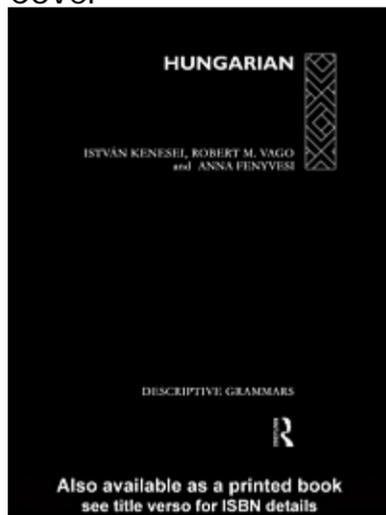


## Cover



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Hungarian

Hungarian is spoken by 14–15 million people worldwide. A unique language; completely unrelated to the languages of its neighboring countries, it boasts a grammar full of complex features and a vocabulary deriving largely from a Uralic stock.

The book covers the phonological inflectional and derivational morphology, syntax, and fundamental lexicon of Hungarian. It gives a detailed summary of both the sound systems and rich case systems of Hungarian and illustrates their various uses. It summarizes the main processes of word formation and gives a detailed account of the sentence structure and the ways of combining words into sentences. It also lists the basic vocabulary of Hungarian.

*Hungarian* addresses current issues in the description of languages and applies up-to-date research techniques to Hungarian. This is the first comprehensive descriptive grammar of the Hungarian language available in English, and will appeal to both the professional linguist and advanced learner of Hungarian alike.

**István Kenesei** is editor of the series *Approaches to Hungarian* and Professor of Linguistics at József Attila University, Hungary. **Robert M. Vago** is Professor of Linguistics and Chair of the Department of Linguistics at Queens College of the City University of New York. Previous publications include *The Sound Pattern of Hungarian* (1980). **Anna Fenyvesi** is a doctoral candidate at the University of Pittsburgh; she is currently teaching at József Attila University, Hungary.

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**Editorial statement**

Until quite recently, work on theoretical linguistics and work on language description proceeded almost entirely in isolation from one another. Work on theoretical linguistics, especially in syntax, concentrated primarily on English, and its results were felt to be inapplicable to those interested in describing other languages. Work on describing individual languages was almost deliberately isolationist, with the development of a different framework and terminology for each language or language group, and no feeding of the achievements of language description into linguistic theory. Within the last few years, however, a major rapprochement has taken place between theoretical and descriptive linguistics. In particular, the rise of language typology and the study of language universals have produced a large number of theoreticians who require accurate, well-formulated descriptive data from a wide range of languages, and have shown descriptive linguists that they can both derive benefit from and contribute to the development of linguistic theory. Even within generative syntax, long the bastion of linguistic anglocentrism, there is an increased interest in the relation between syntactic theory and a wide range of language types.

For a really fruitful interaction between theoretical and descriptive linguistics, it is essential that descriptions of different languages should be comparable. The *Questionnaire* of the present series (originally published as *Lingua*, vol. 42 (1977), no. 1) provides a framework for the description of a language that is (a) sufficiently comprehensive to cover the major structures of any language that are likely to be of theoretical interest; (b) sufficiently explicit to make cross-language comparisons a feasible undertaking (in particular, through the detailed numbering key); and (c) sufficiently flexible to encompass the range of variety that is found in human language. The volumes that were published in the predecessor to the present series, the *Lingua Descriptive Studies* (now available from Routledge), succeeded in bridging the gap between theory and description: authors include both theoreticians who are also interested in description and field-workers with an interest in theory.

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The aim of the Descriptive Grammars is thus to provide descriptions of a wide range of languages according to the format set out in the *Questionnaire*. Each language will be covered in a single volume. The first priority of the series is grammars of languages for which detailed descriptions are not at present available. However, the series will also encompass descriptions of better-known languages with the series framework providing more detailed descriptions of such languages than are currently available (as with the monographs on West Greenlandic and Kannada).

*Bernard Comrie*

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**Symbols and Abbreviations****CASES (abbreviated by first few letters capitalized):**

<i>Case</i>	<i>Marker</i>	<i>English equivalent</i>
ABLative	-tól/től	from
ACCusative	-t	(object)
ADEssive	-nál/nél	at
ALLative	-hoz/hez/höz	to
CAUsalis	-ért	for
DATive	-nak/nek	to, for
DELative	-ról/ről	off, about
ELAtive	-ból/ből	out of
ESSive	-ul/ül	as
(essive-)FORmal	-(ként), -képpen	as
ILLative	-ba/be	into
INEssive	-ban/ben	in
INStrumental	-val/vel	with
NOMinative	∅	(subject)
SUBlative	-ra/re	onto
SUPERessive	-on/en/ön/n	on
TERminative	-ig	up to, until
TRAnslative	-vá/vé	(change) into

**OTHER ABBREVIATIONS**

*A	A is ungrammatical or unacceptable
*(A)B	*B, AB is grammatical
(*A)B	*AB, B is grammatical
A(/)B	either A or B or both are grammatical
%A	A is grammatical for one dialect/sociolect/class of speakers
?A	A has questionable acceptability
1PL	first person plural
1SG	first person singular
2OBJ	verbal suffix expressing a second person object
2PL	second person plural
2SG	second person singular
3PL	third person plural

3SG	third person singular
ABL	ablative case
ACC	accusative case
ADE	adessive case
ADJDER	suffix deriving an adjective
ADV	adverbial derivational suffix (= '-ly')
AFX	(unspecified derivational) affix
ALL	allative case
APRT	active (present) participle
ATTR	-i (attributive suffix on postpositions, time adverbials, and placenames)
CAU	causal-final case
CAUS	causative derivational affix
CL	clitic
CMP	comparative suffix
COL	suffix marking collective plural
COM	comitative case
CON	conditional mood
COND	conditional auxiliary
DAT	dative case
DEF	definite object conjugation
DEL	delative case
DIM	diminutive suffix
DIS	distributive case
DUR	suffix deriving a durative verb
ELA	elative case
EMPH	emphasis marker
EMS	emphatic superlative prefix
ENPI	existential negative polarity item (= ca. <i>anything</i> )
ESS	essive case
FOR	(essive-)formal case
FPRT	future participle
FREQ	frequentative derivational affix
FUT	future
HABIT	auxiliary expressing present habitual action
ILL	illative case
IMP	imperative mood
INDEF	indefinite object conjugation
INE	inessive case
INF	infinitival suffix
INS	instrumental case
ITE	iterative case
ITER	suffix deriving iterative verb
LOC	locative case
MOD	modal case
MOE	modal-essive case
MUL	multiplicative case
NML	nominalizer (derivational) affix
NP	noun phrase
NPI	negative polarity item
ORD	suffix deriving an ordinal numeral
PAST	past tense suffix
PCVB	perfective converb (adverbial participle)
PERM	auxiliary expressing permission
PFX	preverbal prefix
PL	plural (suffix)
POS	nominal possessive suffix
POSS	possessive suffix
POT	suffix expressing potentiality
POTEN	auxiliary expressing potentiality
PPRT	passive (past) participle
PRIV	privative suffix
PROHIB	auxiliary expressing prohibition

PRT	particle
Q	yes-no question clitic
REFL	reflexivizing derivational affix
REL	relative pronoun
SCVB	simple/simultaneous converb (adverbial participle)
SEM	suffix deriving semelfactive verb
SG	singular
SPR	<i>leg-</i> , superlative prefix
SUB	sublative case
SUBJ	subjunctive
SUP	superessive case
TEM	temporal case
TER	terminative case
TRA	translative case
UNIQ	unique identification suffix
UNPI	universal negative polarity item (=ca. <i>"nothing"</i> )
UQ	universal quantifier
VBL	verbalizer (derivational) affix
VRB	verbal derivational affix
v.i.	intransitive verb
v.t.	transitive verb

**Orthographic and Phonemic Correspondences****VOWELS**

<i>Orthographic</i>	<i>Phonemic (see section 3.1.2.2)</i>
a	/a/
á	/a:/
e	/ɛ/
é	/e:/
i	/i/
í	/i:/
o	/o/
ó	/o:/
ö	/ø/
ő	/ø:/
u	/u/
ú	/u:/
ü	/y/
ű	/y:/

**CONSONANTS**

<i>Orthographic</i>		<i>Phonemic (see section 3.1.2.1)</i>
<i>Short</i>	<i>Geminate</i>	
b	bb	/b/
c	cc	/tʃ/
cs	ccs	/č/
d	dd	/d/
dz	ddz	/dʒ/
dzs	—	/j/
f	ff	/f/
g	gg	/g/
gy	ggy	/ɣ/
h	hh	/h/

j	jj	/j/
k	kk	/k/
l	ll	/l/
ly	lly	/j/
m	mm	/m/
n	nn	/n/
ny	nny	/ñ/
p	pp	/p/
q	—	/k/ (in foreign words only)
r	rr	/r/
s	ss	/š/
sz	ssz	/s/
t	tt	/t/
ty	tty	/c/
v	vv	/v/
w	—	/v/ (in foreign words only)
x	—	/b/ (in foreign words only)
y	—	/j/ (in foreign words only)
z	zz	/z/
zs	zzs	/ž/

**Introduction**

Hungarian is a Finno-Ugric language spoken mostly in and around Hungary by about 14–15 million people. Since the Magyar tribes came to occupy the Carpathian basin in the ninth century, the language has been present in this geographical area. It is the official language of the Republic of Hungary (population 10.1 million), and is used by minority speakers mostly in the Transylvanian region, but also in the lowlands as well as in the Moldavian region in Romania (ca. 1.6 million), along the southern borders of Slovakia (ca. 600,000), in the northern Vojvodina province of Yugoslavia (ca. 400,000), in the Transcarpathian region of Ukraine (ca. 160,000), in Croatia (ca. 30,000), in Slovenia (ca. 10,000), and the eastern province of Burgenland in Austria (ca. 35,000). In addition, there are immigrant communities in the western hemisphere (ca. 1 million), partly as a result of large-scale emigration—around the turn of the century to the United States, and during and after World War II, as well as after the 1956 revolution—to the USA, Canada, Australia, to Israel (ca. 200,000), and to several countries in Western Europe (ca. 250,000).

Hungarian is a remarkably uniform language as far as its dialects are concerned: there are practically no dialects that are not mutually intelligible to any of the others, although differences in pronunciation, morphology, vocabulary, and even syntax are sometimes remarkable. The main dialects are (from east to west): the *Csángó* (in eastern Romania), the *Sicule* (or *székely* in Transylvania), the *Lowlands* (*mezőségi* in north-western Romania), the *North-Eastern*, the *Tisza* (around Szeged), the *Northern* (in and just south of Eastern Slovakia), the *Southern* (in southern Transdanubia), the *Transdanubian*, and the *Western* (along the border with Austria).

The first charters written in part in Hungarian came down from the mid-eleventh century, while the first text, the “Sermon over the Sepulchre”, dates from 1211. Grammars were written as early as the seventeenth century and, following the foundation of the Academy of Sciences in 1828, historical and later descriptive studies of the language were published in large numbers. Linguists like Johann Sajnovics,

who discovered the relationship between Finno-Ugric languages before Sir William Jones's famous lecture on Sanskrit; Antal Reguly, Bernát Munkácsy, Joseph Budenz, who carried out research into the historical origins of the language; and Sámuel Brassai, János Fogarasi, József Szinnyei and Zsigmond Simonyi, whose work included extensive grammars and studies of the nature of the grammatical system of Hungarian.

In this grammar, much in accordance with others in this series, no comparisons with other languages are made, for example, to show whether they do or do not have the property or structure in question. All examples are given according to current orthography, except for forms where the affixes are connected with a hyphen. The phonetic values of the letters and letter combinations are given in the front material.

We have tried to represent what is best termed as "Standard Literary Hungarian", although we did not hesitate to include the usage of "Educated Colloquial Hungarian", mainly the language spoken in Budapest, the capital of the country, with about two million inhabitants. While we hope to have managed to steer clear of prescriptive issues, some have had to be tackled, especially if we judged the form in question to be grammatical, i.e., possible and actually used by speakers, but indeed nonstandard, as against one that was of questionable acceptability or used only in some dialect. Mention has also been made of forms no longer (widely) used, but understood by all speakers. Since Hungarian is a language making extensive use of a syntactic position reserved for contrastive focus, whenever such a construction is relevant, the focussed item is highlighted by **bold type**. In addition, since the distinction between definite and indefinite objective conjugation is again relevant, the inflection is glossed as "DEF" whenever the verb is in definite conjugation. If the verb is in the indefinite conjugation, its inflection is glossed as "INDEF", or is sometimes not glossed—in the latter cases it should be understood to be in the indefinite conjugation by default. No extensive references are given. Only major works or works used as sources are mentioned, since it would be impossible to do full justice to the entire literature on the grammar, vocabulary and phonology of Hungarian.

The individual chapters were written by the following authors: the chapters on syntax, ideophones and interjections, and the lexicon by István Kenesei (plus the section on derivational morphology); the chapter on phonology by Robert M.Vago; and the section on inflectional morphology by Anna Fenyvesi.

Finally, we wish to express our thanks and gratitude to all those who have helped us bring the work to this stage: to András Komlósy and Ádám Nádasdy, who read a previous version of the syntax chapter and the derivational morphology section thoroughly, helped eradicate a number of errors of judgment and description, called attention to possible

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1.1. GENERAL QUESTIONS

1.1.1. Sentence-types

1.1.1.1. *Direct and quoted speech*

There is no difference between direct and quoted speech; no quotative mood exists in the language, and, except for the somewhat archaic or literary *úgymond* 'thus speaks', there is no marker of quoted statements.

(1) Péter, úgymond, beteg volt.

Peter thus-speaks sick was

'It is said that Peter was sick.'

Moreover, except for the predictable changes in reference, there are no structural differences between direct and indirect speech as regards word order, modality or tense, as will be seen in 1.1.2.2–5 below.

1.1.1.2. *Interrogative sentences*

The two main question-types, question-word and yes-no questions, are differentiated by intonation, word-order, and the specific interrogative elements (question-word versus clitic) used, each discussed in turn below.

1.1.1.2.1. Yes-no questions

Yes-no questions have a characteristic rising-falling, i.e., low-high-low, intonation pattern, within which the first syllable of the question is low, the penultimate is the last one bearing high, and the last syllable of the question is low—if it has at least three syllables. If the question does not consist of more than two syllables, the final low may be omitted. For more, see 3.3.4.1 and Varga (1994).

**1.1.1.2.1.1. Neutral** The order of constituents in a neutral yes-no question does not differ from that seen in noninterrogatives, and it is a possible strategy—in fact, the most frequent strategy—to ask yes-no questions purely by changing the intonation in the manner described above.

- (2) a. Péter beteg volt.  
Peter sick was  
'Peter was sick.'  
b. Péter beteg volt?  
'Was Peter sick?'

In main clause yes-no questions it is possible to apply the clitic *-e* (marked by "Q" below), which is attached to the finite verb in Standard Literary Hungarian. The intonation is falling, i.e., the same as in declarative sentences. The meaning is not quite the same as in the simple intonational question, which qualifies as a common inquiry; the *-e* clitic in main clause questions presupposes some common ground or appears as drawing and ascertaining some inference. (The hyphen between the clitic and the verb is required by the rules of Hungarian orthography. Note that in general only the definite conjugation is glossed, the indefinite conjugation being the null case in most instances.)

- (3) a. Péter beteg volt-e?  
Peter sick was-Q  
'Was Peter (indeed) sick?'  
b. Anna Szeged-en dolgoz-ik-e?  
Anna Szeged-SUP work-3SG-Q  
'Does Anna (really) work in Szeged?'

Adjunction of the clitic to the negation word or the preverbal prefix (= PFX) immediately in front of the finite verb is widespread, though ostracized by purists. In both pairs of examples below, the standard forms are given under (a), then the nonstandard ones under (b), marked by the "%" sign.

- (4) a. Péter nem volt-e beteg?  
Peter not was-Q sick.  
b. % Péter nem-e volt beteg?  
'Wasn't Peter sick?'
- (5) a. Anna meg-talál-t-a-e a válasz-t?  
Anna PFX-find-PAST-3SG.DEF-Q the answer-ACC  
b. % Anna meg-e találta a választ?  
'Has Anna found the answer?'

The interrogative expletive *vajon* can occur optionally in both yes-no and question-word questions, with the slight meaning change that, if unaccompanied by the -e clitic, it carries less the meaning of an inquiry to another interlocutor than a question addressed to oneself. The presence of *vajon* does not change the intonation of the sentence determined by independent factors: falling in question-word questions and in yes-no questions containing -e, rising-falling in all other yes-no questions.

- (6) a. *Vajon* Anna megtalálta(-e) a választ?  
 b. Anna *vajon* megtalálta(-e) a választ?  
 c. Anna megtalálta(-e) *vajon* a választ?  
 d. Anna megtalálta(-e) a választ *vajon*?  
 'Has Anna found the answer?'

**1.1.1.2.1.2. Leading** Leading questions have no special structural characteristics; they contain the 'tag' *ugye* related to a combination of an adverbial and the question clitic: *úgy-e?* 'is it so?', originally appended to the end of a statement to elicit agreement. In current Hungarian, however, it can occur in any position in the sentence, whether it is positive or negative. Note that the question clitic cannot be used concurrently with *ugye*.

- (7) a. *Ugye* Anna meg-talalta a választ?  
 TAG Anna PFX-found.DEF the answer.ACC  
 b. Anna *ugye* megtalalta a választ?  
 c. Anna megtalalta *ugye* a választ?  
 d. Anna megtalalta a választ, *u.gye?*  
 'Anna has found the answer, hasn't she?'
- (8) a. *Ugye* Anna nem talalta meg a választ?  
 TAG Anna not found.DEF PFX the answer.ACC  
 b. Anna nem talalta meg a választ, *ugye?*  
 'Anna hasn't found the answer, has she?'

As indicated by the difference in punctuation, it is in the last example that the tag *ugye* indeed behaves as a tag: the statement has its characteristic falling intonation, while the tag has rise or rise-fall as in yes-no questions. In all the other examples, which have a regular yes-no question intonation, it is more like the optional question-word *vajon* 'whether' introduced in the previous section, although *vajon* is not used to induce agreement on the part of the listener.

In other strategies the sentence-final *ugye* can be replaced by *nem?* '(is it) not', *igaz* '(is it) true?', *nem igaz?* '(is it) not true?', or other expressions to the same effect.

**1.1.1.2.1.3. Alternative** The most common form of alternative questions consists of a positive first clause (with or without the question clitic), the conjunction *vagy* 'or' and what is an elliptic second clause: the negation word *nem* 'not' or, less frequently, *sem* 'neither'. It is always possible to use the more complete, nonelliptic version, which includes the finite verb (and/or whatever is focussed, see example (b); for more on focus, see 1.11). Note that while the question clitic is possible in the elliptic version, it is generally not acceptable in the full alternative question.

- (9) a. Anna meg-találta(-e) a választ vagy nem?  
Anna PFX-found-DEF-Q the answer or not  
'Did Anna find the answer or not?'
- b. Péter beteg volt(-e) vagy sem?  
Peter sick was-Q or not  
'Was Peter sick or not?'
- (10) a. Anna meg-találta (?\*-e) a választ vagy nem találta meg?  
'Did Anna find the answer or did she not find it?'
- b. Péter beteg volt vagy nem volt \*(beteg)?  
'Was Peter sick or was he not sick?'

Whereas it is, in principle, not unacceptable to repeat all the constituents of the first clause in the second one, it sounds unusually verbose and unnecessarily tautological. Note that the intonation of the alternative questions shows a rise (characteristic of "comma" intonation) over the first clause and a fall over the second one, thus demonstrating the correspondence between alternative questions and simple yes-no questions, whose identical intonation pattern is "compressed", as it were, over a single clause. Although a gradual descent is also viable, it is impossible to have a rise-fall pattern within the first clause of an alternative question.

Positive alternatives are also possible in this type of question.

- (11) a. Péter beteg volt vagy egészséges?  
Peter sick was or healthy  
'Was Peter sick or healthy?'
- b. Anna megtalálta a választ vagy meg-buk-ott?  
Anna PFX.found.DEF the answer.ACC or PFX-flunk-PAST  
'Did Anna find the answer or did she flunk?'

## 1.1.1.2.2. Question-word questions

By way of introduction, the most conspicuous property of this question-type is the movement of (the phrase containing) the question-word into a position immediately in front of the finite verb (though not necessarily into a clause-initial position) in both main and dependent clauses. The issue will be discussed in more detail in 1.1.1.2.2.2. They are also set apart from yes-no and echo-questions by a falling intonation pattern. Although *vajon* 'whether' can be freely used, the clitic *-e* is not allowed. (But recall 1.1.1.2.1.1 for the gloss on *vajon*.)

- (12) Anna (*vajon*) mit talált(\*-e) meg?  
 Anna whether what.ACC found-Q PFX  
 'What did Anna find?'

**1.1.1.2.2.1. Elements questioned**

1.1.1.2.2.1.1. *Constituents of the main clause* Any case-marked constituent of the main clause can be questioned since the case paradigm is generally available to the question-words.

- (13) Ki/ki-nek/mi-ben/mi-hez/mi-vel... találta  
 who/who-DAT/what-INE/what-ADE/what-INS found.DEF  
 meg a választ?  
 PFX the answer.ACC  
 'Who/For whom/In what/For what/With what...(did she)  
 find/found the answer?'

NPs in semantically more restricted cases, however, cannot be questioned, just like certain postpositional phrases to be seen below. That includes standards of comparisons introduced by the complementizer-like *mint* 'as, than'. But since there is another comparative strategy available, which makes use of a case-marked NP, there is no "syntactic gap" at this point.

- (14) a. Anna gyerek-estül jött.  
 Anna child-together.with came  
 'Anna came with (her) child(ren).'  
 b. Péter angol-ul beszélt.  
 Peter English-in spoke  
 'Peter spoke in English.'
- (15) a. \*Anna ki/mi-stül jött?  
 who/what

- b. \*Péter mi/milyen-ül beszélt?  
what/what.like
- (16) a. Péter beteg-ebb volt mint Anna  
Peter sick-COMP was than Anna  
'Peter was more sick than Anna.'
- b. \*Péter mint ki volt betegebb?
- (17) a. Péter betegebb volt Anná-nál  
Anna-ADE  
'Peter was more sick than Anna.'
- b. Péter ki-nél volt betegebb?  
'Who was Peter more sick than?'

Other constituents of the main clause, traditionally classified as adverbials, can also be questioned by means of an array of question-words, such as *hol* 'where', *honnan* 'where from', *hová* 'where to', *hogyan* 'how', *miért* 'why', *hányszor* 'how many times', etc. For more on interrogative pronouns, see 2.1.2.6.

Finally, the (agentive) predicate can be questioned by the predictable construction *mit csinál?* 'what do.3SG?=what is s/he doing?'

1.1.1.2.2.1.2. *Constituents of the subordinate clause* Question-words in finite argument clauses of the class of verbs that allow the constituents of their complement clauses to move into the main clause (i.e., 'bridge verbs') can be raised into the main clause. Since the order of constituents is relatively free, there is no difference between the availability of constituents for questions. Note, however, that raised question-words for embedded subjects undergo a "case change" from nominative to accusative.

- (18) a. Mikor-ra akar-od, hogy Anna meg-talál-j-a a  
when-SUB want-DEF.2SG that Anna PFX-find-SUBJ-DEF the  
választ?  
answer.ACC  
'(By) when do you want Anna to find the answer?'
- b. Péter mit akar, hogy Anna meg-talál-j-on?  
Peter what.ACC want.3SG that Anna PFX-find.-SUBJ-3SG  
'What does Peter want Anna to find?'

- c. Péter ki-t akar, hogy első-nek ér-j-en  
Peter who-ACC want.3SG that first-DAT reach-SUBJ-3SG  
ide?  
here

'Who does Peter want to arrive here first?'

Infinitival clauses allow any of their constituents to be questioned, since their constituents can in most cases be freely dispersed in main clauses. The question-words are again placed in front of the inflected verb in the main clause.

- (19) Ki/ki-nek/mi-ben/mi-hez/mi-vel/hol/hogyan...  
who/who-DAT/what-INE/what-ADE/what-INS/where/how  
akar-t-a meg-talál-ni a választ?  
want-PAST-DEF.3SG PFX-find-INF the answer  
'Who/For whom/In what/For what/With what/Where/  
How/...(did she) want(ed) to find the answer?'

1.1.1.2.2.1.3. *Constituents of the noun phrase* Various constituents in noun phrases can be questioned by (i) moving the entire noun phrase in front of the finite verb, a case of pied-piping.

- (20) a. Milyen/Hány választ talált meg Anna?  
what/how.many answer.ACC found PFX Anna  
'What/How many answer(s) did Anna find?'
- b. A [ki által adott] választ találta meg Anna?  
the who by given answer.ACC found.DEF PFX Anna  
'The answer given by whom did Anna find?'=ca. 'Whose  
answer did Anna find?'
- c. [Ki által adott] válaszokat talált Anna?  
who by given answers.ACC found Anna  
'Answers given by whom did Anna find?'=ca. 'What answers  
did Anna find?' [Reply with respect to names of persons that  
gave the answers in question.]

Note that (20c) is perfectly acceptable in Hungarian as a "plain" question-word question, although its English gloss is downright ungrammatical.

The "questionable" constituents of NPs include demonstrative, numeral, and various adjectival phrases with a wide range of semantic options referring to size, quality, etc. (cf. 1.2.5.2).

- (21) Melyik/Milyen/Mennyi/Mekkora/Milyen jó...választ  
 which/what/how.many/how.big/how good answer  
 talált(a) Anna?  
 found(DEF) Anna  
 'Which/What/How many/How big/How good...answer(s)  
 did Anna find?'

(ii) Question-words in the possessor position in NPs can move (a) the entire NP into preverbal position, (b) or move out of the possessive NP into the preverbal position, leaving the rest of the NP behind. Note that possessed nominals can also be questioned, whether (c) as a whole or (d) some parts thereof. (For more on possessive NPs, see below in 1.10.)

- (22) a. [Ki-nek a kulcs-á-t] találta meg Anna?  
 who-DAT the key-POSS.3SG-ACC found.DEF PFX Anna  
 'Whose key did Anna find?'  
 b. [Ki-nek] találta meg Anna [a kulcs-á-t]  
 'Whose key did Anna find?'  
 c. Anná-nak mi-jé-t találta meg Péter?  
 Anna-DAT what-POSS.3SG-ACC found.DEF PFX Peter  
 'What of Anna's (=What that belongs to Anna) did Peter find?'  
 d. Anná-nak melyik kulcs-á-t találta meg Péter?  
 Anna-DAT which key-POSS.3SG-ACC found.DEF PFX Peter  
 'Which key of Anna's did Peter find?'

1.1.1.2.2.1.4. *Constituents of the postpositional phrase* Postpositional phrases all contain NPs, and all that was said in the previous section on NPs holds for these PPs as well. PPs have two subtypes: one that assigns (oblique) case to its NP, the other that does not; both allow pied-piping, however—at least in some dialects. Some speakers accept the latter type when separated only if the meaning is metaphorical (see (23d) below). In this case the construction becomes similar to a possessive noun phrase in that the dative-marked object of postposition is related to the possessive-marked postposition left behind.

- (23) a. [Melyik fiú-val együtt] jött Anna?  
 which boy-INS together came Anna  
 'With which boy did Anna come?'  
 b. %[Melyik fiú-val] jött együtt Anna?  
 c. [Mekkora fiú mögött] áll Anna?  
 what.size boy behind stands Anna  
 'Behind a boy of what size is Anna standing?'

- d. [Mekkora fiú-nak] áll Anna mögött-e?  
what.size boy-DAT stands Anna behind-POSS  
'Who is Anna standing behind (=support)?'

Some semantically restricted postpositional phrases, just like their case-marked counterparts, cannot be questioned.

- (24) a. Péter elnök gyanánt viselkedett.  
Peter chairman like behaved  
'Peter behaved like a chairman.'  
b. \*Péter mi gyanánt viselkedett?  
what like

1.1.1.2.2.1.5. *Constituents of coordinate structures* Constituents of coordinate structures cannot be questioned in genuine questions, in distinction to echo-questions, which allow one of their elements to be a question-word (see below).

1.1.1.2.2.1.6. *Multiple question-words* Multiple question-words are possible in Hungarian in three arrangements.

(i) They can all be lined up in front of the finite verb with no restriction on their relative order as to grammatical functions, but there is a preference for more specific question-words to be placed in front of less specific ones. Note that the series of question-words (or phrases containing them) cannot be interrupted by a phrase not containing one.

- (25) a. Ki mi-t hol talált meg?  
who what-ACC where found PFX  
'Who found what where?'  
b. (?) Mit hol ki talált meg?  
c. \*Hol Anna mit talált meg?

(ii) If the frame of reference of the multiple question is not unlimited, but is some specific domain—such as the events within a movie or a novel—it is possible for only one of the question-words to be placed preverbally with the rest of them left in postverbal positions. There is also a difference of interpretation accompanying the structural difference. In the standard case the pairs (or n-tuples) of individuals satisfying the variables in the question-words are, in some sense, unrestricted; in the case where only one of the question-words moves, the question concerns a specific pair (or n-tuple) of individuals that constitute the satisfactory answer (cf. É.Kiss 1994).

- (26) a. A mesében ki ki-t talált meg?  
the story-INE who who-ACC found PFX  
b. A mesében ki talált meg ki-t?  
'Who found who in the story?'

(iii) The somewhat uninteresting type of multiple question in which the question-words are in a coordinate construction is also possible. In this case the answer is expected to be similarly coordinated and not a list of paired items. Note that the conjoined second question-word can also be placed clause-finally.

- (27) a. A: Ki és hol találta meg a választ?  
who and where found.DEF PFX the answer  
b. A: Ki találta meg a választ és hol?  
'Who found the answer and where?'  
c. B: Péter és egy könyv-ben (találta meg a választ).  
Peter and a book-INE  
'Peter found it and (he found it) in a book.'

**1.1.1.2.2.2. The position of question-words** Question-words (or the phrases containing them) must be placed immediately to the left of the finite verb, a position generally identified with focus. Characteristically, preverbal question-words, in effect, remove verbal prefixes from the usual place they occupy in neutral sentences. The only exception to the adjacency of the question-word and the inflected verb is when the verb is negated, in which case the negation word is interpolated between the question-word (and, in general, the usual focus site) and the finite verb. (For more on focus, see 1.11.)

- (28) a. Hol talál-t-a meg Anna a választ?  
where found-PAST-DEF.3SG PFX Anna the answer.ACC  
'Where did Anna find the answer?'  
b. \*Hol meg-találta Anna a választ?  
c. Ki nem találta meg a választ?  
who not  
'Who did not find the answer?'

In infinitival clauses, however, the cooccurrence of what is formally a question-word and the prefix in front of the verb is not ruled ungrammatical, but the resulting meaning is not one of a subordinate question but that of a negative clause. The backshifted prefix, on the other hand, preserves the interrogative sense, though the construction does not appear to be productive.

- (29) a. Nem tud-om [hol el-rejte-ni a választ]  
not know-DEF.1SG where PFX-hide-INF the answer.ACC  
'I can't hide the answer anywhere.'
- b. Nem tudom [hol talál-ni meg a választ]  
'I don't know where to find the answer.'

As was illustrated above, the preverbal position of question-words is not necessarily an initial one. Since, except for the question-word-finite verb adjacency requirement, the order of constituents is free, any (or all) other elements can be placed preverbally or postverbally, all other things being equal, without any relevant meaning difference.

- (30) a. Tegnap Anna a kulcsot hol találta meg?  
yesterday Anna the key.ACC where found.DEF PFX  
'Where did Anna find the key yesterday?'
- b. Hol találta meg tegnap a kulcsot Anna?  
'Where did Anna find the key yesterday?'

The only additional ordering requirement this question-type has to observe consists in the prohibition against preposing any quantifiers in front of (the phrase containing) the question-word. Note that *senki* is a so-called negative polarity item, which requires clausemate negation of the predicate, indicated by the negative in parentheses below.

- (31) a. \*Mindenki/Senki/Sok ember mit (nem) talált?  
every one/no one/many people what.ACC not found
- b. Mit talált mindenki/sok ember?  
'What did everyone/many people find?'
- c. Mit nem talált senki sem?  
'What did no one find?'

#### 1.1.1.2.3. Echo-questions

All echo-questions, whether yes-no or question-word echo-questions, are characterized by a rise-fall, i.e., general yes-no question, intonation pattern—usually distributed onto each major constituent.

**1.1.1.2.3.1. Yes-no echo-questions** Yes-no echo-questions have no special properties; they repeat all or part of the statement made by the speaker, including the focus if any, with the predictable changes in deixis. In echo-questions of neutral statements no adjunct may be included unless arguments are also present, as illustrated by the multiple parentheses below. Note that, although a different order of constituents is

possible in the statement, arguments still have priority of occurrence over adjuncts in the echo-question.

- (32) a. A: Megtaláltam a választ a kérdésére  
found.DEF.1SG the answer the his.question.SUB  
tegnap.  
yesterday  
'I found the answer to his question yesterday.'
- b. B: Megtaláltad (a választ (a kérdésére (tegnap)))?  
found.DEF.2SG  
'You found it?/You found the answer (to his question (yesterday))?'

In echo-questions to focussed statements the focus has to be repeated. Only if it stands by itself can the focussed constituent have the question clitic attached to it. This last version can convey an indication of disbelief. (Focus here and throughout is marked by bold type.)

- (33) a. A: **Tegnap** találtam meg a választ a kérdésére.  
found.DEF.1SG PFX  
'I found the answer to his question **yesterday**.'
- b. B: **Tegnap** (találtad meg (a választ (a kérdésére)))?  
'(You found it/the answer (to his question)) **yesterday**?'
- c. B: **Tegnap**-e (\*találtad meg...)?  
'So it was yesterday, wasn't it?'

**1.1.1.2.3.2. Question-word echo-questions** Question-word echo-questions are like genuine question-word questions; that is, all question-words have to be placed preverbally, except that their intonation is that of yes-no questions, and they can optionally be introduced by the general tensed subordinate complementizer *hogy* 'that'.

- (34) a. A: Anna megtalálta a választ.  
Anna PFX.found.DEF the answer.ACC  
'Anna found the answer.'
- b. B: (Hogy) Anna **mit** talált meg?  
that Anna what.ACC found PFX  
'Anna found what?'
- (35) a. A: Anna mikor találta meg a választ?  
when  
'When did Anna find the answer?'

