Chapter 4

Predicative PPs

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4.1. Introduction

Predicative PPs typically function as secondary predicates, predicated of the internal argument of the verbal predicate: the object of transitive verbs and the subject of unaccusative verbs. Their use as primary predicates is limited; it is mostly restricted to PPs expressing place and time. PPs used as primary predicates – unlike nominal primary predicates – require the presence of the copula, the equivalent of the verb ‘be’.

- (1) a. A *gyerekek otthon vannak.*
 the children at_home are
 ‘The children are at home.’
 b. A *konferencia május-ban lesz.*
 the conference May-Inc be.Fut.3Sg
 ‘The conference will be in May.’

If we analyze the *be*-verb in (1a,b) as a verb of existence, then this type of PPs, too, can be assimilated to the class of PPs functioning as secondary predicates, predicating a condition (place, time, state, etc.) of the theme argument of the verb.

The prototypical secondary predicate PP, providing information about the internal argument of the verb and forming a complex predicate with it, is the verbal particle. The verbal particle is selected by the verb and constitutes a lexical unit with it. It may change the argument structure of the base verb. For example, *jár* ‘walk’ is intransitive; *be-jár* ‘in-walk’, however, is transitive when it means ‘tour something’. Or *olvas* ‘read’ takes an accusative complement; but *rá-olvas* ‘on-read’, when meaning ‘cast a spell’, subcategorizes for a sublativ-marked noun phrase.

The verb modifier can not only be represented by a verbal particle (2a), (3a), (4a), but it can also be an NP (2b), AP (2c) or DP (3b) supplied with an oblique case morpheme. It might also be a DP (4b) or an NP (4c) supplied with a postposition. Secondary predicates forming a complex predicate with the verb are called verb modifiers. They have a designated position in Hungarian sentence structure: in neutral clauses (i.e., in clauses containing no focus, interrogative, negative, or imperative operator triggering verb movement), they immediately precede the verb. The ‘verb modifier–verb’ string is interpreted as a semantic unit and constitutes a single phonological word.

- (2) a. János *össze-tépte a levelet.*
 János up-tore the letter.Acc
 ‘János tore the letter up.’
 b. János *darabok-ra tépte a levelet.*
 János pieces-Sub tore the letter.Acc
 ‘János tore the letter into pieces.’
 c. Mari *simá-ra vasalta a lepedőt.*
 Mari smooth-Sub ironed the sheet.Acc
 ‘Mari ironed the sheet smooth.’

- (3) a. János *be*-vitte a számítógépét.
 János in-took the computer.Poss.3Sg.Acc
 'János took in his computer.'
- b. János *az irodá-ba* vitte a számítógépét.
 János the office-III took the computer.Poss.3Sg.Acc
 'János took his computer to the office.'
- (4) a. A csatár *fölé* rúgta a labdát.
 the forward above kicked the ball.Acc
 'The forward kicked the ball above [the goal].'
- b. A csatár *a kapu fölé* rúgta a labdát.
 the forward the goal above kicked the ball.Acc
 'The forward shot the ball above the goal.'
- c. A foka *víz alá* merült.
 the seal water under dived
 'The seal dived under water.'

Most verb modifiers, e.g., those in (2)-(4), have a resultative or terminative function, and they are a concomitant of telic achievement and accomplishment predicates. There are also locative verb modifiers, which occur with atelic predicates expressing existence or spatial configuration:

- (5) a. János *bent* tartja a számítógépét.
 János in keeps the computer.Poss.3Sg.Acc
 'János keeps his computer in there.'
- b. János *az irodá-ban* tartja a számítógépét.
 János the office-IIne keeps the computer.Poss.3Sg.Acc
 'János keeps his computer in the office.'

Some verbs take a stative verb modifier, represented by an adjective or a nominal marked by an essive-formal or dative case ending:

- (6) a. *Helytartó-ként* viselkedik.
 procurator-FoE behave.3Sg
 'He behaves like a procurator.'
- b. Jánost *okos-nak* tartják.
 János.Acc smart-Dat consider.DefObj.3Pl
 'János is considered to be smart.'

Despite their semantic and prosodic, and often also lexical, unity, the verb modifier and the verb are syntactically independent constituents. Although a resultative or terminative verbal particle and the verb immediately following it are (misleadingly) spelled as one word according to Hungarian spelling conventions (7a), they often split. Operators, among them the negative particle (7b) and the exhaustive focus (7c), attract the verb into a position preceding the verbal particle. The particle and the verb can also be separated by intervening constituents both in the case of the 'verb...particle' order (7d) and in the case of the 'particle ...verb' order (7e). As

illustrated by (7f), a verbal particle originating in the finite (or non-finite) complement clause of the modal verbs *kell* ‘must’ and *szabad* ‘may’ can land in the position preceding the matrix modal, crossing the finite complementizer on the way. (For perspicuity’s sake, the verbal particle and the verb immediately following will be separated by a hyphen from now on. The verbal particle *meg*, which is void of any lexical content, is glossed as ‘Perf’, signaling its telicizing-perfectivizing role.)

- (7) a. János *meg-érkezett*.
 János Perf-arrived
 ‘János arrived.’
- b. János *nem érkezett meg*.
 János not arrived Perf
 ‘János did not arrive.’
- c. Hét-ig KÉT VENDÉG *érkezett meg*.
 seven-Ter two guest arrived Perf
 ‘It was two guests who arrived by seven.’
- d. János *nem érkezett idő-ben meg* tegnap.
 János not arrived time-Ine Perf yesterday
 ‘János did not arrive in time yesterday.’
- e. János hamarosan *meg is érkezett*.
 János soon Perf Prt arrive.Past.3Sg
 ‘János, as expected, soon arrived.’
- f. János hamarosan *meg kell, hogy érkezzen*.
 János soon Perf must that arrive.Subj.3Sg
 ‘János must soon arrive.’

Depictives are secondary predicates that can cooccur with a verb modifier. They need not immediately precede the verb and do not form a complex predicate with it. They are predicated of the object or the subject:

- (8) Péter *beteg-en* meg-látogatta Marit.
 Péter sick-Adv Perf-visited Mari.Acc
 ‘Péter visited Mari sick.’

This chapter is organized as follows: Section 4.2 introduces PPs used as primary predicates. Section 4.3 discusses telicizing, i.e., resultative and terminative, verb modifiers. Section 4.4 deals with atelic verb modifiers, among them locative verb modifiers, and stative verb modifiers represented by an NP or AP bearing essive or dative case. Section 4.5 describes the syntax of verb modifiers. Section 4.6 provides an analysis of depictive adjectives, i.e., APs bearing oblique case. Section 4.7 is a summary.

4.2. PPs used as primary predicates

PPs expressing place and time, and rarely also PPs of other types, e.g. those expressing a beneficiary, cause, purpose or state, can serve as primary predicates. A

PP functioning as a primary predicate – unlike a 3rd person nominal predicate in present indicative – requires the presence of the copula:

- (9) a. A kulcs *a lábtörlő alatt* volt.
 the key the doormat under was
 ‘The key was under the doormat.’
- b. A hangverseny *öt-kor* lesz.
 the concert five-Tmp be.Fut.3Sg
 ‘The concert will be at five.’
- c. Az ajándék *nek-ed* van.
 the present Dat-2Sg is
 ‘The present is for you.’
- d. A késedelem *Péter miatt* volt.
 the delay Péter because_of was
 ‘The delay was because of Péter.’
- e. Mind-ez *ért-etek* volt.
 all-this Cau-2Pl was
 ‘All this was for you/in your interests.’
- f. A gyerekek *jól* vannak.
 the children well are
 ‘The children are well.’

The predicative PPs in (9a-f) do not form a homogeneous class syntactically. Locative and stative adverbs behave like verb modifiers; under predicate negation, they stand behind the negated verb (which is fused into a single negative existential verb in 3rd person present indicative) – see (10a,b). The PPs expressing time, beneficiary, cause and purpose behave like preverbal foci; they immediately follow the negative particle, preceding the verb (10c-f).

- (10) a. A kulcs *nem* volt *a lábtörlő alatt*.
 the key not was the doormat under
 ‘The key wasn’t under the doormat.’
- b. A gyerekek *nincsenek jól*.
 the children aren’t well
 ‘The children aren’t well.’
- c. A hangverseny *nem öt-kor* lesz.
 the concert not five-Tmp be.Fut.3Sg
 ‘The concert won’t be at five.’
- d. Az ajándék *nem nek-ed* van.
 the present not Dat-2Sg is
 ‘The present isn’t for you.’
- e. A késedelem *nem Péter miatt* volt.
 the delay not Péter because_of was
 ‘The delay wasn’t because of Péter.’

