.Past.3Sg descend.Inf  
 ‘The plane started descending from high above the mountains.’
- (150) a. A vezeték mély-en a föld alatt / alá vezetett.  
 the pipe deep-ly the ground under\_at/ under\_to run.Past.3Sg  
 ‘The pipe ran deep [under the ground] / [(to) under the ground].’
- b. A vezeték mély-en a föld alól hozott fel tiszta vizet.  
 the pipe deep-ly the ground under\_from bring.Past.3Sg up clean water.Acc  
 ‘The pipe brought up clean water from deep under the ground.’

### 3.3.1.8. Other degree modifiers

There are also a few modifiers that express approximation or close degree on a scale. Among these modifiers, we find *olyan*, literally meaning ‘such, so’, but here used in the sense of ‘approximately, about, around’ and *alig* ‘barely’, which are both restricted to some temporal PPs. We also have *úgy* ‘so’, *nagyjából* ‘roughly, by and large’, and *körülbelül* ‘about’, which are very similar both in their semantics and in their distribution with spatial and temporal PPs.

The modifier *olyan* ‘such, so’ is compatible with temporal PPs that refer to a point in time (151a)-(151c), but gets degraded to various degrees when it is used to refer to a time period (151d)-(151f).

- (151) a. olyan 6 óra-kor  
 such 6 hour-Tmp  
 ‘approximately at 6 o’clock’
- b. olyan 10 óra tájban / tájt  
 such 10 hour around / around  
 ‘approximately around 10 o’clock’
- c. olyan 10 perc múlva  
 such 10 minute after  
 ‘after about 10 minutes’
- d. <sup>?</sup>olyan éjfél óta  
 such midnight since  
 ‘since about midnight’
- e. <sup>?</sup>olyan egy hét óta  
 such one week since  
 ‘for about a week’
- f. \*olyan az ünnepek alatt  
 such the holidays under  
 Intended meaning: ‘approximately during the holidays’

*Olyan* ‘such’ is compatible with various spatial PPs used to refer to time, but the P’s NP complement has an influence on whether the combination with *olyan* is acceptable or not (152).

- (152) a. *olyan* 5 óra előtt / után / körül / felé / <sup>?</sup>alatt [case-like P]  
 such 5 hour before / after / around / towards / under  
 ‘approximately before / after / around / around / under 5 o’clock’
- b. *olyan* karácsony <sup>??</sup>előtt / <sup>??</sup>után / körül / felé / \*alatt. [case-like P]  
 such Christmas before / after / around / towards / under  
 ‘approximately before / after / around / around / under Christmas’
- c. *olyan* két hét-en belül / át [case-assigning P]  
 such two week-Sup inside / through  
 ‘for around two weeks’
- d. *olyan* 5 órá-ra [case suffix]  
 such 5 hour-Sub  
 ‘for around 5 hours / by 5 o’clock’

A few spatial PPs are ungrammatical when modified by *olyan* ‘such’ in their temporal use (153).

- (153) a. \**olyan* április 1-én  
 such April 1st-Poss.Sup  
 Intended meaning: ‘approximately on April 1’
- b. \**olyan* múlt hét-en  
 such last week-Sup  
 Intended meaning: ‘approximately last week’
- c. \**olyan* január-ban  
 such January-Ine  
 Intended meaning: ‘approximately in January’

This modifier is not compatible with a spatial meaning at all; the examples in (154) serve to illustrate this.

- (154) a. \**olyan* a sarok-nál / sarok-hoz / a sarok-tól [case suffix]  
 such the corner-Ade / corner-All / the corner-Abl  
 Intended meaning: ‘approximately at / to / from the corner’
- b. \**olyan* [a ház előtt] / [a ház elé] / [a ház elől] [case-like P]  
 such the house in\_front\_of / the house to\_front / the house from\_front  
 Intended meaning: ‘approximately at/to/from in front of the house’
- c. \**olyan* [a sarok-on túl] / [az erdő-n át] [case-assigning P]  
 such the corner-Sup beyond / the forest-Sup through  
 Intended meaning: ‘approximately [beyond the corner] / [through the forest]’
- d. \**olyan* itt / ide [adverb]  
 such here\_at / here\_to  
 Intended meaning: ‘approximately here / (to) here’



The distribution of *alig* ‘barely’ is even more restricted: it can only modify the temporal PPs with *múlva* ‘after’ and *óta* ‘since’, as (155) shows, and only *előtt* ‘before’ and *után* ‘after’ are compatible with it from among the spatial Ps that can be used temporally (156).