- b. B: (Hogy) Anna **mit** mikor talált meg?  
'When did Anna find what?'

The optional focal stress on the question-words is represented by bold type in the above examples.

Question-word echo-questions show a greater liberty in the range of questionable constituents embedded in NPs than genuine question-word questions. Note again that the only difference between an echo and a genuine question interpretation is in the intonation, though we will mark echo-questions also by highlighting the question-word in bold.

- (36) a. *Echo*  
Anna [a **[hol olvasó]** fiú-k-at] látta?  
Anna the where reading boy-PL-ACC saw.DEF.3SG  
'Anna saw the boys reading where?'
- b. *Genuine*  
\*Anna [a hol olvasó fiúkat] látta?

This property of question-word echo-questions associates them closer with focussed structures than with genuine question-word questions, since the positions accessible for such echo-questions are all available to focussing too. Note that indefinite (or, more exactly, nonspecific) NPs allow genuine question-words in the same position ruled out in definite NPs. (Of course these questions can have echo-question readings as well. For answers, see below in 1.1.1.2.4.1.2.)

- (37) *Genuine*  
Anna [[hol olvasó] fiú-k-at] látott?  
Anna where reading boy-PL-ACC saw.3SG  
'For what place x, did Anna see boys reading at x?'

**1.1.1.2.3.3. Yes-no question echo-questions** Yes-no question echo-questions repeat the speaker's question usually prefixed with the complementizer *hogy* 'that' and using the obligatory question clitic *-e*.

- (38) a. A: Be-mész az iskolá-ba?  
PFX-go.2SG the school-ILL  
'Are you going in the school?'
- b. B: (Hogy) Be-megyek \*(-e) az iskolá-ba?  
that PFX-go.1SG -Q the school-ILL  
'Am I going in the school?'

**1.1.1.2.3.4. Question-word question echo-questions** Question-word question echo-questions again can make use of the complementizer *hogy* and they are also differentiated from their genuine question counterparts

by a rising-falling intonation pattern. Similarly to genuine question-word questions, the use of the clitic -e is prohibited here.

- (39) a. A: Hová mész?  
 where go.2SG  
 'Where are you going?'  
 b. B: (Hogy) Hová megyek?  
 that where go.1SG  
 'Where am I going?'

**1.1.1.2.3.5. Restrictions on echo-questions** Restrictions on echo-questions are less extensive than those on genuine questions. It follows from the foregoing that all elements that can be questioned by genuine question-word questions can be subject to echo-questioning as well. No question-word can, however, remain inside tensed clauses, and when they cannot be extracted for independent reasons the structures are ungrammatical, whether they are genuine or echo-questions. (The extraction site is marked by *t*.)

- (40) a. Anna megtalálta [azt az embert [aki Pétert  
 Anna PFX.found.DEF that the man.ACC who Peter.ACC  
 látt-a]]  
 saw-DEF.3SG  
 'Anna has found the man who saw Peter.'  
 b. \*Anna kit talált meg [azt az embert [aki *t* látott/látta]]  
 who.ACC found PFX saw.INDEF/DEF  
 '\*Who did Anna find the man who saw?'  
 c. \*Anna [azt az embert [aki **kit** látott]] talált meg?  
 'Anna has found the man who saw who?'

Thus both the genuine and the echo-question are unacceptable if the question-word that has main clause scope is inside the relative, or for that matter, the complement clause.

**1.1.1.2.3.6. Multiple echo-questions** Multiple echo-questions have the same form as question-word echo-questions discussed in 1.1.1.2.3.2, except that all question-words are equally stressed. The illustration below makes use of a focussed statement, which is a better basis for a multiple echo-question than a neutral one. The only difference between this one and a corresponding genuine multiple question lies in the intonation.

- (41) a. A: Anna a kulcsot **tegnap** találta meg  
 Anna the key.ACC yesterday found.DEF PFX  
 'Anna found the key **yesterday**.'

- b. B: Ki mit **mikor** talált meg?  
 who what.ACC when found PFX  
 'Who found what when?'

It is possible also in case of echo-questions to leave one or more question-words in postverbal position(s). In this case the echo-question conveys a sense of disagreement or disbelief. Note that the rise-fall pattern distributed over the final two syllables above is compressed onto the single syllable of the accented question-word below.

- (42) a. A: Anna megtalálta Pétert.  
 Anna PFX.found.DEF Peter.ACC  
 'Anna found Peter.'  
 b. B: (Hogy)**ki** talált meg **kit**?  
 that who found PFX who.ACC  
 'Who found who?'

**1.1.1.2.3.7. The behavior of different questioned elements** Different questioned elements do not behave in a way distinct from genuine question-word questions, see 1.1.1.2.2.1.

#### 1.1.1.2.4. Answers

**1.1.1.2.4.1. Answers and speech acts** Answers are not marked as distinct speech acts.

1.1.1.2.4.1.1. *Answers to yes-no questions* Answers to yes-no questions can always be a simple *igen* 'yes' or *nem* 'no'. (See also below in 1.1.1.2.4.2.)

In addition to these minimal answers, there are various options depending on the structure of the question. An answer may repeat (i) the focussed constituent if any, whether in its original form or as a coreferential pronominal. The minimal answers *igen* and *nem* are illustrated only in this subgroup, but they are possible alternatives all through.

- (43) a. A: Anna **a kulcsot** találta meg?  
 Anna the key.ACC found.DEF PFX  
 'Did Anna find **the key**?'  
 b. B: **A kulcsot.**  
 c. B: **Azt.**  
 it.ACC  
 'Yes, she did/found it.'

d. B: Igen.  
'yes'

(43) e. B: Nem.  
'no'

(ii) The verbal prefix can also be repeated:

(44) a. A: Anna **meg**-találta a kulcsot?  
b. B: **Meg.**  
'She has.'

(iii) If any, the verbal modifier (noun with no article, simple adjective, adverbial, etc.) is repeated, possibly in a pronominal version as an alternative. For more on verbal modifiers, see 1.2.1.2.6.

(45) a. A: Anna **könyv-et** olvas?  
Anna book-ACC reads  
'Is Anna reading a book?'  
b. B: **Könyvet.**  
book.ACC  
'Yes/She is.'

c. B: **Azt.**  
it.ACC

(46) a. A: Péter **beteg** volt?  
Peter sick was  
'Was Peter sick?'

b. B: **Beteg.**  
'sick'

c. B: **Az.**  
'it'

(47) a. A: Anna **jól** érzi magát?  
Anna well feels herself.ACC  
'Is Anna feeling well?'

b. B: **Jól.**  
'well'

(48) a. A: Péter **haza**-ment?  
Peter home-went  
'Has Peter gone home?'

b. B: **Haza.**  
'home'

(iv) If, finally, none of the above is present, the finite verb is repeated in answer to the yes-no question.

- (49) a. A: Anna **talált** érdekes könyveket tegnap a bolt-ban?  
Anna found interesting books.ACC yesterday the shop-INE  
'Did Anna find interesting books in the shop yesterday?'  
b. B: **Talált.**  
found.3SG  
'She did.'  
c. B: \*Anna talált tegnap.  
d. B: Talált érdekes könyveket tegnap a boltban.  
e. B: Anna **talált** érdekes könyveket tegnap a bolt-ban  
'Anna found interesting books in the shop yesterday.'

As is indicated by the bold type, in cases (ii)–(iv) above it is also the focussed constituent that is repeated in the answer, suggesting that whenever no other constituent of the clause is focussed, the prefix, the verbal modifier, or, in their absence, the finite verb itself is emphasized in yes-no questions.

Whereas the rest of the question can be repeated in each case above without making the answer totally unacceptable, it is the entire sentence (or the sentence without the topic constituent(s) placed to the left of the focus) that has to reoccur in the answer, though it always sounds awkward or tautological. Note that in yes-no questions no pro-drop of the subject or the object is possible, thus a "truncated" answer, as in the (c) or (d) examples above, is unacceptable—in contrast with what is discussed directly below.

1.1.1.2.4.1.2. *Answers to question-word questions* Answers to question-word questions generally consist of the constituent that satisfies the question-word. It is again technically possible to give a "full answer" with the caveat above, and then the answer follows the structure of the question. That is, since question-words are placed preverbally, the corresponding constituents in answers must occur in the same preverbal position, otherwise the answer will be ungrammatical.

- a. A: Anna **mit** talált?  
Anna what.ACC found  
'What did Anna find?'
- b. B: **Kulcsot.**  
key.ACC  
'A key.'
- c. B: Anna **kulcsot** talált.  
'Anna found a key.'
- d. B: \*Anna talált kulcsot.

Repeating the initial, i.e., pre-focus, constituent, as in examples (e) and (f) below, can yield some kind of multiple contrast to be discussed in 1.12. Note, however, that Hungarian is a "pro-drop" language; thus subjects (as well as singular definite objects) can be omitted under identity. Also note the curious case of the unacceptable (d) sentence, and example (g), in which the order is changed except for the adjacent answer (=focussed) constituent and the verb.

- (51) a. A: A kulcsot mikor találta meg Anna?  
the key.ACC when found.DEF PFX Anna  
'When did Anna find the key?'
- b. B: Tegnap.  
'yesterday'
- c. B: Tegnap találta meg.  
'She found it yesterday.'
- d. B: Tegnap találta meg Anna.
- (51) e. B: A kulcsot tegnap találta meg.  
'She found the key yesterday.'
- (51) f. B: A kulcsot tegnap találta meg Anna.  
'Anna found the key yesterday.'
- (51) g. B: Anna tegnap találta meg a kulcsot.  
'Anna found the key yesterday.'

In answer to question-word questions that contain the question-word inside some constituent, the entire constituent in question must in principle be repeated, with the answer proper filling in for the place of the question-word. Since, however, the head noun and the phrases adjoined to it can be omitted, it is often the case that the questioned constituent is given in the answer and it carries the case suffix of the entire NP.

- (52) a. A: Anna milyen kulcsot talált?  
Anna what key.ACC found  
'What key did Anna find?'
- b. B: Hosszú kulcs-ot.  
long key-ACC
- c. B: Hosszú-t.  
long-ACC  
'A long one.'
- (53) a. A: Anna hány hosszú kulcs-ot talált?  
how.many long key-ACC  
'How many long keys did Anna find?'
- b. B: Négy hosszú kulcs-ot.  
four long key-ACC.  
'Four long keys.'
- c. B: \*Négy hosszú-t.
- d. B: Négy-et.  
four-ACC  
'Four ones.'

In answer to questions containing question-words embedded in prenominal (nonfinite) clauses, the entire nonfinite clause has to be repeated, though the head noun can be omitted again, cf. 1.1.1.2.3.1.

- (54) a. A: Anna [[hol olvasó] fiú-k-at] látott?  
Anna where reading boy-PL-ACC saw.3SG  
'For what place x, did Anna see boys reading at x?'
- b. B: Könyvtár-ban olvasó (fiú)-k-at (látott).  
library-INE reading boy-PL-ACC  
'(She saw) boys reading in a library.'

1.1.1.2.4.1.3. *Answers to echo-questions* Answers to echo-questions follow the pattern established for answers to (genuine) question-word questions.

**1.1.1.2.4.2. Minimal answers to yes-no questions** Minimal answers to positive yes-no questions other than repetitions of elements of the question can be given by means of *igen* 'yes', *nem* 'no, not', as well as a number of other words and expressions, such as *esetleg*, *talán* 'perhaps', *lehet* 'maybe', *biztos* 'sure, probably', etc.

Minimal answers to negative yes-no questions are given by *nem* 'no, not', which means agreement with the negative assertion, or *de igen* 'but

yes', *dehogynem* 'but of course', which convey disagreement with the negative assertion.

- (55)
- a. A: Péter nem volt beteg?  
Peter not was sick  
'Wasn't Peter sick?'
  - b. B: Nem, (nem volt beteg)  
'No (he wasn't sick).'
  - c. B: De igen/Dehogynem (beteg volt)  
'Yes (he was).'

Minimal answers to question-word questions have been discussed above.

### 1.1.1.3. Imperative sentences

#### 1.1.1.3.1. The form of the imperative

The imperative form is distinguished by means of an affix *-j*. The imperative marker is, however, not distinct from the subjunctive, leading to much confusion in grammars of Hungarian. Part of the problem is due to the fact that in addition to "primary" imperatives in second person singular and plural, and the secondary, though transparent, first person plural imperative, polite or formal second person (like French *vous*, Italian *Lei*, German *Sie*) is realized in this language by use of third person verb-forms, making the imperative paradigm almost complete. On the other hand, verb-forms essentially identical with the imperative are used in subordination (see below). The subjunctive will be discussed in 1.1.2.2.5.

**1.1.1.3.1.1. The uses of the imperative** The imperative affix is *-j*, which assimilates in a number of well-defined cases to the preceding sound. For more on the morphological paradigm, see 2.1.3.4.3. Since Hungarian is a pro-drop language, subject pronouns are not expressed in the default case in imperative sentences either.

- (56)
- a. Másol-j egy kulcs-ot!  
copy-IMP a key-ACC  
'Copy (2SG) a key.'
  - b. Másol-j-atok egy kulcsot!  
copy-IMP-2PL  
'Copy (2PL) a key.'
  - c. Másol-j-unk egy kulcsot!  
copy-IMP-1PL  
'Let's copy a key.'

- d. Másol-j-on egy kulcsot!  
copy-IMP-3SG  
'Copy (2SG, formal/distant) a key.'
- e. Másol-j-anak egy kulcsot!  
copy-IMP-3PL  
'Copy (3PL, formal/distant) a key.'

Although the "missing link"—that is, the first person singular—formally does exist and is used in subordinate sentences, since it is uninterpretable as a main clause, it is simply ungrammatical. The "suggestion" sense of first person imperatives is carried by a special form relying on *hadd* originally meaning 'let, allow (IMP-2SG)'.

- (57) a. \*Másol-j-ak egy kulcsot!  
copy-IMP-1SG a key.ACC  
b. Hadd másol-j-ak egy kulcsot!  
'Let me copy a key.'

Note, however, that the third person forms of the imperative can have a straightforward third person use in the "suggestion" or subjunctive sense.

- (58) a. Másol-j-on Anna egy kulcsot!  
copy-IMP-3SG Anna a key.ACC  
'Let Anna copy a key.'
- b. Másol-j-anak a fiúk egy kulcsot!  
copy-IMP-3PL the boys a key.ACC  
'Let the boys copy a key.'

**1.1.1.3.1.2. Degrees of the imperative** Different degrees of the imperative are available for prefix+verb combinations, in which the position of the prefix is variable according to the force of the imperative. Thus, in second persons the standard or default imperative has the prefix in postverbal position. If, however, the prefix is in its otherwise usual preverbal location, the imperative is understood as a threat and the intonation is rising instead of the fall normal for imperatives.

- (59) a. Másol-j le egy kulcsot!  
copy-IMP PFX a key.ACC  
'Copy a key.'
- b. Le-másol-j egy kulcsot!  
'Copy a key, or...'

In other persons, in particular in the first person singular, this variation carries a different force, since the imperative is out of the question here. If used as an interrogative and the prefix is postverbal, it is a kind of

echo-question to an imperative with an accompanying rising intonation on each major constituent.

- (60) a. A: Másol-j le egy kulcsot!  
'Copy a key.'
- b. B: Másol-j-ak le egy kulcsot?  
copy-IMP-1SG  
'(You want me to) copy a key?'

Whether the prefix is placed preverbally or postverbally, the question is understood as an offer, and the intonation shows the usual rise-fall pattern of yes-no questions.

- (61) a. Le-másol-j-ak egy kulcsot?  
'Shall I copy a key?'
- b. Másol-j-ak le egy kulcsot?  
'Shall I copy the key?'

**1.1.1.3.2.1. Negative imperatives** Negative imperatives are formed by placing the imperative/subjunctive version of the negation word *ne* 'not' in front of the inflected verb. For persons available in the negative paradigm, see the positive paradigm in 1.1.1.3.1.1.

- (62) a. Ne másol-j kulcs-ot!  
Ne másol-j kulcs-ot!  
not copy-IMP key.ACC  
'Don't copy a key.'
- b. Ne másol-j-unk kulcsot!  
copy-IMP-1PL  
'Don't let's copy a key.'

**1.1.1.3.2.2. Degrees of negative imperative** Degrees of negative imperative are available according to the pattern seen in positive imperatives, except that the negative element must be different for reasons to be seen directly. *Ne* gives way to *nehogy* (literally, a combination of *ne* and the complementizer *hogy* 'that'). Again, the intonation is rising, indicating the suppressed consequences. Another means is to place the negative word between the prefix and verb.

- (63) a. Nehogy le-másol-d a kulcsot!  
not PFX-copy-IMP.DEF the key.ACC  
ca. 'Don't you copy the key, or...'
- b. Le ne másol-d a kulcsot!  
ca. 'Don't you copy the key, or...'

## 1.1.1.3.3. Further devices of expressing imperative

Other means of expressing imperative force include (a) second person positive or negative questions, used commonly, for example, by parents to babies to prevent (further) mishaps; (b) in formal relations by means of *tessék* 'lit. please-IMP', (c) *légy szíves* 'be-2SG kind' or *legyen szíves* 'be-3SG kind' with an infinitival, or (d) a finite clause. Note that these last two formulas are no longer seen as constructs but are regarded as single items by speakers of the language, although orthography still observes their origins.

- (64) a. (Nem) Tessed le a kulcsot?  
not put.2SG down the key.ACC  
'Don't you put down the key (right away)?'
- b. Tessék le-másol-ni a kulcsot.  
please PFX-copy-INF the key.ACC  
'Please, copy the key.'
- c. Légy szíves le-másol-ni a kulcsot.  
'Be so kind as to copy the key.'
- d. Légy szíves, másol-j-ad le a kulcsot.  
be.2SG kind copy-IMP-2SG.DEF  
'Please, copy the key.'

Note that intonation may be responsible for significant distinctions in interpreting the same sentence as a command or as a polite request: the former is always accompanied by a fall on the last stressed item, the latter by a much more even contour throughout.

## 1.1.1.3.4. Focus in imperative sentences

Focus in imperatives can arise in three ways: (a) if a constituent is stressed to the left of an unstressed verb in the imperative form; (b) if the negation word *ne* 'not' precedes the preverbal focus, and (c) if in imperatives it is possible for a heavily accented constituent to remain in a postverbal position; in this last case the meaning the imperative conveys is a strong suggestion of choosing one rather than another alternative.

- (65) a. **A kulcsot** tegyed le!  
the key.ACC put.DEF down  
'Put down the **key** (rather than something else)!'
- b. Ne a **kulcsot** tegyed le!  
'Don't put down the **key** (put down something else)!'

c. Tegyed le a **kulcsot!**

'(Try and) put down the **key!**'=ca. 'Let it be the key that you will put down.'

It is in the case of contrastive focus that prefixes, and in general verbal modifiers (also called "reduced complements"), can be placed and accented preverbally. The ensuing interpretation involves contrasting the complex verb or the verbal modifier itself with a specific or open alternative. In view of the above, this is but a subcase of focus in imperatives.

- (66) a. **El-olvas-d** a könyvet (ne csak **nézege**sd)!  
 PFX-read-IMP.DEF.2SG the book.ACC (not just look.IMP.it)  
 'READ the book (don't just look at it)!'  
 b. **Fel**-men-j-él (ne **le**)!  
 up-go-IMP-2SG not down  
 'Go up, not down!'

1.1.1.4. *Other sentence-types*

Grammars of Hungarian distinguish two further sentence-types.

## 1.1.1.4.1. Desideratives

To express desires, the verb in conditional form combines with grammatical formatives (conjunctions, adverbials) used for other functions in other contexts (e.g., introducing concessive, conditional, or coordinate clauses). In case of full formal identity the intonation contour reveals the difference: conditionals have a rising pattern, desires have a gradual descent.

- (67) a. Bár/Ha/Bár-ha tud-ná-nak olvas-ni!  
 though/if know-COND-3PL read-INF  
 'If they could read!'  
 b. Csak lemásol-t-uk volna a kulcsot!  
 only PFX.copy-PAST-DEF.1PL COND the key.ACC  
 'If only we had found the key!'

Technically speaking, it is here that (literal) third and first person imperative forms belong, thus providing an argument for their more appropriate classification as a form of subjunctive.

- (68) a. Nyíl-j-on ki az ajtó!  
 open-IMP-3SG out the door.NOM  
 'Let the door open up!'

- b. Ne lás-s-am többé a gyerekeimet (ha ez  
not see-IMP-DEF.1SG more the my.children.ACC if this  
nem igaz)!  
not true  
'May I not see my children again (if this isn't true).'

Note that the example for first person is not at all formal, unlike its English translation, which is meant to illustrate the effect of the subjunctive.

#### 1.1.1.4.2. Exclamations

Exclamations can be simple or complex, but all instances must focus on some quality or quantity; the mere fact or event cannot be the subject of an exclamation.

In adjective-focussed exclamations a statement is prefixed by the exclamatory particles *milyen* 'what', which is apparently identical with the coordinating conjunction *de* 'but' and has a rising intonation contour. Note that the optional indefinite article is between the adjective and the head noun, rather than in its normal position to the left of the adjective.

- (69) a. Milyen/De érdekes (egy) könyvet olvasol!  
what/how interesting a book.ACC read.2SG  
'What an interesting book you're reading!'  
b. \*De olvasol (egy érdekes könyvet)!  
ca. \*'How you're reading an interesting book!'

Predicate-focussed exclamations differ from simple ones by employing the adverbial question-words *milyen*+adverb 'how', *mennyire* 'how much', *mit* 'what.ACC', etc., or the simple particle *de* again. In these constructions it is required that the prefix precede the verb. (For more on prefix-verb order, see below.) Recall that in questions prefixes cannot occur between the question-word and the inflected verb. Excepting those beginning with *de*, they can all be introduced by the general complementizer *hogy* 'that'.

- (70) a. (Hogy) mennyire meg-változtál!  
that how.much PFX-changed.2SG  
'How much you have changed!'  
b. De meg-változtál!  
'How much you have changed!'  
c. Hogy meg-változtál!  
'How much you have changed!'  
d. \*Mennyire/De változtál meg!

Another variety is produced by inserting the negation word between the prefix (if any) and the verb. In this case the prefix can also be placed behind the verb. If there is no prefix, the negation element is between the question-word and the verb.

- (71) a. Mit el nem olvasott!  
 what PFX not read.PAST.3SG  
 'How much she has read!'  
 b. Mit nem olvasott el!  
 'How much she has read!'  
 c. Mit nem olvasott!  
 'How much she has read!'

It is perplexing at first sight that in certain types of exclamations both the prefix-verb and the verb-prefix order are allowed.

- (72) a. Mi (minden)-t el-olvasott!  
 what all-ACC PFX-read.3SG  
 'How much she has read!'  
 b. Mi (minden)-t olvasott el!  
 'How much she has read!'  
 (73) a. Milyen sok könyvet el-olvasott!  
 how many book.ACC  
 'How many books she's read!'  
 b. Milyen sok könyvet olvasott el!  
 'How many books she's read!'

And it may be even more confusing that some exclamations allow the prefix to occur only postverbally.

- (74) a. (Egy) milyen érdekes könyvet olvastam el!  
 a. what interesting book.ACC read.1SG PFX  
 'What an interesting book I've (just) read!'  
 b. \*Egy/Ø milyen érdekes könyvet el-olvastam!

This difference between the exclamations with prefixes fixed in preverbal and postverbal positions and those with movable prefixes may be due to their relatedness to corresponding quantified structures. The variation in the placement of the prefix ultimately goes back to the focussability (or contrastability) of the preverbal quantifier phrase, cf. also 1.11. For, if it cannot be focussed, the prefix must intervene between it and the verb, otherwise a focus reading would be generated. For comparison, see the

positions of the nonfocussable adverbial *nagyon* and a quantified phrase below in indicative clauses.

- (75) a. Nagyon meg-változtál.  
much PFX-changed.2SG  
'You've changed much.'
- b. \*Nagyon változtál meg.
- (76) a. Sok könyvet olvasott el.  
many book read.3SG PFX  
'She has read many books.'
- b. Sok könyvet el-olvasott.  
ca. 'There are many books she has read.'

#### 1.1.1.5. Indirect speech acts

In surveying sentences expressing desires it has been noted that they may only be differentiated from conditionals by the intonation contour. Other indirect speech acts include questions used as (a) requests, (b) commands, (c) statements, (d) suggestions, etc. (cf. also 1.1.1.3.3).

- (77) a. Le-ten-né-d a kulcs-ot?  
down-put-COND-DEF.2SG the key.ACC  
'Would you put down the key?'
- b. Miért nem tesz-ed (már) le a kulcs-ot?  
Why not put-DEF.2SG yet down the key.ACC  
'(Now) why don't you put down the key?'
- c. Honnan tud-j-am, hol van a kulcs?  
where.from know-IMP-DEF.1SG where is the key  
'How should I know where the key is?'
- d. Nem kell-ene megvárni Annát?  
not need-COND.3SG PFX.wait.INF Anna.ACC  
'Shouldn't we wait for Anna?'

### 1.1.2. Subordination

#### 1.1.2.1. The marking of subordination

Subordination is marked by (a) the general or 'neutral' complementizer *hogy* 'that', (b) by a series of 'meaningful' complementizers, such as *ha* 'if', *mint* 'as', *bár* 'although', or (c) by a variety of (phrases containing) relative pronouns.

- (78)
- a. Anna tudta az-t, hogy Péter beteg.  
Anna knew.DEF it-ACC that Peter sick  
'Anna knew that Peter was sick.'
  - b. Ha Péter beteg, nem dolgozik.  
if Peter sick not work.3SG  
'If Peter is sick, he isn't working.'
  - c. A fiú, aki beteg volt, nem dolgozik.  
the boy who sick was not work.3SG  
'The boy who was sick is not working.'

The order of constituents in subordinate clauses has the same variation as in main clauses, except of course that (phrases containing) relative pronouns must be clause-initial. For more on this, see below in 1.1.2.3. Note that the rules of punctuation in Hungarian require that all finite clauses be enclosed by commas, notwithstanding the intonation or the type of construction they are in.

#### 1.1.2.2. Noun clauses

Clauses that occur in noun phrases can be one of the following five subtypes:

- (a) *hogy* ('that') clauses with or without an expletive pronominal *az* 'it'
- (b) complement clauses to nominal heads
- (c) relative clauses with a pronominal head
- (d) relative clauses with NP heads
- (e) 'headless' or free relative clauses.

- (79)
- a. Anna tudta (azt), hogy Péter beteg.  
Anna knew.DEF it-ACC that Peter sick  
'Anna knew that Peter was sick.'
  - b. Anna tudta az-t a tény-t, hogy Péter beteg.  
that-ACC the fact-ACC  
'Anna knew the fact that Peter was sick.'
  - c. Anna tudta az-t, ami-t Péter elhallgatott.  
Anna knew.DEF it-ACC what-ACC Peter concealed  
'Anna knew what Peter had concealed.'
  - d. Anna tudta a titkot, amit Péter elhallgatott.  
the secret.ACC  
'Anna knew the secret that Peter had concealed.'
  - e. Anna tudta, amit Péter elhallgatott.  
'Anna knew what Peter had concealed.'

In accordance with the structure of Routledge Descriptive Grammars, the last three will be discussed in 1.1.2.3, under adjective clauses, while noun complement clauses are treated in 1.2.5.2.10.

#### 1.1.2.2.1. The marking and positions of noun clauses

Noun clauses as understood in this limited sense are always introduced by the complementizer *hogy* 'that', except in well-defined (though not necessarily well-understood) cases to be specified below.

Noun clauses cannot be directly marked for case; it is the pronoun *az* that carries the case suffix, unless it is omitted, which is in general possible in the nominative and the accusative.

Although subordinate clauses are most naturally placed finally in main clauses with the (often optional) pronominal inside the main clause, as in the case of all other finite clauses, preverbal positions are also possible and frequent (a) initially, with the pronominal preceding the clause, (b) initially, with or without the pronominal following the clause, and (c), less frequently, following some other initial constituent(s).

- (80) a. *Azt, hogy Péter beteg volt, Anna tudta.*  
 it.ACC that Peter sick was Anna knew  
 'That Peter had been sick was known to Anna.'
- b. *Hogy Péter beteg volt, (azt) Anna tudta.*  
 that Peter sick was it.ACC Anna knew  
 'That Peter had been sick was known to Anna.'
- c. *Anna (azt), hogy Péter beteg volt, tudta.*  
 Anna it.ACC that Peter sick was knew  
 'Anna knew that Peter had been sick.'

#### 1.1.2.2.2. Types of noun clauses

Subject and object clauses are distinguished from clauses with oblique case-marked expletive pronouns, since the latter cannot be omitted under normal conditions. Moreover, oblique pronominals have a variety in postverbal positions that is identical to the oblique forms of the third person singular personal pronoun *ő* 'he/she/it', as against the only form that can occur preverbally and is identical to the demonstrative *az* 'that, it'.

- (81) a. *(Az) hogy Péter beteg volt, mindenké-t meglepett.*  
 it that Peter sick was everyone-ACC surprised  
 'That Peter was sick surprised everyone.'

- b. Ar-ról, hogy Péter beteg volt, mindenki tudott.  
it-DEL that Peter sick was everyone knew  
ca. 'Everyone knew (about it) that Peter had been sick.'
- c. Mindenki tudott \*(ar-ról/ról-a), hogy Péter beteg volt.  
everyone knew it-DEL/DEL-it  
ca. 'Everyone knew (about it) that Peter had been sick.'
- d. \*Róla, hogy Péter beteg volt, mindenki tudott.

The personal pronominal version of the expletive cannot be deleted and it cannot occur preverbally in what is a topic or focus position. Thus it can—in fact, has to—occupy “weak” positions, just like its coreferential counterpart. In similar weak positions the coreferential third person singular pronoun can be dropped in the nominative or accusative.

- (82) a. A film jó, de \*(ról-a) Péter nem olvas-ott \*(ról-a).  
the film good but DEL-it Peter not read-PAST DEL-it  
'The film is good, but Peter hasn't read about it.'
- b. A könyv jó, de Péter még nem olvas-t-a  
but Peter yet not read-PAST-DEF.3SG  
Ø/\*ó-t/?\*az-t.  
(s)he/that-ACC  
'The book is good, but Peter hasn't read it.'

It stands to reason to assume that the weak form of the nominative and accusative expletive is identical to the (dropped) personal pronoun. Note that as a “real” pronoun only the null form of the personal pronoun can be used referring back to nonhuman/inanimate antecedents, and although the strong pronoun *az-t* ‘that/it-ACC’ is, in principle, somewhat better, since it indicates inanimacy, it is at least unjustified, if not ungrammatical.

That there is a definite object in the clause is indicated by the definite conjugation on the verb (glossed as “DEF”) in the (b) example, as compared to the indefinite or “subjective” conjugation in example (a) above. Similar distinctions obtain above in (80)–(81) with respect to the object clauses with null expletives versus those with oblique pronominals as seen in the difference between *tud-ott* ‘know-PAST.3SG’ and *tud-t-a* ‘know-PAST-DEF.3SG’. For more on the definite conjugation, see 2.1.3.6.1.2.

#### 1.1.2.2.3. Indirect statements

Indirect statements as strictly understood are subsumed under object or noun complement clauses, but show no differences from other object clauses. As regards the changes from a direct quote, the only modification

apart from changes in reference, namely, sequence of tenses, will be discussed in 1.1.2.5.

- (83) a. Anna elmondta nekünk (azt), hogy Péter beteg volt.  
Anna told.DEF to.us it.ACC that Peter sick was  
'Anna told us that Peter had been sick.'
- b. Anna cáfolta azt az állítást, hogy Péter beteg volt.  
Anna denied.DEF that the statement.ACC  
'Anna denied the statement that Peter had been sick.'

#### 1.1.2.2.4. Indirect questions

Indirect questions are understood here with reference to all subordinate interrogative clauses, whether the main clause predicate is a verb of saying or not. They can occupy any one of the structural positions (or equivalently, they can have any one of the syntactic functions), subject, object, oblique or noun complement.

- (84) a. (Hogy) ki volt beteg, (az) Anná-t nem  
that who was sick it.NOM Anna-ACC not  
érdekelte.  
interested.DEF  
'Anna wasn't interested in who had been sick.'
- b. Anna nem tudta (azt), (hogy) ki volt beteg.  
not knew.DEF it.ACC  
'Anna didn't know who had been sick.'
- c. Anna kíváncsi volt ar-ra, (hogy) ki volt beteg.  
Anna curious was it-SUBL  
'Anna was curious about who had been sick.'
- d. A kérdés, (hogy) ki volt beteg, érdekes.  
the question that who was sick interesting  
'The question of who was sick is interesting.'

As is clear from the parentheses around the complementizer *hogy*, it can be freely deleted in all embedded question clauses.

While indirect question-word questions do not differ from main clause questions, embedded yes-no questions require that the question clitic *-e*, which is optional in main clauses, always be present. (Focus is in bold type.)

- (85) a. Anna azt kérdezte, (hogy) Péter beteg volt-**e**.  
Anna it.ACC asked.DEF that Peter sick was-Q  
'Anna asked whether Peter had been sick.'

- b. Anna azt kérdezte, (hogy) Péter nem volt-e beteg.

not

'Anna asked whether Peter hadn't been sick.'

- c. Anna azt kérdezte, (hogy) **Péter** volt-e beteg.

'Anna asked if it was Peter that had been sick.'

Naturally, the rise-fall pattern characteristic of main clause yes-no questions is missing in embedded ones.

#### 1.1.2.2.5. Indirect commands

Indirect commands have the same structural properties as direct imperatives: the prefix (if any) is placed behind the verb, and the verb is marked by the affix *-j* (assimilated in various ways to the preceding phoneme).

- (86) a. Anna azt mondta, (hogy) tanul-ja-d meg a  
Anna it.ACC said.DEF that learn-IMP-DEF.2SG PFX the  
verset.

poem.ACC

'Anna told you to learn the poem.'

- b. Anna azt javasolta, (hogy) **Péter** tanulja meg a verset.

suggested.DEF

'Anna suggested that **Peter** learn the poem.'

As indicated by the parentheses, the complementizer *hogy* can be omitted in indirect commands, too.

Indirect commands are distinguished from subjunctive clauses that are complements to a distinct class of verbs, adjectives, and adpositions. Their finite verbs are in the subjunctive as indicated not by a different modality marker on the verb, since the imperative and the subjunctive are formally identical, but by (a) the nondeletability of the complementizer *hogy*, and (b) an obligatory prefix-verb order in the (nonfocussed) clause, which contrasts with the obligatory verb-prefix order in indirect commands.