- f. Mind-ez nem ért-etek volt.
 all-this not Cau-2Pl was
 'All this wasn't for your sake.'

The copula accompanying a PP predicate can occasionally be ellipted. Corpus investigations show that it tends to be omitted in presentative sentences containing the locatives *hol* 'where' (11a), *itt* 'here' (11b) and *ott* 'there' (11c).

- (11) a. *Hol* a kulcs?
 where the key
 'Where is the key?'
 b. *Itt* a tavasz.
 here the spring
 'Spring is here.'
 c. *Ott* a busz.
 there the bus
 'The bus is there.'

Ellipsis rarely occurs with PP predicates having lexical content as well. Such sentences, unlike those involving *itt*, *ott*, or *hol*, are somewhat marked; they give the impression of telegraphic style – as is indicated by the fact that although the subject of such sentences is a topic, it typically lacks a determiner:

- (12) a. Kulcs *a lábtörlő alatt*. Ebéd *a hűtő-ben*.
 key the doormat under lunch the fridge-Ine
 'The key is under the doormat. The lunch is in the fridge.'
 b. Nyitás *tíz-kor*. Zárás *hat-kor*.
 opening ten-Tmp closing six-Tmp
 'Opening is at ten. Closing is at six.'

4.3. Telicizing PPs

4.3.1. *The telicizing function*

As shown by Vendler (1967), predicates form four classes on the basis of their aspectual properties: states, processes, accomplishments and achievements. (For a finer classification, see Kiefer (2006).) States and processes are atelic, i.e. they do not have an inherent endpoint. They differ in that states are static whereas processes are dynamic, denoting a change of state or change of location of their internal argument. Accomplishments and achievements are telic, i.e. they have an inherent endpoint; they denote not only a change of state or change of location of their internal argument, but also the new state it achieves as a result of the change. (Psychological accomplishments are different in certain respects, as will be discussed below.) Where accomplishments and achievements differ is that accomplishments are incremental, whereas achievements occur instantaneously. Hungarian is a language which systematically distinguishes telic predicates from atelic ones. Telicity is marked iconically in that complex telic events are expressed by complex predicates consisting of a verb denoting the change, and a resultative or

terminative verb modifier, i.e. a PP denoting the resultant state of the internal argument (É. Kiss 2005; 2006a,b).

Accomplishment verbs expressing a telic change of state are derived from process verbs (13a), (14a) by the addition of a resultative or terminative PP. The verb corresponds to the process component and the PP corresponds to the resultant state component of the complex event. (Telic predicates in the present tense, like that in (13b), refer to the future in the default case.)

- (13) a. Anya főzi az ebédet.
 Mother cooks the lunch.Acc
 'Mother is cooking the lunch.'
- b. Anya *meg*-főzi az ebédet.
 Mother Perf-cooks the lunch.Acc
 'Mother will cook the lunch.'
- (14) a. Az ebéd főtt.
 the lunch cooked
 'The lunch was cooking.'
- b. Az ebéd *meg*-főtt.
 the lunch Perf-cooked
 'The lunch (has) cooked.'

In the case of achievement predicates, the change of the internal argument is simultaneous with the attainment of the resultant state, hence the correspondence between the verb and the process phase, and between the resultative PP and the resultant state is less transparent, e.g.:

- (15) a. János *meg*-találta a gyűrűt.
 János Perf-found the ring.Acc
 'János found the ring.'
- b. János *fel*-ébredt.
 János up-woke
 'János woke up.'

4.3.2. Resultative verb modifiers

4.3.2.1. Types of resultative verb modifiers

The resultative PP is a verbal particle in the default case (16b), but it can also be a case-marked NP (16c), AP (16d) or DP (16e). The verbal particle, which has minimal descriptive content, expresses that the internal argument has reached the state resulting from the activity denoted by the verb; it has been totally affected. A case-marked resultative NP, AP or PP, however, also specifies the nature of the resultant state.

- (16) a. János vágta a fát.
 János cut the wood.Acc
 'János was cutting the wood.'

- b. János *fel-vágta* a fát.
 János up-cut the wood.Acc
 'János cut the wood up.'
- c. János *25 centis darabok-ra* vágta a fát.
 János 25 cm.Adj pieces-Sub cut the wood.Acc
 'János cut the wood into 25 cm pieces.'
- d. János *vékony-ra* vágta a fát.
 János thin-Sub cut the wood
 'János cut the wood thin.'
- e. János *a szükséges méret-re* vágta a fát.
 János the necessary size-Sub cut the wood.Acc
 'János cut the wood to the necessary size.'

The verbal particle can also modify the lexical meaning of the base verb, as is shown by (17).

- (17) Éva *közbe-vágott*.
 Éva into-cut
 'Éva interrupted.'

The verbal particle and the verb often form a lexical unit, the meaning of which can be partly or fully non-compositional (18d,e,f).

- (18) a. Mari *fel-vágta* a petrezselymet.
 Mari up-cut the parsley.Acc
 'Mari cut the parsley up.'
- b. Péter *rá-vágott* az asztal-ra az öklé-vel.
 Péter upon-cut the table-Sub the fist.Poss.3Sg-Ins
 'Péter struck at the table with his fist.'
- c. Éva *vissza-vágott*.
 Éva back-cut
 'Éva riposted.'
- d. A kritikus *le-vágta* a darabot.
 the critic down-cut the play.Acc
 'The critic ran down the play.'
- e. A csalo *mindenkit át-vágott*.
 the swindler everybody.Acc through-cut
 'The swindler deceived everybody.'
- f. Éva *fel-vág*.
 Éva up-cuts
 'Éva puts on airs.'

The most common, and also the oldest, resultative verbal particle is *meg*. This has grammaticalized from *mög-é/meg-é* 'back-Lative', originally a case-marked nominal; but except for a few cases such as *meg-tér* 'return', *meg-ad* 'give back', it

has lost its descriptive content; it only means that the action denoted by the verb has reached its natural endpoint:

- (19) a. János ette az almát.
 János ate the apple.Acc
 'János was eating the apple.'
- b. János meg-ette az almát.
 János Perf-ate the apple.Acc
 'János ate/has eaten the apple (up).'

The set of most frequent verbal particles also include *el* 'off' (20), *ki* 'out' (21), *be* 'in' (22), *le* 'down' (23), and *fel* 'up' (24).

- (20) a. János olvassa a könyvet.
 János reads the book.Acc
 'János is reading the book.'
- b. János el-olvassa a könyvet.
 János off-reads the book
 'János will read the book.'
- (21) a. Éva mosta a szennyest.
 Éva washed the laundry.Acc
 'Éva was washing the laundry.'
- b. Éva ki-mosta a szennyest.
 Éva out-washed the laundry
 'Éva (has) washed the laundry.'
- (22) a. A tulajdonos éppen zárja a boltot.
 the owner just closes the shop.Acc
 'The owner is just closing the shop.'
- b. A tulajdonos mindjárt be-zárja a boltot.
 the owner soon in-closes the shop.Acc
 'The owner will soon close the shop.'
- (23) a. János nyírja a fűvet.
 János mows the grass.Acc
 'János is mowing the grass.'
- b. János le-nyírja a fűvet.
 János down-mows the grass.Acc
 'János will mow the grass.'
- (24) a. Az építész mérte a házat.
 the architect measured the house
 'The architect was measuring the house.'
- b. Az építész fel-mérte a házat.
 the architect up-measured the house.Acc
 'The architect (has) measured the house.'

Resultative NPs, APs and DPs are supplied with a lative (sublative (25), illative (25b), allative (25c), or translative (25d)) case morpheme.

- (25) a. A hús *puhá-ra* főtt.
the meat tender-Sub cooked
'The meat cooked tender.'
- b. *Kettő-be* hajtottam a papírt.
two-III folded.1Sg the paper.Acc
'I folded the paper into two.'
- c. A beteg *magá-hoz* tért.
the patient himself-All returned
'The patient came round.'
- d. A boszorkány *béká-vá* változtatta a királyfit.
the witch frog-TrE changed the prince.Acc
'The witch changed the prince into a frog.'

4.3.2.2. *The subject of resultative secondary predication*

Since a resultative PP is predicated of the internal argument, it can only occur with verbs taking an internal argument – either as their subject (25a,c) or as their object or adverbially case-marked complement (25b,d). Optionally transitive verbs take a verbal particle only in their transitive use (26)–(27).

