Chapter 1

General characteristics and overview

Veronika Hegedűs

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1.1. Introduction

This chapter provides a description of the main characteristics of Hungarian postpositions, Postpositional Phrases and related categories. Section 1.2 will describe their basic types and properties, those characteristics that distinguish them from other word classes and those that may be used as characteristics of the whole class. Section 1.3 introduces their syntactic uses, which will be looked at in detail in later chapters.

The categories postposition (P) and Postpositional Phrase (PP) are used in a broad sense in this book; they include not only postpositions proper and their projections, but also postpositions bound to their (most frequently Noun Phrase) complements, i.e., adverbial case suffixes; as well as adverbs, most of which are historically PPs containing an obsolete P; and verbal particles, which are mostly cognate with intransitive Ps or with adverbs. The name adposition (and adpositional phrase) is also used to refer to the broad class in this volume as it is often used when one wants to remain neutral with respect to the internal structure of the PP, especially when it comes to the order of the P element and its complement.

This broad class of postpositions is different from the other main word classes, i.e., from nouns, verbs and adjectives, in important ways. This chapter outlines the most important distinguishing properties of the class and then will introduce the various types of elements that are included under the umbrella of postpositions. The elements categorized as postpositions and the phrases projected by them all share the basic formal and distributional criteria discussed here and in Chapter 2, where the formal properties of the class will be given a detailed description.

1.2. Basic types and properties of postpositions

1.2.1. Types of postpositions

As Chapter 2 will discuss in detail, Hungarian postpositions come in various types. We can distinguish between case suffixes, case-like postpositions, case-assigning postpositions, verbal particles, and a class of productive derivational suffixes deriving adverbs. These derivational suffixes, called adverbial suffixes, are considered to be Ps since the phrases they head are identical in their distribution to PPs headed by the other, less controversially postpositional elements.

We provide one example for each of these types here (1), and an exhaustive list will be given with the formal characteristics and semantic typology in the next chapter.

- (1) a. A gyerekek a kert-ben ugrálnak. [case suffix]
the children the garden-ine jump.3Pl
'The children are jumping in the garden.'
- b. A gyerekek a ház mögött ugrálnak. [case-like P]
the children the house behind jump.3Pl
'The children are jumping around behind the house.'

- c. A gyerekek a ház-zal szemben ugrálnak. [case-assigning P]
 the children the house-Ins opposite jump.3Pl
 ‘The children are jumping around opposite the house.’
- d. A gyerekek fel-ugrálnak. [verbal particle]
 the children up-jump.3Pl
 ‘The children keep jumping up.’
- e. A gyerekek hangos-an ugrálnak. [adverbial suffix]
 the children loud-ly jump.3Pl
 ‘The children are jumping around loudly.’

1.2.2. Properties of the class

The class of postpositions is a relatively closed class, although it is not impossible to add new members to it. New postpositions grammaticalize from members of other classes (mainly from relational nouns marked as heads of possessive constructions and bearing a case suffix, and from adverbial participles) from time to time, and there are some borderline cases in present-day Hungarian, which will be dealt with in Section 2.4. We can provide a more or less exhaustive list of case suffixes (slightly dependent on definitions and defining criteria), of postpositions and verbal particles, and of derivational suffixes as well.

Adverbs are often taken to be a separate word class, either lexical or functional. Here we follow considerations in the literature that have come to the conclusion that what are often classified as adverbs are postpositional in their category (Asbury *et al.* 2007, Kádár 2009, but cf. also É. Kiss 1999, 2002 Chapter 8). Some of these elements include a semantically often opaque but morphologically transparent case suffix (2a) or postposition (2b), thus satisfying the formal criterion of being a PP. Some of them have a more obscure postpositional head which might not be transparent synchronically but which we will still consider postpositional in nature and take it to determine the lexical category of the often very simple (even head-like) phrase. In (3a) we find the productive *-n/-an/-en* suffix (the so-called modal-essive suffix) and in (3b) the *-ul/-ül* suffix (the so-called essive(-modal) suffix), which are equivalents of English *-ly* (and that is how we generally gloss them in the volume). Section 2.2.4 will discuss the productive and semi-productive ways to derive adverbs, including these two productive processes.