- (87) a. Nem szükséges, \*(hogy) Péter meg-tanul-j-a a  
not necessary that Peter PFX-learn-SUBJ-DEF.3SG the  
vers-et.

poem-ACC

'It isn't necessary for Peter to learn the poem.'

- b. \*Nem szükséges, hogy Péter *tanulja meg* a verset.

- c. \*Anna azt javasolta, hogy *meg-tanuljad* a verset.

Focus may of course overrule the neutral prefix-verb order and shift the prefix into a postverbal position.

#### 1.1.2.2.6. Infinitival clauses

Infinitival clauses are the only nonfinite construction-type available for subject and complement functions. (Nominalizations are genuine noun phrases, disregarded here.)

- (88) a. Fontos volt meg-tanul-ni a verset  
important was PFX-learn-INF the poem.ACC  
'It was important to learn the poem.'
- b. Anna meg-próbál-t-a meg-tanul-ni a verset.  
Anna PFX-tried-PAST-DEF.3SG  
'Anna tried to learn the poem.'

Verbs like *megpróbál* 'try', which constitute the first subclass of main verbs governing infinitival clauses, must be marked for the definiteness of the object of the infinitival clause.

It is questionable whether the infinitival clause is (always) an object. Another group of verbs takes object clauses and infinitives, depending on subject identity between the main and the subordinate clauses. (An accusativus-cum-infinitivo construction is excluded with these verbs.)

- (89) a. Anna most akar olvas-ni.  
Anna now wants read-INF  
'Anna wants to read now.'
- b. Anna az-t akar-ja, hogy Péter most olvas-s-on.  
Anna it-ACC want-DEF.3SG that Peter now read-IMP-3SG  
'Anna wants Peter to read now.'
- c. \*Anna akarja Péter-t olvas-ni.  
Anna wants.DEF Peter-ACC read-INF

A third subclass of verbs cannot take (nominal or clausal) object complements at all, and, unlike *meg-próbál* 'try' above and the verbs in its group, they cannot undergo definiteness agreement with the object of their infinitival complement clause either.

- (90) a. Anna igyekez-ett/ \*igyekez-t-e meg-tanul-ni  
Anna strive-PAST.3SG/strive-PAST-DEF.3sg PFX-learn-INF  
a vers-et.  
the poem-ACC  
'Anna strove to learn the poem.'

- b. Anna meg-próbál-t-a /\*meg-próbál-t  
 PFX-try-PAST-DEF.3SG/PFX-try-PAST.INDEF.3SG  
 megtanulni a verset.  
 'Anna tried to learn the poem.'

Both *igyekez-t-e* 'strive-PAST-DEF.3SG' in (a) and *meg-próbál-t* 'PFX-try-PAST.INDEF.3SG' in (b) would result in ungrammaticality. In addition, it is possible to use the question-word *mit* 'what-ACC' only with predicates like *akar* 'want' and *meg-próbál* 'try', but never with *igyekez*-strive'.

As far as indirect statements, commands, and questions are concerned, none of these is expressible by means of infinitival clauses. The cases that appear to be indirect commands or questions can be shown to fall under different headings.

In the example below the infinitival clause is one of purpose, a frequent construction in Hungarian, rather than a command, and an analogous (and synonymous) finite clause of purpose is always available.

- (91) a. Anna meg-hívta Pétert fel-olvas-ni a  
 Anna PFX-invited.DEF Peter.ACC PFX-read-INF the  
 verset.  
 poem.ACC  
 'Anna invited Peter to read out the poem.'  
 b. Anna meghívta Pétert, hogy (az) fel-olvassa a  
 that he PFX-read.DEF the  
 verset.  
 poem.ACC  
 'Anna invited Peter in order that he read the poem.'

**1.1.2.2.6.1–7. Properties of infinitival clauses** The verbal categories lost are all inflectional affixes marking tense, mood, definite object, though causative (CAUS) and frequentative (derivative) affixes (FREQ) can be retained. The (inflectional) affix expressing permission or possibility is also missing. For number and person, see below.

- (92) a. Fontos volt Pétert olvas-tat-ni.  
 important was Peter.ACC read-CAUS-INF  
 'It was important to have Peter read.'

- b. Anna most akar olvas-gat-ni.  
Anna now wants read-FREQ-INF  
ca. 'Anna wants to be reading (intermittently) now.'
- c. \*Anna most akar olvas-hat-ni.  
read-POSS-INF  
'Anna wants to be permitted/it to be possible to read.'

Infinitives are formed by adding the invariant suffix *-ni* to the stem. The infinitive marker can be followed by optional person and number agreement with the subject, whether overt (and then always in the dative case) or suppressed.

- (93)
- a. Fontos volt Péter-nek olvas-ni-a.  
important was Peter-DAT read-INF-3SG  
'It was important for Peter to read.'
  - b. Fontos volt Péter-nek olvas-ni.  
'It was important for Peter to read.'
  - c. Fontos volt olvas-ni-a.  
It was important for him/her to read.'
  - d. Fontos volt olvasni.  
'It was important (for anyone) to read.'

When in complement function, however, the infinitival clause cannot be marked for person and the subject must be suppressed and consequently identical with the subject (or some other designated argument) of the main clause.

- (94)
- a. \*Péter megpróbál úsz-ni-a.  
Peter tries swim-INF-3SG
  - b. \*Péter akar Anná-nak úsz-ni-(a).  
Peter wants Anna-DAT swim-INF-3SG

Note that person-marked infinitives in complement functions were acceptable in a previous period of the language, though dative subjects were not.

Apart from subjects, all other arguments are retained unchanged in infinitival clauses and no further morphological material in addition to the dative case assigned to (some) subjects is inserted. Adverbials are used in the same form as in finite clauses and all subtypes are possible.

- (95) Anna megpróbál gyakr-an/gyors-an/beteg-en olvasni.  
Anna tries often-ADV/quick-ADV/ill-ADV read-INF  
'Anna tries to read often/fast/(when she's) sick.'

**1.1.2.2.6.8. Clause union** Constituents of infinitival clauses can move into main clauses with ease, especially, but not exclusively, if they become topics or foci in the main clause. Note that if they are raised into preverbal positions in the main clause, they are invariably interpreted as either topic or focus, depending on stress and the order of the preverbal constituent (verbal modifier) with respect to the inflected verb. (For focus and topic, see 1.11 and 1.12.)

- (96) a. Ezt a könyvet fontos volt Jánosnak el-olvas-ni-a.  
 this the book.ACC important was John.DAT PFX-read-INF-3SG  
 'As for this book, it was important for John to read it.'
- b. **Ezt a könyvet** akarja Anna el-olvas-ni.  
 this the book.ACC wants.DEF Anna PFX-read-INF  
 'It's this book that Anna wants to read.'
- c. Fontos volt ezt a könyvet elolvasnia Jánosnak.  
 'It was important for John to read that book.'

Furthermore, there is a class of verbs that in the neutral case requires that the prefix or verbal modifier of the infinitive in the lower clause immediately precede it in the main clause, i.e., that it move in front of the finite matrix verb. Verbs of this "prefix-raising" class include the auxiliaries *fog* 'will', *szokott* 'used to', *talál* 'happen to', as well as full verbs like *tud*, *bír* 'can, be able to', *mer* 'dare', *óhajt*, *kíván* 'wish', *szeretne* 'would like', *akar* 'want'.

The class of "prefix-freezing" verbs, which do not allow such movement, contain *szeret* 'like', *imád* 'love', *utál* 'hate', *fél* 'fear', *siet* 'hurry', *igyekszik* 'strive', etc., and almost all predicative adjectives (e.g., *hajlandó* 'willing', *köteles* 'obliged'). For more, see Kálmán *et al.* (1989).

- (97) a. Anna el akarja olvas-ni a könyvet.  
 Anna PFX wants.DEF read-INF the book.ACC  
 'Anna wants to read the book.'
- b. Anna igyekszik el-olvas-ni a könyvet.  
 Anna strives PFX-read-INF the book.ACC  
 'Anna strives to read the book.'
- c. \*Anna el igyekszik olvas-ni a könyvet

Note that the order in which the finite main verb is followed by the prefix+infinitive is perfectly acceptable for the first class of verbs, provided the sentence is focussed, negated, or modified in some other comparable way that justifies the immobility of the prefix.

Finally, it should also be noted that although the infinitive is capable of assigning accusative to its object, it cannot be inflected for definiteness, unlike finite verbs. However, as was mentioned above, a number of ma-

trix verbs are marked for the definiteness of the object of the embedded infinitive. They include not only all of the “prefix-raising” verbs, but several of the “prefix-freezing” ones, in particular those that allow nominal objects as well as infinitival ones, e.g., *szeret* ‘like’, *imád* ‘love’. In other words, the group of prefix-freezing verbs has two subclasses, that of object-agreement verbs, e.g., *szeret* ‘like’, and that of non-object-agreement verbs, like *fél* ‘fear’. (Note that the absence of the suffix of the definite conjugation qualifies as indefinite conjugation in third person singular verb-forms as below.)

- (98) a. Anna most akar \*(-ja) el-olvas-ni a könyv-et.  
Anna now want-DEF.3SG PFX-read-INF the book-ACC  
'Anna wants to read the book now.'
- b. Anna most akar \*(-ja) el-olvas-ni egy könyv-et.  
wants-DEF.3SG a book-ACC  
'Anna wants to read a book now.'
- c. Anna szeret \*(-i) el-olvas-ni a könyv-et.  
like-DEF.3SG  
'Anna likes to read the book.'
- d. Anna fél \*(-i) el-olvas-ni a könyv-et.  
fears-DEF.3SG  
'Anna is afraid to read the book.'

### 1.1.2.3. Adjective clauses (relative clauses)

Strictly speaking, clauses that can be classified as adjectival comprise not only relative clauses but also ones that substitute for adjectival phrases, whether in attributive or predicative use, cf.:

- (99) a. Anna olyan könyvet olvas, amilyen-t Péter (olvas).  
Anna such book reads what-ACC Peter reads  
ca. 'Anna is reading a book similar to what Peter is reading.'
- b. Anna olyan volt, amilyen Péter (volt).  
Anna such was what Peter was.  
ca. 'Anna was like Peter.'

The glosses above are defective in that they do not reveal that the proadjective *o-lyan* in the main clause is analyzed into a “demonstrative” *o-* and an adjectival ending *-lyan/lyen* also found in the relative pronoun *ami-lyen*, whose first element *a-* is another form of the demonstrative. This demonstrative element defines relative pronominals if followed by question-words such as *mi* ‘what’, exclusively a pro-noun in Hungarian. Related properties of this structure will be discussed under degree clauses

(1.1.2.4.2.7) and equatives (1.9). In this section, however, we will restrict our attention to relative clauses.

#### 1.1.2.3.1. The marking of relative clauses

Prenominal relative clauses are nonfinite, marked on the clause-final verb as an active (“present”) or passive (“past”) participle. For more discussion, see 1.1.2.3.9.

- (100) a. [A [könyv-et olvas-ó] lány] beteg volt.  
 the book.ACC read-APRT girl sick was  
 ‘The girl reading a/the book was sick.’  
 b. [A [lány által olvas-ott] könyv] érdekes volt.  
 the girl by read-PPRT book interesting was  
 ‘The book read by the girl was interesting.’

Postnominal relative clauses are marked by an optional demonstrative along with the lexical head noun and a (phrase containing the) obligatory relative pronoun in a clause-initial position.

- (101) (Az) a könyv, amely-et Anna olvas-ott, érdekes volt.  
 that the book which-ACC Anna read-PAST interesting was  
 ‘The book that Anna was reading was interesting.’

#### 1.1.2.3.2. Restrictive and nonrestrictive

There is no structural difference between restrictive and nonrestrictive prenominal clauses, but it is possible, and in some positions necessary, to distinguish them by means of the distribution of accents. Much as in the case of simple prenominal adjectives, when the stress on the head noun is at the same level as that on the prenominal clause, the structure is interpreted as nonrestrictive. If the stress on the head noun is decreased, restrictive interpretation is in order. ([ ' ] stands for primary stress, [ . ] for secondary stress, and no marking for zero stress.)

- (102) a. A 'szorgalmas 'magyarokat 'mindenki megbecsüli.  
 the diligent Hungarians.ACC everyone appreciates  
 ‘Everyone appreciates the diligent Hungarians.’  
 (nonrestrictive—all Hungarians are diligent and all are appreciated)  
 b. A 'szorgalmas .magyarokat 'mindenki .megbecsüli.  
 ‘Everyone appreciates diligent Hungarians.’  
 (restrictive—some Hungarians are diligent and they are appreciated)

- (103) a. [A ['sokat olvas-ó] 'magyarokat 'mindenki  
the much.ACC read-APRT Hungarians.ACC megbecsüli.  
'Everyone appreciates the Hungarians, who read a lot.'  
(nonrestrictive)  
b. [A ['sokat olvas-ó] magyarokat mindenki 'megbecsüli.  
'Everyone appreciates the Hungarians that read a lot.'  
(restrictive)

In postnominal (finite) clauses the distinction is not brought out by structure, types of relative pronoun, accents, pauses, intonation, or punctuation, since although restrictives can be pronounced without a break between the head noun and the clause, it is by no means obligatory, thus restrictives and nonrestrictives can have identical formal properties. There are, however, two tests that can be applied.

For one, the demonstrative on the head noun disambiguates the construction since it defines a restrictive reading. In case it is used as a linguistic expression of extralinguistic deixis (pointing at the object), the intonation will be different and the pause obligatory.

- (104) a. (Az/\*Ez) a lány, aki a könyvet olvassa, beteg volt.  
that/this the girl who the book.ACC reads.DEF sick was  
'The girl who's reading the book was sick.'  
(restrictive)  
b. Ez/Az a lány, aki a könyvet olvassa, beteg volt.  
this/that the girl  
'This/That girl, who's reading the book, was sick.'  
(nonrestrictive)

While restrictives can be separated from their heads and occur in a clause-final position in the main clause, nonrestrictives must be attached to their heads.

- (105) a. Az a lány beteg volt, aki a könyvet olvassa.  
'The girl was sick who's reading the book.'  
b. \*Ez a lány beteg volt, aki a könyvet olvassa.  
'This girl was sick, who is reading the book.'

Another test of limited scope can be devised on the basis of the behaviour of relative pronouns with respect to numerical expressions in the head noun phrase. In Hungarian, number is marked on the head noun only if there is no numeral in the noun phrase; but if there is one, the head noun will remain singular. The relative pronoun in the restrictive clause

can optionally agree with the singular head noun in number. The relative pronoun in nonrestrictives, in turn, must be in the plural.

- (106) a. (Az) a nyolc lány, aki-(k) olvast-a/ák a könyvet,...  
 that the eight girl who-(PL) read-DEF.SG/PL the book.ACC  
 'The eight girls that have read the book (restrictive)
- b. (Ez) a nyolc lány, aki\*(-k) olvast-a/ák a könyvet...  
 this the eight girl who-PL read-SG/PL the book.ACC  
 'These/The eight girls, who have read the book, (nonrestrictive)

#### 1.1.2.3.3. The position of the head noun

The head noun can be either before or after the clause; in the first case it is followed by a finite clause, in the second it is preceded by a nonfinite one, as was illustrated in section 1.1.2.3.1 above.

#### 1.1.2.3.4–5. Relative pronouns

Hungarian uses obligatory relative pronouns in place of the relativized element. They are regularly derived from question-words by means of being prefixed by *a-*, which is historically identical to one form of the demonstrative *az*: cf. *a-ki* 'REL-who', *a-mennyi* 'REL-how.many', *a-hogy* 'REL-how', etc. A number of relative pronouns have varieties without the relative marker *a-*, which sometimes sound more archaic, e.g., *amely/mely* 'which', but *ami/?mi* 'which, what', *amennyi/\*mennyi* 'as many/much'. Relative pronouns cannot be deleted and are always in a clause-initial position, except in one case in present-day Hungarian, which will be discussed in the section on degree clauses below, as well as in 1.8 and 1.9.

The selection of the relative pronoun depends on the human/ nonhuman, countable/uncountable, and specific/nonspecific distinctions in the head noun (or the relativized element), human antecedents requiring *aki* 'who', while nonhuman specific or countable antecedents select *amely* 'which' or, in the colloquial language, *ami* 'what, which', and non-specific or uncountable nouns take *ami* 'what, which' in all registers. Note that pronominally headed clauses, when referring to [–human] antecedents, always take *ami* (rather than *amely*) pronouns in the relevant cases, just like headless or free relative clauses, whether or not the head is understood as specific or countable.

- (107) a. Az, amit/\*amelyet Anna olvasott, érdekes volt.  
that what/which.ACC Anna read interesting was  
'What Anna was reading was interesting.'
- b. Az a könyv, amit/amelyet Anna olvasott, érdekes volt.  
that the book what/which.ACC Anna read interesting was  
'The book Anna was reading was interesting.'
- c. a pénz, amit/?\*amelyet kölcsönöztél,...  
the money what/which.ACC lent.2SG  
'the money you lent'
- d. a farkas, amely/?\*ami az úton áll,...  
the wolf which/what the road.SUP stands  
'the wolf which is standing on the road'

## 1.1.2.3.6. Headless relative clauses

Headless (or free) nominal relative clauses occur as subjects and objects in main clauses, while structurally similar adverbial relative clauses can function as adverbs of place and time.

- (108) a. Ami-t Anna el-olvasott, érdekes volt.  
what-ACC Anna PFX-read interesting was  
'What Anna read was interesting.'
- b. Anna el-olvasta, ami érdekes volt.  
Anna PFX-read what interesting was  
'Anna read what was interesting.'
- (109) a. A-hol Anna dolgozik, sok könyv van.  
REL-where Anna works many book is  
'There are many books where Anna works.'
- b. A-mikor Anna dolgozik, sok könyvet olvas.  
REL-when Anna works many book.ACC read.3SG  
'When Anna is working she reads many books.'

Headless nominal relative clauses have two varieties, thus they come from two sources. In object function, one of them requires the definite conjugation, the other the indefinite one.

- (110) a. Tegy-ed, ami-t mond-t-am.  
do-DEF.2SG what-ACC say-PAST-1SG  
'Do what I told you to.'

- (111) b. \*Tegy-él, ami-t mond-t-am.  
do-INDEF.2SG
- a. Tegy-el, ami-t akar-sz.  
do-INDEF.2SG what-ACC want-2SG  
'Do what(ever) you want to.'
- b. \*Tegy-ed, ami-t akar-sz.  
do-DEF.2SG

The definite headless clause is interpreted as one introduced by a pronominal that can be dropped in subject and object functions ('Do the thing I told you to do'), as was seen in the case of complement clauses in 1.1.2.2.2. The indefinite headless relative clause is, in turn, interpreted as if it was introduced by a quantifier ('Do anything you want to do') and the relative pronoun was located in the head position. A similar contrast is observed in adverbial free relative clauses. (For more on this, see Kenesei 1994.)

#### 1.1.2.3.7. Elements relativized

Since relative pronouns are formed of question-words, any item that can be questioned can be relativized as a rule. In harmony with the account in 1.1.1.2.2.1, below the following relativized positions will be illustrated: (a) subject, (b) object, (c) dative complement, (d) oblique noun phrase, (e) postpositional noun phrase, (f) case-marked standard of comparison, and (g) possessor noun phrase (marked for dative case).

- (112) a. Itt van a fiú, aki megtalálta a választ.  
here is the boy who found.DEF the answer  
'Here is the boy who's found the answer.'
- b. Itt van a könyv, amely-et a fiú megtalált.  
here is the book which-ACC the boy found  
'Here's the book which the boy found.'
- c. Itt van a fiú, aki-nek Anna felolvasta a  
here is the boy who-DAT Anna PFX.read.DEF the  
könyvet.  
book.ACC  
'Here's the boy to whom Anna read the book.'

- d. Itt van a könyv, amely-ben a fiú megtalálta a  
here is the book which-INE the boy found.DEF the  
választ.  
answer  
'Here's the book in which the boy has found the answer.'
- e. Itt van a könyv, amely alatt a fiú megtalálta a  
here is the book which under the boy found.DEF the  
választ.  
answer.ACC  
'Here's the book under which the boy found the answer.'
- f. Itt van a fiú, aki-nél a lány magas-abb.  
here is the boy who-ADE the girl tall-er  
ca. 'Here's the boy who the girl is taller than.'
- g. Itt van a fiú, aki-nek a könyv-é-t Anna  
here is the boy who-DAT the book-3SG-ACC Anna  
olvasta.  
read.DEF  
'Here's the boy whose book Anna read.'

Corresponding to each case-marked, postpositional, or adverbial question-word, there are case-marked, postpositional, or adverbial relative pronouns as well, e.g., *a-mi-hez* 'REL-what-ADE=to which', *a-mi-vel* 'REL-what-INS=with which'; *a-mi mögött* 'REL-what behind=behind which', *a-mi-óta* 'REL-what-since=since which/when'; *a-honnan* 'REL-where.from=from where', *a-hogyan* 'REL-how=in which way/manner', *a-miért* 'REL-why=for which reason', etc.

- (113) a. Itt van a szoba/\*könyv, ahol a fiú megtalálta a  
here is the room/book where the boy found.DEF the  
választ.  
answer  
'Here's the room/book where the boy has found the answer.'
- b. Ez az, a-miért Anna elolvasta a könyvet.  
This it REL-why Anna PFX.read.DEF the book.ACC  
'That's why Anna read the book.'

Note that (a) standards of comparison in the alternative, clausal, construction cannot be relativized, (b) nor can possessed nouns.

- (114) a. \*Itt van a fiú, mint aki a lány magasabb.  
here is the boy than who the girl taller

- b. \*Itt van a könyv, Anná-nak ami-jé-t Péter  
here is the book Anna-DAT which-3SG-ACC Peter  
olvasta.  
read.DEF

ca. 'Here's the book the which of Anna's Peter read.'

#### 1.1.2.3.8. Movement of phrases containing a relative pronoun

While question-words can carry along (i.e., "pied-pipe") relatively large phrases, relative pronouns are not capable of similar operations. (The suffix *-i*, glossed as ATTR, changes postpositional phrases into prenominal attributes.)

- (115) a. Melyik fiú mögött-i könyv-et olvasta Anna?  
which boy behind-ATTR book-ACC read.DEF Anna  
ca. 'The book behind which boy has Anna read?'
- b. \*Itt van a fiú, aki mögött-i könyv-et Anna  
here is the boy who behind-ATTR book-ACC Anna  
olvas-ott/ta  
read-INDEF/DEF  
'Here's the boy the book behind whom Anna has read.'

Another construction-type that cannot be moved along with the relative pronoun, and thus cannot be relativized, is the prenominal relative clause.

- (116) a. Milyen könyveket olvasó fiúkkal találoztál?  
what books.ACC reading boys-INS met.2SG  
ca. 'Boys reading what books did you meet?'
- b. \*Itt vannak a könyvek, amelyeket olvasó fiúkkal  
here are the books which.ACC reading boys  
találoztál.  
met.2SG  
ca. 'Here are the books boys reading which you met.'

But, just as in the case of questions, relative pronominal possessor noun phrases cannot only carry along the whole noun phrase, they can be moved out of the possessive noun phrase with ease.

- (117) a. Itt van a fiú, [aki-nek a könyv-é-t] Anna  
here is the boy who-DAT the book-POSS.3SG-ACC Anna  
olvasta.  
read.DEF  
'Here's the boy whose book Anna has read.'

- b. Itt van a fiú, [aki-nek] Anna olvasta [\_ a könyv-é-t]  
'Here's the boy whose book Anna has read.'

But, whereas the possessed nominal can be questioned, it cannot be relativized.

- (118) a. Anná-nak mi-jé-t olvasta Péter?  
Anna-DAT what-POSS.3SG-ACC read.DEF Peter  
ca. 'What that belongs to Anna did Peter read?'  
b. \*a könyv, Anná-nak ami-jé-t Péter olvasta,...  
the book Anna-DAT which-POSS.3SG-ACC Peter read.DEF

Again similarly to question-words, relative pronouns can be moved out of a finite or infinitival complement clause into a higher one.

- (119) a. Itt van egy könyv, ami-t nem tudom, mikor  
here is a book which-ACC not know.1SG when  
olvassak el.  
read.1SG PFX  
'Here's a book which I don't know when I should read.'  
b. Itt van egy könyv, ami-t fontos volt elolvas-ni.  
here is a book which-ACC important was read-INF  
'Here's a book which it was important to read.'

#### 1.1.2.3.9. Nonfinite relative clauses

The two types of prenominal participial relative clauses were reviewed in section 1.1.2.3.1. (For more details, see Komlósy 1994.)

**1.1.2.3.9.1. Active (present) participles** They have their subjects relativized, with all other complements (including accusative marked objects) retained.

- (120) a. [A [könyv-et a fiú-nak gyorsan olvas-ó] lány] itt  
the book-ACC the boy-DAT fast read-APRT girl here  
van.  
is  
'The girl who reads the book to the boy fast is here.'  
b. [A [fiú-val minden nap találko-z-ó] lány] itt van.  
the boy-INS every day meet-APRT girl here is  
'Here is the girl who meets the boy every day.'

Sentences with copulas or subjectless predicates do not have a nonfinite equivalent.

- a. A fiú diák volt.  
the boy student was
- b. \*[A [diák val-ó/lév-ő] fiú]...  
the student be-APRT boy  
'The boy was a student.'

(122)

- a. ø Havazik.  
snows
- b. \*[A [havazó] hó/ég/...]  
the snowing snow/sky  
'It's snowing.'

But the verb of existence (obligatorily) used locative predicates can be changed into an active participle.

(123)

- a. A könyv a szobá-ban van.  
the book the room-INE is  
'The book is in the room.'
- b. a szobá-ban lév-ő könyv  
the room-INE be-APRT book  
'the book in the room'

**1.1.2.3.9.2. Passive (past) participles** In the basic paradigm the passive participle relativizes the object with the subject expressed by means of the agentive postposition *által* 'by' and all other complements or adjuncts retained. Note that the form of participial affix coincides with the 3SG (i.e. unmarked) form of the past tense suffix in the indefinite conjugation.

(124)

- a. Anna tegnap olvas-ott egy könyv-et.  
Anna yesterday read-PAST a book-ACC
- b. az [Anna által tegnap olvas-ott] könyv  
the Anna by yesterday read-PPRT book  
'the book read by Anna yesterday'

However, nonagentive intransitive verbs can relativize their subjects if they are prefixed.

(125)

- a. A könyv ki-nyíl-t az első oldal-on  
the book PFX-open-PAST the first page-SUP  
'The book opened on the first page.'
- b. az [első oldalon ki-nyíl-t] könyv  
the first page.SUP PFX-open-PPRT book  
'the book that opened (by itself) on the first page' (nonagentive reading)

Achievement verbs can also be used in this construction with the subject relativized, even if they are agentive intransitive ones.

- (126) a. A lány tegnap London-ba érkezett.  
the girl yesterday London-ILL arrive-PAST  
'The girl arrived in London yesterday.'
- b. a [tegnap London-ba érkezett] lány  
the yesterday London-ILL arrive-PPRT girl  
'the girl that arrived in London yesterday'
- c. A lány a medencé-be ugrott.  
the girl the pool-ILL dive-PAST.3SG  
'The girl dived into the pool.'
- d. a [medencé-be ugrott] lány  
the pool-ILL dive-PPRT girl  
'the girl that (has/had) dived into the pool'

In colloquial Hungarian, transitive verbs in general are more and more used in this construction, with the subject relativized and expressing an action prior to that of the main clause.

- (127) a. Az autós elgázolt egy gyalogost.  
the motorist PFX-hit a pedestrian-ACC  
'The motorist hit a pedestrian.'
- b. Most beszéltünk [a [gyalogost elgázolt]  
now spoke.1PL the pedestrian.ACC PFX-hit-PPRT  
autós-sal.  
motorist-INS  
'We have just spoken with the motorist that hit a pedestrian.'

#### 1.1.2.4. Adverbial clauses

##### 1.1.2.4.1. The marking and positions of adverbial clauses

Finite adverbial clauses have two subtypes: (a) they can be introduced by the general subordinating complementizer *hogy* 'that', often accompanied by the appropriate adverbial form of the pronominal *az* 'that, it' in the main clause, which acts as an anticipatory phrase or a "place-holder" for the topic or focus functions, which the clause cannot directly fulfill, or (b) they are more like (free) relative clauses with an initial relative pro-adverb.

- (128) a. Az-óta, hogy Anna megérkezett, Péter elolvasta a könyvet.  
it-since that Anna PFX.arrived Peter PFX.read the book.ACC  
'Since Anna arrived, Peter has read the book.'
- b. A-mi-óta Anna megérkezett, Péter elolvasta a könyvet.  
REL-what-since Anna PRF.arrived Peter PFX.read the book.ACC  
'Since Anna arrived, Peter has read the book.'

The positions adverbial clauses can occupy are in general the same as those listed and illustrated in reviewing noun clauses: they can be (a) initial, (b) noninitial and preverbal, generally non-focussed, and (c) final.

- (129) a. Amikor Anna megérkezett, Péter olvasott.  
when Anna PRF.arrived Peter read  
'When Anna arrived, Peter was reading.'
- b. Péter, amikor Anna megérkezett, olvasott.  
'When Anna arrived, Peter was reading.'
- c. Péter olvasott, amikor Anna megérkezett.  
'When Anna arrived, Peter was reading.'

#### 1.1.2.4.2. Types of adverbial clauses

In this section finite clauses are discussed. Nonfinite constructions are deferred to section 1.1.2.4.3. Due to the numbering conventions, place adverbial clauses, frequent in Hungarian, are given at the end of this section.

**1.1.2.4.2.1. Time adverbial clauses** Time adverbial clauses are defined by (a) a pro-adverb in the main clause and/or (b) a (quasi-relative) time adverbial conjunction in the subordinate clause.

- (130) a. Az-előtt, hogy/a-mi-előtt Anna megérkezett, olvasott.  
it-before that/REL-what-before Anna PRF.arrived read.3SG  
'Before Anna arrived, she had been reading.'
- b. (\*A-)mi-előtt Anna megérkezett, olvasott.  
REL-what-before Anna PRF.arrived read.3SG  
'Before Anna arrived, she had been reading.'

The clauses can express (a) past, (b) present (general), and (c) future time reference depending on the form of the verb. Note that (c) is understood

as a plain future prediction, rather than a conditional, and present tense cannot be used in the time clause.

- (131) a. (A)mikor Anna olvasott, Péter aludt.  
when Anna read.PAST Peter slept  
'When/while Anna was reading, Peter was sleeping.'
- b. (A)mikor Anna olvas, Péter alszik.  
when Anna read-PRES Peter sleeps  
'When(ever) Anna is reading, Peter is sleeping.'
- c. (A)mikor Anna olvas-ni fog, Péter alud-ni fog.  
when Anna read-INF will Peter sleep-INF will  
'When/While Anna will be reading, Peter will be sleeping.'

The illustrations above made use of nonprefixed verbs in both the subordinate and the main clauses. If, however, prefixed verbs are chosen, the paradigm has to change, especially since prefixed verbs have future reference in present tense.

- (132) a. Amikor Anna meg-érkezett, Péter aludt.  
when Anna PFX-arrived Peter slept  
'When Anna arrived, Peter was asleep.'
- b. Amikor Anna meg-érkezik, Péter alszik.  
when Anna PFX-arrives Peter sleeps  
'When(ever) Anna arrives, Peter is asleep.'
- c. Amikor Anna meg-érkezik, Péter aludni fog.  
when Anna PFX-arrives Peter sleep-INF will  
'When Anna arrives, Peter will be asleep.'

If the time clause introduced by (a)mikor 'when' has a prefixed predicate, and a prefixed verb is used in the main clause, the two events are understood as ordered consecutively. By optionally suffixing the time conjunction, the order of events can be made more transparent.

- (133) a. Amikor (-ra) Péter el-aludt, Anna meg-érkezett.  
when -SUB Peter PFX-slept Anna PFX-arrived  
'When/By the time Peter had fallen asleep, Anna arrived.'
- b. Amikor (-ra) Péter el-alszik, Anna meg-érkezik.  
when -SUB Peter PFX-sleeps Anna PFX-arrives  
'When/By the time Peter falls asleep, Anna will arrive.'

Except for a few general adverbials like *mikor* 'when', *mi-óta* 'since (when)', disparate sets of time conjunctions are used for simultaneous versus consecutive events. Those marking simultaneity include: *mi-alatt*, *mi-közben* 'during (when)', (a)*míg* 'while', *ahogy*, *amint* 'as'. Clauses whose

action precedes or follows that of the main clause are introduced by conjunctions like *mi-után* 'after (when)', *mi-előtt* 'before (when)', *hogy* 'that, as', *mihelyt*, *alighogy* 'as soon as'.

The pro-adverb in the main clause, which points at the clause, can in a large majority of cases be inserted, and it is, in fact, obligatory if the clause is to be interpreted as focussed.

- (134) a. (Akkor-ra,) amikor-ra Péter elalszik, Anna megérkezik.  
 then-SUB when-SUB Peter PFX.sleeps Anna PFX.arrives  
 'By the time Peter falls asleep, Anna will arrive.'  
 b. Anna csak \*(akkor-ra) érkezik meg, amikorra Péter  
 Anna only then-SUB arrives PFX when.SUB Peter  
 elalszik.  
 PFX.sleeps  
 'Anna will arrive only when Peter has fallen asleep.'

Since the conditional conjunction *ha* 'if' originates from a time adverb, it is small wonder that its meaning often oscillates between a temporal and a conditional reading, just as much as clauses introduced by unequivocal time conjunctions can have a conditional interpretation.

- (135) Ha Péter elalszik, Anna megérkezik.  
 if Peter PFX.sleeps Anna PFX.arrives  
 'When/If Peter falls asleep, Anna arrives/will arrive.'

**1.1.2.4.2.2. Manner adverbial clauses** The most general and frequent pro-adverb associated with manner adverbial clauses in the main clause is *úgy* 'thus'; others include *ak-képpen* 'in that manner', *a-nélkül* 'without that'. The clause can be introduced by the general subordinating complementizer *hogy* 'that', or relative pro-adverbs like *a-hogy* 'REL-how=in which way', *a-mi-képpen* 'REL-what-TÉR=in which manner', *(a)-mi-nt* 'REL-what-FOR=as'.