- (155) a. *alig 10 perc múlva*  
barely 10 minute after  
‘in barely 10 minutes’
- b. *alig egy hét óta*  
barely one week since  
‘barely for a week’
- c. <sup>?</sup>*alig éjfél óta*  
barely midnight since  
‘barely since midnight’
- d. *\*alig 6 óra-kor*  
barely 6 hour-Tmp  
Intended meaning: ‘barely at 6 o’clock’
- e. *\*alig 10 óra tájban / tájt*  
barely 10 hour around / around

- (156) a. *alig 5 óra előtt*  
barely 5 hour before  
‘barely before 5 o’clock’
- b. *alig karácsony után*  
barely Christmas after  
‘barely after Christmas’
- c. *\*alig április 1-én*  
barely April 1st-Poss.Sup  
Intended meaning: ‘almost on April 1’
- d. *\*alig az ünnepek alatt*  
barely the holidays under  
Intended meaning: ‘almost during the holidays’

The sentences in (157) illustrate the intended temporal meanings with spatial Ps in context:

- (157) a. *Ma alig 8 óra előtt estem be a suliba.*  
today barely 8 hour before fall.Past.1Sg into the school-III  
‘Today I got to the school barely before 8 o’clock.’
- b. *Alig karácsony után már elkezdődtek a leárazások.*  
barely Christmas after already start.Past.3Pl the sale.Pl  
‘Sales already started barely after Christmas.’

*Alig* ‘barely’ is never used with spatial meanings, regardless of the locative or directional semantics of the P involved.

- (158) a. \*alig [a sarok-nál] / [a sarok-hoz] / [a sarok-tól] [case suffix]  
 barely the corner-Adē / the corner-All / the corner-Abl  
 Intended meaning: ‘approximately at / to / from the corner’
- b. \*alig [a ház előtt] / [a ház elé] / [a ház elől] [case-like P]  
 barely the house in\_front\_of / the house to\_front / the house from\_front  
 Intended meaning: ‘approximately in front of the house / to in front of the house / from in front of the house’
- c. \*alig [a sark-on túl] / [az erdő-n át] [case-assigning P]  
 barely the corner-Sup beyond / the forest-Sup through  
 Intended meaning: ‘barely [beyond the corner] / [through the forest]’
- d. \*alig itt / ide [adverb]  
 barely here\_at / here\_to  
 Intended meaning: ‘barely here / (to) here’

There are three more modifiers that express approximation with a roughly identical meaning and distribution: these are *úgy* ‘so’, *nagyjából* ‘roughly, by and large’, and *körülbelül* ‘approximately’ (which has the abbreviation *kb.* ‘c(irca)’). They can be used as modifiers of temporal PPs (159).

- (159) a. úgy / nagyjából / körülbelül 6 óra-kor  
 so / roughly / approximately 6 hour-Tmp  
 ‘approximately at 6 o’clock’
- b. úgy / nagyjából / körülbelül 10 óra tájban / tájt  
 so / roughly / approximately 10 hour around / around  
 ‘approximately around 10 o’clock’
- c. úgy / nagyjából / körülbelül 10 perc múlva  
 so / roughly / approximately 10 minute after  
 ‘after approximately 10 minutes’
- d. úgy / nagyjából / körülbelül éjfél óta  
 so / roughly / approximately midnight since  
 ‘approximately since midnight’
- e. úgy / nagyjából / körülbelül egy hét óta  
 so / roughly / approximately one week since  
 ‘for approximately a week’

Furthermore, they can be modifiers of spatial PPs in their temporal use (160):

- (160) a. úgy / nagyjából / körülbelül 5 óra előtt  
 so / roughly / approximately 5 hour before  
 ‘about / roughly / approximately before 5 o’clock’
- b. úgy / nagyjából / körülbelül karácsony után  
 so / roughly / approximately Christmas after  
 ‘about / roughly / approximately after Christmas’

- c. úgy / nagyjából / körülbelül április 1-én  
 so / roughly / approximately April 1st-Poss.Sup  
 ‘about / roughly / approximately on April 1’
- d. úgy / nagyjából / körülbelül az ünnepek alatt  
 so / roughly / approximately the holidays under  
 ‘about / roughly / approximately during the holidays’

They are also productively used with spatial PPs, both with locative meanings and with directional ones:

(161) ● Locative PPs

- a. úgy / nagyjából / körülbelül a sarok-nál [case suffix]  
 so / roughly / approximately the corner-Ade  
 ‘about / roughly / approximately at the corner’
- b. úgy / nagyjából / körülbelül a ház előtt [case-like P]  
 so / roughly / approximately the house in\_front\_of  
 ‘about / roughly / approximately in front of the house’
- c. úgy / nagyjából / körülbelül a ház-zal szemben [case-assigning P]  
 so / roughly / approximately the house-Ins opposite  
 ‘about / roughly / approximately opposite the house’
- d. úgy / nagyjából / körülbelül ott [adverb]  
 so / roughly / approximately there\_at  
 ‘about / roughly / approximately there’

(162) ● Directional PPs

- a. úgy / nagyjából / körülbelül a sarok-hoz [case suffix]  
 so / roughly / approximately the corner-All  
 ‘roughly / approximately to the corner’
- b. úgy / nagyjából / körülbelül a ház elé [case-like P]  
 so / roughly / approximately the house to\_front  
 ‘roughly / approximately (to) in front of the house’
- c. úgy / nagyjából / körülbelül a ház-zal szembe [case-assigning P]  
 so / roughly / approximately the house-Ins opposite\_to  
 ‘roughly / approximately (to) opposite the house’
- d. úgy / nagyjából / körülbelül oda [adverb]  
 so / roughly / approximately there\_to  
 ‘about / roughly / approximately there’

3.3.1.9. Measure phrases as modifiers

PPs can also be modified by measure phrases, which specify a certain numeric measure relating to the distance between the Figure and the Ground. There are two types of measure phrases in Hungarian PPs: one is an instrumental-marked measure, the other bears the sublative case and has a slightly more complex internal structure.

The measure phrase that bears instrumental case refers to the distance from a certain point in space. It cannot be used with spatial case suffixes: neither locative,

nor directional case-suffixes are grammatical with it (163). However, both locative and directional case-like and case-assigning postpositions can take it as their modifier if they are semantically compatible (164).

- (163) a. \*két méter-rel az erdő-ben  
 two meter-Ins the forest-Ine  
 Intended meaning: 'two meters in the forest'
- b. \*két méter-rel az erdő-be  
 two meter-Ins the forest-III  
 Intended meaning: 'two meters into the forest'
- c. \*két méter-rel az erdő-ből  
 two meter-Ins the forest-Ela  
 Intended meaning: 'two meters out of the forest'
- (164) a. két méter-rel [a ház mögött] / [a föld alatt]  
 two meter-Ins the house behind\_at / the ground under\_at  
 'two meters [behind the house] / [under the ground]'
- b. két méter-rel [a ház mögé] / [a föld alá]  
 two meter-Ins the house behind\_to / the ground under\_to  
 '(to) two meters [behind the house] / [under the ground]'
- c. két méter-rel [a ház mögül] / [a föld alól]  
 two meter-Ins the house behind\_from / the ground under\_from  
 'from two meters [behind the house] / [under the ground]'
- d. két méter-rel [a vonal-on belül] / [a határ-on túl]  
 two meter-Ins the line-Sup inside / the border-Sup beyond  
 'two meters [inside the line] / [beyond the border]'

Some case-like and case-assigning Ps are incompatible with the instrumental-marked measure phrase due to their meaning. These are listed in (165).

- (165) a. \*két kilométer-rel a város körül  
 two kilometer-Ins the city around  
 Intended meaning: 'two kilometers around the city'
- b. \*két kilométer-rel a város felé  
 two kilometer-Ins the city towards  
 Intended meaning: 'two kilometers towards the city'
- c. \*két kilométer-rel a város felől  
 two kilometer-Ins the city from\_direction\_of  
 Intended meaning: 'at two kms distance from the direction of the city'
- d. \*két kilométer-rel a városok között  
 two kilometer-Ins the city.Pl between  
 Intended meaning: 'at two kms distance between the cities'
- e. \*két kilométer-rel a város köré  
 two kilometer-Ins the city to\_around  
 Intended meaning: 'to two kilometers around the city'

- f. \*két kilométer-rel a város-hoz közel  
 two kilometer-Ins the city-All close\_to  
 Intended meaning: ‘as close as two kilometers (away) from the city’
- g. \*két méter-rel Anná-val szembe  
 two meter-Ins Anna-Ins to\_opposite  
 Intended meaning: ‘to two meters opposite Anna’

This modifier is syntactically rather free: it can appear both on the left edge and on the right edge of the PP it modifies, and it can be separated from the PP as well (166). This is only typical of measure phrases, distinguishing them further from simpler modifiers that we discussed in previous sections.