- (26) a. János olvasott.
János read
'János was reading.'
- b. *János *el*-olvasott.
János off-read
'János read.'
- c. János *el*-olvasott egy krimi-t.
János off-read a crime_story.Acc
'János read a crime story.'
- (27) a. János nyert.
János won
- b. *János *meg*-nyert.
János Perf-won
- c. János *meg*-nyerte a meccset.
János Perf-won the match.Acc
'János won the match.'

Unergative verbs, whose only argument is an external argument, take no resultative secondary predicate:

- (28) Éva telefonál / dolgozik / kiabál / sír.
Éva telephones / works / shouts / cries
'Éva is telephoning / working / shouting / crying.'

In fact, unergative verbs can also be telicized with a resultative element – if they are provided with a non-thematic object (usually a reflexive pronoun or a body part coindexed with the subject):

- (29) a. Péter *beteg-re* dolgozta *magát*.
 Péter sick-Sub worked himself.Acc
 ‘Péter worked himself sick.’
 b. Péter *rekedt-re* kiabálta *magát*.
 Péter hoarse-Sub shouted himself.Acc
 ‘Péter shouted himself hoarse.’
 c. Péter *ki-sírta a szemét*.
 Péter out-cried the eye.Poss3Sg.Acc
 ‘Péter cried his eyes out.’

Unergative verbs may also allow a temporal or locative pseudo-object, e.g.:

- (30) a. Éva *át-aludta a délután-t*.
 Éva through-slept the afternoon-Acc
 ‘Éva slept through the afternoon.’
 b. Péter *le-futotta a maratont*.
 Péter down-ran the marathon-Acc
 ‘Péter ran the marathon.’

Complex predicates do not tolerate a nonspecific, bare singular or bare plural internal argument. It is presumably the predication relation between the internal argument and the verb modifier that requires that the internal argument be specific, i.e. it be associated with an existential presupposition. In the presence of a nonspecific internal argument, no predicative PP is licensed (31a)–(32a); the nonspecific internal argument itself appears in the preverbal position (31b)–(32b).

- (31) a. *Mari *ki-mosott ágyneműt*.
 Mari out-washed bed.linen.Acc
 b. Mari *ágyneműt mosott*.
 Mari bed.linen.Acc washed
 ‘Mari was washing bed-linen.’
 (32) a. *Mari *el-olvasott verseket*.
 Mari off-read poems.Acc
 b. Mari *verseket olvasott*.
 Mari poems.Acc read
 ‘Mari was reading poems.’

The internal argument of a complex predicate must be either a definite or a specific indefinite noun phrase. (Specific indefinites refer to a subset of a previously introduced set, whereas nonspecific indefinites introduce a new referent into the domain of discourse.). Overt indefinite determiners, among them *egy* ‘a/an’, *két* ‘two’, *három* ‘three’, etc., *néhány* ‘some’, *kevés* ‘few, little’, *sok* ‘many, much’, can have either a specific or a nonspecific interpretation. In the presence of a resultative

PP, however, the indefinite internal argument of a resultative construction can only be assigned a specific reading – as happens in the second sentence of (33a), where *egy lányt* ‘a girl.Acc’ is understood as one of the two students mentioned in the first sentence. If the resultative element is dropped, the subset reading of the internal argument is not enforced, and the text becomes incoherent (33b).

- (33) a. Az állás-ra két diák jelentkezett. Tegnap *meg-hallgattunk* egy lányt.
 the job-Sub two student applied yesterday Perf-listen.Past.IPl a girl.Acc
 ‘Two students applied for the job. Yesterday we interviewed a girl.’
 b. [#]Az állás-ra két diák jelentkezett. Tegnap *hallgattunk* egy lányt.
 the job-Sub two student applied yesterday listen.Past.IPl a girl.Acc
 ‘Two students applied for the job. Yesterday we were listening to a girl.’

A special type of telic predicates, those denoting coming into being or creation, select a nonspecific internal argument, and consequently they take no verb modifier. They are discussed in detail in Chapter 6.

4.3.2.3. Resultative psychological verbs

Psychological verbs denoting the psychological or cognitive state of a nominative-marked experiencer, such as *szeret* ‘like, love’, *utál* ‘hate’, *gyűlöl* ‘hate’, *irigyel* ‘envy’, *sajnál* ‘be sorry’, *lát* ‘see’, *hall* ‘hear’, can form a complex predicate with the verbal particle *meg*, yielding *meg-szeret* ‘come to like’, *meg-utál* ‘come to hate’, *meg-gyűlöl* ‘come to hate’, *meg-irigyel* ‘become envious of’, *meg-sajnál* ‘come to feel sorry’, *meg-lát* ‘come to see’, *meg-hall* ‘come to hear’.

- (34) a. János mindig szerette a nyelvészetet.
 János always liked the linguistics.Acc
 ‘János always liked linguistics.’
 b. A kurzus végére János *meg-szerette* a nyelvészetet.
 the course end.Poss.Sub János Perf-liked the linguistics.Acc
 ‘By the end of the course, János came to like linguistics.’

In these cases, the base verb denotes the end state of the experiencer, and the verbal particle evokes the preceding durative preparatory phase (Eszes 2006).

4.3.3. Terminative verb modifiers

4.3.3.1. Types of terminative verb modifiers

Accomplishment and achievement predicates expressing a delimited change of location consist of a verb of motion, and a terminative verb modifier. The verb denotes the type of movement carried out by the moving individual, represented by the internal argument, and the verb modifier denotes its end location, where its movement is terminated. The preverbal verb modifier can be a verbal particle (35a), or a lexical noun phrase supplied with an oblique case ending (35b) or a verbal particle doubling a postverbal lexical noun phrase supplied with an oblique case ending (35c). Some analyses of the construction in (35c) (e.g. Surányi 2009a,c) treat the noun phrase bearing oblique case and the verbal particle doubling it as a unit,

sharing the secondary predicate function. In more traditional approaches, the postverbal noun phrase is the goal argument of the verbal particle + verb complex.

- (35) a. A csatár *be*-gurította a labdát.
 the forward into-rolled the ball.Acc
 'The forward rolled the ball in.'
- b. A csatár *a kapu-ba* gurította a labdát.
 the forward the goal-III rolled the ball.Acc
 'The forward rolled the ball into the goal.'
- c. A csatár *be*-gurította a labdát *a kapu-ba*.
 the forward into-rolled the ball.Acc the goal-III
 'The forward rolled the ball into the goal.'

The terminative verb modifier can also be a postpositional phrase (36a), or, rarely, also a bare postposition with an implicit complement (36b). Terminative postpositional phrases can display splitting, instead of doubling, in which case the postposition stands alone in the position of the verb modifier, while its complement appears postverbally, bearing dative case (which is a relic of the phase when the postposition was the case-marked head noun of a possessive construction, and the complement DP was its possessor) (36c).

- (36) a. A csatár *a kapu fölé* rúgta a labdát.
 the forward the goal above kicked the ball.Acc
 'The forward kicked the ball above the goal.'
- b. A csatár *föle* rúgta a labdát.
 the forward above kicked the ball.Acc
 'The forward kicked the ball above.'
- c. A csatár *föle* rúgta a labdát *a kapu-nak*.
 the forward above kicked the ball.Acc the goal-Dat
 'The forward kicked the ball above the goal.'

When the complement of P is a personal pronoun, P bears an agreement morpheme, and the pronoun itself is usually dropped:

- (37) (én) fölé-m (mi) fölé-nk
 I above-1Sg we above-1Pl
 'above me' 'above us'
- (te) fölé-d (ti) fölé-tek
 you above-2Sg you above-2Pl
 'above you_{sg}' 'above you_{pl}'
- (ő) fölé (ők) fölé-jük
 (s)he above-3Sg they above-3Pl
 'above him/her' 'above them'

Remark 1. In fact, the 3rd person plural personal pronoun is *ők*, with *-k* representing the plural morpheme. The lack of *-k* is interpreted by native speakers as a phonological accident; an *ő* eliciting 3rd person plural agreement is interpreted as 'they'.

If the postposition has a pronominal complement, pattern (36c), the separation of the postposition and the pronominal is impossible:

- (38) a. A csatár (én) fölé-m rúgta a labdát.
 the forward I above-1Sg kicked the ball
 ‘The forward kicked the ball over me.’
 b. *A csatár fölé / fölé-m rúgta a labdát (én-)nek-em.
 the forward above / above-1Sg kicked the ball I-Dat-1Sg

Postpositions which have become oblique case endings with front- and back-vowel allomorphs (e.g., *ház-hoz* ‘house-to’; *kert-hez* ‘garden-to’) also behave like invariant independent postpositions when their complement is a (mostly dropped) personal pronoun:

(39)	(én) hozzá-m	(mi) hozzá-nk
	I All-1Sg	we All-1Pl
	‘to me’	‘to us’
	(te) hozzá-d	(ti) hozzá-tok
	you All-2Sg	you All-2Pl
	‘to you _{sg} ’	‘to you _{pl} ’
	(ő) hozzá	(ő) hozzá-juk
	(s)he All.3Sg	they All-3Pl
	‘to him/her’	‘to them’

For example:

- (40) A csatár (én) hozzá-m gurította a labdát.
 the forward I All-1Sg rolled the ball.Acc
 ‘The forward rolled the ball to me.’