- (136) a. Péter úgy aludt el, hogy olvasott.  
 Peter thus slept PFX that read.3SG  
 'Peter fell asleep in such a manner that he was reading.'  
 b. Péter úgy aludt, ahogy gyerekkorában szokott.  
 Peter thus slept as in.his.childhood used.3SG  
 'Peter fell asleep the way he used to in his childhood.'

**1.1.2.4.2.3. Clauses of purpose** The anticipatory pro-adverb in the main clause can be *az-ért* 'that-CAU', *a-végett* 'that-in.order', although they can be easily dispensed with since the clause is in the subjunctive, thus providing an unequivocal clue for its interpretation. Clauses are introduced by a nonomissible complementizer *hogy* 'that'.

- (137) a. Anna olvasott, hogy el-alud-j-on.  
Anna read that PFX-sleep-SUBJ-3SG  
'Anna was reading so that she could fall asleep.'
- b. Péter az-ért olvasott, hogy ne alud-j-on el.  
Peter that-for read that not sleep-SUBJ-3SG PFX  
'Peter was reading so that he would not fall asleep.'
- c. Péter azért olvasott, ne-hogy el-alud-j-on.  
not-that PFX-sleep-SUBJ-3SG  
'Peter was reading lest he fell asleep.'

Purpose clauses are the only contexts that allow the negative particle to be attached to the complementizer *hogy*, as in the (c) example above.

**1.1.2.4.2.4. Clauses of cause** They are associated with pro-adverbs like *a-miatt* 'that-because' and *az-ért* 'that-for' and are introduced (a) by the complementizer *hogy* 'that' and, more often, (b) by a conjunction that goes back to a relative pro-adverb that no longer fills the role: *mert* 'lit. for-what=because'; (c) independent clauses of cause, i.e., ones that are not associated with any "pointer" in the main clause, are introduced by *mivel*, *minthogy*, *miután* 'since'. (Note that each has a distinct literal meaning, e.g., *mi-vel* 'what-with', which, however, no longer figures in their interpretation.)

- (138) a. Anna a-miatt haragszik, hogy Péter elaludt.  
Anna that-because is.angry that Peter PFX-slept  
'Anna is angry because Peter has fallen asleep.'
- b. Anna az-ért haragszik, mert Péter elaludt.  
Anna that-for is.angry because Peter PFX-slept  
'Anna is angry because Peter has fallen asleep.'
- c. Mivel Péter elaludt, Anna olvas.  
since Péter PFX.slept Anna reads  
'Since Peter has fallen asleep, Anna is reading.'

**1.1.2.4.2.5. Conditional clauses** The obligatory conjunction is *ha* 'if', although its complex variety *hogy-ha* 'that-if=if' or the official-sounding *amennyiben* 'in as much as' can also be used. The main clause frequently contains the "place-holder" pro-adverb *akkor* 'then', especially if the conditional fills in the role of topic or focus, as in other cases reviewed above. Note that the clause itself can occur in focus position unless it is too long.

- (139) a. Ha Péter el-alszik, (akkor) Anna meg-haragszik.  
if Peter PFX-sleeps then Anna PFX-is.angry  
'If Peter falls asleep, Anna will get angry.'

- b. Anna csak \*(akkor) haragszik meg, ha Péter el-alszik.  
Anna only then is.angry PFX if Peter PFX-sleeps  
'Only if Peter falls asleep, will Anna get angry.'
- c. Anna csak [ha Péter el-alszik] haragszik meg.  
'Only if Peter falls asleep will Anna get angry.'

The basic subtypes of conditional constructions are as follows:

(i) In real conditional clauses the verb can be in any of the past, present, or future tenses (or present tense with future reference if prefixed).

- (140)
- a. Ha Péter elaludt, Anna haragudni fog.  
if Peter PFX.slept Anna be.angry. INF will  
'If Peter fell/has fallen asleep, Anna will be angry.'
  - b. Ha Péter alszik, Anna haragudni fog.  
if Peter sleeps Anna be.angry. INF will  
'If Peter is asleep, Anna will be angry.'
  - c. Ha Péter aludni fog, Anna meg-haragszik.  
if Peter sleep. INF will Anna PFX-be.angry  
'If Peter will be asleep, Anna will get angry.'

(ii) In hypothetical clauses, the present conditional form of the verb is used with reference to present or future.

- (141)
- a. Ha Péter alud-na, Anna haragud-na.  
if Peter sleep-COND Anna be.angry-COND  
'If Peter were sleeping, Anna would be angry.'
  - b. Ha Péter el-alud-na, Anna haragud-na.  
if Peter PFX-sleep-COND Anna be.angry-COND  
'If Peter fell asleep, Anna would be angry.'

(iii) In counterfactual conditionals, the verb is in past conditional, a complex form made up of the formal past tense of the verb and the invariable conditional form *volna* of the copula *van* 'be'. Note that the verb is marked for agreement with the subject.

- (142)
- a. Ha Péter alud-t volna, Anna haragud-ott volna.  
if Peter sleep-PAST COND Anna be.angry-PAST COND  
'If Peter had been asleep, Anna would have been angry.'
  - b. Ha Péter el-alud-t volna, Anna most haragud-na.  
if Peter PFX-sleep-PAST COND Anna now be.angry-COND  
'If Peter had fallen asleep, Anna would be angry now.'

**1.1.2.4.2.6. Result clauses** The result of the action or event expressed by the matrix predicate can take the form of a *hogy* ('that') clause with an

appropriate pro-element in the main clause, such as *olyan* 'so, such', *annyi(t)* 'so much/many/little/few (=such a quantity)', often marked similarly to degree adverbials by a suffix formally identical with the accusative *-t*.

- (143) a. Péter *annyi-t/olyan sok-at* aludt, hogy Anna  
Peter so.much/so much-ACC slept that Anna  
megharagudott.  
got-angry  
'Peter slept so much that Anna got angry.'
- b. Péter *annyi/olyan kevés könyvet* olvasott, hogy Anna  
Peter such-amount/so few book.ACC read that Anna  
megharagudott.  
got.angry  
'Peter had read so many/few books that Anna got angry.'

Note here that result clauses and clauses of purpose are differentiated only by the mood of the verb in the subordinate clause; while it is in the indicative in the above result clauses, it is in the subjunctive in clauses of purpose.

**1.1.2.4.2.7. Degree clauses** Both equative and comparative clauses can have anticipatory pro-elements in their main clauses, such as *olyan* 'such', *annyi(t)* 'so much/little-ACC', while in the clauses themselves the complementizer *mint* 'as, than' and the adjectival or adverbial relative pronominals *a-milyen* 'REL-what [Adj]' *a-mennyi(t)* 'REL-as.much-(ACC)', *ahogyan* 'REL-how' can cooccur. In equative clauses, either (but never both) can be omitted, if the verbs are identical (see 1.9.3.) whereas in comparative clauses it is always the complementizer that has to stay. When the complementizer is absent, the clause becomes indistinguishable from, for example, an adverbial clause of manner, for which see above. Note that if the predicate of the clause is missing, minimally the conjunction *mint* and the object of comparison are always sufficient.

- (144) a. Péter *annyit* aludt, (*mint*) *amennyit* Anna (*olvasott*).  
Peter so.much slept as as.much Anna read  
'Peter slept (just) as much as Anna (read).'
- b. Péter *úgy* alszik, (*mint*) *ahogyan* *gyerekkorában* (*aludt*).  
Peter thus sleeps as how in.his.childhood slept.3SG  
'Peter sleeps just like (he slept) in his childhood.'
- (145) a. Péter *többet* alszik, *mint* Anna/*mint amennyit* Anna (*alszik*).  
Peter more sleeps than than as.much Anna sleeps  
'Peter sleeps more than Anna.'

- b. Péter gyors-abb-an olvas, mint Anna/mint ahogyan Anna  
Peter quick-er-ly reads than than how Anna

(olvas).

reads

'Peter reads faster than Anna.'

Such examples demonstrate that the relative pronoun (or pro-adverb) is not absolutely initial in its clause, an observation supported by data involving other conjunctions and relative pronouns from an earlier stage of the history of the language (cf. Kenesei 1994).

**1.1.2.4.2.8. Concessive clauses** Complex sentences having concessive clauses in them come in two subtypes: some qualify as subordination, others as coordination. The difference is shown by the potential of alternative orders in the former, but not in the latter.

- (146) a. Anna olvas, noha/jóllehet/bár Péter alszik  
Anna reads although/albeit Peter sleeps  
'Anna is reading, although/albeit Peter is sleeping.'  
b. Noha/Jóllehet/Bár Péter alszik, Anna olvas.  
'Although Peter is sleeping, Anna is reading.'
- (147) a. Anna olvas, holott/pedig Péter alszik  
ca. 'Anna is reading, although Peter is sleeping.'  
b. \*Holott/Pedig Péter alszik, Anna olvas.'

**1.1.2.4.2.9. Place adverb clauses** Clauses that are classified as adverbials of place are usually free or pronominally headed relative clauses, whose relative pro-adverbial reveals the nature of the relationship.

- (148) a. Péter ott alszik, ahol Anna olvas  
Peter there sleeps where Anna reads  
'Peter is sleeping where Anna is reading.'  
b. Ahol Anna olvas, Péter alszik.  
where Anna reads Peter sleeps  
'Where Anna reads, Peter sleeps.'
- (149) a. Anna add-ig futott, ameddig a csík tartott.  
Anna that-to ran where-to the stripe lasted  
'Anna ran as far as the end of the stripe.'  
b. Anna futott, ameddig a csík tartott.  
'Anna ran as far as the end of the stripe.'

## 1.1.2.4.3. Nonfinite adverbial clauses

Traditional grammars of Hungarian differentiate between (a) infinitives, (b) attributive participles (see 1.1.2.3.1), and (c) adverbial participials or converbs. Of these, only the first and the third types partake in forming nonfinite adverbial clauses, as will be illustrated below. In what follows, we will adhere to the numbering of subsections in the preceding section; therefore, if a subsection number is missing, there is no corresponding nonfinite adverbial clause there. For more on this topic, see de Groot (1995).

**1.1.2.4.3.1. Nonfinite clauses of time** Of the two types of the so-called adverbial participial clause, or clauses containing converbs, the one that we will call simple and whose affix we will abbreviate as SCVB can be used to express simultaneous actions: (a) it suppresses the subject, but (b) all other complements and adjuncts can be freely retained; (c) if the verb is prefixed (and perfective), the simple converb can refer to an antecedent action.

- (150)
- a. Anna áll-va olvasta a könyvet.  
Anna stand-SCVB read the book.ACC  
'Anna was reading the book standing.'
  - b. Anna olvasott a könyvet a kezében tartva.  
Anna read the book.ACC the in.her.hand hold-SCVB  
'Anna was reading, holding the book in her hands.'
  - c. Anna [a könyvet le-té-ve] elaludt.  
Anna the book.ACC down-put-SCVB fell.asleep  
'Having put the book down, Anna fell asleep.'

Another, rather infrequently used, adverbial participial clause (with a somewhat literary or even archaic flavour) expresses antecedent actions. Its peculiarity is that it can contain a nominative subject noun phrase as well as any other complement appropriately case-marked. Only prefixed (perfective) verbs can occur here, which is why it is called here perfective converb and abbreviated as PCVB. Note that, owing to its increasing obsolescence, it often surfaces with nonperfective verbs in functions by and large identical with those of the simple converb.

- (151)
- a. El-olvas-ván a könyvet, Péter elaludt.  
PFX-read-PCVB the book.ACC Peter fell.asleep  
'Having read the book, Peter fell asleep.'
  - b. Az eső el-áll-ván, elindultunk a hegytetőre.  
the rain PFX-stop-PCVB left.1PL the hilltop.SUB  
'With the rain stopped, we left for the hilltop.'

**1.1.2.4.3.2. Nonfinite clauses of manner** Simple participial clauses can often be taken to be manner adverbials, since they can be easily reinter-preted as specifying the manner in which the action was carried out, a point that shows the fallibility of such distinctions.

- (152) a. Péter [a könyvet szorosán a kezében tart-va]  
Peter the book.ACC fast the in.his.hand hold-SCVB  
olvasott.  
read-PAST  
'Peter was reading holding the book fast in his hands.'
- b. Péter [a lapokat ki-tép-ve] olvassa a könyvet.  
Peter the pages PFX-tear-SCVB reads the book.ACC  
'Peter is reading the book tearing out its pages.'

**1.1.2.4.3.3. Nonfinite clauses of purpose** Infinitives are an option some main verbs can choose for an adverbial clause of purpose, provided the subject of the infinitival clause is identical with the subject or some complement of the main clause, since infinitival clauses have to suppress their subjects.

- (153) a. Péter el-ment olvas-ni a könyvet.  
Peter away-went read-INF the book.ACC  
'Peter has gone to read the book.'
- b. Anna elküldte Péter-t [a könyvet olvas-ni]  
Anna sent Peter-ACC the book-ACC read-INF  
'Anna sent Peter to read the book.'

#### 1.1.2.5. Sequence of tenses

Two tenses are morphologically marked: (a) past and (b) present. Future is expressed by means of either (c) an analytic form made up of the auxiliary *fog* 'will' and the infinitive of a nonperfective (generally unprefixated) verb or (d) the present tense form of a perfective (or prefixed) verb. Note that the analytic future of perfective verbs has spread quite extensively in present-day Hungarian; since *fog* is prefix-raising, it is placed between the prefix and the verb in the neutral case (see (e) below).

- (154) a. Péter olvas.  
Peter read.3SG  
'Peter is reading.'
- b. Péter olvas-ott.  
Peter read-PAST.3SG  
'Peter was reading.'

- c. Péter olvas-ni fog egy könyvet.  
Peter read-INF will a book.ACC  
'Peter will be reading a book.'
- d. Péter el-olvas egy könyvet.  
Peter PFX-read.3SG a book.ACC  
'Peter will read (=finish reading) a book.'
- e. Péter el fog olvas-ni egy könyv-et.  
'Peter will read (=finish reading) a book.'

In complement clauses, the time of the event reported in the clause is taken to be relative to the time of the action in the main clause and is expressed by the same tenses, which observe the following regularities,

(i) In the case of nonperfective verbs, (a) present tense forms stand for simultaneous actions, (b) past tense forms for antecedent actions.

- (155) a. Anna tudta, hogy Péter olvas.  
Anna knew that Peter reads  
'Anna knew that Peter was reading.'
- b. Anna tudta, hogy Péter olvas-ott.  
Anna knew that Peter read-PAST.3SG  
'Anna knew that Peter had (been) read(ing).'

(ii) In the case of perfective verbs, (a) present tense forms signal "future-in-the-past", while (b) past tense forms denote actions accomplished prior to the time of the action in the main clause.

- (156) a. Anna tudta, hogy Péter el-olvas egy könyvet.  
Anna knew that Peter PFX-reads a book.ACC  
'Anna knew that Peter would read a book.'
- b. Anna tudta, hogy Péter el-olvas-ott egy könyvet.  
Anna knew that Peter PFX-read-PAST.3SG a book.ACC  
'Anna knew that Peter had read a book.'

Finally, the analytic future form is used to construct the 'future-in-the-past' for unprefixated verbs, but, as was noted, it is possible to form an analytic future of prefixed verbs, in both subordinate and main clauses.

- (157) a. Anna tudta, hogy Péter olvas-ni fog.  
Anna knew that Peter read-INF will.3SG  
'Anna knew that Peter will/would be reading.'

- b. Anna tudta, hogy Péter el-olvas/el fog olvas-ni egy  
Anna knew that Peter PFX-read/PFX will.3SG read-INF a  
könyvet.  
book.ACC

'Anna knew that Peter will/would read a book.'

While tense in complement clauses is always understood as relative to the main clause, tenses in adjunct clauses (including relatives) are understood as independent of those in the main clause.

- (158) a. Bár Anna el-alud-t, Péter olvas-ni fog.  
Although Anna PFX-sleep-PAST Peter read-INF will  
'Although Anna has fallen asleep, Peter will be reading.'  
b. Anna ír-ta a könyvet, amelyet Péter olvas-ni fog.  
Anna wrote the book.ACC which.ACC Peter read-INF will  
'Anna wrote the book that Peter will be reading.'

For indirect commands, see section 1.1.2.2.5.

## 1.2. STRUCTURAL QUESTIONS

### 1.2.1. Internal structure of the sentence

#### 1.2.1.1. Copular sentences

Copular sentences have two varieties: nominal and adjectival ones are constructed without the copula in the "unmarked" case, i.e., when the verb is in present indicative third person singular and plural, as discussed in the next two subsections contracted into one. In adverbial copular sentences, however, the copula has to occur in all persons. For more on this, see 1.2.1.1.4–5.

Below neutral word order is illustrated throughout unless otherwise noted. For focussed sentences and constituent orders, see 1.11.

#### 1.2.1.1.1–2. Copular sentences with nominal and adjectival complement

In these constructions the predicate noun or adjective agrees in number with the subject, as shown by the plural suffix below.

- (159) a. A lány magas/diák volt.  
the girl tall/student was  
'The girl was tall/a student.'  
b. A lány-ok magas-ak/diák-ok volt-ak.  
the girl-PL tall-PL/student-PL were-PL  
'The girls were tall/students.'

The only exception is when a collective noun is used predicatively. But even then it is easier to have a singular predicative noun with other than third person subjects, cf. (a). If there is a third person subject, the construction feels awkward, see (b); and synonymous expressions can take over, cf. (c). The alternative, i.e., plural predicative noun, is not workable, since the resulting meaning would be different, cf. (d). Note, finally, that in the present tense the issue of subject-predicate agreement does not arise, because the copula is nonovert, cf. (e).

- (160)
- a. Mi jó csapat volt-unk.  
we good team were-1PL  
'We were a good team.'
  - b. ??A lányok jó csapat voltak.  
the girls good team were  
'The girls were a good team.'
  - c. A lányok jó csapat-ot alkottak.  
the girls good team-ACC formed  
'The girls formed a good team.'
  - d. A lányok jó csapatok voltak.  
'The girls were good teams.'
  - e. A lányok jó csapat.  
'The girls are a good team.'

The difficulty experienced with the (b) case may go back to properties of agreement in Hungarian. In the case of a non-third person subject its agreement requirements overrule those of the (apparently third person) predicate nominal. If, then, both the subject and the predicate nominal are third person, but they differ in number, a genuine conflict of agreement arises.

In addition to plural agreement on the adjective—which, incidentally, does not agree with head nouns inside noun phrases—another interesting property of this construction is the absence of the indefinite article from in front of the singular noun (phrase). Although in current colloquial Hungarian the use of the indefinite article has been spreading, there is still a marked difference in at least a number of constructions. When an adjective+noun construction occurs, the use of the indefinite article is becoming the rule, see (a). If, however, there is a single noun in the predicate, the absence/presence of the indefinite article can make the difference between (b) a literal and (c) a metaphorical interpretation.

- (161)
- a. A mi osztályunk (egy) jó csapat volt  
the our class a good team was  
'Our class was a good team.'

- b. Anna őrmester volt.  
Anna sergeant was  
'Anna was a sergeant.'
- c. Anna egy őrmester volt.  
'Anna was (like) a (real) sergeant.'

Neither the noun nor the adjective has any marking other than the plural suffix in finite clauses. If, in turn, they are part of an infinitival clause, they assume what appears to be a dative case suffix.

- (162)
- a. [Jó csapat-nak lenni] nehéz volt,  
good team-DAT be-INF difficult was  
'It was difficult to be a good team.'
  - b. [Magas-nak lenni] nem mindig volt jó.  
tall-DAT be-INF not always was good  
'It wasn't always good to be tall.'

The dative marking on the predicative adjective is probably related to the same case on subject complement adjectives in predicates like *látszik* 'seem' or *tűnik* 'appear', but note that predicative adjectives in infinitival complement clauses of verbal predicates do not change into the dative.

- (163)
- a. Anna magas-nak látszott.  
Anna tall-DAT seemed  
'Anna seemed tall.'
  - b. Anna magas(\*-nak) akart lenni.  
Anna tall-DAT wanted be-INF  
'Anna wanted to be tall.'

So far, only the absence or presence of the indefinite article has been illustrated. Naturally, if there is a definite article on the predicate nominal (or the adjective), it changes the sentence into a statement of identity.

- (164)
- a. Anna a diák volt.  
Anna the student was  
'Anna was the student.'
  - b. Anna a magas volt.  
Anna the tall was  
'Anna was the tall one.'

Two comments are in order here. First, adjectives can be used as elliptical noun phrases in Hungarian, and they can also be case-marked as such. Secondly, with two definite noun phrases in a statement of identity, questions of order become relevant in as much as it is possible to exchange the

two noun phrases without difficulty, though not without a change of topic-focus structure, as will be seen in 1.11, the section on emphasis.

The unmarked order of the constituents is as has been illustrated throughout: Subject-Noun/Adjective-Copula (if overt).

#### 1.2.1.1.3. Copular sentences with adverbial complement

These constructions differ from nominal and adjectival ones in that the copula is in general present in all persons and numbers. Here only sentences with definite subject noun phrases are illustrated. Those with indefinite subjects will be treated directly in section 1.2.1.1.6.2.

- (165)
- a. Anna a szobá-ban van.  
Anna the room-INE is  
'Anna is in the room.'
  - b. A lányok jól vannak.  
the girls well are  
'The girls are well.'
  - c. Az óra tegnap volt.  
the class yesterday was  
'The class was yesterday.'

For reasons relating to the obligatory presence of the copula, existential sentences with numerals in the predicate are also included in this subsection, rather than the previous one. This construction is applicable only to human (or at best animate) subjects, and then the predicative numeral is marked by a curious *-an/en* suffix, cf. 1.16.6. When inanimate or nonhuman subjects are involved, a quasi-partitive construction takes over.

- (166)
- a. A lányok négy-en van-nak.  
the girls four-AFX be-3PL  
'The girls are four.'
  - b. \*A könyvek négy-en van-nak.  
the books
  - c. Könyv-ből négy van.  
book-ELA four is  
'Of books, there are four.'

The order illustrated, i.e. Subject-Adverbial-Copula, corresponds to neutral sentences. In a presentative construction, however, in which an existential/locative predication is made, the place adverbial is placed initially with the subject following it and the third person singular form of the copula can be omitted.

- a. Az asztal-on a könyv.  
the table-SUP the book  
ca. 'On the table is the book.'
- b. Előtt-ed az élet.  
before-2SG the life  
ca. 'Before you is your entire life.'

Apart from adverbial suffixation the predicate adverbial is not marked in any way.

1.2.1.1.4–5. Copular sentences without overt copula

Apart from the adverbial predicates without overt copula just discussed, the only structures without the copula are nominal and adjectival predicates in present indicative third person forms, whether singular or plural.

- (168)
- a. A lány magas/diák.  
the girl tall/student  
'The girl is tall/a student.'
  - b. A lány-ok magas-ak/diák-ok.  
the girl-PL tall-PL/student-PL  
'The girls are tall/students.'

The rest of the paradigm is as follows. Note that subject pronouns can be omitted if unstressed throughout.

- (169)
- a. Én magas vagyok.  
I tall am
  - b. Te magas vagy.  
you.SG tall are
  - c. Mi diák-ok vagyunk.  
we student-PL are
  - d. Ti diák-ok vagytok.  
you.PL student-PL are

In nonindicative moods or past tense, the copula is required. (Past tense was shown above.)

- (170)
- a. Anna diák legyen.  
Anna student be.SUBJ  
'Anna ought to be a student.'
  - b. Anna diák lenne.  
Anna student be.COND  
'Anna would be a student.'

**1.2.1.1.6.1. The suppletive forms of the copula** There are two verbs in the role of the copula, the “stative” *van* ‘is’ forms the present and past forms, as illustrated all through above. However, it does not have an infinitive; it is the verb *lesz* ‘will-be, become’ that serves as the base of the infinitive, the future, or, for that matter, of the nonindicative forms shown above. (The analytic future *\*fog lenni* ‘will will-be’ is ungrammatical.)

- (171) a. Anna diák lesz.  
Anna student will-be  
‘Anna will be/become a student.’  
b. A lányok magasak lesznek.  
the girls tall.PL will-be  
‘The girls will be tall.’  
c. Anna nem akar diák lenni.  
Anna not wants student be-INF  
‘Anna doesn’t want to be/become a student.’

*Lesz* is ambiguous between a stative and a dynamic (‘become’) meaning in its finite (future) as well as nonfinite (infinitival) uses, since it has no alternative there. In the past tense, however, there is a difference between *volt* and *lett*, the former signifying state and the latter a change of state, cf.:

- (172) a. Anna diák volt.  
‘Anna was a student.’  
b. Anna diák lett.  
‘Anna became a student.’

In the third person present forms (both singular and plural) the negated copula has another set of suppletive forms: *nincs(en)* ‘is not’ and *nincsenek* ‘are not’. For all other persons and tenses the analytic negative *nem* ‘not’+copula is used, including those in which the copula is omitted.

- (173) a. Anna nincs a szobá-ban.  
Anna not.be.3SG the room-INE  
‘Anna isn’t in the room.’  
b. A lány-ok nincsen-ek jól.  
the girl-PL not.be.3-PL well  
‘The girls aren’t well.’  
(174) a. Anna nem volt a szobá-ban  
Anna not was the room-INE  
‘Anna wasn’t in the room.’

- b. A lány-ok nem magas-ak.  
the girl-PL not tall-PL  
'The girls aren't tall.'

**1.2.1.1.6.2. Existential sentences** The copula (in third person singular or plural) has to occur in the common form of sentences expressing the existence of some object at some location. The subject, which by definition is indefinite, occurs invariably in postverbal position, provided the sentence has no focus or emphasis in it. Thus the order of constituents is: Copula-Subject-Complement or Complement-Copula-Subject, with possible time adverbials placed initially or finally. Each lexical head, including the copula, is stressed with equal intensity.

- (175) a. Van egy könyv az asztal-on.  
is a book the table-SUP  
'There is a book on the table.'
- b. Holnap az irodá-ban lesz egy kis munka.  
tomorrow the office-INE will-be a little work  
'There will be some work (to do) in the office tomorrow.'
- c. Volt néhány lány a csapat-ban tavaly.  
were some girl the team-INE last-year  
'There were some girls in the team last year.'

A more marked variety of existential sentences is the one that may contain no adverb of place complement, but even if it does it expresses "pure" existence by omitting all articles from in front of the subject nominal, thus making it nonspecific. Ordering requirements are the same as above.

- (176) a. **Van** könyv az asztal-on.  
is book the table-SUP  
'There **is/are** (a) book(s) on the table.'
- b. **Lesz** munka az irodá-ban.  
will-be work the office-INE  
'There **will** be work (to do) in the office.'
- c. **Vannak** egyszarvúak.  
are unicorns  
'Unicorns exist.'

The constituent order seen in these sentences is parallel to that in verbal presentational clauses, in which the verb precedes the subject and the complements, and is stressed more prominently than the rest of the sentence, as marked by bold type. For more, see below. Note that this verb-first structure is ungrammatical if the subject is definite, cf. 1.2.1.1.3.

**1.2.1.1.6.3. Possessional sentences with copula** Hungarian is one of the languages that construct sentences expressing possession by means of a case-marked possessor, the copula, and a possessed nominal in the nominative. Since they will be discussed in more detail in section 1.10, the review given here concentrates on their properties related to the copula. For an extensive analysis, see Szabolcsi (1986/1992, 1994).

These structures are analogous to existential sentences in that their "subjects" must be indefinite, and the distinctions arising from the presence or absence of the articles carry over here. Note here that the possessor is in the dative and the possessed noun is marked for agreement with the possessor, glossed simply as "POSS" below. The neutral order is: Possessor-Copula-Possessed-Other.

(177)a.

Anná-nak van egy könyv-e London-ról.  
Anna-DAT is a book-POSS London-DEL  
'Anna has a book about London.'

b. Péter-nek van egy kis munká-ja a hivatal-ban.

Peter-DAT is a little work-POSS the office-INE  
'Peter has some work in the office.'

When there is no article on the possessed nominal, "pure" existential interpretation takes over with the most prominent stress, indicated by capitals, falling on the copula.

(178)a.

Anná-nak **van** könyv-e London-ról.  
'Anna DOES have (a) book(s) about London.'

b. Péter-nek **van** munká-ja (a hivatal-ban).

'There IS work for Peter (in the office).'

**1.2.1.1.6.4. Another possible copula** Only one main verb can be classified as a quasi-copula: *marad* 'remain', since it takes nominal and adjectival complements unsuffixed for dative or any other case but agreeing in number with the subject. All other possible candidates, like *látszik* 'seem', *tűnik* 'appear', *válik* 'become' mark their complement nominals or adjectives for dative or some other case, and at least in some dialects their adjectival complements, in others even their nominal ones, may lack agreement in number with the subject.

(179)

- a. Anna magas/diák maradt.  
Anna tall/student remained.3SG  
'Anna remained tall/a student.'
- b. A lány-ok magas-ak/diák-ok maradt-ak.  
the girls tall-PL/student-PL remained-3PL  
'The girls remained tall/students.'

- (180) a. Anna magas-nak/diák-nak látszott.  
Anna tall-DAT/student-DAT seemed.3SG  
'Anna seemed (to be) tall/a student.'
- b. A lányok magas-(ak)-nak/diák-(ok)-nak látszott-ak.  
the girls tall-PL-DAT/student-PL-DAT seemed-3PL  
'The girls seemed (to be) tall/students.'

## 1.2.1.2. Verbal sentences

## 1.2.1.2.1. Verbal sentences without subjects

Sentences with weather-verb predicates have no subjects at all. Although Hungarian is a pro-drop language, and suppressed subjects are frequent, they are always recoverable and can be made overt, as will be seen at the end of this subsection. In sentences with weather-verbs such reconstruction is not possible. Adjuncts can freely be added throughout these constructions.

- (181) a. (Én) olvas-ok.  
I read-1SG  
'I'm reading.'
- b. (Az) érdekes volt.  
it interesting was  
'It was interesting.'
- (182) a. (\*Az) havaz-ott.  
it snow-PAST.3SG  
'It was snowing.'
- b. (\*Az) fagy-ni fog.  
it freeze-INF will  
'It will be freezing.'

A number of weather-verbs are derived from nouns expressing meteorological phenomena or times of the day, as seen below, where "VRB" is a gloss for a denominal or deadjectival derivational affix.

- (183) a. Villám-l-ott.  
lightning-VRB-PAST.3SG  
'Lightning's struck.'
- b. Este-led-ett.  
evening-VRB-PAST.3SG  
'Evening was falling.'

- c. Be-sötét-ed-ett.  
 PFX-dark-VRB-PAST.3SG  
 'It has become dark.'

As Komlósy (1994) notes, there is an equivalent construction-type for some of these weather-verb sentences, making use of a (possibly modified) adjective or noun. He argues that these too can be considered subjectless clauses.

- (184) a. A szobá-ban (nagyon) meleg/hideg/sötét volt.  
 the room-INE very hot/cold/dark was  
 'It was (very) hot/cold/dark in the room.'  
 b. Itt (nagy) hőség van.  
 here big heat is  
 'It's very hot here.'

Sentences with optional dummy or expletive subjects are a result of pro-drop that allows pronominals to be omitted in nonprominent positions. The (overt) expletive invariably has the form *az* 'it, that' in the nominative.

- (185) (Az) érdekes, hogy Anna olvasta a könyvet.  
 it interesting that Anna read.DEF the book.ACC  
 'It is interesting that Anna has read the book.'

Possessional sentences provide some problem in identifying their subject: since the "notional subject", the possessor, is in the dative, while the object of possession is in the nominative, in traditional grammars the latter was regarded as the subject. Under Szabolcsi's (1986/1992, 1994) analysis, however, the possessor is moved out of the possessive noun phrase, which as a whole constitutes the subject of an existential sentence. For more details, see 1.10. The coindexed trace of the moved possessor is marked by "t".

- (186) a. Van [Anna-nak egy könyv-e]  
 is Anna-DAT a book-POSS  
 'There is a book of Anna's.'  
 b. Anná-naki van [ti egy könyv-e]  
 lit. 'To Anna is a book of hers.'='Anna has a book.'

Impersonal constructions are also possible in this language, where passive is mostly nonexistent. As in a number of other languages, e.g., Italian, pro-dropped third person plural subjects can be used to stand for unspecified agents. Note that these unexpressed agents are invariably construed as human, even if the predicate would generally require a nonhuman subject.

- (187) a. Kopog-t-ak az ajtó-n.  
knock-PAST-3PL the door-SUP  
'They/Someone knocked at the door.'='There was a knock at the door.'
- b. Meg-gyilkol-t-ák Indira Gandhi-t.  
PFX-assassinate-PAST-DEF.3PL Indira. Gandhi-ACC  
'Indira Gandhi has been assassinated.'
- c. Ugat-t-ak.  
bark-PAST-3PL  
'There was barking.'='Someone was barking.'

Finally, although apparently subjectless, sentences with pro-dropped subjects do not belong under this heading. Subject pronouns in all persons and numbers can be suppressed in any tense or mood; in fact, their presence is required only if they would occur in one of the more "prominent" positions, such as topic or focus.

- (188) a. (Én) olvas-ok.  
I read-1SG
- b. (Te) olvas-ol.  
you read-2SG
- c. (Ő) olvas.  
(s)he read.3SG
- d. (Mi) olvas-unk.  
we read-1PL
- e. (Ti) olvas-tok.  
you read-2PL
- f. (Ők) olvas-nak.  
they read-3PL

#### 1.2.1.2.2. Transitive and intransitive verbs

Intransitive verbs take no objects, while transitive verbs must have an object complement.

- (189) a. Péter kopog (\*egy ajtó-t).  
Peter knocks a door-ACC  
'Peter is knocking (the door).'
- b. Péter fog \*(egy ajtó-t).  
Peter holds a door-ACC  
'Peter is holding a door.'

A large class of transitive verbs can be used intransitively as activity verbs with their “natural objects” understood, e.g., *ír* ‘write’, *olvas* ‘read’, *eszik* ‘eat’, etc. Another set of transitive verbs denote properties when intransitive, e.g., *ráz* ‘shake something’ vs. ‘give (electric) shocks’, *rúg* ‘kick something/somebody’ vs. ‘have the habit of kicking people’. Yet another group is like underived nonagentive intransitive verbs, although Hungarian has a variety of derivational affixes for this purpose, cf. *(jól) húz* ‘(well) pull’ vs. ‘has the ability of pulling (carts, etc.) well’. Finally, a limited set of agentive verbs can be used intransitively to denote repeated or characteristic actions, e.g., *nyit* ‘open’, *zár* ‘close’, *kiköt* ‘dock’, although there are again available detransitivized forms available in principle, such as *nyílik* ‘open (intr.)’, which signify single events not involving agents.