- (2) a. szerencsé-re
 luck-Sub
 ‘luckily’
- b. kétség-kívül
 doubt-outside_of
 ‘beyond doubt’
- (3) a. látható-an
 visible-ly
 ‘visibly’

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- b. kegyetlen-ül
merciless-ly
'mercilessly'

Adverbs are thus taken to be PPs and this decision is not only made simple by the morphosyntactic make-up of these elements, which is a crucial factor in itself, but also by the fact that they are very similar to PPs proper in their phrase internal syntactic properties (e.g. modification) — as shown in Chapter 3 —, and in their external distribution as well, which will become obvious in Chapter 4 to Chapter 7.

As for their general properties, postpositions have a relatively invariant form, the only exception being the group of case-like or inflecting postpositions, which can bear agreement markers. In general, postpositions are not marked for number, which makes them different from nouns and adjectives and are not marked for tense, which makes them different from verbs as well. The so-called case-like postpositions agree with their pronominal complement in person and number but do not agree with regular DP complements (Kenesei *et al.* 1998: 866ff; see also Marác 1986, who calls them 'dressed' Ps due to their ability to bear agreement marking; although the syntactic analyses differ in details, here we focus on the distinction between the groups). This property will be discussed and illustrated in Chapter 2.

Postpositions often express a relation between two elements in the clause, the so-called Figure and the Ground (Talmy 1972). The relation they express can be spatial or temporal in nature; these two are the most frequent postpositional meanings, although the non-spatial/non-temporal uses of PPs will be covered in later chapters as well.

1.3. Syntactic uses of postpositions

This section introduces the syntactic uses of postpositional phrases, which will be discussed in more detail in the following chapters: predicative PPs in Chapter 4, argument PPs in Chapter 5, obligatory adjunct PPs in Chapter 6, and adjunct PPs in Chapter 7.

1.3.1. Predicative use

Postpositional Phrases are often used predicatively in the clause, in which case they are not simply a selected argument of the verb but are predicated of a Noun Phrase in the clause; that is why the term often used to refer to them in this use is secondary predicates.

Although predicative PPs require the presence of a verb, sometimes it is the PP that is the main syntactic and semantic predicate; the verb just acts as a linking element, one that can express the tense or mood properties of the clause. PPs functioning as main predicates appear with the verb *van* 'be' (4), or with such lexically light verbs as *marad* 'stay, remain'. These are so-called copular verbs, since their function is mostly to provide a verbal link between the nominal that is the subject and the PP that refers to the spatial or temporal location of the subject.

- (4) a. Pál a kert-ben van.
 Pál the garden-Ine be.3Sg
 'Pál is in the garden.'
- b. Az előadás dél-után lesz.
 the performance noon-after be.Fut.3Sg
 'The performance will be in the afternoon.'

Most predicative PPs function as secondary predicates predicated of the internal argument of the verb. Their role is in most cases to telicize the action denoted by the verb. If the verb describes a change of state of the internal argument, the predicative PP (a lexical PP (5a) or a lexically bleached verbal particle (5b)) predicates its result state.

- (5) a. A hús puhá-ra főtt.
 the meat tender-Sub cook.Past.3Sg
 'The meat cooked tender.'
- b. Mari be-festette a kerítést.
 Mari in-paint.Past.DefObj.3Sg the fence.Acc
 'Mari painted the fence [completely].'

Verbs expressing motion or manner of motion are telicized by directional PP complements. The directional PP (a lexical noun phrase with a postposition or case suffix, or a terminative verbal particle, or both a verbal particle and a lexical PP) predicates the end location of the subject in the case of intransitive verbs (6a), and the end location of the object in the case of transitive verbs (6b).