Motion can also be interpreted in the temporal dimension. The delimited motion of time is also expressed by a delimiting verb modifier represented by a verbal particle (41a), or a full PP (41b), or by a particle doubling a full PP (41c).

- (41) a. Az előadás el-húzódott.
 the performance away-dragged
 ‘The performance dragged on.’
 b. Az előadás öt-ig húzódott.
 the performance five-Ter dragged
 ‘The performance dragged until five.’
 c. Az előadás el-húzódott öt-ig.
 the performance away-dragged five-Ter
 ‘The performance dragged on until five.’

The omission of the terminative verb modifier from an accomplishment predicate yields a process interpretation.

- (42) a. A labda gurult.
 the ball rolled
 ‘The ball was rolling.’
 b. János futott.
 János ran
 ‘János was running.’

We also obtain a process interpretation if the verbal particle is present but is not preposed into preverbal position. In such cases, the particle does not form a complex predicate with the verb; it is understood as an element denoting direction. For example:

- (43) Amikor le-fűjták a meccset, a labda (épp) gurult *be a kapu-ba*.
 when off-called.3Pl the match.Acc the ball (just) rolled into the goal-III
 ‘When the match was called off, the ball was (just) rolling into the goal.’

In the case of achievements denoting a change of location, the momentary motion and the attainment of the end location are practically simultaneous, hence cutting off the end location is usually not possible (44a), but the progressive interpretation can, nevertheless, be evoked by leaving the particle in postverbal position (44b):

- (44) a. *Éva tette a könyvet.
 Éva put the book.Acc
 b. Éva éppen tette *fel* a könyvet *a polc-ra*, amikor meg-fájult
 Éva just put up the book.Acc the shelf-Sub when Perf-ached
 a dereka.
 the back.Poss.3Sg
 ‘Éva was just putting the book up on the shelf when her back started to ache.’

4.3.3.2. The subject of terminative predication

A terminative verb modifier is, in most cases, a secondary predicate predicated of the internal argument, whether it is an object, as in (35a-c) and (36a-c) above, or a subject, as in (45a-c) below.

- (45) a. A labda *be*-gurult.
 the ball in-rolled
 ‘The ball rolled in.’
 b. A labda *a kapu-ba* gurult.
 the ball the goal-III rolled
 ‘The ball rolled into the goal.’
 c. A labda *be*-gurult *a kapu-ba*.
 the ball in-rolled the goal-III

In the case of internally controlled motion events, the causer and the executor of motion is one and the same individual. When verbs of internally controlled motion express a manner of motion, as in (46a), they behave as unergatives, i.e., their only argument is analyzed as an external argument. In lack of an internal argument, these

verbs do not combine with a terminative or resultative verb modifier, unless they also take a non-thematic internal argument (46b).

- (46) a. Mari futott.
 Mari ran
 ‘Mari was running.’
 b. Mari *ki*-futotta *magá-t*.
 Mari out-ran herself-Acc
 ‘Mari ran [until she had enough].’

Some motion verbs take a ‘route’ or ‘path’ pseudo-object together with a verb modifier:

- (47) a. Péter *le*-futotta *a maratoni táv-ot*.
 Péter down-ran the marathon.Attr distance-Acc
 ‘Péter ran the marathon.’
 b. Péter *be*-járta *a város-t*.
 Péter in-walked the city-Acc
 ‘Péter walked [all over] the city.’

When internally controlled motion verbs express directed motion, they behave as unaccusatives, i.e., their subject is analyzed as an internal argument, which can license a verb modifier:

- (48) a. János *el*-futott.
 János off-ran
 ‘János ran off.’
 b. János *a bolt-ba* futott.
 János the store-III ran
 ‘János ran to the store.’
 c. János *el*-futott *a bolt-ba*.
 János off-ran the store-III
 ‘János ran off to the store.’
 (49) a. János *fel*-ért.
 János up-arrived
 ‘János arrived.’
 b. János *a csúcs-ra* ért.
 János the peak-Sub arrived
 ‘János arrived at the peak.’
 c. János *fel*-ért *a csúcs-ra*.
 János up-arrived the peak-Sub
 ‘János arrived up at the peak.’

Semelfactives, i.e., verbs expressing a momentary motion or emission, can also take a verb modifier (a verbal particle in most cases):

- (50) a. *Fel-villant a fény.*
 up-flashed the light
 'The light flashed.'
- b. *Fel-harsant egy kürtjel.*
 up-blared a horn_signal
 'A horn signal blared.'
- c. *Meg-mozdult a bokor.*
 Perf-stirred the bush
 'The bush stirred.'
- d. *A gyerek fel-kiáltott.*
 the child up-cried
 'The child cried out.'

Similarly to resultatives, terminative verb modifiers can only be predicated of a definite or a specific indefinite internal argument. If the internal argument of a verb of motion or emission is nonspecific, no terminative verb modifier is licensed and the nonspecific internal argument itself appears in the verb modifier position:

- (51) a. **A csatár be-gurított labdát a kapu-ba*
 the forward in-rolled ball.Acc the goal-III
- b. *A csatár labdát gurított a kapuba.*
 the forward ball.Acc rolled the goal-III
 'The forward rolled a ball into the goal.'
- (52) a. **Fel-villant fény.*
 up-flashed light
- b. *Fény villant.*
 light flashed
 'A light flashed.'

4.3.3.3. Directional verb modifiers

In some cases, the internal argument representing the moving object whose path the verbal particle terminates remains implicit, e.g.:

- (53) a. *A vadász rá-lőtt a nyúl-ra.*
 the hunter on-shot the rabbit-Sub
 'The hunter shot at the rabbit.'
- b. *A dühös autós rá-szólt a gyalogos-ra.*
 the angry driver on-spoke the pedestrian-Sub
 'The angry driver called to the pedestrian.'
- c. *Az anya rá-nézett a gyerek-re.*
 the mother on-looked the child-Sub
 'The mother looked at the child.'

In (53a), the implicit moving object is obviously a bullet. In the case of (53b) and (53c), no internal argument has been ellipted; the moving objects (words in the case

of (53b), and looks in the case of (53c)), can only be reconstructed on the conceptual level. In such cases, the verbal particle is not a secondary predicate predicated of the implicit argument. Even if we reconstruct an internal argument, the verbal particle does not predicate its end location. If the hunter shoots at the rabbit, the bullet does not necessarily hit it; the verbal particle merely indicates the direction of movement. A directional particle does not necessarily telicize the base verb, e.g.:

- (54) A bokor ágai egész nyáron *ki-hajlanak az utcá-ra*.
 the bush branch.Poss.Pl whole summer.Sup out-lean the street-Sub
 ‘The branches of the bush lean onto the street the whole summer.’

4.4. Atelic verb modifiers

4.4.1. Locative verb modifiers

In Hungarian, verbs of existence and spatial configuration can form complex predicates with locative verb modifiers. The relation of the verb of existence or spatial configuration and the locative element is similar to the relation of the verb of movement and the terminative verb modifier in accomplishment predicates. Compare the complex predicates expressing terminated movement in (55) and (57) with their counterparts expressing existence in a given location in (56) and (58).

- (55) a. János *ki-tette a képet*.
 János out-put the picture.Acc
 ‘János put out the picture.’
 b. János *a kirakat-ba tette a képet*.
 János the shop_window-III put the picture.Acc
 ‘János put the picture into the shop window.’
 c. János *ki-tette a képet a kirakat-ba*.
 János out-put the picture.Acc the shop_window-III
 ‘János put the picture into the shop window.’
- (56) a. A kép *kint van*.
 the picture outside is
 ‘The picture is out there.’
 b. A kép *a kirakat-ban van*.
 the picture the shop_window-Ine is
 ‘The picture is in the shop window.’
 c. A kép *kint van a kirakat-ban*.
 the picture outside is the shop_window-Ine
 ‘The picture is in the shop window.’