- (190)
- a. Péter nyit-ott egy bolt-ot.  
Peter open-ed a shop-ACC
  - b. A bolt kilenc-kor nyit/\*nyílik.  
the shop nine-at opens  
‘The shop opens at nine.’

Transitive verbs have two conjugations. If the third person object is definite, the definite or “objective” conjugation is used; if it is indefinite (or the verb is intransitive), the indefinite or “subjective” conjugation is required. (For more, see 2.1.3.6.1.2.) The definite conjugation makes it possible to drop the object pronominal if it is in the singular, but if plural it has to be retained, even if the antecedent has been given in the context.

- (191)
- a. Olvas-om.  
read-DEF.1SG  
‘I’m reading it.’
  - b. Olvas-od.  
read-DEF.2SG  
‘You are reading it.’
  - c. Olvas-sa.  
read-DEF.3SG  
‘(S)he is reading it.’
  - d. Olvas-suk.  
read-DEF.1PL  
‘We are reading it.’
  - e. Olvas-sá-tok.  
read-DEF-2PL  
‘You are reading it.’

- f. Olvas-sák.  
read-DEF.3PL  
'They are reading it.'
- (192) a. Olvas-om \*(ők-et/azok-at).  
read-DEF.1SG them[—human]  
'I'm reading them.'
- b. Lát-om \*(őket).  
see-DEF.1SG them[+human]  
'I see them.'

Other than third person pronouns can also be dropped if singular, but then the indefinite conjugation is used (for first person objects), or a particular "second person object" (2OBJ) suffix is attached to the verb in first person singular.

- (193) a. Lát-sz (engem)/minket.  
see-2SG me/us  
'You see me/us.'
- b. Lát (engem)/minket.  
see.3SG me/us  
'S/he sees me/us.'
- c. Lát-lak (téged)/titeket.  
see-2OBJ.1SG you.SG/PL  
'I see you.'
- d. Lát (téged)/titeket.  
see.3SG you.SG/PL  
'S/he sees you.'

#### 1.2.1.2.3. Indirect objects

Strictly speaking, there are no indirect objects in Hungarian, though we will use the term for ease of reference. Indirect objects are expressed solely by means of a noun phrase in the dative case.

- (194) a. Anna Péter-nek adott egy könyv-et.  
Anna Peter-DAT gave a book-ACC  
'Anna gave a book to Peter.'
- b. Anna Péter-nek el-mesélt egy történet-et.  
Anna Peter-DAT PFX-recounted a story-ACC  
'Anna told a story to Peter.'

Since only subject pronouns (whether singular or plural) and singular object pronouns can be suppressed, indirect objects cannot be pro-

dropped, nor can any other arguments of the verb. Note that the dative has a number of different functions in Hungarian, such as marking the possessor, the subject of infinitives, or the nominal or adjectival complements of a number of verbs.

#### 1.2.1.2.4. Other arguments

There are a large number of possible arguments of verbs as well as adjectives in cases other than the accusative or dative, which the following will illustrate. Some of these oblique arguments are optional, marked by parentheses, others are obligatory.

- (195) a. Anna Péter-re bíz-ott egy könyv-et.  
Anna Peter-SUB entrust-PAST a book-ACC  
'Anna entrusted Peter with a book.'
- b. Anna vár (Péter-re).  
Anna waits Peter-SUB  
'Anna is waiting (for Peter).'
- (196) a. Anna nem könyörül Péter-en.  
Anna not has-mercy Peter-SUP  
'Anna doesn't have mercy on Peter.'
- b. Anna segített (Péter-en).  
Anna helped Peter-SUP  
'Anna helped (Peter).'
- (197) a. Péter mentes az irigység-től.  
Peter free the envy-ABL  
'Peter is free from envy.'
- b. Péter független volt (az apjá-tól).  
Peter independent was the his.father-ABL  
'Peter was independent (of his father).'
- (198) a. Anna foglalkozott a könyv-vel.  
Anna dealt the book-INS  
'Anna dealt with the book.'
- b. Anna beszélt (Péter-rel).  
Anna spoke Peter-INS  
'Anna spoke (with Peter).'

Another group of verbs determines the general nature of the argument, such as locative or directional, but does not specify the case in question. (For more on this, see Komlósy 1994.)

- (199) a. Péter most ért a ház-ba /rét-re /fa alá...  
 Peter now reached the house-ILL/meadow-SUB/tree under  
 'Peter has now reached the house/meadow/under the tree.'
- b. Péter a ház-ban/rét-en/fa alatt...lakik.  
 Peter the house-INE/meadow-SUP/tree under lives  
 'Peter lives in the house/meadow/under the tree.'

Note that the sentences are ungrammatical if no complements occur. In other words, these verbs have obligatory arguments.

Manner adverbs also appear as obligatory complements with a limited class of verbs.

- (200) Anna \*(jól) bánik Péter-rel.  
 Anna well treats Peter-INS  
 'Anna treats Peter well.'

A large class of transitive verbs take case-marked nouns (without any article) or adjectives that are traditionally classified as object complements, although they are in fact predicated of the object in some kind of secondary predication.

- (201) a. Péter könyv-vé alakította a kézirat-ot.  
 Peter book-TRA formed the manuscript-ACC  
 'Peter formed the manuscript into a book.'
- b. Anna barná-ra sütötte a kenyér-et.  
 Anna brown-SUB baked the bread-ACC  
 'Anna baked the bread brown.'
- c. Anna unalmas-nak tartja Péter-t.  
 Anna boring-DAT considers Peter-ACC  
 'Anna considers Peter (to be) boring.'

Other verbs are lexically intransitive and take subject complements in oblique cases, or can be transitivized in a construction type similar to the one seen above.

- (202) a. Anna vidám-má változott.  
 Anna cheerful-TRA changed  
 'Anna has become cheerful.'
- b. Anna \*(rekedt-re) kiabált-a a hangját.  
 Anna hoarse-SUB shouted-DEF the her.voice-ACC  
 'Anna shouted (until) her voice (turned) hoarse.'

Manner, time, place, etc. adjuncts can be added freely over and above the obligatory arguments illustrated above, depending on the semantics of the verb or adjective in the predicate.

## 1.2.1.2.5. Combinations of arguments

Usually the highest number of arguments a verb can take is four: subject, object, indirect object, and an oblique argument. It is also possible for some verbs to have two oblique arguments if they are intransitive.

- (203) a. Péter küldött egy könyv-et Anná-nak.  
Peter sent a book-ACC Anna-DAT  
'Peter sent a book to Anna.'  
b. Anna beszélt Péter-rel a könyv-ről.  
Anna spoke Peter-INS the book-DEL  
'Anna spoke with Peter about the book.'

However, in one class of verbs—those denoting transactions, such as *elad* 'sell', *vesz* 'buy', *megrendel* 'order'—in addition to the subject, the object, and the indirect object or source, a fourth argument determined by the verb, i.e., one expressing the price of the merchandise, can also occur.

- (204) Péter vett egy könyv-et Anná-tól száz forint-ért.  
Peter bought a book-ACC Anna-ABL hundred forint-CAU  
'Peter bought a book from Anna for a hundred forints.'

## 1.2.1.2.6. Order of constituents

In the neutral order, the (definite) subject is followed by the verb and the direct and indirect objects, possibly also in a reversed order, just as in the case of oblique arguments. Since the definiteness of the object can affect the selection of the verb (demanding a choice between prefixed and nonprefixed), minimal pairs involving definite and indefinite objects are often hard to find. (The sentences are ungrammatical only under a neutral, nonfocussed, reading.)

- (205) a. *neutral*  
Péter \*(meg)-vette a könyv-et Anná-tól.  
Peter PFX-bought the book-ACC Anna-DEL  
'Peter bought the book from Anna.'  
b. *neutral*  
Péter \*(el)-küldte Anná-nak a könyv-et.  
Peter PFX-sent Anna-DAT the book-ACC  
'Peter sent the book to Anna.'

Objects and other arguments with no article, i.e., "verbal modifiers" or "reduced complements", are placed in front of the (nonprefixed) verb. They are nonspecific and often form a semantic unit with the verb up to idiomaticity.

- (206) a. Péter könyv-et olvas (\*el).  
Peter book-ACC reads PFX  
'Peter is reading (a) book(s).'= 'Peter is engaged in the activity of book-reading.'
- b. Anna fal-ra akasztotta a kép-et.  
Anna wall-SUB hung.DEF the picture-ACC  
'Anna hung the picture on a wall.'
- c. Péter rész-t vett az előadás-on.  
Peter part-ACC took the lecture-SUP  
'Peter took part in the lecture.'
- d. A puska csütörtök-öt mondott.  
the gun Thursday-ACC said  
'The gun misfired.'

Note here that É.Kiss (1987, 1994) does not recognize neutral sentences in Hungarian, while others, e.g., Kálmán (1985), Kenesei (1986), Horvath (1986), Varga (1986), argue for neutral stresses and/or constituent order.

### 1.2.1.3. Adverbials

#### 1.2.1.3.1. Types of adverbials

**1.2.1.3.1.1. Adverbs** The following illustrate adverbs of time, place, manner, and frequency.

- (207) a. Itt/Most/Idén Anna olvassa a könyvet.  
here/now/this.year Anna reads.DEF the book.ACC  
'Anna is reading the book here/now/this year.'
- b. Anna gyors-an/gyakr-an olvassa a könyvet.  
Anna quick-ly/frequent-ly reads.DEF the book.ACC  
'Anna reads/is reading the book fast/often.'

There are a few lexical adverbs, some of which have extinct or unanalyzable adverbial case suffixes, as in the (a) example above, or are more or less obsolete compound time adverbs, such as names of parts of the day—*reggel* 'morning', *dél-előtt* 'noon-before, morning', *dél-után* 'noon-after, afternoon'—or end in *nap* 'day', e.g., *tegnap* 'yesterday', *holnap* 'tomorrow', *vasárnap* 'Sunday'.

**1.2.1.3.1.2. Postpositional phrases** According to one calculation (Marác 1991), there are fifty-four postpositions in this exclusively postpositional language. The exact number is hard to determine since there are some whose status is transient; for more on criteria, see 1.2.4.1. Most

define place adverbials, a good many of them are time adverbials, and some are used to express the beneficiary, the instrument, or some other role in the action or predication. They come in two subtypes: one apparently takes an NP in the nominative, but on closer scrutiny these postpositions turn out to behave syntactically like case suffixes, although they are independent words morphologically. This class will be called “case-like” postpositions. The other group assigns some oblique case to the noun phrase, and they will be labeled as “real” postpositions. Both subclasses belong to “core” postpositions, in contrast to “transitional” ones, which are in the process of becoming postpositions.

- (208)
- a. A könyv az asztal alatt van.  
the book the table under is  
'The book is under the table.'
  - b. Péter az előadás után érkezett.  
Peter the lecture after arrived  
'Peter arrived after the lecture.'
  - c. Anna Péter iránt szeretet érez.  
Anna Peter for affection.ACC feels  
'Anna feels an affection for Peter.'
  - d. Péter Anna helyett beszélt.  
Peter Anna instead-of spoke  
'Peter spoke instead of Anna.'
- (209)
- a. A könyv a szobá-n kívül van.  
the book the room-SUP outside is  
'The book is outside the room.'
  - b. Péter két órá-n belül érkezett.  
Peter two hour-SUP inside arrived  
'Peter arrived in two hours.'
  - c. Péter Anná-hoz képest magas volt.  
Peter Anna-ALL compared tall was  
'Peter was tall compared to Anna.'

**1.2.1.3.1.3. Cases** There are some twenty-one oblique case suffixes listed in grammars of Hungarian. Again exact numbers are difficult to determine, not only because of the blurred dividing line between cases and postpositions, but also because the “end” of the list seems to taper off into highly unproductive suffixes such as *nyar-anta* ‘summer-SFX’, meaning roughly ‘every summer, regularly in summer’, but it can hardly be added even to all expressions denoting periods of time, cf. *\*óra-nta* ‘hour-SFX’, which has the form *óra-nként* ‘hour-ly’ instead.

With this caveat in mind, let us see examples for productive case suffixes defining adverbs of place and time. First, the characteristic “tridirectional” property of Finno-Ugric suffixes for place adverbials is illustrated: like postpositions of place, most have different forms for expressing the place of the action/event, the direction toward, and the direction from some place. First place adverbials, then adverbials of time, are given.

- (210) a. Anna a ház-ban lakik.  
Anna the house-INE lives  
'Anna lives in the house.'
- b. Anna a ház-ba lépett.  
Anna the house-ILL entered  
'Anna entered into the house.'
- c. Anna a ház-ból érkezett.  
Anna the house-ELA arrived  
'Anna came from the house.'
- (211) a. Péter holnap-ra el-olvassa a könyvet.  
Peter tomorrow-SUB PFX-reads.DEF the book.ACC  
'Peter will read the book by tomorrow.'
- b. Péter március-ban vette a könyvet.  
Peter March-INE bought.DEF the book.ACC  
'Peter bought the book in March.'

**1.2.1.3.1.4. Adverbial clauses** The large majority of adverbial clauses are finite, although nonfinite clauses of time, purpose, and manner occur, as was discussed in 1.1.2.4. in detail.

#### 1.2.1.3.2. Positions of adverbials

The possible positions of adverbials are (a) initial, (b) following the first phrase in topic, (c) in a post-topic (or pre-quantifier) position, and (d) final. Since a sentence adverbial can occur in any one of them, one such expression will serve as illustration.

- (212) a. *Anna szerint* Péter tegnap könyvet olvasott a házban.  
Anna according Peter yesterday book.ACC read the house-INE  
'According to Anna, Peter was reading a book in the house yesterday.'

- b. Péter *Anna szerint* tegnap könyvet olvasott a házban.  
'According to Anna, Peter was reading a book in the house yesterday.'
- c. Péter tegnap *Anna szerint* könyvet olvasott a házban.  
'According to Anna, Peter was reading a book in the house yesterday.'
- d. Péter tegnap könyvet olvasott a házban *Anna szerint*.  
'According to Anna, Peter was reading a book in the house yesterday.'

Time and place adverbs generally have the same choice of occurrence. Postverbal arguments are placed adjacent to the verb and one another, but the order of these adjuncts is relatively free: *tegnap* and *a házban* in the example above, for instance, can be interchanged, or both placed in front of the subject *Péter*, or behind the verb.

Manner adverbials are more restricted as regards their positions. They occur either in (a) the pre-focus or (b) the focus position. Manner adverbials that have positive meaning are in (a), those with a negative meaning are in (b). Note that the focus position is optionally available for positive adverbials. For more, see Kiefer (1967), É.Kiss (1987, 1994).

- (213) a. Anna kielégítően meg-oldotta/oldotta meg a  
Anna satisfactorily PFX-solved.DEF the  
feladat-ot.  
assignment-ACC  
'Anna did the assignment satisfactorily.'  
'It was in a satisfactory manner that Anna did the assignment.'
- b. Anna elégtelenül oldotta  
Anna unsatisfactorily solved.DEF  
meg/\*meg-oldotta a feladat-ot.  
PFX  
'Anna did the assignment unsatisfactorily.'

Clauses have the same choices as simple adverbials, except that they cannot be placed in the focus position.

- (214) a. Amikor Anna, olvasott, Péter aludt a szobában  
when Anna read Peter slept the room-INE  
'When Anna was reading, Peter was sleeping in the room.'
- b. Péter, amikor Anna olvasott, aludt a szobában.  
'When Anna was reading, Peter was sleeping in the room.'

c. Péter aludt a szobában, amikor Anna olvasott.'

'When Anna was reading, Peter was sleeping in the room.'

### 1.2.1.3.3. Obligatory adverbials

Some obligatory adverbials were discussed and illustrated in 1.2.1.2.4 in connection with the argument structure of verbs.

## 1.2.2. Adjective phrases

### 1.2.2.1. Operational definition

Adjective phrases occur (a) in predicates containing a copula, (b) in noun phrases, and (c) as (subject or object) complements of one class of verbs.

- (215)
- a. A könyv nagyon érdekes volt,  
the book very interesting was  
'The book was very interesting.'
  - b. az érdekes könyv  
the interesting book
  - c. A könyv érdekes-nek tűnik  
the book interesting-DAT appears  
'The book appears interesting.'
  - d. Anna érdekes-nek tartott-a a könyv-et.  
Anna interesting-DAT considered-DEF the book-ACC  
'Anna considered the book interesting.'

These environments can differentiate between adjectives and attributive expressions whose heads are traditionally considered as derived adjectives, such as (216) active (or present) participles, and (217) *-i* affixed postpositional phrases.

- (216)
- a. a sétáló fiú  
the walk-APRT boy  
'the walking boy'
  - b. \*A fiú sétáló volt.  
the boy walk-APRT was
- (217)
- a. az Anna előtt-i fiú  
the Anna before-AFX boy  
'the boy in front of Anna'

- b. \*A fiú-t Anna előtti-nek látom.  
 the boy-ACC Anna before-AFX see.1SG  
 'I see the boy as (one) in front of Anna.'

Since, however, nouns without the article can fill the very same positions, as seen in the following examples, and, moreover, adjectives can be case-marked just like nouns, further criteria have to be found. (Note that the form of definite article *az/a* depends on whether the following word begins with a vowel or a consonant.)

- (218) a. Péter diák/unalmas volt.  
 Peter student/boring was  
 'Peter was a student/boring.'  
 b. a(z) diák/unalmas eladó  
 the student/boring salesperson  
 c. Anna diák-nak/unalmas-nak tartotta Péter-t.  
 Anna student-DAT/boring-DAT considered.DEF Peter-ACC  
 'Anna considered Peter a student/boring.'

Admittedly, the (b) case is one of compounding if the two nouns are side by side, but that has to be shown by independent devices, such as the difference between stress patterns, with the compound having a single stress and the adjective+noun construction separate stresses on each word. But further tests may dispel any doubts concerning the distinction between adjectives and nouns.

First of all, (a) adjectives take adverbials, such as *nagyon* 'Very', *kissé* 'little', *rendkívül* 'extremely', etc. Then they have (b) comparative and (c) superlative forms, expressed invariably by affixation in Hungarian. Note that the superlative is marked by a discontinuous morpheme consisting of the comparative suffix and the superlative prefix, surrounding the adjective, as it were.

- (219) a. Péter nagyon unalmas/\*diák volt.  
 Peter very boring/student was  
 'Peter was very boring/\*student.'  
 b. Péter unalmas-abb/\*diák-abb volt.  
 Peter boring-CMP/student-CMP was  
 'Peter was more boring/\*more student.'  
 c. Péter volt a leg-unalmas-abb/\*leg-diák-abb.  
 Peter was the SPR-boring-CMP/SPR-student-CMP  
 'Peter was the most boring /\*most student.'

It is to be noted here that various derived phrases, usually classified as adjectival, do not pass the tests reviewed here: thus (a) active participles,

(b) passive participles—unless they are lexicalized, (c) phrases derived by means of the suffix *-i* from postpositional phrases, and (d) phrases derived by means of the participle *való* 'being' from complements of nominalized predicates. They all occur in attributive functions in noun phrases, but fail each of the other criteria listed.

- (220)
- a. egy [(könyv-et) olvas-ó] lány  
a book-ACC read-APRT girl  
'a girl reading (a book)'
  - b. a(z) [(sok-szor) olvas-ott] könyv  
the many-times read-PPRT book  
'the book read (many times)'
  - c. egy [az asztal-om alatt-i] könyv  
a the table-POSS.1SG under-SFX book  
'a book under my table'
  - d. az [asztal alatt való] olvas-ás  
the table under being read-NML  
'the reading under the/a table'

#### 1.2.2.2. Arguments in adjective phrases

##### 1.2.2.2.1. Adjectives in subjectless sentences

As was mentioned above, a few adjectives occur in sentences that cannot have overt subjects.

- (221)
- a. Tél-en itt hideg van.  
winter-SUP here cold is  
'In winter it is cold here.'
  - b. A szobá-ban tegnap sötét volt.  
the room-ILL yesterday dark was  
'It was dark in the room yesterday.'

It would be futile to try to claim that the words in questions, i.e., *hideg* and *sötét*, are adjectives *and* nouns, and they are predicate nouns here, especially since adjectives can stand in for nouns in elliptical noun phrases. But recall that "bare" nouns in such sentences express "pure" existence and require that the copula be stressed and placed initially or at least in front of them. Here neither is the case, cf. 1.2.1.1.6.2. Moreover, the words in question can be modified by intensifiers, such as *nagyon* 'very', *borzasztóan* 'terribly', etc., which are never used to modify nouns.

## 1.2.2.2.2–4. Arguments of adjectives

No adjective has a direct object complement, i.e., none governs an accusative noun phrase. No adjective has an indirect object argument either, since the category does not exist in Hungarian. When an adjective has a dative-marked argument, it may express either the beneficiary or the experiencer.

- (222)
- a. *colloquial*  
Anna sáros volt Péter-nek.  
Anna indebted was Peter-DAT  
'Anna was owing money to Peter.'
  - b. Anna fontos volt Péter-nek  
Anna important was Peter-DAT  
'Anna was important to Peter.'

The dative arguments can occur also if the adjective is within a noun phrase.

- (223)
- a. [Péter-nek fontos] könyv  
the Peter-DAT important book  
'the book important to Peter'

A number of adjectives have optional (oblique) case-marked or postpositional noun phrase arguments, or infinitival clauses. The illustrations below are by no means exhaustive as to the variety of cases or the number of adjectives.

- (224)
- a. Péter szerelmes volt Anná-ba.  
Peter amorous was Anna-ILL  
'Peter was in love with Anna.'
  - b. Anna biztos volt a dolog-ban.  
Anna certain was the matter-INE  
'Anna was certain of the matter.'
  - c. Péter kedves lesz Anná-hoz.  
Peter kind will-be Anna-ALL  
'Peter will be kind to Anna.'
  - d. Anna óvatos Péter-rel szemben.  
Anna cautious Peter-INS against  
'Anna is cautious with Peter.'
  - e. Péter képtelen volt olvas-ni.  
Peter unable was read-INF  
'Peter was unable to read.'

They can preserve their arguments if placed in noun phrases, but, as above, the adjectival head has to be phrase-final.

- a. az [Anná-ba szerelmes] fiú  
the Anna-ILL amorous boy  
'the boy in love with Anna'
- b. a [dolog-ban biztos] diák  
the matter-ILL certain student  
'the student certain of the matter'
- c. az [Anná-hoz kedves] emberek  
the Anna-ALL kind people  
'the people kind to Anna'
- d. a [Peter-rel szemben óvatos] lány  
the Peter-INS against cautious girl  
'the girl cautious with Peter'
- e. az [olvas-ni képtelen] lány  
the read-INF unable girl  
'the girl unable to read'

Some adjectives take finite clauses as arguments, introduced by (sometimes optional) oblique case-marked expletive pronouns. While these expletives can allow finite clauses to be placed outside noun phrases, they are structurally too far from their clauses when inside adjectival phrases that are embedded in noun phrases, so clausal arguments are not possible there. The other alternative, viz., that a finite clause stays inside the adjective or noun phrase, is impossible as a rule in such left-branching constructions.

- (226) a. Anna biztos (ab-ban), hogy Péter beteg volt.  
Anna certain it-ILL that Peter sick was  
'Anna is certain that Peter was sick.'
- b. Péter kíváncsi (ar-ra), hogy ki volt beteg.  
Peter curious it-SUB that who was sick  
'Peter is curious who was sick.'
- (227) a. \*az [abban, hogy Péter beteg volt, biztos] lány  
the it.ILL that Peter sick was certain girl
- b. \*[az [abban ti biztos] lány]] [hogy Péter beteg volt]i  
the it.ILL certain girl that Peter sick was  
'the girl certain that Peter was sick'

#### 1.2.2.3. *Modification of adjectives*

In addition to the adverbs or intensifiers illustrated in 1.2.2.1, finite clauses introduced by a lexical or expletive head (and, for a number of speakers, infinitival clauses) can also modify adjectives.

- (228)
- a. Az előadás rendkívül/igen unalmas volt.  
the lecture extremely/very boring was  
'The lecture was extremely/very boring.'
  - b. Az előadás elég rövid volt ah-hoz, hogy figyel-j-ünk  
the lecture enough short was it-ALL that listen-SUBJ-1PL  
rá.  
SUB.3SG  
'The lecture was short enough for us to listen to it.'
  - c. Az előadás olyan unalmas volt, hogy nem figyelt-ünk  
the lecture so boring was that not listened-1PL  
rá.  
SUB.3SG  
'The lecture was so boring that we weren't listening to it.'
  - d. Az előadás túl unalmas volt ah-hoz, hogy figyel-j-ünk  
the lecture too boring was it-ALL that listen-SUBJ-1PL  
rá.  
SUB.3SG  
'The lecture was too boring for us to listen to it.'
  - e. %?Az előadás túl unalmas volt felven-ni.  
the lecture too boring was record-INF  
'The lecture was too boring to record.'

Again, finite clauses cannot occur either in or outside of an adjective phrase within a noun phrase, though simple adverbial or infinitival modifiers can, since they can be placed to the left of the adjectival head. It is worth mentioning that infinitival complements are somewhat more acceptable here.

- (229)
- a. a [rendkívül/igen/nem (nagyon) unalmas] előadás  
the extremely/very/not very boring lecture
  - b. \*[az [ahhoz elég érdekes] előadás] hogy felvegyük  
the it-ALL enough interesting lecture that we.record.it  
'the interesting enough lecture to record (it)'
  - c. %?[a [felven-ni túl unalmas] előadás]  
the record-INF too boring lecture  
'the too boring lecture to record'

Finally, note that some adjectives can also be used without any adverbial suffixation to serve as modifiers of a limited set of adjectival phrases, e.g., *szép* 'nice', *jó* 'good', etc., + *kis* 'little', *nagy* 'big', etc.

- a. jó kis előadás  
'good little lecture'
- b. szép nagy bukás  
'nice big flop'

### 1.2.3. Adverbial phrases

#### 1.2.3.1. Operational definition

Adverbial phrases usually have notional definitions, mostly relying on eliciting them by reference and in answer to various (adverbial) question-word questions. In view of this functional approach, (case-marked) adverbial and postpositional phrases (see section 1.2.4) overlap. Somewhat more formal is the procedure of substitution for unanalyzable lexical adverbs, such as those corresponding to English *now, tomorrow; here, out-(side); fast*, etc. Some of these, especially place adverbials, can appear as obligatory arguments of a class of verbs and provide another context for demonstration; others, in particular time adverbials, occur only as free adjuncts.

- (231)
- a. Anna kint/a ház-ban lakik.  
Anna outside/the house-INE lives  
'Anna lives outside/in the house.'
  - b. Anna most/holnap/két év múlva érkezik.  
Anna now/tomorrow/two year after arrives  
'Anna will arrive now/tomorrow/in two years.'
  - c. Péter jól/gyors-an/toll nélkül ír.  
Peter well/quick-ADV/pen without writes  
'Peter writes well/fast/without a pen.'

#### 1.2.3.2–4. Modification of adverbials

The most common structure of modification is adverbial: the general derivative affix (-an/en) producing "manner" adverbs from adjectives is used to provide modifiers for place and time adverbial phrases and also intensifiers for manner adverbials.

- (232)
- a. Anna messze kint/ \*a házban lakik.  
Anna far out the house-INE lives  
'Anna lives far outside/\*in the house.'

- b. Anna épp-en/pontos-an ide/holnap/két év múlva  
Anna just-ly/exact-ly here/tomorrow/two year after  
érkezik.  
arrives  
'Anna will arrive just/exactly here/tomorrow/in two years.'
- c. Péter kifejezett-en/nagy-on jól/gyors-an ír.  
Peter pronounced-ly/great-ly well/quick-ly writes  
'Peter writes positively/very well/fast.'

Postpositional manner adverbial phrases cannot be modified by the usual intensifiers, except for those affirming the truthfulness of the statement.

- (233) a. \*Péter kifejezetten toll nélkül ír.  
Peter positively pen without writes  
'Peter writes positively without a pen.'
- b. Péter való-ban/igaz-án/tény-leg toll nélkül ír.  
Peter real-INE/true-ADV/fact-ADV pen without writes  
'Peter writes really/indeed/in fact without a pen.'

While *való-ban* above appears to be a case-marked noun or adjective, it is in fact a lexically derived adverb, like the others.

In addition to lexical(ly derived) adverbs, finite adverbial clauses mostly of degree can also modify adverbial phrases. As was illustrated before, these clauses are associated with the "pointer" *olyan* 'so' in the main clause.

- (234) a. Anna olyan messze lakik, hogy nem látogat-hat-juk meg.  
Anna so far lives that not visit-POSS-DEF.1PL PFX  
'Anna lives so far away that we can't visit her.'
- b. Anna olyan soká-ig olvasott, hogy el-aludt.  
Anna so long-TER read that PFX-slept.3SG  
'Anna was reading for so long that she fell asleep.'
- c. Péter olyan gyors-an ír, hogy fáj a keze.  
Peter so quick-ly writes that hurts the his.hand  
'Peter writes so fast that his hand begins to hurt.'

As demonstrated in the examples, modifiers are placed in front of the adverbial, just like the anticipatory expressions introducing finite clauses, which as a rule follow the adverbial, or in fact all other constituents of the main clause itself.

**1.2.4. Postpositional phrases***1.2.4.1. Operational definition*

In section 1.2.1.3.1.2 we alluded to the difficulty of defining postpositional phrases. Below we will first differentiate two subtypes: “case-like” post-positions apparently have a noun phrase in nominative case, but in a syntactic sense they are much more like case suffixes, while from the point of view of morphology they are independent words. The other group, which will be called “real” postpositions, takes a noun phrase in an oblique case. Both subclasses belong to “core” postpositions, in contrast to “transitional” ones, which are in the process of changing from syntactic constructions to postpositions. We will now list the criteria relevant to determining them.

First of all postpositions differ from case suffixes in that they are independent words as evidenced by operations such as derivation or coordination. Postpositions, unlike case suffixes, can serve as the basis for the adjectival or attributive derivative affix *-i* (discussed in more detail in 1.2.5.2.7). In contrast to case suffixes, postpositions can have their NP arguments conjoined, and they can be coordinated themselves.

- (235) a. Péter (fölött) és Anna fölött  
Peter above and Anna above  
'above Peter and (above) Anna'
- b. Péter-\*(től) és Anná-tól  
Peter-ABL and Anna-ABL  
'from Peter and (from) Anna'
- (236) a. Péter fölött és mögött  
Peter above and behind  
'above and behind Peter'
- b. \*Péter-től és -hez  
Peter-ABL and ALL  
ca. 'from and to Peter'

“Real” postpositions assign oblique case to the NP they govern.

- (237) Anna Péter-rel együtt érkezett  
Anna Peter-INS together arrived  
'Anna arrived together with Peter.'

A different set of observations, in turn, supports the view that “real” postpositions are like oblique case suffixes themselves. First, they do not assign any case to their NPs, rather they behave like case suffixes in NPs containing the “full” demonstrative. If they marked their NPs

nominative, as Marácz (1991) claims, they would not have to be repeated on the demonstrative like any case suffix, and indeed the oblique case assigned by the “real” postpositions to their NPs.

- (238)
- a. az-zal a fiú-val  
that-INS the boy-INS  
'with that boy'
  - b. a(z) \*(fölött) a fiú fölött  
that above the boy above  
'above that boy'
  - c. az \*(-zal) a fiú-val együtt  
that-INS the boy-INS together  
'together with that boy'

When a personal pronoun and a referential NP are coordinated in a postpositional phrase, they again behave the same way as case-marked personal pronouns coordinated with referential NPs.

- (239)
- a. vel-ed és Péter-rel  
INS-2SG and Peter-INS  
'with you and Peter'
  - b. \*te és Péter-rel  
you and Peter-INS

- (240)
- a. fölött-ed és Péter fölött  
above-2SG and Peter above  
'above you and Peter'
  - b. \*te és Péter fölött-(etek)  
2PL

The person-marked form of the postposition in the (b) example serves to indicate that the ungrammaticality does not arise from a conflict of agreement; for example, coordinated subjects such as those in (240b) can have predicates marked for second person plural.

Real postpositions can take locative case suffixes, but case-like postpositions, *pace* Marácz (1991:279), do not admit additional inflectional affixes—at least for a large class of speakers.

- (241)
- a. a ház-on túl-ról  
the house-SUB beyond-DEL  
'from beyond the house'
  - b. ?a ház mögött-ről  
the house behind-DEL  
'from behind the house'

The ungrammatical form in the (b) example is even more unlikely because the simple postposition *mögül* 'from behind' may also lexically block the formation of such complex forms.

A further distinction can be made between "core" postpositions and syntactic phrases in a state of transition to become postpositions, which also relies on properties of person-marking. Whereas (a) core postpositions in construction with personal pronouns consist of a root, a locative suffix and a person-marker, which is by and large identical with the one on possessed nominals, (b) transitional postpositions have the latter two in reversed order, just as if they were "true" noun phrases.

- (242)
- a. föl-ött-ed  
top-SUP-2SG  
'above you'
  - b. szám-od-ra  
account-2SG-SUB  
'onto your account'='for you'

This again relates these postpositions to (a) cases, some of which happen to have similar pronominal forms, and distances them from (b) "real" postpositions, which cannot combine directly with personal pronouns, since they take case-marked personal pronouns just as they require case-marked NPs.

- (243)
- a. bel-ől-ed  
inside-ELA-2SG  
'out of you'
  - b. vel-ed együtt/\*együtt-ed  
INS-2SG together/together-2SG  
'together with you'

#### 1.2.4.2–3. Arguments and modification of postpositional phrases

Although postpositions appear in construction with subordinate clauses, it is safe to say that they always and without exception take noun phrases as their arguments, as has been illustrated throughout. In case they are accompanied by clauses, the postposition takes as its complement either (a) an anticipatory pronoun or (b) what is apparently a relative pronoun, but even in this latter instance the construction is best regarded as idiosyncratic since the literal meaning of the relative pronoun+postposition is not present. Although it is classified as a conjunction, the postpositional phrase is understood as part of (the meaning of) the main clause, since it is within the higher clause that the time relator is interpretable.