- (6) a. Anna a város mellé költözött.
 Anna the city next_to move.Past.3Sg
 'Anna moved next to the city.'
- b. Péter vissza-dobta a halat a tó-ba.
 Peter back-throw.Past.DefObj.3Sg the fish.Acc the lake-III
 'Peter threw the fish back into the lake.'

Predicative PPs can also be selected by lexical verbs expressing existence or spatial configuration. In such cases, the PP predicates the location of the subject (the Figure) of an intransitive predicate (7a), or the location of the object of a transitive predicate (7b) with respect to the Ground, which is the complement of the P.

- (7) a. Mari a fotel-ben ül.
 Mari the armchair-Ine sit.3Sg
 'Mari is sitting in the armchair.'
- b. Péter az irodá-ban hagyta a kalapját.
 Peter the office-Ine leave.Past.DefObj.3Sg the hat.Poss.3Sg.Acc
 'Péter left his hat in the office.'

A further type of predicative PPs predicates the state of a nominal argument of the verbal predicate. For example, in (8), the main predication states that Mary did a lot of good things for the city, and the secondary predication states that she was the

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director of the company when she did those things. In this example, the PP predicates a property of the subject. The postposition used in this construction is the essive-formal suffix.

- (8) Mari a vállalat igazgatója-ként sok jót tett a város-ért.
Mari the company director.Poss-FoE much good.Acc do.Past.3Sg the city-Cau
'As the director of the company, Mari did a lot of good for the city.'

In other cases, the PP in the sentence predicates a property of the object of the clause. Thus, the sentence in (9) contains the predications that it is true of everyone that they drink coffee and that the coffee is black when they drink it. The postposition heading the secondary predicate *feketé-n* 'black' is the adverbial suffix *-n/-an/-en*.

- (9) Mindenki feketé-n issza a kávé-t.
everybody black-ly drink.DefObj.3Sg the coffee.Acc
'Everybody drinks coffee black.'

Sometimes sentences that include such a secondary predicate – a so-called depictive secondary predicate – are ambiguous. In (10), for example, the PP *részeg-en* 'drunk' can be understood to be a property of the taxi driver or of the cyclist as well.

- (10) A taxi részeg-en ütötte el a biciklistát.
the taxi_driver drunk-ly hit.Past.DefObj.3Sg away the cyclist.Acc
'The taxi driver hit the cyclist drunk.'

The predicative use of PPs will be discussed in much more detail in Chapter 4.

1.3.2. PPs as arguments

Postpositional phrases may be used as arguments selected by a verb, a noun or an adjective. The PPs selected by verbs are typically headed by a certain case-marker, e.g., by the sublative case selected by the verb *vár* 'wait', or the inessive case selected by the verb *hisz* 'believe'.

- (11) Mari a vonat-ra vár.
Mari the train-Sub wait.3Sg
'Mari is waiting for the train.'
- (12) Pál hisz a csodák-ban.
Pál believe.3Sg the miracle.Pl-Ine
'Pál believes in miracles'

We can thus say that the lexical entry of these verbs contains the information that they require a PP in their argument structure, with the P head being the sublative and the inessive case suffix, respectively.

- (13) a. vár [_{PP} DP + Sub]
b. hisz [_{PP} DP + Ine]

It is not always a case-marker that we find as the head of the PP selected by a verb. The verb *küzd* ‘fight’ can take a PP headed by the postposition *ellen* ‘against’ (14a). Similarly, we find PPs headed by a postposition proper with the particle verbs (in fact, PP+V complexes) in (14b) and (14c).

- (14) a. *küzd valami ellen*
 fight something against
 ‘fight against something’
- b. *el-törpül valami mellett*
 away-be.dwarfed something next_to
 ‘be dwarfed by something’
- c. *ki-áll valami mellett*
 out-stand something next_to
 ‘make a stand for something’

The PP complement often accompanies an object complement:

- (15) *figyelmeztet valaki-t valami-re*
 warn somebody-Acc something-Sub
 ‘warn somebody of something’

The projection of a P head can represent a core (16a) or a non-core argument (16b) of the verb. The different properties of core and non-core arguments will be discussed in detail in Chapter 5.