- (166) a. Az almafát [10 méter-rel a ház mögött] ültettük el.  
 the apple.tree.Acc 10 meter-Ins the house behind\_at plant.Past.DefObj.1Pl away  
 ‘We planted the apple tree 10 meters behind the house.’
- b. Az almafát [a ház mögött 10 méter-rel] ültettük el.  
 the apple.tree.Acc the house behind\_at 10 meter-Ins plant.Past.DefObj.1Pl away  
 ‘We planted the apple tree 10 meters behind the house.’
- c. Az almafát [a ház mögött] ültettük el [10 méter-rel].  
 the apple.tree-Acc the house behind\_at plant.Past.DefObj.1Pl away 10 meter-Ins  
 ‘We planted the apple tree 10 meters behind the house.’

The other measure phrase involves the sublative case on the modifier itself and the ablative case on the Ground:

- (167) a. két méter-re a ház-tól  
 two meter-Sub the house-Abl  
 ‘two meters from the house’
- b. 5 kilométer-re a határ-tól  
 5 kilometer-Sub the border-Abl  
 ‘5 kilometers from the border’
- c. két órá-ra a város-tól  
 two hour-Sub the city-Abl  
 ‘two hours from the city’

Similarly to the other measure phrase, we find word order variants here, too. The ablative marked phrase can either precede or follow the sublative measure (168a) and (168b), and the measure can be separated as well, especially if it is focused as in (168c).

- (168) a. [10 méter-re a ház-tól] parkoltuk le az autót.  
 10 meter-Sub the house-Abl park.Past.DefObj.1Pl down the car.Acc  
 ‘We parked the car 10 meters from the house.’
- b. [A ház-tól 10 méter-re] parkoltuk le az autót.  
 the house-Abl 10 meter-Sub park.Past.DefObj.1Pl down the car.Acc  
 ‘We parked the car 10 meters from the house.’

- c. [10 méter-re] parkoltuk le az autót [a ház-tól].  
 10 meter-Sub park.Past.DefObj.1Pl down the car.Acc the house-Abl  
 ‘We parked the car 10 meters from the house.’

The ablative can be left out of the sentence and the sentence is still grammatical, but the ablative without the measure phrase is ungrammatical

- (169) a. 10 méter-re parkoltuk le az autót.  
 10 meter-Sub park.Past.DefObj.1Pl down the car.Acc  
 ‘We parked the car 10 meters away.’  
 b. \*A ház-tól parkoltuk le az autót.  
 the house-Abl park.Past.DefObj.1Pl down the car.Acc  
 Intended meaning: ‘We parked the car (some distance) away from the house.’

In sum, these measure phrases share the property of having the syntactic freedom to appear in various word orders, but they are different in that the instrumental marked measure is a modifier within its PP, while the sublative marked measure can be supplemented with an ablative base but it need not be.

### 3.3.2. *Modification of non-spatial/non-temporal PPs*

Non-spatiotemporal PPs can be modified with degree modifiers, which are generally adverbs and most often involve the *-n/-an/-en* suffix (170).

- (170) a. A levest [teljes-en hideg-en] hozták ki.  
 the soup.Acc completely cold-ly bring.Past.DefObj.3Pl out  
 ‘The soup was served completely cold.’  
 b. A vihar [nagyon ijesztő-vé] vált.  
 the storm very frightening-Tra became.3Sg  
 ‘The storm became very frightening.’  
 c. A hírt mindenki [kivételes-en rossz-ul] fogadta.  
 the news.Acc everyone exceptional-ly bad-ly receive.Past.DefObj.3Sg  
 ‘Everyone received the news exceptionally badly.’

There are also modifiers that are adjectival and this is not just a result of optionally dropping an adverbial suffix. While the expressions in (171) and (172) with an adjectival modifier do not differ in meaning from the similar phrases that contain the adverbial form of the modifier, it is not the case with (173), where the adverbial modifier is not an option, only the adjectival one is grammatical. These modifiers are discussed as degree quantifiers in N2.6.2.3.1 and N2.6.2.6).

- (171) a. nagy boldogan  
 big happily  
 ‘very happily’  
 b. nagyon boldogan  
 very happily  
 ‘very happily’

- (172) a. szép komótosan  
 nice unhurriedly  
 ‘fairly unhurriedly’  
 b. szép-en komótosan  
 nice-ly unhurriedly  
 ‘fairly unhurriedly’

- (173) a. jó nehezen  
 good difficult.ly  
 ‘with great difficulty’  
 b. \*jól nehezen  
 well difficult.ly  
 Intended meaning: ‘with great difficulty’

These adverbial modifiers are also discussed in Chapter 2 Section 2.2.4.2.