- (244) a. Az-után, hogy Péter meg-érkezett, Anna el-aludt  
 it-after that Peter PFX-arrived Anna PFX-slept  
 'After Peter had arrived, Anna fell asleep.'  
 b. Mi-után Péter meg-érkezett, Anna el-aludt  
 what-after Peter PFX-arrived Anna PFX-slept  
 'After Peter had arrived, Anna fell asleep.'

Apart from conjoined phrases, postpositions do not occur with more than one argument, and they cannot be stranded either. The adverbs that can modify postpositional phrases were discussed in the previous subsection.

#### 1.2.4.4. Cases governed by postpositions

As was argued above, case-like postpositions do not govern cases but behave like case affixes themselves. Their list is as follows: *által* 'by'; *alá* '(to) under', *alatt* 'under', *alól* 'from under'; *elé* '(to) before', *előtt* 'before', *elől* 'from before'; *ellen* 'against'; *felé* 'toward', *felől* 'from the direction of'; *fölé* '(to) above', *fölött* 'above'; *gyanánt* 'as'; *helyett* 'instead of'; *hosszat* 'for (a period of time)'; *iránt* 'for'; *köré* '(to) around', *körül* 'around'; *közé* '(to) between', *között* 'between', *közül* 'from between'; *metté* '(to) beside', *mellett* 'beside', *mellől* 'from beside'; *miatt* 'because of'; *mögé* '(to) behind', *mögött* 'behind', *mögül* 'from behind'; *nélkül* 'without'; *óta* 'since'; *szerint* 'according to'; *után* 'after'; *vége* 'for the sake of'.

"Real" postpositions, on the other hand, appear to select between the following cases: (a) superessive—*alul* 'below', *át* 'through, across', *belül* 'inside of', *felül* 'beyond, over', *keresztül* 'through, across', *kívül* 'outside of', *túl* 'beyond', *végig* 'along'; (b) instrumental—*együtt* 'together', *szembe(n)* 'opposite to', *szemközt* 'facing'; (c) allative—*képest* 'compared to', *közel* 'near'.

- (245) a. a ház-on át  
 the house-SUP across  
 'across the house'  
 b. Anná-val szemben  
 Anna-INS opposite  
 'opposite to Anna'  
 c. Péter-hez képest  
 Peter-ALL compared  
 'compared to Peter'

Moreover, transitional postpositions may also govern oblique cases.

- (246) e perc-től fogva  
 this minute-ABL beginning  
 'from/since this minute'

A number of case-like postpositions (though definitely not all) can take personal pronouns as their arguments, whose most common form is, as was illustrated above, agreement marked on the postposition with the pronoun itself suppressed.

- (247)
- a. fölött-ed  
above-2SG
  - b. \*gyanánt-ad  
as-2SG

The pronoun can be (a) overt inside the postpositional phrase or (b) it can move out if it assumes a dative case, much as in possessive noun phrases. Note that not all postpositions that can take personal pronouns as arguments allow them to leave the PP and that only personal pronouns are capable of undergoing this operation. It has been argued that when the nominal complement of the postposition is moved out of the PP, it is interpreted as metaphorical.

- (248)
- a. Te-fölött-ed senki nincs.  
you-above-2SG nobody not.is  
'There is nobody above you.'  
'You have no superiors.'
  - b. Nek-ed senki nincs fölött-ed.  
DAT-2SG nobody not.is above-2SG  
'You have no superiors.'

- (249)
- a. Te-helyett-ed Anna érkezett.  
you-instead-2SG Anna arrived  
'Anna arrived instead of you.'
  - b. \*Nek-ed Anna érkezett helyett-ed.  
DAT-2SG Anna arrived instead-2SG

In another construction-type the postposition appears as if it were a preverbal prefix.

- (250)
- a. Anna mellé Péter-t állították.  
Anna beside Peter-ACC stood.3PL  
'They stood Peter next to Anna.'
  - b. Mellé-állították Péter-t Anná-nak.  
beside-stood.3PL Peter-ACC Anna-DAT  
'They stood Peter next to Anna.'
  - c. Anná-nak Péter-t állították mellé \*(-je)  
beside-3SG  
'They stood Peter next to Anna.'

It is supposed, at least under some analyses (cf. Marácz 1991, É.Kiss 1994), that the postposition moves out of the postpositional phrase into the preverbal position, leaving the argument in a dative case. Others, e.g., Komlósy (1994), maintain that the two analogous constructions come from parallel, but not identical, sources, as is indicated by the differences in person-marking.

Other, more prefix-like postpositions can freely alternate between a person-marked and a plain form.

- (251)
- a. A sín alá ütött.  
the rail under hit.3SG  
'He hit (once) under the rail.'
  - b. Alá-ütött a sín-nek.  
rail-DAT  
'He hit (once) under the rail.'
  - c. A sín-nek ütött alá(-ja).  
under-3SG  
'He hit (once) under the rail.'

Note here that nonpronominal NPs cannot in general be marked by the dative in postpositional phrases and that in the examples above focus was disregarded.

Finally, there are two postpositions that govern alternative cases; one of them has different meanings depending on the cases it assigns, the other can assign an oblique case to its argument only if it is a personal pronoun. The following illustrate.

- (252)
- a. a körülmények-nél fogva  
the circumstances-ADE because  
'on account of the circumstances'
  - b. e perc-től fogva  
this minute-ELA beginning  
'from this minute'

- (253)
- a. Péter(\*-nél) nélkül  
Peter-ADE without  
'without Peter'
  - b. nál-ad nélkül  
ADE-2SG without  
'without you'
  - c. nélkül-ed  
without-2SG  
'without you'

Few verbs or lexical heads in general govern postpositions (e.g., *szeretetet NP iráni* 'love for NP'), and none of them determines the case the postposition assigns to its argument.

### 1.2.5. Noun phrases

#### 1.2.5.1. Operational definition

Noun phrases are determined by their syntactic positions: they can be subjects or objects, they can be marked for various oblique cases, and occur as arguments of postpositions. Although the nominal head of the NP, as well as the modifying adjectival phrase and the nominal head, may be omitted and then the plural and case affixes are attached to the remaining rightmost constituent of the NP, the identification of the string as a noun phrase encounters no difficulty.

- (254)
- a. Anna [négy alacsony férfi] ellen győzött.  
Anna four small man against won  
'Anna has won against four small men.'
  - b. Anna [négy alacsony\_] ellen győzött.  
'Anna has won against four small ones.'
  - c. Anna [négy\_ \_] ellen győzött.  
'Anna has won against four ones.'

#### 1.2.5.2. Modification

##### 1.2.5.2.1. Modification by adjective

Adjectives or, more precisely, adjectival phrases, occur to the left of the head noun. They do not agree with the head in number or in case. If there is more than one adjective, they may be conjoined or "stacked". In the latter case they can be interpreted as either restrictive or nonrestrictive and their order starting from the noun toward the "periphery" is determined on semantic grounds—i.e., the kinds of property they designate—adjectives expressing more central, stable, invariable features are closer to the noun than those conveying characteristics of a more temporary, changeable nature.

- (255)
- a. az idős és sikeres író
  - b. a sikeres és idős író  
the old and successful writer
  - c. a sikeres idős író  
'the successful old writer'

- d. \*?az idős sikeres író  
'the old successful writer'

The groups of adjectives from "peripheral" to "central" are as follows:

(256)	<i>Variable</i>	<i>Age/Size</i>	<i>Color</i>	<i>Source</i>	<i>Noun</i>
	<i>sikeres</i>	<i>idős</i>	<i>fekete</i>	<i>amerikai</i>	<i>író</i>
	successful	old	black	American	writer
	<i>kedves</i>	<i>hosszú</i>	<i>barna</i>	<i>magyar</i>	<i>vizsla</i>
	kind	tall	brown	Hungarian	hound
	<i>szép</i>	<i>új</i>	<i>fehér</i>	<i>selyem</i>	<i>ing</i>
	beautiful	new	white	silken	shirt

Adjectives of the same group can of course also be stacked under the same conditions and with the same ambiguities between restrictive and nonrestrictive readings.

- (257) a. a sikeres okos vizsla  
the successful clever hound  
b. ?\*az okos sikeres vizsla

When the adjective has an argument, it has to be positioned to the left of the adjective.

- (258) a. a [beszél-ni képtelen] író  
the speak-INF unable writer  
'the writer unable to speak'  
b. \*a képtelen beszél-ni író  
c. \*a képtelen író beszél-ni
- (259) a. a házá-ra büszke építész  
the his.house-SUB proud architect  
'the architect proud of his house'  
b. \*a büszke házá-ra építész

The same ordering requirements apply to comparative constructions inside the noun phrase.

- (260) a. a lányok-nál kedves-ebb fiúk  
the girls-ADE kind-er boys  
'the boys kinder than the girls'  
b. \*a kedves-ebb (a) lányok-nál fiúk

Adjective phrases, much like numerals, can appear in apposition to the noun phrase they (ultimately) modify. These appositive modifiers can be placed either before or after the relevant NP and are marked for the same

case as the noun. Their use points to the missing partitive case or construction in Hungarian and is a function of topic-focus structure, to be discussed in 1.11.

- (261) a. *Vizslá-t* Anna *barná-t* vett.  
hound-ACC Anna brown-ACC bought  
'As for hounds, Anna bought brown ones.'
- b. *Négy-et* Anna *vizslá-t* vett.  
four-ACC Anna hound-ACC bought  
'As for (buying) four (of something), Anna bought four hounds.'

#### 1.2.5.2.2. Relative clause

Finite and nonfinite relative clauses can freely modify nouns in NPs; they were extensively discussed in 1.1.2.3.

#### 1.2.5.2.3. Possessive adjectives

Grammatical tradition regards possessive constructions as "attributive", though not adjectival, and lumps them together with adjectival attributes surveyed above. However, they have nothing in common with the wellknown possessive adjectives of, for example, a number of Slavic languages. The two structures they exhibit differ in the order of the possessor and the article and the case of the possessor. In Szabolcsi's (1986/1992, 1994) analysis, the possessor in (a), the "compact" possessive construction, has nominative and it has a definite article to its left, at least in some dialects, which do not otherwise allow an article in front of proper names. In (b), the "extended" construction, the possessor has dative case and the article is to its right. The discussion of the construction is deferred to section 1.10.

- (262) a. a Péter kalap-ja  
the Peter.NOM hat-POSS.3SG  
'Peter's hat'
- b. Péter-nek a kalap-ja  
Peter.DAT the hat-POSS.3SG  
'Peter's hat'

#### 1.2.5.2.4. Articles

The definite article has two forms: *a* and *az*, depending on whether the following word starts with a consonant or a vowel. It is not declined and, except for the "extended" possessive construction, the quantifier *mind* 'all'

and demonstratives, it is always the leftmost constituent in the NP. The indefinite article *egy* is identical with the numeral 'one', and the only difference between them is that of stress and the simple (for the article) vs. geminate (for the numeral) palatal stop (rendered as *gy* in orthography).

#### 1.2.5.2.5. Demonstratives

Demonstratives occur in two different positions and versions within the noun phrase: they can be (263) internal and undeclined for number and case, or (264) external and marked for number and case. In the first case they can be shown to be preceded by the definite article, e.g., in a possessive construction, while in the latter case they are followed by it. Both subtypes have a proximate and a nonproximate variety.

- (263)
- a. *az Anna ama/azon kalap-ja*  
the Anna that hat-POSS  
ca. 'that hat of Anna's'
  - b. (\**az*) *azon/ama kalap-(ok-(at))*  
the that hat-PL-ACC
  - c. (\**az*) *eme/ezen/e kalap-(ok-(at))*  
the this hat-PL-ACC
- (264)
- a. *ez-t/az-t a kalap-ot*  
this-ACC/that-ACC the hat-ACC
  - b. \**ez/az a kalap-ot*
  - c. *ez-ek-et/az-ok-at a kalap-ok-at*  
this-PL-ACC/that-PL-ACC the hat-PL-ACC

The internal demonstrative can be preceded by the possessor NP (and then also by the article); all other modifiers follow it. The external demonstrative, in turn, cannot occur inside a possessive construction, as shown by the constituency test applying focussing. Note that the possessor can be outside the possessive NP, whether before or after it, making the NP with the external demonstrative acceptable.

- (265)
- a. \**Nem [Anná-nak az-t a kalap-já-t] látt-am.*  
not Anna-DAT that-ACC the hat-POSS-ACC saw-DEF.1SG
  - b. *Anná-naki nem [ti az-t a kalap-já-t] látt-am.*  
'It wasn't that hat of Anna's that I saw.'

Note, finally, that both the external and the internal demonstratives can occur in "compounds" formed of the quantifier *mind* 'all, every', or the prefix *ugyan-* 'same'.

- a. mind-azok a kalap-ok  
all those the hat-PL  
'all those hats'
- b. ugyan-ezek a kalap-ok  
same these the hat-PL  
'these same hats'

- (267)
- a. Anna mind-azon kalap-ja-i (amely-ek...)  
Anna all-that hat-POSS-PL which-PL  
'all those hats of Anna's (which...)'
  - b. Anna ugyan-azon kalap-ja (amely...)  
'the same hat of Anna's (which...)'

#### 1.2.5.2.6. Numerals and quantifiers

Cardinal numerals, and by analogy quantifiers, occupy a position between (internal) demonstratives and adjectives. As argued by Szabolcsi (1994), while articles do not in general cooccur with quantifiers, they can be shown to be present simultaneously if there is some syntactic phrase placed between them. Quantified phrases (including universally quantified ones) are syntactically indefinite, since they take the indefinite conjugation, but the (c) example below requires definite conjugation if in object position.

- (268)
- a. ama négy fekete toll  
that four black pen  
'those four black pens'
  - b. \*a minden beszéd  
the every speech
  - c. a [termen belüli] minden beszéd  
the room inside every speech  
'every speech inside the room'

Ordinal numerals usually precede cardinal numerals, and always follow quantifiers.

- (269)
- a. a harmadik négy fiú  
'the third four boys'
  - b. minden negyedik fiú  
every fourth boy

Numerals are understood here as comprising optional "classifiers", i.e., measure words, such as *liter* 'liter', *kiló* 'kiló', *darab* 'piece', etc. For an interesting survey, see Beckwith (1992).

## 1.2.5.2.7. Adverbials

There is no natural place inside the Hungarian noun phrase for adverbials. This conflict is resolved in the following ways.

(i) In nominative and accusative NPs it is possible for a (place or time) adverbial to follow the modified NP. This order is ungrammatical if the NP is in an oblique case.

- (270)
- a. A könyv Ibsen-ről jól sikerült.  
the book Ibsen-DEL well succeeded  
'The book about Ibsen was a success.'
  - b. A könyv-et a kirakat-ban Anna írta.  
the book-ACC the shop.window-INE Anna wrote.DEF  
'Anna wrote the book in the shop window.'
  - c. \*A könyv-ről a kirakat-ban Anna írt.  
the book-DEL  
'Anna wrote about the book in the shop window.'

(ii) Postpositional phrases can be "attributivized" through affixing the postposition by *-i*, a general adjectivalizer derivative affix. The resulting construction is then placed among the "peripheral" adjectives, to the left of the more central ones, and cannot be used predicatively. Note that only postpositions can undergo this process; the alternative strategy for oblique cases is discussed directly below.

- (271)
- a. a polc mögött-i könyv  
the shelf behind-ATTR book  
'the book behind the shelf'
  - b. \*az Ibsen-ről-i könyv  
Ibsen-ELA-ATTR

(iii) The adjectivalizer affix *-i* also has extensive use in turning unmarked locative expressions into attributes, or sometimes into straightforward adjectives. Any temporally or locatively interpretable noun, including all placenames, can be lexically converted into an adjective capable of occurring either in the noun phrase or the predicate.

- (272)
- a. a budapest-i lány  
the Budapest-ATTR girl  
'the girl from Budapest'
  - b. a tegnap-i újság  
the yesterday-ATTR paper  
'yesterday's paper'

- c. az asztal-i lámpa  
the table-ATTR lamp  
'the table lamp'
- d. a hav-i előfizetés  
the month-ATTR subscription  
'the monthly subscription'

Note that these are positively not compounds in Hungarian, due to the affixation on the modifier. Moreover, as was alluded to above, most of them can serve as ordinary adjectives, although they are hardly gradable.

(iv) Finally, oblique case-marked NPs can be turned into complex attributes by converting them into formally nonfinite active participial phrases by means of the general "dummy" *való* 'being', or other, semantically more or less bleached verbs like *történő* 'happening', *szóló* lit. 'speaking; concerned with'.

- (273)
- a. az Anna-val való/történő találkozás  
the Anna-INS being/happening meeting  
'the meeting with Anna'
  - b. az Ibsen-ről szóló könyv  
the Ibsen-ELA concerned book  
'the book about Ibsen'

#### 1.2.5.2.8. Emphatic words

The paradigm identical with that of the reflexive pronoun is used for emphatic pronouns either in front of or following the noun phrase. When to the right of the head NP, they occasionally may be placed further away, though not beyond the focus (marked by bold type). Note that since focus has a particular syntactic position in Hungarian, the sentences containing emphatic words must have focus in them, though not necessarily on the emphatic word itself. The constructions are reminiscent of appositive constructions in that the case of the NP is reiterated on the emphatic pronoun.

- (274)
- a. Tegnap **mag-á-val Anná-val** találkoztam.  
yesterday self-3SG-INS Anna-INS met.1SG  
'Yesterday I met Anna herself.'
  - b. Anna-val magá-val **tegnap** találkoztam.  
'I met Anna herself **yesterday**.'
  - c. Én Anná-val mindannyiszor **maga-m** találkoztam.  
I.NOM Anna-INS every-time self-1SG.NOM met.1SG  
'I met Anna every time myself.'

Another set of words that can be characterized as emphatic are “focus-inducers”, such as *csak* ‘only’, *kizárólag* ‘exclusively’, *egyedül* ‘solely’, and *nem* ‘not’, among others. If the NP, or for that matter any other phrase, is adjoined by them, they must move into the designated preverbal focus position and be interpreted accordingly. These focussing items are always placed to the left of the phrase.

- (275) a. Anna [csak az Ibsenről szóló könyvet] olvasta.  
Anna only the Ibsen.ELA concerned book.ACC read  
‘Anna has read only the book about Ibsen.’  
b. Anna [nem az Ibsenről szóló könyvet] olvasta.  
Anna not the Ibsen.ELA concerned book.ACC read  
‘What Anna read was not the book about Ibsen.’

#### 1.2.5.2.9. Comparative, superlative, and equative structures

The section on degree clauses (1.1.2.4.2.7) discussed the main types of comparative and equative structures; we now survey their properties in relation to NPs, but see also sections 1.8 and 1.9.

Equative structures are generally introduced by the pro-adverbial *olyan* ‘such’ and have the complementizer *mint* ‘as’. When they lack the “pointer” *olyan*, they can be interpreted as nonrestrictive. The distinction is not very well borne out in the English translation; it hinges on whether or not the (elliptic) clause introduced by *mint* is a necessary or just an incidental constituent, to be omitted at leisure.

- (276) a. az olyan unalmas emberek, mint Anna  
the such boring people as Anna  
‘boring people like Anna’=‘people boring to the extent to which Anna is boring’  
b. az unalmas emberek, mint (például) Anna  
‘boring people, like (for example) Anna’

Comparative structures come in two versions: (a) if the comparison is within the NP, the case-marked standard has to be used; (b) if there is a clause expressing the standard, it has to occur outside the NP.

- (277) a. Anná-nál unalmas-abb emberek  
Anna-ADE boring-CMP people  
‘people more boring than Anna’  
b. unalmas-abb emberek, mint (amilyen) Anna  
boring-CMP people than what Anna  
‘people more boring than Anna’

The same distinction applies to quantitative comparisons.

- (278) a. a franciá-k-nál több ember  
the French-PL-ADE more man  
'more people than the French'  
b. több ember, mint (amennyien) a franciák (vannak)  
more man than as.many the French are  
'more people than the French'

The superlative construction is invariably introduced by the definite article, with the comparative suffix following and the superlative prefix preceding the quantifier or adjective marked.

- (279) a. a leg-unalmas-abb előadás  
the SPR-boring-CMP lecture  
'the most boring lecture'  
b. a leg-több ember  
the SPR-more man  
'the most people'

For more discussion, see section 1.9.

#### 1.2.5.2.10. Noun complement clauses

A number of nouns may be lexically specified for clausal complements, i.e., the equivalent of *that*-clauses in English. Strictly speaking, they are not modifiers, since, unlike in the case of, e.g., an adjectival modifier, the head noun must be lexically specified for the possibility of being complemented by a clause. The noun may also determine whether the clause is (a) indicative, (b) interrogative, or (c) whether its predicate is in the subjunctive/imperative. (See Molnár 1982 for an overview.)

- (280) a. Érdekes az állítás, hogy Anna tanul.  
interesting the claim that Anna studies  
'The claim that Anna is studying is interesting.'  
b. Érdekes a kérdés, hogy Anna tanul-e.  
interesting the question that Anna studies-Q  
'The question whether Anna is studying is interesting.'  
c. Érdekes a kérés, hogy Anna tanul-j-on.  
interesting the request that Anna study-SUBJ-3SG  
'The request for Anna to study is interesting.'

We note here that although infinitives do occur in (a) event nominals, i.e., the type of nominalizations that in Grimshaw's (1990) sense preserve the argument structure of the verb, other types of nouns (b) do not take infinitival complements, even if they are derived from verbs with infinitival

arguments. In this case the corresponding noun can take an oblique case-marked complement (c).

- (281)
- a. Anna olvas-ni akar-ás-a érdekes.  
Anna read-INF want-NML-POSS interesting  
'Anna's wish to read is interesting.'
  - b. Anna (\*olvas-ni) vágy-a érdekes.  
Anna read-INF desire-POSS interesting  
'Anna's desire (to read) is interesting.'
  - c. Anna vágy-a az olvas-ás-ra érdekes.  
Anna desire-POSS the read-NML-SUB interesting  
'Anna's desire for reading is interesting.'

#### 1.2.5.3–5. Order of modifiers

Below a summary is given of the observations relating to the relative order of various structures of modification within the noun phrase reviewed above. Since the order of adjectives was discussed in 1.2.5.2.1, only the order of the items arranged in the subsection is discussed here.

As has been seen, demonstratives are not in complementary distribution with articles, cf. (a); it is the (nominative or dative) possessor noun phrase that they exclude from their own noun phrase, cf. (b). When, however, the possessor noun phrase is in the dative, it can be placed outside the possessive NP and then the external demonstrative is grammatical, cf. (c). The evidence that the dative possessor is not inside the NP comes from focussed constructions illustrated in 1.2.5.2.5.

- (282)
- a. az-t a kalap-ot  
that-ACC the hat-ACC  
'that hat'
  - b. \* [Péter (-nek) az-t a kalap-já-t]  
Peter -DAT that-ACC the hat-POSS-ACC
  - c. Péter-nek...[az-t a kalap-já-t]  
'that hat of Peter's'

It then stands to reason to assume that external demonstratives and possessors occupy the same positions in the noun phrase. The rest of the premodifiers are lined up in the following schematic order.

External demonstrative	Definite	Nominative	Attribute	
Dative Possessive NP	Article	Possessive NP		
Quantifier	Internal demonstrative	Numeral	Adjective	NOUN

Obviously, positional versions of the same constituent exclude each other: no external demonstrative can cooccur with an internal one, and no dative possessor NP can be followed by a nominative one—multiple possessive constructions are left-branching structures *within* a possessor NP

By “attributes” we understand the adverbial premodifiers discussed 1.2.5.2.7, in particular the postpositional and complex ones, which can be optionally placed to the left of the quantifiers, but they can equally well appear in the position of adjectives.

### 1.3. COORDINATION

#### 1.3.1. Types of coordination

##### 1.3.1.1. Coordinating devices

Following Dik (1968) and Bánréti (1994), we differentiate between n-ary and binary means for coordinating sentences and constituents, depending on whether they take an unlimited number of conjuncts or just two. The three n-ary conjunctions—*és*, *meg* ‘and’, as well as *vagy* ‘or’—resemble each other in that they are all “central”, that is, they occur between the two conjuncts, unlike “right-shifted” ones, which appear to the right of the first topicalized phrase in the second conjoined clause. Finally, coordinators may also differ as to whether or not they have to occur in each conjunct, i.e., whether or not they are correlative.

##### 1.3.1.1.1. And-coordination

The general coordinating conjunction is *és* and its shorter version *s*. The coordinator *meg* is also used in the sense of ‘and’; *meg* has to be central if interpreted as ‘and’-conjunction; *pedig* has to be right-shifted in the same reading.

- (284)
- a. Péter olvas *és* Anna tanul.  
Peter reads and Anna studies
  - b. Péter olvas, *meg* Anna tanul.
  - c. Péter olvas, Anna *pedig* tanul.  
‘Peter is reading and Anna is studying.’

## 1.3.1.1.2. But-coordination

Conjunctions expressing contrast are never n-ary, and a large number of them are optionally or obligatorily right-shifted. The two most frequent ones are *de* and *azonban*. The contrast between *meg* and *pedig* seen above is preserved here in opposite positions: *meg* is right-shifted and *pedig* is central. (For more on *pedig*, see 1.3.1.1.4.)

- (285)
- a. Péter olvas, *de/pedig* Anna tanul.  
Peter reads but/in turn Anna studies
  - b. Péter olvas, *azonban/viszont/ellenben* Anna tanul.  
however/in-turn/on-the-other-hand
  - c. Péter olvas, Anna *azonban/viszont/ellenben* tanul.
  - d. Péter olvas, Anna *meg* tanul.  
'Peter is reading, but/in turn Anna is studying.'

Contrast with a negative first conjunct also makes use of *de* or *azonban* if the entire proposition is involved. For contrasting constituents, which is to be discussed in 1.11, *hanem* 'but' is applied. *De* and *hanem* are not interchangeable in these positions

- (286)
- a. Péter nem olvas, *de/azonban* Anna tanul.  
'Peter is not reading, but Anna is studying.'
  - b. Péter nem a szobában olvas, *hanem* a kertben.  
Peter not the room.INE reads but the garden-INE  
'Peter is reading not in the room, but in the garden.'

## 1.3.1.1.3. Or-coordination

The most common coordinator is the central *vagy* 'or'. Although it is usually understood as expressing alternatives (rather than "logically" allowing for all/both conjuncts to be true simultaneously), when one alternative is meant to exclude (all) the other(s), it ceases to be a central conjunction, since it is repeated at the beginning of each conjunct.

- (287)
- a. Péter olvas vagy Anna tanul.  
'Peter is reading or Anna is studying.'
  - b. Vagy Péter olvas, vagy Anna tanul.  
'Either Peter is reading, or Anna is studying.'

A somewhat different (and more archaic) version of the central conjunction is *avagy*. Alternatives in a concessive clause are introduced by the correlative coordinator *akár...akár* 'whether...or'.

- (288) Akár Péter olvas, akár Anna tanul, szól a rádió.  
 whether Peter reads or Anna studies speaks the radio  
 'Whether Peter is reading or Anna is studying, the radio is on.'

#### 1.3.1.1.4. Other coordinators

In agreement with Bánréti (1994), two more classes of coordinators are distinguished here. One is used to express an inference relation between the two conjuncts, the other the speaker's contradictory expectations as regards the first conjunct. These shades of meaning are difficult to render in English by means of the single conjunctions of reason and contrast so and *but*, respectively.

- (289) a. Anna tanul, *tehát/ezért* nem szól a rádió.  
 Anna studies so not speaks the radio  
 'Anna is studying, so the radio is not on.'  
 b. Nem szól a rádió, *ugyanis* Anna tanul.  
 'The radio is not on, for Anna is studying.'
- (290) a. Anna tanul, *holott/pedig* szól a rádió.  
 Anna studies but/although speaks the radio  
 'Anna is studying, but the radio is on.'  
 b. Szól a rádió, Anna *mégis* tanul.  
 'The radio is on, still/even so Anna is studying.'

#### 1.3.1.2. Number of coordinators

Each of the n-ary coordinators *és*, *meg* 'and', *vagy* 'or' can be placed between the other conjunct clauses in addition to their obligatory position between the last pair—if and only if they occur between every pair of clauses. That is, once they are placed between any other than the last pair of clauses, they have to appear between all pairs. While the insertion of these conjunctions does not lead to ungrammaticality, the sentences are far better if the coordinators appear between the last two conjuncts only.

By definition the binary conjunctions can (and have to) occur only between the two clauses concerned. All of these coordinators differ from the correlative conjunctions, which have to appear in each conjunct. One such example (*akár...akár*) was discussed in the previous section.

Other correlative coordinators are the affirmative *is...is* 'also', historically related to *és* 'and', or the negative *sem...sem* 'neither...nor', which may involve negative concord, a frequent phenomenon in Hungarian, often referred to by the misnomer "multiple negation".

- (291) a. Péter is olvas, (és) Anna is tanul.  
Peter also reads and Anna also studies  
'Peter is reading and Anna is also studying.'  
b. Péter sem olvas, (és) Anna sem tanul.  
'Peter is not reading, nor is Anna studying.'  
c. Sem Péter nem olvas, sem Anna nem tanul.  
neither Peter not reads nor Anna not studies  
'Peter is not reading, nor is Anna studying.'

### 1.3.1.3–5. Coordination of constituents

In general, though not without exceptions, only the n-ary coordinators *és*, *meg* 'and', *vagy* 'or' can occur within syntactic constituents, and even if correlative coordinators are also possible, their status as coordinators of constituents (rather than of elliptic clauses) is doubtful, since they cannot form a single constituent out of the conjoined items.

- (292) a. Anna (is) olvas, és Péter is (olvas).  
Anna also reads and Peter also reads  
'Anna is reading and Peter, too, is reading.'  
b. Anna is, Péter is olvas.  
'Anna is reading and Peter, too, is reading.'
- (293) a. Anna-t nem/sem láttam, és Péter-t sem  
Anna-ACC not saw.DEF.1SG and Peter-ACC nor  
(láttam).  
saw.DEF.1SG  
'I didn't see Anna, nor (did I see) Peter.'  
b. Sem Anná-t, sem Péter-t nem láttam.  
'I saw neither Anna nor Peter.'

As is well-known, the identity of the syntactic categories of the constituent is a necessary, but not sufficient condition of coordination. The only apparent exception to this generalization is found in question-word questions, but, according to Bánréti (1992), these are undoubtedly instances of elliptic clausal coordination.

- (294) a. \*Anna és könyv-et olvasott tegnap.  
Anna and book-ACC read yesterday  
b. Ki és mi-t olvasott tegnap?  
who and what-ACC read yesterday  
'Who read yesterday and what (did s/he read)?'

The condition of categorial identity is not sufficient because the conjoined constituents not only have to be of the same class or carry the same suffixes, but they also have to assign or have to be assigned identical thematic roles. In fact, for instance in the case of place adverbials, it is the identity of the semantic relationship that matters notwithstanding the affixes proper.

- (295) a. \*Anna bámul és hasonlít Péter-re.  
Anna stares and resembles Peter-SUB
- b. \*Anna ismeri és üti Péter-t.  
Anna knows and beats Peter-ACC
- c. \*Péter régi-nek és Anná-nak tartja a lámpá-t.  
Peter old-DAT and Anna-DAT hold.DEF.3SG the lamp-ACC  
'Peter considers the lamp old/holds the lamp for Anna.'
- d. A könyvek az asztalon és a székek mögött vannak.  
the books the table-SUP and the chairs behind are  
'The books are on the table and behind the chairs.'

With these caveats in mind, identical syntactic categories can be coordinated without difficulty. The accepted constituency test in Hungarian is based on the observation that focussed items must be single constituents. Although the test itself is not illustrated here in each case, its application has supported our claims throughout.

The first set of examples for coordination is drawn from NPs. They show (a) NPs, (b) external demonstratives, (c) dative possessor NPs, (d) nominative possessor NPs, (e) numerals, (f) adjectives, and (g) nouns.

- (296) a. Tegnap [Anna és Péter] olvasott.  
yesterday Anna and Peter read.3SG  
'Yesterday Anna and Peter were reading.'
- b. Anna [[ezeket és azokat] a könyveket] olvasta.  
Anna these.ACC and those.ACC the books.ACC read.DEF.3SG  
'Anna has read these and those books.'
- c. Tegnap [[Anná-nak és Péter-nek] a könyv-e-i-t]  
yesterday Anna-DAT and Peter-DAT the book-POSS-PL-ACC  
olvastam.  
read.DEF.1SG  
'Yesterday I read Anna's and Peter's books.'
- d. Tegnap [[Anna és Péter] könyv-e-i-t] olvastam.  
'Yesterday I read Anna's and Peter's books.'

- e. Anna [ezt a [három vagy négy] könyv-et]  
Anna this.ACC the three or four book-ACC  
olvasta.  
read.DEF.3SG  
'Anna has read these three or four books.'
- f. Péter [[hosszú vagy érdekes] könyvek-et] olvas.  
Peter long or interesting books-ACC reads  
'Peter reads long or interesting books.'
- g. Anna [ezt a három [könyv-et vagy folyóirat-ot]]  
Anna this.ACC the three book-ACC or journal-ACC  
olvasta.  
read.DEF.3SG  
'Anna has read these three books or journals.'

The coordination of verb phrases per se is either questionable or impossible to illustrate for the following reasons: (a) in finite clauses, what appears to be VP-coordination is based on the absence of the subject, which may be due to the suppression of the subject pronoun; (b) in nonfinite structures, on the other hand, coordination may well operate on the entire infinitival or participial clause, whose subject is missing by definition.

- (297) a. Anna [[olvassa a könyvet] és [hallgatja a rádiót]]  
Anna reads.DEF the book.ACC and listens.DEF the radio.ACC  
'Anna is reading the book and is listening to the radio.'
- b. Anna igyekszik [[olvas-ni a könyvet] és [hallgat-ni a rádiót]]  
strives read-INF listen-INF  
'Anna strives to read the book and listen to the radio.'

Verbs, however, can be conjoined, provided their thematic structures are identical, as was pointed out above.

- (298) a. Anna ismeri és szereti Péter-t.  
Anna knows.DEF and likes.DEF Peter-ACC  
'Anna knows and likes Peter.'
- b. Mi bízunk és hiszünk bennetek.  
we trust and believe in-you  
'We trust and believe in you.'

Various semantic subclasses of adverbials of manner and purpose can also be coordinated, but place and time adverbials must belong to separate

constituents. In general, adverbials that can cooccur without coordination cannot be conjoined. This is illustrated by an illicit conjunction of a sentence adverbial with a manner adverb.