- (16) a. *Péter Juli-val csókolózott.*
 Peter Juli-Ins kiss.Rec.Past.3Sg
 ‘Peter was kissing with Juli.’
- b. *Péter Juli-val dolgozott.*
 Peter Juli-Ins work.Past.3Sg
 ‘Peter worked with Juli.’

Adjectives can also take PPs as their complement (selected argument), and this is illustrated with the following examples:

- (17) a. *büszke valami-re*
 proud something-Sub
 ‘proud of something’
- b. *elégedett valami-vel*
 satisfied something-Ins
 ‘satisfied with something’

A few nouns also take arguments and select for a PP. The noun in (18a) takes a complement with instrumental case, that in (18b) takes a complement with delative case, and the noun in (18c) selects for a PP headed by the postposition *ellen* ‘against’.

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- (18) a. *interjú valaki-vel*
interview somebody-Ins
'interview with somebody'
- b. *hír valami-ről*
news something-Del
'news about something'
- c. *tiltakozás valami ellen*
protest something against
'protest against something'

Noun phrases with a postnominal PP complement are hard to insert into a sentence; they generally occur as titles, or as subjects of sentences, and become degraded and more difficult to process when the NP bears an oblique case suffix. The productive way of spelling out the argument of a nominal head is to attributivize it by means of the suffix *-i* (19a), by means of the particle *való*, grammaticalized from the participial form of the copula (19b), or by means of a transparent participle (19c). The attributivized argument precedes the nominal head. (The modification and complementation of the NP is discussed in great detail in the volume on Nouns and Noun Phrases; see also 2.2.1.5 and 5.5. in this volume.)

- (19) a. *a háború ellen-i küzdelem*
the war against-Attr struggle
'struggle against the war'
- b. *a Péter-rel való vita*
the Peter-Ins being debate
'the debate with Peter'
- c. *egy szintaxis-ról szóló könyv*
a syntax-Del tell.Part book
'a book about syntax'

It is not always obvious whether something is an obligatory, selected argument or a free adjunct, but when the case or postposition is strictly determined in the lexical requirements of the lexical category, we can often assume that it is an argument. The complementation properties (i.e., argument structures) of verbs, nouns, and adjectives are discussed at length in the relevant chapters in the volumes of this series.

1.3.3. PPs as obligatory and non-obligatory adjuncts

Postpositional phrases, including adverbs, are also used as adjuncts, in which case they are neither selected as arguments, nor used predicatively. Morphologically, adverbial adjuncts can be prototypical PPs headed by case suffixes or postpositions, adverbs that are productively derived from adjectives, and lexicalized elements without a transparent PP structure.

Chapter 6 describes the use of PPs as obligatory adjuncts in sentences where they are not thematically selected, i.e., they are not arguments, but they are obligatory in the sense that the sentence is ungrammatical if the PP is not included.

This use of PPs is typical of verbs of creation and verbs of (coming into) existence, which exhibit the so-called Definiteness Effect. The sentences involving a definite obligatory (internal) argument are ungrammatical (see (20a) and (21a)) but adding a PP will render the sentence grammatical, as (20b) and (21b) illustrate here. The details of these constructions are discussed in Chapter 6.

- (20) a. *Van a pénz.
 be.3Sg the money
 Intended meaning: 'There is the money.'
- b. A pénz a fiók-ban van.
 the money the drawer-Ine be.3Sg
 'The money is in the drawer.'
- (21) a. *A baba 'született.
 the baby be_born.Past.3Sg
 Intended meaning: 'The baby was born.'
- b. A baba január-ban született.
 the baby January-Ine be_born.Past.3Sg
 'The baby was born in January.'

Non-obligatory adjuncts are the topic of Chapter 7, which provides a detailed taxonomy of spatial, temporal and other semantic types of adjuncts. Spatial and temporal adjuncts have to be distinguished from the other adjunct categories as they can freely appear in practically any sentence position, contrary to the other types; moreover, they can be topicalized or focused, which is related to their referential properties.