The verb *fekszik* ‘lie’ in (57) and (58) is lexically ambiguous, it can mean both movement and spatial position; however, it is disambiguated by the verb modifier. When combined with the directional-terminative *oda* ‘to there’ or with a PP headed by the directional *elé* ‘to before’, it means directed movement and when combined

with the locative *ott* ‘there’ or with a PP headed by the locative *előtt* ‘in front of’, it means position:

- (57) a. A kutya *oda*-feküdt.
 the dog to_there-lay
 ‘The dog lay there.’
 b. A kutya *a küszöb elé* feküdt.
 the dog the threshold to_before lay
 ‘The dog lay down before the threshold.’
 c. A kutya *oda*-feküdt *a küszöb elé*.
 the dog to_there-lay the threshold to_before
 ‘The dog lay down before the threshold.’
- (58) a. A kutya *ott* fekszik.
 the dog there lies
 ‘The dog is lying there.’
 b. A kutya *a küszöb előtt* fekszik.
 the dog the threshold before lies
 ‘The dog is lying before the threshold.’
 c. A kutya *ott* fekszik *a küszöb előtt*.
 the dog there lies the threshold before
 ‘The dog is lying before the threshold.’

In (56) and (58), the verb expresses the existence and the spatial configuration of the internal argument, whereas the locative verb modifier predicates its location. The verb forming a complex predicate with a locative verb modifier can also be transitive:

- (59) a. János *bent* tartja a számítógépét.
 János in keeps the computer.Poss.3Sg.Acc
 ‘János keeps his computer in there.’
 b. János *az irodá-ban* tartja a számítógépét.
 János the office-Ine keeps the computer.Poss.3Sg.Acc
 ‘János keeps his computer in the office.’
 c. János *bent* tartja a számítógépét *az irodá-ban*.
 János in keeps the computer.Poss.3Sg.Acc the office-Ine
 ‘János keeps his computer in the office.’
- (60) a. János *ott* hagyta a kalapját.
 János there left the hat.Poss.3Sg.Acc
 ‘János left his hat there.’
 b. János *a fogas-on* hagyta a kalapját.
 János the rack-Sup left the hat.Poss.3Sg.Acc
 ‘János left his hat on the rack.’

- c. János *ott* hagyta a kalapját a *fogas-on*.
 János there left the hat.Poss.3Sg.Acc the rack-Sup
 'János left his hat on the rack.'

In non-prototypical cases, the locative PP can also combine with an activity verb as in (61a-c). These sentences express existence in a particular way in a given location; they would be appropriate answers to the question *Where is János?*.

- (61) a. János *lent* dolgozik.
 János down works
 'János is working down there.'
- b. János a *kert-ben* dolgozik.
 János the garden-Ine works
 'János is working in the garden.'
- c. János *lent* dolgozik a *kert-ben*.
 János down works the garden-Ine
 'János is working down in the garden.'

As shown by the above examples, the locative PP functioning as a secondary predicate can be a sole verbal particle, a preverbal case-marked noun phrase, a postpositional phrase, or a verbal particle doubling a case-marked noun phrase or postpositional phrase. Whereas the terminative case endings are represented by a productive illative, sublative, allative or translative case suffix, and the terminative particles and postpositions involve an obsolete (-a/e) lative morpheme, the locative case endings are represented by a productive inessive, superessive or adessive case suffix, and the locative particles and postpositions involve an obsolete (-t/tt) locative morpheme.

The locative element of the complex predicate predicates the location of a definite or specific indefinite noun phrase functioning as the subject in intransitive sentences and the object in transitives. In the presence of a bare singular or bare plural internal argument, which has no specific interpretation, no locative verb modifier is licensed; the nonspecific internal argument appears in the position of the verb modifier:

- (62) a. %*Kint* van *kép* a kirakat-ban.
 outside is picture the shop_window-Ine
- b. *Kép* van a kirakat-ban.
 picture is the shop_window-Ine
 'There is a picture in the shop window.'

Remark 2. (62a) is only acceptable if *kint* is not a verb modifier but a focus, with the rest of the sentence destressed.

- (63) a. *János *ott* hagyott fontos iratot a pánccs szekrény-ben.
 János there left important paper.Acc the safe-Ine
- b. János *fontos iratot* hagyott a pánccs szekrény-ben.
 János important paper.Acc left the safe-Ine
 'János left some important paper in the safe.'

4.4.2. Stative verb modifiers

A set of verbs select a dative- (64) or essive-formal marked (65) noun phrase or adjective phrase which functions as a secondary predicate, attributing a state to the internal argument of the verb. The essive-formal marked noun phrase can also be replaced by a PP headed by *gyanánt* 'as' (66a), or by a manner adverb (66b,c). The internal argument functioning as the subject of the dative- or essive-formal marked predicate is the grammatical subject in (64a) and (66b), the accusative object in (64b-e), (65b) and (66a), and an oblique (instrumental) object in (66c). Essive-formal marked verb modifiers can also be predicated of an agent subject (66a). The secondary predicate occupies the verb modifier position and forms a complex predicate with the verb.

- (64) a. Éva *boldog-nak* látszik.
 Éva happy-Dat seems
 'Éva seems happy.'
- b. Évát *orvos-nak* hitték / vélték.
 Éva.Acc doctor-Dat believe.Past.3Pl / assume.Past.3Pl
 'Éva was believed/assumed to be a doctor.'
- c. Péter *az intézet igazgatója-nak* gondolta Évát.
 Péter the institute director.Poss-Dat thought Éva.Acc
 'Péter thought Éva to be the director of the institute.'
- d. Évát *lelkiismeretes-nek* tartják / tekintik.
 Éva.Acc conscientious-Dat hold.3Pl / consider.3Pl
 'Éva is held/considered to be conscientious.'
- e. Péter *szép-nek* látta Évát.
 Péter beautiful-Dat saw Éva.Acc
 'Péter sees Éva beautiful.'
- (65) a. Péter *felelős vezető-ként* cselekedett.
 Péter responsible leader-FoE acted
 'Péter acted as a responsible leader.'
- b. Évát *gyerek-ként* kezelik.
 Éva.Acc child-FoE treat.3Pl
 'Éva is treated as a child.'
- (66) a. Éva *váza-ként / váza gyanánt* használta az üveget.
 Éva vase-FoE / vase for used the bottle.Acc
 'Éva used the bottle as/for a vase.'
- b. Éva *gyerek-ként / rosszul* viselkedett.
 Éva child-FoE / naughtily behaved
 'Éva behaved [as a child]/ naughtily.'
- c. Éva-val *gyerek-ként / jól* bánnak.
 Éva-Ins child-FoE / well treat.3Pl
 'Éva is treated [as a child] / well.'

The different nominal/adjectival/adverbial secondary predicate + verb complexes in (64)-(66) show different degrees of lexical, semantic and prosodic unity. Nevertheless, their predicative PPs share the syntactic behavior of resultative, terminative and locative verb modifiers. An immediately preverbal constituent could, in principle, not only be a verb modifier but also a focus. Under negation, however, a focus precedes the verb, whereas the verb modifier follows it. The predicative PPs in (64)-(66) can follow the negated verb, which indicates that they are verb modifiers. (Like all verb modifiers, they can also be focused – as will be discussed in Chapter 4 Section 4.5.2).

- (67) a. Éva *nem* látszik *boldog-nak*.
 Éva not seems happy-Dat
 'Éva does not seem to be happy.'
- b. Évát *nem* hitték / vélték *orvos-nak*.
 Éva.Acc not believe.Past.3Pl / assume.Past.3Pl doctor-Dat
 'Éva was not believed/assumed to be a doctor.'
- c. Péter *nem* gondolta Évát az intézet igazgatójára-nak.
 Péter not thought Éva.Acc the institute director.Poss-Dat
 'Péter did not think Éva to be the director of the institute.'
- d. Évát *nem* tartják / tekintik *lelkiismeretes-nek*.
 Éva.Acc not hold.3Pl / consider.3Pl conscientious-Dat
 'Éva is not held/considered to be conscientious.'
- e. Péter *nem* látta *szép-nek* Évát.
 Péter not saw beautiful-Dat Éva.Acc
 'Péter didn't see Éva beautiful.'
- (68) a. Péter *nem* cselekedett *felelős vezető-ként*.
 Péter not acted responsible leader-FoE
 'Péter did not act as a responsible leader.'
- b. Évát *nem* kezelik *gyerek-ként*.
 Éva.Acc not treat.3Pl child-FoE
 'Éva is not treated as a child.'
- (69) a. Éva *nem* használta *váza-ként* / *váza gyanánt* az üveget.
 Éva not used vase-FoE / vase for the bottle.Acc
 'Éva did not use the bottle as / for a vase.'
- b. Éva *nem* viselkedett *gyerek-ként* / *rosszul*.
 Éva not behaved child-FoE / naughtily
 'Éva did not behave [as a child] / naughtily.'
- c. Évával *nem* bánnak *gyerek-ként* / *jól*.
 Éva-Ins not treat.3Pl child-FoE / well
 'Éva is not treated [as a child] / well.'