- (299) a. Anna megbízhatóan és magas fizetés-ért dolgozott.  
 Anna reliably and high salary-CAU worked  
 'Anna worked reliably and for a high salary.'  
 b. \*Péter tegnap és London-ban dolgozott.  
 Peter yesterday and London-INE worked  
 c. Anna szerencsére (\*és) gyorsan olvas.  
 Anna fortunately and fast reads  
 'Anna reads fast (and) fortunately.'

The coordination of adjectives with active and passive participial constructions is illustrated below in (a) and (b), respectively, and that of nouns and (result) nominalizations in (c). Event nominalizations cannot be conjoined with lexical nouns, see (d). For the distinction arising from the difference of the attributive affix *-i*, which defines result nominals, and *való*, which determines event nominals, see Szabolcsi (1994).

- (300) a. a [[gyorsan olvas-ó] és értelmes] diákok  
 the fast read-APRT and smart students  
 'the fast reading and smart students'  
 b. a[[tegnap olvas-ott] vagy unalmas] könyvek  
 the yesterday read-PPRT or boring books  
 'the books read yesterday or which are boring'  
 c. Anna [előadás-a és [ebéd után-i felszólal-ás-a]]  
 Anna lecture-POSS and lunch after-ATTR present-NML-POSS  
 'Anna's lecture and presentation [result] after lunch'  
 d. \*Anna [előadás-a és [ebéd után való felszólal-ás-a]]  
 being  
 'Anna's lecture and presentation [event] after lunch'

The last configuration to be mentioned here is the coordination of first constituents of compounds.

- (301) a. cipő- és csizma-javítás  
 shoe and boot repair  
 b. három- és négy-láb-ú asztalok  
 three- and four-leg-ged tables

Although the means of coordination and the expression of accompaniment are not the same, in one instance they are interchangeable. When the (human) subject is a coordinated NP, there is an alternative device

available, viz., using one of the conjuncts as subject, and the other in a comitative expression marked by the usual comitative suffix (glossed as "COM" below), which is identical with the instrumental case suffix. In case of a pronominal subject, often the plural is used instead of the singular.

- (302) a. A fiúk a lányok-kal olvasnak.  
the boys the girls-INS read.3PL  
'The boys and the girls are reading.'  
b. Anná-val olvas-t-uk a könyvet.  
Anna-COM read-PAST-1PL the book.ACC  
'Anna and I have read the book.'

Finally, the exceptional conjunction in the coordination of constituents has to be mentioned here. The n-ary conjunctions can coordinate an unlimited number of items without respect to their semantic relationship. Some binary conjunctions, on the other hand, can indicate contrast, especially between adjectives (or attributes) and adverbials, respectively.

- (303) a. az [érdekes, de hosszú] könyvek  
the interesting but long books  
b. Anna [megbízhatóan, viszont kis fizetésért] dolgozik  
Anna reliably but small salary.CAU works  
'Anna works reliably, but for a small salary.'

### 1.3.2. Omission of constituents

As Bánréti (1992, 1994) has argued, the omission of constituents is governed by structural properties, in particular, whether the sentence is focussed or neutral. If the parallelism of the two clauses obtains, everything can be deleted following the last focussed (i.e., heavily accented) preverbal operator, which can be either a quantifier or a contrastive focus. (Contrastive focus is indicated by bold type; parallel structures are shown by the vertical arrangement of identical constituents and the omitted constituent by dots in brackets. For more on focus, see 1.11.)

- (304) Annaminden könyvet el-olvasott tegnap,  
Annaevery book.ACC PFX-read yesterday  
Péter pedig minden levelet [...] **olvasott**  
Peter and every letter.ACC  
'Anna read every book yesterday, and Peter read every letter yesterday.'

- (305) a. Anna **a könyvet** olvasta tegnap a kertben,  
 Anna the book.ACC read.DEF yesterday the garden.INE  
 Péter pedig **a levelet** [...]  
 Peter in-turn the letter.ACC  
 'Anna read the book yesterday, and Peter the letter.'
- b. Anna **tegnap** olvasta a könyvet,  
 Péter pedig **ma** [...]  
 'Anna read the book yesterday, and Peter today.'

If the first clause has a negated focussed constituent, then everything apart from the focus may delete from the second clause. In this case no different constituents can appear to the left of the focus, unlike the positive case above.

- (306) a. Nem **a könyvet** olvasta Anna tegnap a kertben,  
 Anna the book.ACC read.DEF Anna yesterday the garden.INE  
 hanem **a levelet** [...]  
 but the letter.ACC  
 'It's not the book but the letter that Anna read yesterday in the garden.'
- b. Anna nem **tegnap** olvasta a könyvet,  
 (\*Péter) hanem **ma** [...]  
 'It's not yesterday that Anna read the book, but today.'

It is in this group of ellipsis that some of the correlative constructions discussed in the previous section belong: *is* 'too, also', and *sem* 'neither, nor' behave like operators and induce the omission of identical constituents. They differ from the construction immediately above in that omission here may extend to the focussed item.

- (307) a. Anna **tegnap** olvasta a könyvet,  
 Anna yesterday read the book.ACC  
 és Péter is [...]  
 and Peter too  
 'Anna read the book yesterday, and so did Peter.'
- b. Tegnap nem **a könyvet** olvasta Anna,  
 yesterday not the book.ACC read.DEF Anna  
 és ma sem [...]  
 and today neither  
 'Anna didn't read the book yesterday, nor did she read it today.'

The correlative *is*, like its nonclitic counterpart *szintén* 'too', which carries heavy accent, especially in elliptic constructions, can also occur in neutral coordination with ellipsis in the second clause.

- (308) a. Anna elolvasta a könyvet tegnap, és Péter is/szintén.  
 Anna read.DEF the book.ACC yesterday and Peter too  
 'Anna read the book yesterday, and Peter, too, read it yesterday.'  
 b. Anna elolvasta a könyvet tegnap, és a levelet  
 and the letter.ACC  
 is/szintén.  
 too  
 'Anna read the book yesterday, and the letter, too.'

Another variety of focussed ellipsis is to omit all the identical postverbal material from the first, rather than from the second conjunct, as has been illustrated so far.

- (309) a. Anna **a könyvet** [...],  
 Anna the book.ACC  
 Péter pedig **a levelet** olvasta a kertben.  
 Peter in-turn the letter.ACC read.DEF the garden.INE  
 'Anna read the book, and Peter the letter, in the garden.'  
 b. A kertben nem **a könyvet** [...],  
 the garden.INE not the book.ACC  
 hanem **a levelet** olvasta Anna.  
 but the letter.ACC read.DEF Anna  
 'In the garden Anna read not the book, but the letter.'

As was mentioned in connection with the structure of the NP in 1.2.5.1, numerals and adjectives can appear as elliptic NPs. This property is evidenced in coordinate constructions, as well.

- (310) a. Péter **négy** könyv-et olvasott,  
 Peter four book-ACC read  
 Anna meg **hat-ot** [...]  
 Anna and six-ACC  
 'Peter has read four books, and Anna six ones.'  
 b. Anna az **érdekes** könyv-et olvasta,  
 Anna the interesting book-ACC read.DEF  
 Péter pedig az **unalmas-at** [...]  
 Peter in-turn the boring-ACC  
 'Anna has read the interesting book, and Peter the boring one.'

If, however, the ellipsis is at work in the first clause, the numeral or the adjective must not be case-marked, but the identical constituents are simply omitted.

- (311) a. Péter **négy** [...],  
Anna meg **hat** könyv-et olvasott.  
'Peter has read four books, and Anna six.'
- b. Anna az **érdekes** [...],  
Péter pedig az **unalmas** könyv-et olvasta.  
'Anna has read the interesting book, and Peter the boring one.'

The deletion under identity can only involve immediate constituents of the noun phrase; constituents of constituents cannot be affected.

When the adjective phrases are in the predicate, the different intensifiers may also lead to ellipsis. This is not available for adjectives inside the noun phrase.

- (312) A könyv **nagyon** [...],  
a level viszont csak **kissé** unalmas volt.  
the book very  
the letter however only little boring was  
'The book was very boring, but the letter was only a little boring.'

Owing to the structure of ellipsis in Hungarian, even postpositions may be missing from the first conjunct.

- (313) Anna a **könyv** [...],  
Anna the book  
Péter pedig a **levél** alatt talált egy kulcsot.  
Peter and the letter under found a key.ACC  
'Anna found a key under the book, and Peter, under the letter.'

## 1.4. NEGATION

### 1.4.1. Sentence negation

In sentence negation, the negation elements *nem*, *ne* must occur in front of the finite or nonfinite verb.

- (314) a. Anna **nem** olvassa a könyv-et.  
Anna not reads.DEF the book-ACC  
'Anna is not reading the book.'
- b. [a [könyv-et **nem** olvas-ó] diákok]  
the book-ACC not read-APRT students  
'the students not reading books'

- c. [Ezt a könyv-et nem olvas-ni] butaság volt.  
this.ACC the book-ACC not read-INF silliness was  
'It was silly not to read this book.'

*Ne* differs from *nem* in that it is required in imperatives and subjunctives and cannot occur in any other modality.

- (315) *Ne olvas-d a könyvet!*  
not read-2SG the book.ACC  
'Don't read the book.'

The preverbal position of the negation word is maintained even in focussed clauses; it is the only item that can occur between a focussed phrase and the finite verb.

- (316) Anna a **könyvet** nem olvasta.  
Anna the book.ACC not read.DEF  
'It's the book that Anna hasn't read.'

When the additive-correlative clitic *is* is combined with either negation word, they are amalgamated into the single phonological words *sem* and *se*, historically derived from *is* 'also'+*ne(m)* 'not', appropriately illustrating the meaning of the combined form, too.

- (317) a. Anna a könyv-et sem olvasta.  
Anna the book-ACC nor read  
'Anna hasn't read the book either.'='In addition to other things, the book also belongs to the set of objects Anna hasn't read.'  
b. A könyv-et se olvas-d!  
the book-ACC not read-IMP.DEF.2SG  
'Don't read the book either!'

One subcase of sentence negation is negation of the nominal or adjectival predicate in copular sentences without an overt copula (see 1.2.1.1). Since they have no verbs, the negation word must occur before the nominal or adjectival predicate.

- (318) a. Anna nem (volt) diák.  
Anna not was student  
'Anna is/was not a student.'  
b. Péter nem (volt) unalmas.  
Peter not was boring  
'Peter is/was not boring.'

When the nominal predicate contains a measure expression, negation can have two versions: (a) if the measure word (in focus) is negated, it means

that there is either more or less of the item quantified by the measure expression; (b) if the copula is negated, the construction means that there is less of the denoted quantity.

- (319) a. Péter nem száz kiló volt.  
Peter not hundred kilo was  
'Peter wasn't a hundred kilos (= he was more, or less).'
- b. Péter nem volt száz kiló.  
'Peter was less than a hundred kilos.'

Wherever the copula has to occur in the third person in present tense, the positive form *van(nak)* 'is' has the suppletive negative counterpart *nincs(en)* 'not-is' and *nincsenek* 'not-are'.

- (320) a. Péter nincs száz kiló.  
Peter not-is hundred kilo  
'Peter isn't a hundred kilos (= he is less).'
- b. A diákok nincsenek az iskolá-ban.  
the students not-are the school-INE  
'The students are not in the school.'

#### 1.4.2. Constituent negation

Although it seems to be unproblematic to claim that whenever the negation word is placed in front of any constituent other than the verb, we have to do with constituent negation, this would be a spurious generalization. First of all, if the sentence contains a universal quantifier, it must be negated by the negation word placed in front of the quantifier, rather than preverbally, thus in this case apparent constituent negation amounts to sentence negation.

- (321) a. \*Mindenki nem olvasta a könyvet.  
everyone not read.DEF the book.ACC  
'Everyone didn't read the book.'
- b. Nem mindenki olvasta a könyvet.  
'Not everyone has read the book.'

If the negation of the focussed constituent is constituent negation, then pre-focus negation belongs here. In another sense, however, such sentences are the negative counterparts of the corresponding affirmative focussed propositions, thus they do not realize constituent negation proper.

- (322) a. Anna **a kert-ben** olvasta a könyvet.  
 Anna the garden-INE read.DEF the book.ACC  
 'It's in the garden that Anna read the book.'  
 b. Anna nem **a kert-ben** olvasta a könyvet.  
 'It's not in the garden that Anna read the book.'

On the other hand, if focus negation were sentence negation, then negative polarity items, which are always triggered by sentence negation, could appear in these sentences, too.

- (323) a. Anna nem olvasott semmi-t.  
 Anna not read nothing-ACC  
 'Anna didn't read anything.'  
 b. \*Anna nem **a kert-ben** olvasott semmi-t.  
 c. Anna **a kert-ben** nem olvasott semmi-t.  
 'It's in the garden th at Anna didn't read anything.'  
 d. Anna nem **a kert-ben** nem olvasott semmi-t.  
 'It's not in the garden that Anna didn't read anything.'

We conclude at this point that, of the two negation elements, the one occurring in front of focus is a realization of constituent negation and the one in front of the verb is an instance of sentence negation.

### 1.4.3. Negative concord and multiple negation

As was illustrated immediately above, it is possible to have more than one negative element in a single clause and, depending on the items and the arrangements, the sentence may be negative or may ultimately come down as positive.

The latter case obtains in case of focus negation coupled with preverbal negation. The last example in the previous section is compatible with a positive reading, viz., that Anna did read something in the garden, even though it does not assert this proposition. Interaction between focus and negation results in a positive reading in other instances as well. In the following example the universal negative polarity item *senki* 'no one' is followed by a negated focus, and the resulting reading is identical with a universally quantified positive proposition.

- (324) Senki sem **ezt a könyvet** olvasta.  
 no one not this the book.ACC read  
 'No one has read **this** book.'='Everyone has read a book other than this one.'

Negative concord, which is often mistakenly called "multiple negation", is a pervasive feature of Hungarian. It extends over two kinds of

structure. In the first one, the additive clitic *is* 'also' occurs in a negative sentence and is changed into its negative counterpart *se(m)* 'neither, nor'. If the constituent marked by the clitic is (a) preverbal, preverbal *sem* serves as the only negation element in the sentence. If it is (b) postverbal, the negation element *nem* 'not' has to occur in its general preverbal position, and the constituent itself is marked by *se(m)*.

- (325) a. Anna *sem* olvasta a könyvet.  
 Anna neither read the book.ACC  
 '(In addition to others,) Anna, too, didn't read the book.'  
 b. Nem olvasta a könyvet Anna *sem*.  
 '(In addition to others,) Anna, too, didn't read the book.'

If more than one item is additively negated in a single constituent, either (a) a simple coordination with a final clitic *sem* is used, or (b) each conjunct has its own negative clitic, or (c) *sem* occurs in front of each conjunct as a correlative additive negation word with obligatory clausemate preverbal negation. If (d) the additively negated phrase is postverbal, preverbal negation is necessary in each alternative, of which only one is illustrated here. As before, except for the simple coordination in (a), the status of the conjoined items as parts of a single constituent is doubtful; for more, see the next section.

- (326) a. Richárd, Anna és Péter *sem* olvasta a könyvet.  
 Richard, Anna and Peter nor read.DEF the book.ACC  
 'Neither Richard, nor Anna, nor Peter has read the book.'  
 (On one reading. The other reading is 'Richard, Anna, and Peter are also among those that haven't read the book.')
- b. *unambiguous*  
 Richárd *sem*, Anna *sem*, Péter *sem* olvasta a könyvet.  
 'Neither Richard, nor Anna, nor Peter has read the book.'
- c. *unambiguous*  
 Sem Richard, sem Anna, sem Péter *nem* olvasta a könyvet.  
 'Neither Richard, nor Anna, nor Peter has read the book.'
- d. *unambiguous*  
 Nem olvasta a könyvet *sem* Richard, *sem* Anna, *sem* Péter.  
 'Neither Richard, nor Anna, nor Peter has read the book.'

The other context for negative concord is provided by universal negative polarity items (UNPIs) like *senki* 'nobody', *semmi* 'nothing', etc. They all require clausemate preverbal negation, and since they optionally combine with the negative counterpart of the additive clitic *is*, a regularity similar to what was seen above is in force. That is, when the universal negative polarity item is (a) preverbal, either the general negation word

*nem* 'not' or its version incorporating the additive clitic *is*, i.e., *se(m)*, has to occur. If it is (b) postverbal, *nem* is the only choice preverbally, and the UNPI can be followed by an optional clitic *se(m)*. Cf. also Toth (forthcoming).

- (327) a. Anna semmi-t sem/nem olvasott.  
Anna nothing-ACC not read  
'Anna hasn't read anything.'  
b. Anna nem olvasott semmit (sem).  
'Anna hasn't read anything.'

Multiple UNPIs observe the same rule: they can be arranged both preverbally and postverbally in a single clause, and if at least one of them occurs preverbally the negation word can take the form *sem*.

- (328) a. Senki soha sem/nem olvasott semmi-t.  
No one never not read nothing-ACC  
'No one has ever read anything.'  
b. Senki sem/nem olvasott soha semmit (sem).  
'No one has ever read anything.'  
c. Nem olvasott senki soha semmit (sem).  
'No one has ever read anything.'

#### 1.4.4. Negation in coordination

As was mentioned in 1.3.1.3–5, correlative negative coordinators do not, beyond all doubt, form a single constituent out of the conjoined phrases. The difficulty encountered in ascertaining the constituency of such conjunctions originates in the prohibition against focussing them, focus being the only position in which constituency can be tested in Hungarian. Since *is*- or *sem*-phrases convey a meaning involving addition, the sense of exclusion by identity associated with the focus position prevents them from being placed there. In other words, if identical syntactic constituents are conjoined by the negative correlative *sem*, we have no means to determine whether they belong to a single constituent or are parts of an elliptic coordinate sentence.

- (329) a. Sem Richárd, sem Anna, sem Péter nem olvasta a  
nor Richard nor Anna nor Peter not read.DEF the  
könyvet.  
book.ACC  
'Neither Richard, nor Anna, nor Peter has read the book.'

- b. Sem Richárd (nem olvasta a könyvet), sem Anna (nem olvasta a könyvet), sem Péter nem olvasta a könyvet.

'Neither Richard, nor Anna, nor Peter has read the book.'

Indirect evidence can be found in coordinate sentences containing non-identical, thus inomissible, constituents. Since *sem* acts as a correlative in an identical manner, we have reason to suppose that it is a clausal correlative conjunction whenever it is preposed.

- (330) Sem Anna nem olvasott a kertben, sem Péter nem  
nor Anna not read the garden.INE nor Peter not  
tanult a szobában.  
studied the room.INE  
'Neither Anna was reading in the garden, nor Peter was study  
ing in the room.'

Given the historical evidence that *sem* is derived from *is* 'also'+*nem* 'not', and that *is* is related to *és* 'and', the status of *sem* as a conjunction seems to be corroborated.

#### 1.4.5. Negative raising

A small class of verbs expressing mental states show the effects of what has come to be called negative raising. It is in fact a paraphrase relation between a pair of sentences, of which one has negation in the subordinate clause, and the other in the main clause.

- (331) a. Azt hiszem, hogy Anna nem olvas.  
it.ACC think.DEF.1SG that Anna not reads  
'I think Anna isn't reading.'  
b. Nem hiszem, hogy Anna olvas.  
not think.DEF.1SG that Anna reads  
'I don't think Anna's reading.'

If the subordinate clause contains an UNPI, such as *senki* 'no one', which can occur only in the context of clausemate negation, and the negation word is in the main clause, the UNPI has to change into an existential negative polarity item (ENPI), formed from the existential quantifier *valaki* 'someone' and the clitic *is*. (Note that the term "existential" refers to this circumstance rather than the meaning of the ENPI in this construction-type.)

- (332) a. Azt hiszem, hogy Anna nem olvasott semmi-t  
it.ACC think.DEF.1SG that Anna not read nothing-ACC  
(sem).  
nor  
'I think Anna hasn't read anything.'
- b. Nem hiszem, hogy Anna olvasott valami-t is.  
not think.DEF.1SG that Anna read anything-ACC CL  
'I don't think Anna has read anything.'

In contrast with UNPIs in Hungarian, and NPIs such as *anything* in English, ENPIs in Hungarian cannot cooccur with clausemate negation, although, similarly to NPIs in English, they are licit in questions.

- (333) a. \*Azt hiszem, Anna nem olvasott valamit is.  
b. Kétlem, hogy Anna olvasott-e valamit is.  
doubt.DEF.1SG that Anna read-Q anything CL  
'I doubt if Anna has read anything.'

Although the negation word does not raise out of the subordinate clause, UNPIs can in fact move into a higher sentence. In this case, the two sentences cease to be paraphrases of each other, since the scope of the moved quantifier is wider than that of the one in the lower clause.

- (334) a. Azt hisz-em, hogy Anna semmi-t sem olvasott.  
it.ACC think-DEF.1SG that Anna nothing-ACC not read  
'I think that Anna has read nothing.'
- b. Semmi-t sem hisz-ek, hogy Anna olvasott.  
nothing-ACC not think-1SG that Anna read  
'For no x do I think that Anna has read x.'

"Negative raising" works only if the negation in the lower clause has wide scope there. If negation is in scope there, no paraphrase is possible along the lines presented. The following pair illustrates this, since the translations show the lack of equivalence.

- (335) a. Azt hiszem, hogy Anna sem olvas.  
it.ACC think.DEF.1SG that Anna nor reads  
'I think that Anna, too, is not reading.'
- b. Nem hiszem, hogy Anna is olvas.  
not think.DEF.1SG that Anna also reads  
'I don't think that Anna, too, is reading.'

**1.5. ANAPHORA****1.5.1. Means for expressing anaphora***1.5.1.1–2. Deletion*

Subject and (singular) object anaphoric pronouns can be dropped. Since (nominative) possessor pronouns in possessive constructions can also be omitted, conditions of deletion may depend on case rather than on function. Zero signs stand for deleted pronouns, though the positions they are in do not necessarily correspond to their actual sites, as will be seen below.

- (336) a. Annai megvette a könyvetj, de Øi nem olvassa Øj  
 Anna bought.DEF the book.ACC but not reads.DEF  
 'Anna has bought the book but she isn't reading it.'
- b. A fiúki megvették a könyveketj, de Øi nem olvassák  
 the boys bought.DEF the books.ACC but not read.DEF  
 őket/\*Øj  
 them  
 'The boys have bought the books, but they are not reading them.'
- c. Annai olvassa a Øi könyv-é-t.  
 Anna reads.DEF. the book-POSS-ACC  
 'Anna is reading her book.'

Since Hungarian has both subject and (definite) object agreement marked on the verb, and agreement with the possessor is marked on the possessed noun, the deleted pronouns are recoverable.

*1.5.1.3. Personal pronouns*

As was mentioned above, if the object is plural, the personal pronoun has to be used in back-reference. It is also used for both [+human] subject and object if they are placed in any of the preverbal positions, such as topic, focus, or in the *is*-phrase. (First clauses are not given here.)

- (337) a. ...de ő nem olvas.  
 but she not reads  
 '...but she's not reading.'
- b. ...de nem ő olvas.  
 but not she reads  
 '...but it isn't her that's reading.'

- c. ...de ő sem olvas.  
but she nor reads  
'...but she, too, is not reading.'

In the preverbal positions personal pronominal objects can be used in reference to persons only. Thus, postverbal positions are seen as "weak", allowing appropriate pronouns to be dropped (if in subject or object position), or assume the form of a personal pronoun (in all other cases), while preverbal positions appear to be "strong", ruling out pronoun deletion or personal pronouns acting as general anaphoric devices.

- (338) a. Anna olvasta a könyv-et, de nem beszélt ról-a.  
Anna read.DEF the book-ACC but not spoke DEL-3SG  
'Anna had read the book, but she didn't speak about it.'  
b. Anna olvasta a könyv-ek-et, de nem beszélt ról-uk.  
Anna read.DEF the book-PL-ACC but not spoke DEL-3PL  
'Anna had read the books, but she didn't speak about them.'
- (339) a. ...de őket nem látta Anna.  
but them not saw.DEF Anna  
'...but Anna didn't see them [+human].'  
b. ...de Anna nem látta őket.  
'...but Anna didn't see them [±human].'

A similar regularity is discussed in relation to personal and demonstrative pronouns directly.

#### 1.5.1.4. Reflexive pronouns

Coreference between constituents of the same clause is realized by means of reflexive pronouns, which can be case-marked as ordinary NPs. There is a slight uncertainty as to the actual form of the reflexive paradigm since there are at least four competing versions available: *mag-a* 'self-POSS.3SG', *ön-mag-a* 'one-self-POSS.3SG', *saját-maga* 'own-self-POSS.3SG', and *ő-mag-a* 's/he-self-POSS.3SG' (especially in oblique cases), every one of which can be declined in the possessive paradigm in number and person, and that is how person-marking is made possible in reflexive pronouns. Although the glosses given here are by and large adequate, the stem of the reflexive pronoun is not regarded by speakers of Hungarian as having independent meaning, such as 'self' assigned to it below.

- (340) a. Anna látja mag-á-t.  
Anna sees.DEF self-POSS.3SG-ACC  
'Anna sees herself.'

- b. A fiúk látják mag-uk-at.  
the boys see.DEF self-POSS.3PL-ACC  
'The boys see themselves.'

In the possessive construction, the identity of the possessor with one or another constituent of the same clause is usually indicated, not by a reflexive pronoun (although it is not prohibited), but by the attribute *saját* 'own'.

- (341) a. Anna a saját könyv-é-t olvassa  
Anna the own book-POSS-ACC reads.DEF  
'Anna is reading her own book.'  
b. Anna ?\*önmaga/a maga/sajátmaga könyv-é-t olvassa.  
'Anna is reading her own book.'

This may be due to the fact that the reflexive paradigm is also used for emphatic pronouns, even in (pro-dropped) subject positions—with the possible exception of *önmaga*, etc.

- (342) a. (Péter) (saját)maga olvassa a könyvet.  
'Peter/He is reading the book himself.'  
b. ?\*Péter ön maga olvassa a könyvet.

#### 1.5.1.5. Demonstrative anaphoric pronouns

The nonproximate demonstrative pronoun provides the "missing link" in preverbal position for reference to nonhuman objects in all syntactic functions.

- (343) a. \*Anna olvasta a könyv-et, de nem *ról-a* beszélt  
Anna read.DEF the book.ACC but not DEL-3SG spoke  
b. Anna olvasta a könyv-et, de nem *ar-ról* beszélt.  
that-DEL  
'Anna had read the book, but she didn't speak about it.'

The demonstrative is also used postverbally in reference to [-human] subjects and singular objects, since their "weak" version is not the corresponding personal pronoun, but the deleted form, as was seen above. Note that since the postverbal site is, as a rule, a "weak" position, overt pronouns are in general seen as awkward.

- (344) a. A könyv le-esett, de Anna fel-emelt-e  
the book down-fell but Anna up-picked-DEF.3SG  
Ø/?az-t/\*ő-t.  
Ø/that/he-ACC  
'The book fell down but Anna picked it up.'

- b. Anna megvette a könyvet, de nem olvast-a  
Anna bought the book.ACC but not read-DEF.3SG  
Ø/?az-t/\*ő-t.  
that/he-ACC

'Anna bought the book but she didn't read it.'

Another use of the demonstrative *az* 'that' constitutes a case of "switch reference", in which the subject of the first clause becomes the object of the second one, and vice versa, provided both are [+human]. Here the preferred distribution of pronominals preserves the personal pronoun for the former subject and renders the former object as a demonstrative in the second clause (Pléh and Radics 1978).

- (345) a. Richárdi látta Pétertj, de ői nem köszönt nek-ij  
Richard saw.DEF Peter.ACC but not greeted DÁT-3SG  
'Richardi saw Peterj, but hei didn't greet himj.'  
b. Richárdi látta Pétertj, de azj nem köszönt nek-ii  
'Richardi saw Peterj, but hej didn't greet himi.'

This alternation may be due to the more "highlighted" position of the subject in the second conjunct; in fact, the "switch" may just as well be executed by means of the overt personal pronoun *ő* here, which indicates that the default case of pronoun omission is compatible with identical subjects, while overt pronouns, whether personal or demonstrative, signal a change of subjects across clauses.

#### 1.5.1.6. Other means

In place of pronominal cross-reference, various expressions can be used, such as (a) NPs complete with demonstratives and (b) anaphoric epithets.

- (346) a. Shaw érdekesebb Wilde-nál, de ezt a szerzőt  
Shaw more.interesting Wilde-ADE but this the author.ACC  
a kortársaik jobban szerették mint azt.  
the their.contemporaries better liked.DEF than that.ACC  
'Shaw is more interesting than Wilde, but their contemporaries  
preferred this author [Wilde] to that one [Shaw].'  
b. Péter olvasta a könyvet, de a hülye nem emlékszik  
Peter read.DEF the book.ACC but the idiot not remembers  
rá.  
it.SUP  
'Peter has read the book but the idiot doesn't remember it.'

**1.5.2. Domains of anaphora****1.5.2.1. Within the clause**

If there are coreferential constituents within the same clause, except for the one highest in the hierarchy of syntactic functions (or cases), they must take the form of reflexive pronouns. The hierarchy itself can be seen as having the subject (or nominative) at the top, and the “more” oblique NPs at the bottom (cf. É.Kiss 1987).

- (347)
- a. Anna látja önmagá-t.  
Anna sees.DEF self-ACC  
'Anna sees herself.'
  - b. Anná-t megmutattam önmagá-nak.  
Anna-ACC showed.DEF.1SG self-DAT  
'I showed Anna to herself.'
  - c. Anná-nak sokat írtam önmagá-ról.  
Anna-DAT much wrote.1SG self-DEL  
'I have written a lot to Anna about herself.'
  - d. \*Anná-ról sokat írtam önmagá-nak.

If the coreferential NP is in a postpositional phrase, usually reflexives are rejected and personal pronouns are used.

- (348) Péter nem beszél Annáról \*önmaga mögött/mögött-e.  
Peter not speaks Anna.DEL self behind/behind-3SG  
'Peter doesn't speak of Anna behind herself/her.'

If the coreferential NP is a possessor in a possessive NP, it is almost always omitted. If the pronoun is overt, the preferred reading is disjoint reference with respect to any other constituent in the same clause. In other words, omission of the pronoun is compatible with both clausemate or non-clausemate coreference.

- (349)
- a. Annai olvasta a Øi/j könyv-é-t.  
Anna read.DEF the book-POSS-ACC  
'Annai has read heri/j book.'
  - b. Annai olvasta az őj könyvét.  
she  
'Annai has read herj book.'

**1.5.2.2. Between coordinate clauses**

As was shown in the previous section, there are various means for expressing coreference in coordinate structures, depending on syntactic

functions and positions, and whether the NP has+or—human reference. Naturally, in coordinate structures it is always the first one of the two coreferential NPs that must be in full form. In short, coreferential NPs in the second conjunct observe the following regularities. (For more on coreference relations between different clauses, see Kenesei 1994.)

- (350) a. If the NP coreferential with some NP in the first clause is [+human], then it is a personal pronoun, and if postverbal, it can be dropped in subject, and, if singular, also in object positions; if preverbal, the pronouns remain overt.  
 b. If the NP coreferential with some NP in the first clause is [–human], it has the form of the demonstrative *az* ‘that’, but if it is postverbal and not a subject or singular object, it can be the corresponding personal pronoun.  
 c. If there are two pairs of coreferential [+human] NPs, there is a marked preference for a (possibly omitted) personal pronoun in the subject of the second clause to refer back to the subject of the first one, and for a demonstrative to refer back to the nonsubject of the first clause.

Other expressions, such as NPs with demonstratives or anaphoric epithets, are also applicable.

#### 1.5.2.3. *Between superordinate and subordinate clauses*

In contrast with coordinate structures, the order of the antecedent and anaphoric NP is not fixed in these structures. However, two subcases have to be distinguished.

The first subclass of clauses, which is called here independent subordination, is not embedded into or lexically governed by any constituent in the main clause. If such a clause precedes the main clause, either the antecedent or the anaphoric NP can occur in it, with the other one in the main clause.

- (351) a. Bár Annai nem tanul, Øi olvassa a könyvet.  
 though Anna not studies reads.DEF the book.ACC  
 ‘Although Anna is not studying, she’s reading the book.’  
 b. Bár Øi nem tanul, Annai olvassa a könyvet.  
 ‘Although she’s not studying, Anna is reading the book.’

In the reversed order of the clauses the anaphoric NP cannot occur in the main clause.

- (352) a. Annai olvassa a könyvet, bár Øi nem tanul.  
 ‘Anna is reading the book, though she’s not studying.’

b. \* $\emptyset$  i olvassa a könyvet, bár Annai nem tanul.

'She is reading the book, though Anna is not studying.'

Note that epithets behave the same way as pronominals—at least for the dialect of Hungarian discussed here. In another dialect anaphoric NPs in a first clause are unacceptable throughout, and epithets are permissible only in a second main clause.

The second subclass, dependent subordination, also allows the subordinate clause to be placed before or after the rest of the main clause. It differs from the previous subclass in two respects: (i) antecedents are forbidden in the subordinate clause since they would be c-commanded by a coreferential pronoun, and (ii) epithets are disallowed even in first subordinate clauses, although, as expected, pronominal coreference goes through. (A constituent *A* c-commands a constituent *B* iff every category dominating *A* also dominates *B*. For example, a subject c-commands the object or any constituent in a complement clause, but no object or no constituent in a complement clause can c-command the (main clause) subject.)

- (353) a. Hogy  $\emptyset$ /\*a hülyei elvesztette a kulcsot, Péteri nem  
that the idiot lost.DEF.3SG the key.ACC Peter not  
tudta.  
knew.DEF  
'That he/the idiot had lost the key, Peter didn't know.'
- b. \*Hogy Péteri elvesztette a kulcsot,  $\emptyset$ i nem tudta.  
'That Peter had lost the key, he didn't know.'
- c. Péteri nem tudta, hogy  $\emptyset$ i elvesztette a kulcsot.  
'Peter didn't know that he'd lost the key.'
- d. \* $\emptyset$ i nem tudta, hogy Péteri elvesztette a kulcsot.  
'He didn't know that Peter had lost the key.'

That is, preposed dependent clauses behave as if they were in their "original" positions, and both pronouns and epithets observe the relevant principle of binding, viz., that referring expressions (antecedents and epithets) cannot be c-commanded by coreferential items.