The position of non-spatial/non-temporal adverbials seems to be more restricted. VP-adverbials (or predicate adverbials) can be distinguished from clausal adverbials (or sentence adverbials), as the former adjuncts modify the predicative part of the sentence (22), while the latter modify larger constituents (23), taking scope over events, propositions, or speech acts. The unmarked position for both types in Hungarian is to appear after the topic constituent, preceding the (extended) predicate. However, even if the two types often appear in the same position within the sentence, as can be observed in the linear order of the elements in these examples, their stress properties reveal the difference between the scopes they take, as will be discussed in Chapter 7 (and also in the volume on Sentence Structure).

- (22) A felügyelő könnyen döntésre jutott.
 the inspector easily decision.Sub reach.Past.3Sg
 'The inspector arrived at a decision easily.'
- (23) A felügyelő szerencsére döntésre jutott.
 the inspector luckily decision.Sub reach.Past.3Sg
 'Luckily, the inspector arrived at a decision.'

When these two basic adjunct types co-occur in the same clause, clausal adverbials precede VP-adverbials:

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- (24) A felügyelő szerencsére könnyen döntésre jutott.
the inspector luckily easily decision.Sub reach.Past.3Sg
'Luckily, the inspector arrived at a decision easily.'

- (25) *A felügyelő könnyen szerencsére döntésre jutott.
the inspector easily luckily decision.Sub reach.Past.3Sg
Intended meaning: 'Luckily, the inspector arrived at a decision easily.'

The relative order of the various adverbial subtypes (evaluative, modal, manner, etc.) is fixed in the preverbal field. At the same time, the postverbal word order of these adjuncts is not so restricted. Moreover, a postverbal adjunct may also have scope over a preverbal one, as in (26).

- (26) A felügyelő valószínűleg elkapta szerencsére a gyilkost.
the inspector probably caught luckily the murderer.Acc
'Luckily, the inspector has probably caught the murderer.'

Chapter 7 will also give a general overview on how the various low and high adverbs can be ordered in accordance with their lexical semantics (see Ernst 2002). Special attention will be paid to the so-called exclusive adverbials (also referred to as obligatory focused negative scalar adverbials, following É. Kiss 2009b), such as *alig* 'hardly, scarcely', *ritkán* 'rarely', as well as to adverbial adjuncts with an ambiguous scope, and to clausal adverbials that are obligatorily stressed (e.g. *biztosan* 'certainly').

1.4. Bibliographical notes

A comprehensive traditional description of Hungarian postpositional phrases in the broad sense is given in the monographs of Simonyi (1888, 1892, 1895). The most detailed traditional study of Hungarian PPs in the narrow sense is Sebestyén (1965). The first generative analysis of Hungarian postpositional phrases is by Marácz (1986). *Strukturális magyar nyelvtan III. Morfológia* (ed. by Kiefer 2000c) discusses case endings, adverbial derivational suffixes, and verbal particles at length. The idea of assimilating semantic case morphemes to postpositions, and assimilating adverbs and verbal particles to postpositional phrases was put forth by Asbury *et al.* (2007) and Kádár (2009). The studies of the volume *Adverbs and Adverbial Phrases at the Interfaces* (ed. by É. Kiss, 2009d) discuss the external syntax of postpositional phrases in the broad sense, and the interaction of their syntactic distribution with interpretation and prosody. PPs play a distinguished role in the monograph by Dékány (2011) on the Hungarian DP, and in the monograph by Hegedűs (2013) on non-verbal predicates, as well. Recent analyses of the grammar of the verbal particle include Ackerman (1987), Kiefer and Ladányi (2000b), É. Kiss (2006a), and Surányi (2009a,b). The different syntactic and semantic behavior of PP arguments and PP adjuncts is discussed by Rákosi (2006; 2009a; 2009b), among others. The history of the Hungarian PPs has been investigated by Hegedűs (2014, 2015).