Remark 3. *Mint* 'as' is an alternative of the postposition *gyanánt* with ill-understood syntactic properties. It appears to be a preposition, however, a *mint*-phrase, unlike a PP headed by *gyanánt*, is negated as a focus; it immediately follows the negative particle, i.e. it is not a verb modifier. Compare with (66a) and (69a):

- (i) Éva *mint vázát* használta az üveget.
Éva like vase.Acc used the bottle.ACC
'Éva used the bottle as a vase.'
- (ii) Éva *nem mint vázát* használta az üveget.
'Éva didn't use the bottle as a vase.'

Interestingly, the *mint*-phrase agrees in case with the argument that it is predicated of:

- (iii) Éva-val mint a jövőendő igazgató-val beszéltek.
Éva-Ins like the future director-Ins speak.Past.3Pl
'They spoke with Éva as the future director.'

A *mint*-phrase can also be predicated of an agent.

Stative verb modifiers, too, can only be predicated of a definite or specific indefinite noun phrase:

- (70) a. ??Éva *lelkiismeretes-nek* tart egyetemi hallgatókat.
Éva conscientious-Dat holds university students.Acc
'Éva holds [some] university students to be conscientious.'
- b. Éva *lelkiismeretes-nek* tartja az egyetemi hallgatókat.
Éva conscientious-Dat holds the university students.Acc
'Éva holds university students [in general] to be conscientious.'
- (71) a. *Gyerekek *jól* viselkedtek.
children well behaved
'[Some] children behaved well.'
- b. A gyerekek *jól* viselkedtek.
the children well behaved
'The children [in general] behaved well.'

4.5. The syntax of verb modifiers

4.5.1. Neutral sentences

4.5.1.1. Default verb modifier – verb order

In neutral sentences, i.e., in sentences containing no focus, no negation, and no imperative or optative operator, the secondary predicate forming a complex predicate with the verb occupies the immediately preverbal verb modifier position. In topicless,thetic sentences, the verb modifier position is usually the clause-initial slot (72a), whereas in topic–comment constructions, it is usually the initial slot of the comment (72b):

- (72) a. Meg-érkezett néhány vendég.
Perf-arrived some guest
'Some guests arrived.'

- b. [TOPIC A vendégek] [COMMENT meg-érkeztek].
 the guests Perf-arrived
 ‘The guests arrived.’

Both inthetic sentences and in the comment of topic–comment structures, the verb modifier + verb complex can be preceded by quantifier expressions and by adverbial adjuncts, e.g.:

- (73) a. Minden szállodá-ba idejé-ben meg-érkeztek a vendégek.
 every hotel-III time-III Perf-arrived the guests
 ‘The guests arrived at every hotel in time.’
 b. [TOPIC A vendégek] [COMMENT minden szállodá-ba idejé-ben meg-érkeztek].
 the guests every hotel-III time-III Perf-arrived
 ‘The guests arrived at every hotel in time.’

The preverbal verb modifier position of the secondary predicate is a condition of complex predicate formation in semantics. A resultative or terminative verbal particle and a process verb yield a telic accomplishment or achievement interpretation if the verb follows the verb modifier as in (74a,b). The viewpoint aspect of such clauses is perfective, i.e., if the sentence is in the past, it is understood as an event completed before the speech time (or before a past reference time), and if the verb is in the present tense, it is understood as an event to be completed in the future:

- (74) a. Péter *fel*-ment a lépcső-n.
 Péter up-went the stair-Sup
 ‘Péter went upstairs.’
 b. Péter *fel*-megy a lépcső-n.
 Péter up-goes the stair-Sup
 ‘Péter will go upstairs.’

4.5.1.2. *Verb – verb modifier order*

The resultative or terminative PP can also follow the verb; in that case, however, the postverbal PP, whether a verbal particle or a full PP, does not predicate the resultant state of the internal argument; it is a directional element, assigned a stress of its own. No complex predicate formation takes place and the sentence is understood as a process in progress:

- (75) Péter (éppen) ment *fel* a lépcső-n, amikor észrevettem.
 Péter just went up the stair-Sup when notice.Past.DefObj.1Sg
 ‘Péter was (just) going upstairs when I noticed him.’

(76)–(77) describe accomplishments in progress, without the result state of the internal argument attained. A verbal particle which merely telicizes the base verb, i.e., which merely adds an endpoint to it without completing or modifying its meaning in any other respect, is usually omitted in such cases:

- (76) Péter éppen ette ([?]*meg*) az ebédjét, amikor csengettek.
 Péter just ate Perf the lunch.Poss.3Sg.Acc when ring.Past.3Pl
 'Péter was just eating (up) his lunch when the bell was rung.'

The directional adjunct status of postverbal particles in progressive sentences can be emphasized by the suffix *-fele* 'wards' (the construction has a dialectal flavor):

- (77) Péter éppen ment *el(fele)* hazul-ról, amikor észrevettem.
 Péter just went away(wards) home-Del when notice.Past.DefObj.1Sg
 'Péter was just leaving home when I noticed him.'

4.5.1.3. Interrupted verb modifier – verb order

In sentences displaying the default 'verb modifier – verb' order, the verb modifier and the verb can be separated by an intervening emphatic particle (*is*):

- (78) János meg-ígérte, hogy öt-kor meg-érkezik, és *meg is* érkezett.
 János Perf-promised that five-Tmp Perf-arrive.3Sg and Perf Emph arrived
 'János promised to arrive at five, and arrive he did (at five).'

The verb modifier and the verb can also be separated in neutral infinitival constructions involving a temporal or modal finite verb and in neutral *-va/ve* participle constructions involving a finite copula, where the verb modifier of the non-finite verb lands in front of the finite verb:

- (79) a. János *fel* fog ébredni.
 János up will wake.Inf
 'János will wake up.'
- b. Éva *ropogós-ra* akarja sütni a kalácsot.
 Éva crispy-Sub wants bake.Inf the cake.Acc
 'Éva wants to bake the cake crispy.'
- c. A kalács *meg* van sült-ve.
 the cake Perf is bake-Part
 'The cake has been baked.'

This type of verb modifier raising is elicited by the stress-avoiding nature of the verbs involved. An auxiliary or the copula cannot bear phrasal stress, which is assigned to the left edge of projections in Hungarian. The verb modifier selected by the non-finite lexical verb is raised into pre-auxiliary position to pick up the phrasal stress assigned to the verbal projection of the matrix clause. If the non-finite verb has no verb modifier, the non-finite verb itself moves into the pre-auxiliary position:

- (80) a. Éva *főzni* fog / akar.
 Éva cook.Inf will / wants
 'Éva will/wants to cook.'
- b. A pad *fest-ve* van.
 the bench paint-Part is
 'The bench is painted.'

In non-neutral sentences, where the phrasal stress of the extended verbal projection is borne by a focus or a negative particle, this phonological constraint is not evoked and no verbal participle raising or verb raising takes place:

- (81) a. János ŐT-KOR fog *fel-ébredni*.
 János five-Tmp will up-wake.Inf
 ‘János will wake up at five.’
 b. Éva nem akarja *ropogós-ra sütni* a kalácsot.
 Éva not wants crispy-Sub bake.Inf the cake.Acc
 ‘Éva doesn’t want to bake the cake crispy.’

The impersonal modals *kell* ‘need’ and *szabad* ‘may’ can attract the verbal particle of their complement clause also across a finite complementizer (82a,b).

- (82) a. Éva idejében *fel* kell, hogy *ébredjen*.
 Éva time.Ine up needs that wake.Subj.3Sg
 ‘It is necessary that Éva wake up in time.’
 b. *Be szabad*, hogy *menjünk* a kórterem-be?
 in may that go.Subj.1Pl the ward-III
 ‘Is it allowed that we enter the ward?’

The raising of a verbal particle across a complementizer is fully grammatical only if the matrix predicate, the complementizer, and the embedded verb are adjacent. (This construction is analyzed as a borrowing of the Balkan subjunctive by É. Kiss 2009c.) Compare with (82a,b):

- (83) a. *Éva idejében *fel* kell, hogy minden nap *ébredjen*.
 Éva time.Ine up needs that every day wake.Subj.3Sg
 ‘It is necessary that Éva wake up in time every day.’
 b. **Be szabad* szerint-ed, hogy *menjünk* a kórterem-be?
 in may according_to-2Sg that go.Subj.1Pl the ward-III
 ‘Is it allowed according to you that we enter the ward?’