We must also mention here the modifier *totál* ‘completely, absolutely’, used in colloquial spoken language as an equivalent of *teljesen* ‘completely’. The syntactic category of *totál* is not obvious at first sight as it does not bear any of the adverb suffixes discussed in Chapter 2 Section 2.2.4.1, nor does it bear the attributivizer suffix *-i*, contrary to other, similar modifiers, such as *állati* ‘extremely, lit. animal-Attr’. However, its distribution is the same as that of *teljesen* ‘completely’ except for its restriction to the colloquial register.

- (174) a. *totál mérgesen*  
 total angrily  
 ‘absolutely angrily’  
 b. *teljes-en mérgesen*  
 complete-ly angrily  
 ‘completely angrily’

Other adverbs which do not bear a (productive or unproductive) suffix are discussed in Chapter 2 Section 2.2.4.3.

### 3.3.3. Comparative/superlative formation

Those locative adverb Ps that are formed with the locative *-nn* and *-nt* suffixes have a comparative form, as discussed already in Chapter 2 Section 2.2.4.1.2 point III. Some particles that are very transparently directional also have comparative forms. These comparative forms can be used together with degree modifiers, the same way comparative adjectives can. The measure phrase used as the modifier is marked with instrumental case, it is the same as was discussed in Section 3.3.1.9. In (175) we provide examples of such comparative adverbs with measure phrases.

- (175) a. két méter-rel ki-jjebb / kint-ebb / %kinn-ebb  
 two meter-Ins out-Comp / outside-Comp / outside-Comp  
 ‘at / to two meters more outside’

- b. két méter-rel bent-ebb / bel-jebb / %benn-ebb  
 two meter-Ins inside-Comp / in-Comp / inside-Comp  
 ‘at / to two meters more inside’
- c. sok-kal lent-ebb / le-jjebb / %lenn-ebb  
 much-Ins down-Comp / down-Comp / down-Comp  
 ‘(at / to a) much lower (place)’
- d. sok-kal fent-ebb / fel-jebb / %fenn-ebb  
 much-Ins up-Comp / up-Comp / up-Comp  
 ‘(at / to a) much higher (place)’
- e. 10 méter-rel vissza-bb  
 10 meter-Ins back-Comp  
 ‘10 meters back’
- f. 10 méter-rel hátrá-bb / hátr-ébb  
 10 meter-Ins back-Comp / back-Comp  
 ‘10 meters back’ (locative or directional)

With non-spatial adverbs, the comparative marker attaches to the adjectival stem to which the adverb suffix is added, the order is fixed (176), and it is the comparative suffix that makes it possible to include a measure phrase with various non-spatial adverbs (177).

- (176) a. gyors-abb-an  
 quick-Comp-ly  
 ‘quicker’
- b. szerencsétlen-ebb-ül  
 unlucky-Comp-ly  
 ‘more unluckily’
- (177) a. sok-kal ritká-bb-an  
 much-Ins rare-Comp-ly  
 ‘much more rarely’
- b. \*sok-kal ritká-n  
 much-Ins rare-ly

### 3.4. Bibliographical notes

When it comes to the complementation of postpositions, generally Noun Phrases and pronominal complements are described in the literature. Nominal complements and their word order possibilities with respect to the P head are discussed by Marác (1989), É. Kiss (2002, Chapter 8), Asbury (2008), and the variation in PP-internal word order is studied in more detail by Dékány and Hegedűs (2015). The fact that PPs can also be complements of P heads is described by Hegedűs (2006, 2013), Dékány (2011); while Dékány and Hegedűs (2015) discuss potentially intransitive uses of (case-assigning) postpositions.

Ürögdi (2006) described and analyzed predicate fronting involving the dative case suffix, while predicate clefts in more general (involving verbal particles) are



discussed in Vicente (2007). Clausal complements of Ps, or rather the lack thereof and the properties of the proleptic pronoun with clausal complements in general, are described and analyzed in Kenesei (1992, 1994), Lipták (2008, 2012), Den Dikken (2018).

As far as modifiers are concerned, the fact that case-like postpositions and case-assigning postpositions are different in their word order properties is well-known from Maráz (1986, 1989), É. Kiss (2002, Chapter 8), and Dékány (2011), among others.