The raising of a verb modifier represented by a case-marked noun phrase or a full PP (i.e., a verb modifier with some descriptive content) across a finite complementizer is allowed by a wider range of matrix predicates. The expressions landing in front of the matrix verb, especially if they are referential as in (84c) and (84e), can also be interpreted as contrastive foci. Verb modifier extraction is easier from subjunctive clauses (84a-c) than from indicative complements (84d-e).

- (84) a. Éva *ropogós-ra* akarja, hogy süssem a kalácsot.
 Éva crispy-Sub wants that bake.Subj.1Sg the cake.Acc
 ‘Éva wants me to bake the cake crispy.’
 b. Péter *mozi-ba* szeretné, hogy menjünk.
 Péter movies-III want.Cond.3Sg that go.Subj.1Pl
 ‘Péter wants us to go to the movies.’

- c. *Az otthoni címem-re* kérem, hogy küldjétek a levelet.
 the home address.Poss.1Sg-Sub ask.1Sg that send.Subj.2Pl the letter.Acc
 'I ask for the letter to be sent to my home address.'
- d. [?]*Péter mozi-ba* mondta, hogy megy.
 Péter cinema-III said that goes
 'Péter said that he goes to the cinema.'
- e. [?]*János az otthoni címem-re* ígérte, hogy küldi a levelet.
 János the home address.Poss.1Sg-Sub promised that sends the letter.Acc
 'Péter promised to send the letter to my home address.'

A secondary predicate with referential content can undergo regular topicalization:

- (85) *Az irodá-ba* PIZZAFUTÁR vitte az ebédet.
 the office-III pizza.deliverer took the lunch.Acc
 'To the office, the lunch was taken by a pizza deliverer.'

A verbal particle preposed into topic position can only be pronounced and interpreted as a contrastive topic:

- (86) *Fel* JÁNOS vitte a biciklit, *le* PÉTER.
 up János carried the bicycle.Acc down Péter
 'Upstairs, the bicycle was carried by János, downstairs, by Péter.'

4.5.2. Non-neutral sentences

4.5.2.1. Sentences with focus and/or negation

In sentences containing a focus or a negative particle, the verb modifier – verb order is reversed. (Interrogative *wh*-phrases, like that in (87a), occupy the focus position in Hungarian.)

- (87) a. *Ki festette be* a kerítést?
 who painted in the fence.Acc
 'Who painted up the fence?'
- b. *János A KERÍTÉST festette be.*
 János the fence.Acc painted in
 'It was the fence that János painted up.'
- c. *János nem festette be* a kerítést.
 János not painted in the fence.Acc
 'János didn't paint up the fence.'
- d. *János be-festette* a kerítést.
 János in-painted the fence.Acc
 'János painted up the fence.'

Movement into the focus position in the left periphery of the comment (87a,b) as well as negation (87c) elicit verb preposing across the verb modifier. Evidence for verb movement is provided by the fact that the adverbial adjuncts preceding the

extended verbal projection in neutral sentences (88a) surface postverbally in the case of focusing and/or negation (88b,c):

- (88) a. János "nagyon össze-veszett Mari-val.
 János very_much out-fell Mari-Ins
 'János fell out with Mari greatly.'
- b. JÁNOS *veszett* nagyon *össze* Mari-val.
 'It was János who fell out with Mari very much.'
- c. János nem *veszett* nagyon *össze* Mari-val.
 János not fell very_much out Mari -Ins
 'János didn't fall out with Mari very much.'
- d. %Nagyon JÁNOS *veszett* *össze* Mari-val.
 very_much János fell out Mari-Ins
- e. %János nagyon "nem *veszett* *össze* Mari-val.
 János very_much not fell out Mari-Ins

(88d,e) are ungrammatical with regular prosody. However, they can be acceptable if *nagyon* is pronounced as a contrastive topic, with a fall rise intonation. (88e) can also be saved by interpreting *nagyon* as an intensifier of the negative particle.

The focus and the negative particle can be present simultaneously. The negative particle can either precede or follow the focus, or can be present in both positions simultaneously. In each of these cases, the verb occupies the same position, preceding the extended verbal projection and following the focus and the negative particle(s). This indicates that Hungarian verb movement is unlike Germanic verb second; the verb only moves to the left edge of the neutral field; it does not enter the operator section.

- (89) a. János "nem A KERÍTÉST *festette* be.
 János not the fence.Acc painted in
 'It wasn't the fence that János painted up.'
- b. János A "KERÍTÉST nem *festette* be.
 'It was the fence that János didn't paint up.'
- c. János nem a "KERÍTÉST nem *festette* be.
 'It wasn't the fence that János didn't paint up.'

In the marked negative constructions below, the negative particle intervenes between the verbal particle and the verb:

- (90) a. János *be* nem *festené* a kerítést!
 János in not paint.Cond.3Sg the fence.Acc
 'János wouldn't paint up the fence.'
- b. Meg nem *mondom*, mi történt.
 Perf not tell.1Sg what happened
 'I can't tell what happened.'

- c. Várok, amíg meg nem érkezik mindenki.
wait.1Sg until Perf not arrives everybody
'I will wait until everybody arrives.'
- d. egy [be nem fejezett] / [nem be-fejezett] dolgozat
an in not completed / not in-completed paper
'a paper not completed'
- e. Jó volna [nem meg-buk-ni] / [nem buk-ni meg] / [meg nem buk-ni]
good be.Cond.3Sg not Perf-fail-Inf / not fail-Inf Perf / Perf not fail-Inf
'It would be good not to fail.'

In finite clauses, the optional 'verbal particle - negative particle - verb' order has assumed a special modal value; (90a) seems to contain an implicit *will*, whereas (90b) seems to contain an implicit *can*. The 'verb modifier - negative particle - verb' order is the unmarked option in subordinate clauses introduced by *amíg* 'until' (90c), although the regular 'negative particle - verb - verb modifier' order is also possible. In head-final participial relatives, either the 'verb modifier - negative particle - verb' order or the 'negative particle - verb modifier - verb' order is possible (90d). Other types of non-finite clauses allow not only these two options but also the standard 'negative particle - verb - verb modifier' order (90e).

4.5.2.2. Imperative and optative sentences

The verb precedes the verb modifier in imperative sentences (91):

- (91) a. Állj fel!
stand.Subj.2Sg up
'Stand up!'
- b. Legyen kint a kép a kirakat-ban?
be.Subj.3Sg outside the picture the shop_window-Ine
'Shall the picture be in the shop window?'
- c. Tekintsd tárgytalan-nak az ügyet!
consider.Subj.2Sg void-Dat the matter
'Consider the matter void!'
- d. Ne álljatok fel!
not stand.Subj.2Pl up
'Don't stand up!'
- e. Ne legyen kint a kép a kirakat-ban!
not be.Subj.3Sg outside the picture the shop_window-Ine
'The picture shall not be in the shop window!'
- f. Ne nézd hülyé-nek!
not take.Subj.DefObj.2Sg fool-Dat
'Don't take him for a fool!'

Rarely, the 'verb modifier - (*ne*) V' order occurs in imperative sentences as well. This order has also assumed a special pragmatic value in the case of imperatives; it

is used if the propositional basis of the imperative sentence is contextually or situationally given, that is, if it is a possibility under discussion (Varga 2013).

- (92) a. *El ne késs nekem!*
 off not be.late.Subj.2Sg Dat.1Sg
 ‘Don’t be late on me!’
- b. *Aztán be-add a pályázatot határidő-re!*
 then in-give.Subj.2Sg the application.Acc deadline-Sub
 ‘Do submit the application by the deadline!’

In optative sentences, the ‘verb modifier - verb’ order and the ‘verb - verb modifier’ order are equally possible:

- (93) a. *(Bár-)csak meg-látogatna minket!*
 if-only Perf-visit.Cond.3Sg us
 ‘If only he would visit us!’
- b. *(Bár-)csak látogatna meg minket!*

4.5.2.3. *The postverbal position of the verb modifier*

In sentences involving a ‘verb – (...) verb modifier’ order, the word order position of the verb modifier is determined by the fact that the order of major constituents in the postverbal section of the Hungarian sentence is free, but the optimal order is that obeying Behaghel’s Law of Growing Constituents (Behaghel 1932). That is, the phonologically heavier a constituent is, the closer it will be to the end of the clause, and the lighter it is, the closer it will be to the verb. Hence a postverbal verbal particle is likely to stand right-adjacent to the verb, except when it is two-syllabic and the postverbal constituents also include short, unstressed elements, e.g. personal pronouns. Thus the word order variants in (94a,b) are equally unmarked, but (95a) is preferred to (95b):

- (94) a. *János nem veszett össze vel-ük.*
 János not fell out Ins-3Pl
 ‘János didn’t fall out with them.’
- b. *János nem veszett velük össze.*
- (95) a. *Éva nem találta meg az elveszett karkötőt.*
 Éva not found Perf the lost bracelet.Acc
 ‘Éva did not find the lost bracelet.’
- b. *?Éva nem találta az elveszett karkötőt meg.*

In a type of non-neutral sentences, the verb modifier itself is focused. Since both the default position of the verb modifier and the position of the focus is immediately preverbal, and since both the verb modifier and the focus bear primary stress with the subsequent verb destressed, the focus position and focus function of a verb modifier is usually made clear contextually by an explicit contrast:

- (96) Péter *FEL* ment a lépcső-n, nem *LE*.
 Péter up went the stairs-Sup not down
 ‘Péter went upstairs, not downstairs.’

The assumption that the verbal particle in (96) has moved to the focus position in the left periphery of the comment, also taking the verb along, is supported by the fact that their position relative to manner adverbs has changed; whereas the ‘verb modifier - verb’ complex of a neutral sentence is preceded by a manner adverb (97a), the focused ‘verb modifier – verb’ complex is followed by it (97b).

- (97) a. Péter *lassan fel-ment* a lépcső-n.
 Péter slowly up-went the stair-Sup
 ‘Péter slowly went upstairs.’
 b. Péter *FEL-ment lassan* a lépcső-n, nem *LE*.

When a resultative or terminative verb modifier is focused, the sentence is aspectually ambiguous; it can be understood as an accomplishment with the result state attained (98a) or as a process in progress (98b) – presumably because the basis of focus movement can be either the telic, perfective pattern in (74) or the progressive pattern in (75).

- (98) a. Péter *FEL-ment* a lépcső-n 30 másodperc alatt, nem *LE* (*ment*).
 Péter up-went the stair-Sup 30 seconds in not down went
 ‘In 30 seconds, János went up the stairs, not down.’
 b. Péter *FEL-ment* a lépcső-n, nem *LE*, amikor a lábát törte.
 Péter up-went the stair-Sup not down when the leg.Poss.3Sg.Acc broke
 ‘Péter was going up the stairs, not down, when he broke his leg.’

4.6. Depictives

Not all predicative PPs form a complex predicate with the verb. Adjectives supplied with the morphemes *-an/en* and *-ul/ül*, the so-called depictives, are secondary predicates predicating a property of the subject or the object without semantically incorporating into the verb. Depictives are not selected by the primary predicate or by any sentence constituent, and from this perspective, they are adjuncts. Accordingly, they also figure in Section 7.3.4 of the chapter discussing PPs functioning as adjuncts. The distribution of *-an/en* and *-ul/ül* is lexically determined; *-an/en* is the default variant; *-ul/ül* can be productively combined with adjectives derived by the suffix *-tlan/tlen*, and with adjectives denoting languages.

- (99) a. Az orvos részeg-en vizsgálta meg a beteget.
 the doctor drunken-ly examined Perf the patient.Acc
 ‘The doctor examined the patient drunk.’
 b. Az orvos ügyetlen-ül vizsgálta meg a beteget.
 the doctor clumsy-ly examined Perf the patient.Acc
 ‘The doctor examined the patient clumsily.’

- c. Az orvos *meztelen-ül* vizsgálta meg a beteget.
 the doctor naked-ly examined Perf the patient.Acc
 ‘The doctor examined the patient naked.’
- d. Péter *német-ül* olvasta a regényt.
 Péter German-ly read the novel.Acc
 ‘Péter read the novel in German.’

Hungarian grammars treat *-an/en* and *-ul/ül* as derivational suffixes deriving adverbs from adjectives (see Chapter 2 Section 2.2.4.1.1). However, *-an/en* is clearly cognate with the superessive case ending *-on/en/ön*, and *-ul/ül* is clearly cognate with the shared *-l* element of the elative suffix *-ból/ből*, the delative *-ról/ről*, and the ablative *-tól/től*, hence it seems justified to analyze adjective + *-an/en* or *-ul/ül* complexes as PPs (as proposed by Kádár 2009).

Whether the depictive PP is predicated of the subject or the object of the clause is pragmatically determined. (99a) is ambiguous in this respect out of context; in (99b), the depictive is understood to be predicated of the subject, whereas in (99c,d) it is understood to be predicated of the object.

The preferred position of depictives is the preverbal focus position, as illustrated in (99a-d). In (99a-c), the focus position of the depictive is shown by the fact that it has elicited verb movement across the verb modifier. In the case of (99d), which contains no verb modifier, the focus position of the depictive becomes evident under negation: whereas a verb modifier is preceded by a negated verb, a focus remains preverbal, as is the case in (100).

- (100) János nem *német-ül* olvasta a regényt.
 János not German-ly read the novel.Acc
 ‘János didn’t read the novel in German.’

A depictive is slightly marked (but not ungrammatical) in positions other than focus, e.g.:

- (101) a. [?]Az orvos *részeg-en* meg-vizsgálta a beteget.
 the doctor drunken-ly Perf-examined the patient.Acc
 ‘The doctor examined the patient drunk.’
- b. [?]Az orvos meg-vizsgálta a beteget *részegen*.

The different word order variants do not disambiguate the sentence – although the topic-oriented interpretation is more likely in the case of the high depictive in (101a) than in the case of the low depictive in (101b).

The fact that depictives do not occupy the position of the verb modifier is in accordance with the semantic intuition that they are not incorporated into the verb semantically, i.e., they do not form a complex predicate with it.

4.7. Summary

Predicative PPs can function as secondary predicates forming a complex predicate with the verb. As such they occupy the immediately preverbal position in neutral sentences, reserved for a heterogeneous class of predicative elements known as verb

modifiers, where they are both semantically and prosodically incorporated into the verb. The predicative PP semantically incorporated into the verb is in most cases a verbal particle, but it can also be represented by an AP, NP or DP supplied with an oblique case ending or a postposition. Verbal particle + V complexes usually form a lexical unit, as well.

Verb modifiers play a resultative or terminative role in the default case. They combine with activity and process verbs; they predicate the resultant state or resultant location of the internal argument, thereby telicizing the base verb. A small subset of predicative PPs denote location; they form complex predicates with verbs of existence and spatial configuration.

In syntax, verb modifiers are independent constituents. In sentences containing a focus and/or negation, as well as in imperative and optative sentences, the verb is raised on its own, leaving the verb modifier behind. The verb modifier and the verb can be separated by intervening elements both in the case of ‘verb modifier, verb’ order, and in the case of ‘verb, verb modifier’ order. The ‘verb modifier - verb’ string can be broken up by an intervening emphatic particle, or by particle movement into topic position, or into the verb modifier position of a higher clause. The word order of major constituents in the postverbal section of the Hungarian sentence is syntactically free, but the optimal order is determined by Behaghel’s Law of Growing Constituents. That is, monosyllabic verb modifiers, among them verbal particles, tend to be right-adjacent to the verb, but longer verb modifiers may drift away from it.

Depictives are case-marked adjectives (AP+P complexes). They predicate a property of the subject or object of the clause without forming a complex predicate with the verb.

4.8. Bibliographical notes

The claim that the verbal particle+verb string, forming one unit semantically, prosodically and orthographically, is the sequence of two independent elements in syntax, was first put forth by Brassai (1863-65), then revived by É. Kiss (1977). The categorial status, the structural position, and the function of verbal particles and of verb modifiers, in general, has been a much discussed issue in the past decades – see, e.g., Ackermann (1984), Komlósy (1994), É. Kiss (2002; 2006a,b,c), Kiefer and Ladányi (2000b), Kiefer (2006), Kiefer and Németh (2012), Csirmaz (2006b), Surányi (2009a,c), Hegedűs (2014), etc. The issue of ‘particle climbing’ in non-finite constructions has been analyzed in various theoretical frameworks by Farkas and Sadock (1989), Koopman and Szabolcsi (2000), and in chapters of É. Kiss and Van Riemsdijk (eds.) (2004), among them Szendrői (2004). The syntactic behavior of dative-marked secondary predicates was studied by Ürögdi (2006). Kalivoda (2018, 2020) studies Hungarian verbal particles in a corpus-driven fashion.