Nonfinite clauses differ from finite ones only in that their subjects are necessarily suppressed. Any other anaphoric NP is pronominalized along the lines discussed so far.

- (354) a. Anna nem szereti [a [ról-a beszélő] lányok-at]  
Anna not likes.DEF the DEL-3SG talk-APRT girls-ACC  
'Anna doesn't like the girls talking about her.'

- b. Az asztal-t [az-on/rajt-a áll-va]  
the table-ACC that-SUP/SUP-3SG stand-SCVB  
festettem.  
painted.DEF.1SG  
'I painted the table standing on it.'

1.5.2.4. *Between different subordinate clauses*

What has been said about coreference between main and subordinate clauses obviously carries over to the relationship of two subordinate clauses if one clause is embedded in another, which is in turn embedded in a third one.

If some main clause has more than one subordinate clause embedded in it, all combinations are acceptable as long as the antecedent is not c-commanded by the coreferential pronoun.

- (355) a. Bár Øi keveset olvasott, nem tudtam, hogy  
though little read.3SG not knew.DEF.1SG that Anna  
megbukott.  
flunked  
'Although she had read little, I didn't know that Anna had  
flunked.'
- b. Bár Annai keveset olvasott, nem tudtam, hogy Øi megbukott.  
'Although Anna had read little, I didn't know that she'd  
flunked.'
- (356) a. Azt, hogy Øi megbukott, azért nem értem,  
it.ACC that flunked for.it not understand.DEF.1SG  
mert Annai sokat olvasott.  
because Anna much read  
'I don't understand that she'd flunked because Anna had read a  
lot.'
- b. Azt, hogy Annai megbukott, azért nem értem, mert Øi sokat  
olvasott.  
'I don't understand that Anna had flunked because she'd read a  
lot.'

Again, epithets can replace the (empty) pronouns in each example above.

1.5.2.5. *Between different sentences*

Pronouns, demonstratives, and epithets are used in different sentences according to the regularities observed in coordinate structures, as seen in the following discourses.

- (357)
- a. Richárdi látta Péter-tj  
Richard saw Peter-ACC  
'Richard saw Peter.'
  - b. Ői köszönt nek-ij  
greeted DAT-3SG  
'Hei greeted himj.'
  - c. AZj köszönt nek-ii  
'Hej greeted himi.'

**1.6. REFLEXIVES****1.6.1. Means of expressing reflexivity**1.6.1.1. *Reflexive pronouns*

As was discussed in 1.5.1.4, there are a number of variable nonclitic reflexive pronouns, all based on *mag-a* 'self-POSS.3SG', derived from *mag* 'body' according to the most probable hypothesis. The others are *ön-mag-a* 'one-self-POSS.3SG', *ő-mag-a* 's/he-self-POSS.3SG', *saját-mag-a* 'own-self-POSS.3SG', and the emphatic reflexives *ennen-mag-a* 'one-self-POSS.3SG' and *maga-mag-a* 'self-self-POSS.3SG'. Three of them, i.e., *maga*, *önmaga*, and *sajátmaga*, are widely used with the first and shortest form as the most frequent one. The fourth, *ennenmaga* is archaic or perhaps even obsolete, but this one just like the other three can be declined in all persons (see 2.1.2.2), unlike the last pronoun, *magamaga*, whose use is restricted to third person singular.

Although *maga* is the oldest and most widespread form, since it is homophonous with the distant form of address *maga* 'you, Sie, vous' and also with the emphatic pronoun, the form *önmaga* serves as the best item to test the distribution of the reflexive.

The reflexive pronoun in object position requires definite object agreement on the verb.

- (358)
- A fiúk látják mag-uk-at
  - ön-mag-uk-at
  - ők-et mag-uk-at
  - saját-mag-uk-at
  - ennen-mag-uk-at
  - the boys see.DEF one/own-self-POSS.3PL-ACC
  - 'The boys see themselves.'

## 1.6.1.2. Verbal affix

There is a set of derivative affixes that form reflexive verbs from agentive ones. Although the class is generally characterized as productive, best examples come from activities relating to bodily functions. Analytic reflexive constructions formed by means of the reflexive pronoun are unacceptable or rather clumsy.

- (359) a. Anna fésül-i Péter-t/?mag-á-t.  
Anna combv-DEF.3SG Peter/self-3SG-ACC  
'Anna is combing Peter/herself.'
- b. Anna fésül-köd-ik.  
Anna combv-REFL-3SG  
'Anna is combing herself.'
- (360) a. Ti mos-sá-tok Anná-t/?maga-tok-at.  
you.PL wash-DEF-2PL Anna/self-2PL-ACC  
'You are washing Anna/yourselves.'
- b. Ti mos-akod-tok.  
you wash-REFL-2PL  
'You are washing yourselves.'

## 1.6.2. The scope of reflexivity

Reflexive pronouns are strictly clausemate. Apparent violations are due to a suppressed identical subject in nonfinite constructions.

- (361) a. Annai olvasta, hogy Péterj látta magá-tj/\*i  
Anna read.DEF that Peter saw.DEF self-ACC
- b. Annai szeret olvas-ni magá-róli.  
Anna likes read-INF self-DEL  
'Anna likes to read about herself.'

The attributive modifier *saját* 'own' is used in possessive constructions, but since it is not related to either reflexive construction on the one hand, and it can work across clause boundaries (although it always searches for the closest antecedent), we will forgo illustrating it below.

- (362) Annai látta, hogy a saját könyv-e is elveszett.  
Anna saw.DEF that the own book-POSS also got-lost  
'Anna saw that her own books also got lost.'

## 1.6.3. Antecedents and functions of the reflexive affix

The reflexivizer affix is restricted to subject antecedents and it operates on direct objects only, as illustrated in the examples above.

**1.6.4. Syntactic positions of the reflexive pronoun**

Independent of the syntactic functions of constituents in general and reflexive pronouns in particular, various preverbal and postverbal positions are available for the items under discussion. Thus, they can be (a) topic, (b) in an *is*-quantified phrase, (c) focus, or (d) among the postverbal constituents.

- (363)
- a. Magá-t Anna nagyon szereti.  
self-ACC Anna much likes.DEF  
'Anna likes herself very much.'
  - b. Magá-ról is Péter olvasott a legtöbbet.  
self-DEL also Peter read the most  
'Peter has read the most about himself, too.'
  - c. Anna csak **magá-t** szereti.  
Anna only self-ACC likes.DEF  
'Anna likes only herself.'
  - d. Péter olvasott magá-ról a legtöbbet.  
'Peter has read the most about himself.'

**1.6.5. Antecedent-reflexive relations**

In the section titles below the first term stands for the antecedent, the second for the reflexive. Functions omitted either do not exist in Hungarian or no reflexive pronoun is possible in those functions.

**1.6.5.1. Subject—direct object**

- (364) Anna látja magá-t.  
'Anna sees herself.'

**1.6.5.2. Subject—modifier of direct object**

Although the attribute *saját* 'own' is used most frequently to identify the possessor with another constituent in the sentence, it is not impossible to use a reflexive pronoun either as a nominative or dative possessor, especially if the topic-focus structure is appropriate.

- (365) a. Önmaga/Önmagá-nak a kép-e-i-t csak **Péter**  
self-NOM/self-DAT the picture-POSS-PL-ACC only Peter  
nézegette.  
stared.DEF  
'Only Peter was staring at his own pictures.'

- b. ?\*Csak **Péter** nézegette önmaga képeit.

Another context in which reflexives are in principle possible is in object, or in general, NP complement functions, studied in some detail by É.Kiss (1987). As was discussed in 1.2.5.2.7, case-marked complement NPs to head nouns are acceptable only if the head noun is in the nominative or accusative; if it is in any other (i.e., oblique) case, the structure is ruled out. Since such NPs form separate domains for coreference relations, reflexive pronouns are grammatical only if they have an antecedent inside the NP, which rules out the subject as immediate antecedent, unless there is an understood “suppressed subject” within the noun phrase, whose antecedent is the subject of the clause.

- (366) a. Péter megtalálta [a cikk-et ról-a/önmagá-ról]  
Peter found.DEF the article-ACC DEL-3SG/self-DEL  
'Peter has found the article about him/himself.'  
b. Péter megtalálta [a cikk-é-t önmagá-ról/\*róla]  
article-POSS-ACC  
'Peter has found his article about him/himself.'  
c. \*Péter tanult [a cikk-é-ből ról-a/önmagá-ról]  
Peter learned the article-POSS-ELA DEL-3SG/self-DEL  
'Peter has learned from the article about him/himself.'

1.6.5.3–5. *Subject—indirect object*

Dative- or adposition-marked indirect objects can be reflexive pronouns.

- (367) a. Anna magá-nak küldte a könyvet.  
Anna self-DAT sent.DEF the book.ACC  
'Anna sent the book to herself.'  
b. Anna önmaga részére küldte a könyvet.  
self for  
'Anna sent the book to herself.'

1.6.5.4–6. *Subject—modifier of indirect object*

The above remark concerning ordering conditions applies here, too.

- (368) a. A maga ellenség-é-nek senki nem küld könyvet.  
the self enemy-POSS-DAT no one not sends book  
'No one sends books to his/her own enemy.'  
b. Önmaga ellenség-e számára senki nem küld könyvet.  
self enemy-POSS for  
'No one sends books to his/her own enemy.'

1.6.5.7–8. *Subject—(modifier of) copular complement*

Both the nominal predicate and its possessive modifier can be a reflexive pronoun. Note that, like all copular complement nouns, the reflexive is not used in a referential sense.

- (369) a. Péter nem önmaga volt.  
Peter not self was  
'Peter wasn't himself (=his usual self).'
- b. Péter önmaga ellenség-e volt.  
Peter self enemy-POSS was 'Peter was his own enemy.'

1.6.5.9–10. *Subject—(modifier of) subject-complement*

- (370) a. Anna önmaga maradt.  
Anna self remained  
'Anna remained herself.'
- b. Mi önmag-unk ellenség-e-i maradtunk.  
we self-1PL enemy-POSS-PL remained  
'We remained our own enemies.'

1.6.5.11–12. *Subject—(modifier of) object-complement*

No reflexive can occur in object-complements or their modifiers.

- (371) a. \*A szobrász Péter-ti önmagá-rai formázta.  
the sculptor Peter-ACC self-SUB formed.DEF  
'The sculptor formed Peter into himself.'
- b. \*A szobrász Péter-ti önmagai alak-já-ra  
the sculptor Peter-ACC self shape-POSS-SUB  
formázta.  
formed.DEF  
'The sculptor formed Peter into his own shape.'

1.6.5.13–14. *Subject—(modifier of) object of adjective*

- (372) a. Anna elégedett volt önmagá-val.  
Anna content was self-INS  
'Anna was content with herself.'
- b. Önmaga barát-a-i-val senki nem elégedett.  
self friend-POSS-PL-INS no-one not content  
'No one is content with his/her own friends.'

1.6.5.17. *Subject—case-marked and adpositional phrase*

The subject can serve as antecedent for a reflexive in all of the case-marked complement or adverbial phrases, provided there are no independent restrictions against (for example) referential NPs in them, and both subtypes of postpositional NPs contain case-like or real postpositions.

- (373) a. Anna magá-ra gondolt.  
Anna self-SUB thought  
'Anna thought of herself.'
- b. Péter magá-ra öntötte a vizet.  
Peter self-SUB spilled.DEF the water.ACC  
'Peter spilled the water on himself.'
- c. \*Anna maga-ként érkezett.  
Anna self-FOR came  
'Anna came in the function of herself.'
- (374) a. Anna maga után húzta a kocsit.  
Anna self after pulled.DEF the cart.ACC  
'Anna pulled the cart after her (self).'
- b. Anna magá-val együtt Péter-t is be-számította.  
Anna self-INS together Peter-ACC CL PFX-counted.DEF  
'Anna counted in Peter, too, together with herself.'

1.6.5.18. *Subject—modifier of case-marked and adpositional phrase*

Reflexive pronouns as possessive modifiers are possible in case-marked NPs, but not in postpositional phrases.

- (375) a. A maga ellenség-é-ről senki nem beszél.  
the self enemy-POSS-DEL no one not speaks  
'No one speaks of his/her enemy.'
- b. \*Önmaga barát-a-i-val együtt Anna Pétert is beszámította.  
self friend-POSS-PL-INS together Anna Peter.ACC also counted-in  
'Anna counted in Peter together with self's friends.'

1.6.5.19–25. *Modifier of subject—other constituents*

No modifier or complement in the subject can, in general, be the antecedent of a reflexive pronoun in the clause.

- (376) a. \*Anna kés-e meg-sebezte önmagá-t.  
Anna knife-POSS PFX-wounded.DEF self-ACC  
'Anna's knife hurt herself.'
- b. \*A cikk Péter-ről meglepte önmagá-t.  
the article Peter-DEL surprised.DEF self-ACC  
'The article about Peter surprised himself.'

#### 1.6.5.26. Modifier of subject—copular complement

There is, however, one structure in which a subject modifier can serve as the antecedent of a reflexive in the clause: copular sentences in which the subject is a possessive NP, whether nominative or dative, or inside or outside the NP proper.

- (377) a. [Péter legnagyobb ellenség-e] **önmaga** volt.  
Peter greatest enemy-POSS himself was  
'Peter's greatest enemy was himself.'
- b. Péternek **önmaga** volt a legnagyobb ellensége.  
'Peter's greatest enemy was himself.'

#### 1.6.5.37. Direct object—subject

Again, certain focussed structures allow reflexive pronouns to occur in the subject position, but here and further below the antecedent has to precede the reflexive.

- (378) a. \*Sajátmaga meg-sebezte Péter-t.  
self PFX-wounded.DEF Peter-ACC  
'Himself wounded Peter.'
- b. Péter-t **sajátmaga** sebezte meg.  
ca. 'Peter was wounded by (none other but) **himself**.'

#### 1.6.5.38. Direct object—modifier of subject

The modifier of the subject cannot be a reflexive pronoun if the object is the antecedent, but its complement can—if there is an appropriate antecedent inside the NP, which again prevents the object from being the antecedent proper of the reflexive.

- (379) a. \*Péter-t **önmaga barát-ja** sebezte meg.  
self friend-POSS  
'Peter was wounded by self's friend.'

- b. \*Péter-t meg-lepte [a könyv önmagá-ról]  
Peter-ACC PFX-surprised.DEF the book self-DEL  
'Peter was surprised by the book about himself.'
- c. Péter-t meglepte [a könyv-e önmagá-ról]  
book-POSS  
'Peter was surprised by his book about himself.'

1.6.5.39. *Direct object—indirect object*

Dative-marked indirect objects can be reflexive pronouns with direct objects as antecedents.

- (380) Anná-t megmutattam önmagá-nak.  
Anna-ACC showed.DEF.1SG self-DAT  
'I showed Anna to herself.'

1.6.5.49. *Direct object—object of adjective*

This is a possible configuration.

- (381) Péter-t [önmagá-ra büszké-nek] tartottam.  
Peter-ACC self-SUB proud-DAT considered.DEF.1SG  
'I considered Peter proud of himself.'

1.6.5.55–72. *Modifier of direct object—other constituents*

No antecedent-reflexive relations are possible in such configurations.

- (382) \*Péteri barát-já-t megmutattam önmagá-naki  
Peter friend-POSS-ACC showed.DEF.1SG self-ACC  
'I showed Peter's friend to himself.'

1.6.5.73–74. *Indirect object—(modifier of) subject*

This is again possible under proper focussing conditions.

- (383) a. \*Önmaga küldte Péter-nek a könyvek-et.  
self sent.DEF Peter-DAT the books-ACC  
'Himself sent the books to Peter.'
- b. ?Péter-nek **önmaga** küldte a könyveket.  
ca. 'The books were sent to Peter by (none other but) HIMSELF.'

It is in this connection that we mention verbs of "passive" mental processes like *tetszik* 'please', *látszik* 'appear', *ötletet ad* 'give an idea (to)' and the like, which take experiencer NPs in the dative and themes in

nominative subjects, thus making it possible for the dative NP to serve as antecedent to the subject reflexive pronoun, though only if the verb or the reflexive is stressed.

- (384) a. Péter-nek **tetszik** önmaga.  
Peter-DAT pleases self .NOM  
'Peter likes himself.'
- b. Péter-nek **önmaga** látszik a legnagyobb-nak.  
Peter-DAT self appears the greatest-DAT  
'It's himself that appears to Peter to be the greatest.'

Neither a "true" indirect object, i.e., a beneficiary, nor experiencer NPs can be the antecedent of a reflexive inside a subject NP.

- (385) a. \*Péter-neki a postás önmagai mögött küldte a  
Peter-DAT the postman self behind sent.DEF the  
könyveket.  
books.ACC  
'The postman behind himself sent Peter the books.'
- b. \*Péter-nek a kép önmagá-ról adta az ötlet-et.  
Peter-DAT the picture self-DEL gave.DEF the idea-ACC  
'The picture of himself gave Peter the idea.'

1.6.5.75–76. *Indirect object—(modifier of) direct object*

This configuration is somewhat less acceptable than the reverse order (see 1.6.5.39), though it is still well within the boundaries of grammaticality: reflexives in modifiers are ruled out.

- (386) a. Anná-nak megmutattam önmagá-t.  
Anna-DAT showed.DEF.1SG self-ACC  
'I showed herself to Anna.'
- b. \*Anna-nak megmutattam a kép-et önmagá-ról.  
Anna-DAT showed.1SG the picture-ACC self-DEL  
'I showed Anna the picture of herself.'

1.6.5.77–78. *Indirect object—(modifier of) case-marked or adpositional NP*

The indirect object is a possible antecedent of such NPs, but not of their modifiers.

- (387) a. Beszéltem Anná-nak önmagá-ról.  
spoke.1SG Anna-DAT self-DEL  
'I spoke to Anna about herself.'

- b. Érvettem Anná-nak önmaga ellen.  
argued.1SG Anna-DAT self against  
'I argued to Anna against herself.'
- (388) a. \*Beszéltem Anná-nak önmaga barátai-ról.  
'I spoke to Anna about self's friends.'  
b. \*Érvettem Anná-nak önmaga barátai ellen.  
argued.1SG Anna-DAT self friends.POSS against  
'I argued to Anna against self's friends.'

1.6.5.89–104. *Modifier of indirect object—other constituents*

No coreference relations between the modifier of an indirect object and any other constituent of the clause are possible.

- (389) \* Annai barát-já-nak megmutattam önmagáti  
Anna friend-POSS-DAT showed.DEF.1SG self  
'I showed to Anna'si friend herselfi.'

1.6.5.173. *Case-marked or adpositional phrase—subject*

As before, only focussed reflexives are possible, if at all.

- (390) a. ?Péter-ről **önmaga** beszél a legtöbbet.  
Peter-DEL self speaks the most  
'Peter speaks the most about himself.'  
b. ?Péter után csak **önmaga** vágyakozik.  
Peter after only self yearns  
'Only Peter yearns for himself.'

1.6.5.175. *Case-marked or adpositional phrase—object*

Same as 1.6.5.173.

- (391) a. ?Péter-ről **önmagá-t kell** meghallgatnunk.  
Peter-DEL self-ACC must hear.1PL  
'We have to hear about Peter **himself**.'  
b. ?Péter ellen **önmagá-t** küldjük.  
Peter against self-ACC send.DEF.1PL  
'We'll send against Peter **himself**.'

1.6.5.177. *Case-marked or adpositional phrase—indirect object*

Same as 1.6.5.173.

- (392) a. ?Péter-től csak **önmagá-nak** érkeznek levelek.  
Peter-ABL only self-DAT come letters  
'Letters are coming in from Peter only to himself.'  
b. ?Péter felől csak **önmagá-nak** érkeznek levelek.  
from  
'Letters are coming in from Peter only to himself.'

1.6.5.191. *Case-marked or adpositional phrase—case-marked or adpositional phrase*

Coreference relations in two similar phrases are again possible with some restrictions owing to closer or more distant lexical government relations. It appears that at least the antecedent has to be lexically governed. Moreover, if one of the phrases is in no lexical relation, focussing may sometimes circumvent difficulties.

- (393) a. Beszéltem Anná-val önmagá-ról.  
spoke.1SG Anna-INS self-DEL  
'I spoke with Anna about herself.'  
b. \*Beszéltem Anná-ról önmagá-val.  
'I spoke about Anna with herself.'  
c. ?Anná-ról **önmagá-val** beszéltem.  
'It was with her (self) that I spoke about Anna.'

- (394) a. ?Anná-val **önmaga miatt** beszéltem.  
Anna-INS self because spoke.1SG  
'I spoke with Anna because of herself.'  
b. \*Anna miatt **önmagá-val** beszéltem.  
'I spoke because of Anna with herself.'

Adpositional phrases are acceptable as antecedents only if there is a clear lexical government relation.

- (395) a. ?Annai iránt **önmagaimiatt** érez Péter szeretet-et.  
Anna for self because feel Peter affection-ACC  
'Peter feels an affection for Anna because of herself.'  
b. \*Annai miatt **önmagairánt** érez Péter szeretet-et.  
'Peter feels an affection because of Anna for herself.'

1.6.5.193–212. *Modifier of case-marked or adpositional phrase—other constituents*

No coreference relations are possible.

- (396) a. \* Annai barát-já-ról **önmagá-ti** kérdeztem.  
 Anna friend-POSS-DEL self-ACC asked.1SG  
 'I asked about Anna's friend herself.'  
 b. \*Annai barát-já-val **önmagá-róli** beszéltem.  
 'I spoke with Anna's friend about herself.'

### 1.6.6. Reflexives in nominalized clauses

Action nominalizations can contain reflexive pronouns, but note the following. In nominalizations of intransitive verbs the subject occupies the possessor's position and all other arguments retain their cases with or without the attributivizer participle *való* 'being'. Since the (antecedent) object, too, has to occupy the possessor's slot in a nominalization, the (reflexive) agent can only be placed in a postpositional phrase.

- (397) a. Péter törőd-és-e önmagá-val  
 Peter care-NML-POSS self-INS  
 'Peter's caring for himself'  
 b. Péter önmagá-val való törőd-és-e  
 Peter self-INS being care-NML-POSS  
 'Peter's caring for himself'  
 c. Péter önmaga által való elítél-és-e  
 Peter self by being judge-NML-POSS  
 'Peter's judgment by himself'

Since possessor NPs are in a c-commanding position, they cannot be reflexive pronouns.

- (398) \*Önmaga Péter által való elítélése.  
 'self's judgment by Peter'

### 1.6.7. Reflexives in ordinary NPs

Reflexive relations are possible also in NPs formed of result nominals or lexical nouns.

- (399) a. Péter ítélet-e önmaga ellen  
 Peter sentence-POSS self against  
 'Peter's sentence against himself'  
 b. [Anna kép-e önmagá-ról] jól sikerült.  
 Anna picture-POSS self-DEL well succeeded  
 'Anna's picture of herself was a success.'

**1.6.8. Reflexive pronouns without overt antecedents**

Although É.Kiss (1987) quotes examples of reflexives in so-called picture nominals that have no antecedents, others refuse these constructions without hesitation, and accept only the ones in which the reflexive has a (covert or overt) possessive antecedent.

- (400) a. %János-nak tetszett [a történet önmagá-ról]  
John-DAT pleased the story self-DEL  
'John liked the story about himself.'  
b. János-nak tetszett [a történet-e önmagá-ról]  
story-POSS  
'John liked his story about himself.'
- (401) a. %János össze-tépte [a vers-et önmagá-hoz]  
John up-tore.DEF the poem-ACC self-ALL  
'John tore up the poem to himself.'  
b. János összetépte [a vers-é-t önmagá-hoz]  
poem-POSS-ACC  
'John tore up his poem to himself.'

Reflexives without overt antecedents in NPs are acceptable only if the NP contains a nonfinite verb-form whose agent can be suppressed and thus can serve as an "invisible" antecedent. In the first example below the suppressed agent of the participle *szóló* 'speaking' is the story, which cannot serve as antecedent to the reflexive, while the suppressed agent of *írott* 'written' can be identified with *János* and can thus provide an acceptable interpretation for the reflexive pronoun.

- (402) a. Jánosnak tetszett [az önmagá-ról ír-ott/\*szól-ó  
John.DAT pleased the self-DEL write-PPRT/speak-APRT  
történet]  
story  
'John liked the story written/\*speaking about himself.'  
b. János összetépte [az önmagá-hoz ír-ott vers-et]  
'John tore up the poem written to himself.'

**1.6.9. Other uses of reflexives**

Since there is no "impersonal" reflexive in Hungarian like English *oneself*, general reflexive (co)reference is achieved usually by the first person plural form, and less frequently by the second person plural.

- (403) a. [A versek önmag-unk-hoz] rendszerint gyengék.  
the poems self-1PL-ALL regularly feeble  
'Poems to oneself are usually feeble.'
- b. [A versek önmag-*\*á/\*uk/?atok*-hoz] rendszerint gyengék.  
self-3SG/3PL/2PL-ALL  
'Poems to himself/themselves/yourselves are usually feeble.'

## 1.7. RECIPROCITY

### 1.7.1. Means for expressing reciprocity

There is a single word *egymás*, compounded from words meaning 'one' and 'other', serving as the reciprocal. Naturally, it needs a plural or conjoined antecedent. The coreference relations of reciprocals have been studied also by É.Kiss (1987).

- (404) a. Anna és Péter látják egymás-t.  
Anna and Peter see.DEF each-other-ACC  
'Anna and Peter see each other.'
- b. A fiú-k látják egymás-t.  
'The boys see each other.'

Arguably, the same reflexivizer derivative affix that was discussed in 1.6.1.2 can be used to form reciprocal verbs from transitive ones, but there are only a handful of verbs that can undergo the process (cf. Komlósy 1994).

- (405) a. Anna ver-i Péter-t.  
Anna beat-DEF.3SG Peter-ACC  
'Anna is beating Peter.'
- b. A gyerek-ek ver-eked-nek (egymás-sal).  
the child-ren beat-REFL-3PL each-other-INS  
'The children are fighting (with each other).'

### 1.7.2. The scope of reciprocity

Like reflexives, the reciprocal is restricted to clausemate antecedents.

- (406) A fiúki tudták, hogy a lányokj látják egymás-t*\*i/j*.  
the boys knew.DEF that the girls see.DEF each-other-ACC  
'The boys knew that the girls see each other.'

**1.7.4. The syntactic positions of the reciprocal**

Similarly to the reflexive, the reciprocal can occur in (a) topic, (b) is-phrase, (c) focus, and (d) postverbal positions.

- (407)
- a. Egymás-t a fiúk nem látták.  
each-other the boys not saw.DEF  
'The boys didn't see each other.'
  - b. A fiúk egymás-t is látták.  
'The boys saw each other, too.'
  - c. A fiúk nem **egymás-t** látták.  
'The boys didn't see **each other**.'
  - d. A fiúk látták egymás-t.  
'The boys saw each other.'

**1.7.5. Antecedent-reciprocal relations**

As in 1.6.5., in the section titles below the first term stands for the antecedent, the second for the reciprocal.

Functions omitted either do not exist in Hungarian or no reciprocal is possible in those functions.

It is to be noted that reciprocals are significantly more acceptable in various positions in which reflexives had to be placed in focus to achieve similar results.

*1.7.5.1. Subject—direct object*

This configuration is possible as illustrated above in 1.7.4, example (407).

*1.7.5.2. Subject—modifier of direct object*

Possessor reciprocals are possible, but in complement position they are ruled out, just like reflexives.

- (408)
- a. A lányok szeretik egymás barát-a-i-t.  
the girls like.DEF each-other friend-POSS-PL-ACC  
'The girls like each other's friends.'
  - b. \*A lányok szeretik a képek-et egymás-ról.  
the girls like.DEF the pictures-ACC each-other-DEL  
'The girls like the pictures of each other.'

*1.7.5.3. and 1.7.5.5. Subject—indirect object*

Dative- or adposition-marked indirect objects can be reciprocals.

- (409) a. A fiúk küldték a könyveket egymás-nak.  
the boys sent.DEF the books each-other-DAT  
'The boys sent books to each other.'
- b. A fiúk küldték a könyveket egymás számára  
the boys sent.DEF the books.ACC each-other for  
'The boys sent books to each other.'

1.7.5.4. and 1.7.5.6. *Subject—modifier of indirect object*

Possessor reciprocals are grammatical in indirect objects.

- (410) a. A fiúk küldtek könyveket egymás  
the boys sent books.ACC each-other  
barát-a-i-nak.  
friend-POSS-PL-DAT  
'The boys sent books to each other's friends.'
- b. A fiúk küldtek könyveket egymás barát-a-i  
the boys sent books.ACC each-other friend-POSS-PL  
részére  
for  
'The boys sent books to each other's friends.'

1.7.5.7–8. *Subject—(modifier of) copular complement*

The reciprocal is impossible as a copular complement, although it is perfectly acceptable as a possessive modifier in such positions.

- (411) a. \*A fiúk egymás voltak.  
'The boys were each other.'
- b. A fiúk egymás legjobb barát-a-i voltak.  
the boys each-other best friend-POSS-PL were  
'The boy's were each other's best friends.'

1.7.5.9–10. *Subject—(modifier of) subject-complement*

The distribution is similar to what is seen immediately above.

- (412) a. \*A fiúk egymás maradtak.  
'The boys remained each other.'
- b. A fiúk egymás legjobb barátai maradtak.  
'The boys remained each other's best friends.'

1.7.5.11–12. *Subject—(modifier of) object-complement*

- (413) A lányok a fiúk-at egymás vőlegényei-vé  
 the girls the boys-ACC each-other's fiancés-TRA  
 tették.  
 made.DEF

'The girls made the boys each other's fiancés.'

1.7.5.13–14. *Subject—(modifier of) object of adjective*

These configurations are grammatical.

- (414) a. A lányok elégedettek egymás-sal.  
 the girls content each-other-INS  
 'The girls are content with each other.'  
 b. A lányok elégedettek egymás barátaival.  
 the girls content each-other friends.POSS.INS  
 'The girls are content with each other's friends.'

1.7.5.17. *Subject—case-marked and adpositional phrase*

As in the case of reflexives, the subject can serve as antecedent for a reciprocal in all of the case-marked complement or adverbial phrases, provided there are no independent restrictions against, e.g., referential NPs in them, and in both subtypes of postpositional NPs, whether containing case-like or real postpositions.

- (415) a. A fiúk egymás-ra gondoltak  
 the boys each.other-SUB thought  
 'The boys thought of each other.'  
 b. A lányok egymás-ra öntötték a vizet.  
 the girls each.other-SUB spilled the water.ACC  
 'The girls spilled the water on each other.'  
 c. \*A fiúk egymás-ként érkeztek.  
 the boys each.other-FOR came  
 'The boys came in the function of each other.'
- (416) a. A lányok egymás után érkeztek.  
 the girls each.other after came  
 'The girls came one after the other.'  
 b. A fiúk egymás-sal szemben állnak.  
 the boys each.other-INS opposite stand  
 'The boys are standing facing each other.'

1.7.5.18. *Subject—modifier of case-marked and adpositional phrase*

- (417) a. A fiúk egymás ellenségei-ről beszéltek.  
the boys each.other enemies.POSS-DEL talked  
'The boys talked of each other's enemies.'
- b. A fiúk egymás barátai-val együtt érkeztek.  
the boys each.other friends.POSS-INS together came  
'The boys came together with each other's friends.'

1.7.5.19–36. *Modifier of subject—other constituents*

No modifier or complement in the subject can be the antecedent of a reciprocal in the clause, even if it is in a position acceptable for reflexive pronouns, such as the copular complement.

- (418) a. \*A fiúki barát-a-i látták egymás-ti.  
the boys friend-POSS-PL saw.DEF each.other-ACC  
'The boys'i friends saw each otheri.'
- b. \*A könyvek a fiúk-ról tetszettek egymás-nak.  
the books the boys-DEL pleased each.other-DAT  
'The books about the boys pleased each other.'
- c. \*A fiúk legjobb barát-a-i egymás volt(ak).  
the boys best friend-POSS-PL each.other was/were  
'The boys' best friends were each other.'

1.7.5.37. *Direct object—subject*

No coreference relations are possible between an antecedent in object position and a reciprocal in subject position. In fact, the reciprocal cannot, under any condition, occur in subject position. Even a focussed reciprocal is unacceptable, as shown by the example below.

- (419) \*A fiúkat **egymás** mutatta be.  
the boys-ACC each.other introduced.DEF PFX  
'Each other introduced the boys.'

1.7.5.38. *Direct object—modifier of subject*

In contrast with the prohibition against reciprocals in subject position, their occurrence in the possessive modifier of the subject is quite acceptable, provided the reciprocal follows the antecedent.

- (420) a. **?Egymás barátai** mutatták be a fiúk-at.  
 each.other friends.POSS introduced.DEF PFX the boys-ACC  
 b. A fiúk-at **egymás barátai** mutatták be.  
 'The boys were introduced by each other's friends.'

1.7.5.39–40. *Direct object—(modifier of) indirect object*

Since (apart from the subject) all constituents are lower in the hierarchy than the direct object, antecedents in this position are compatible with reciprocals in the rest of the syntactic functions.

- (421) a. Be-mutattam egymás-nak a fiúk-at.  
 PFX-introduced.DEF.1SG each.other-DAT the boys-ACC  
 'I introduced the boys to each other.'  
 b. Bemutattam egymás tanár-a-i-nak a fiúk-at.  
 teacher-POSS-PL-DAT  
 'I introduced the boys to each other's teachers.'

1.7.5.49. *Direct object—object of adjective*

This is again a possible configuration.

- (422) A lányok-at egymás-sal elégedett-nek láttam.  
 the girls-ACC each.other-INS content-DAT saw.DEF.1SG  
 'I regarded the girls as content with each other.'

1.7.5.55–72. *Modifier of direct object—other constituents*

No coreference is possible.

- (423) a. \* A lányoki barát-a-i-t bemutattam  
 the girls friend-POSS-PL-ACC introduced.DEF.1SG  
 egymás-naki.  
 each.other-DAT  
 'I introduced the girls'i friends to each otheri.'  
 b. \*A könyv-et a lányok-ról kértem  
 the book-ACC the girls-DEL requested.DEF.1SG  
 egymás-tól.  
 each.other-ABL  
 'I requested the book about the girls from each other.'

1.7.5.73. *Indirect object—subject*

Since the antecedent is lower in the hierarchy than the phrase containing the reciprocal, coreference is not possible.

- (424) \*A fiúk-nak egymás mutatta be a lányok-at.  
 the boys-DAT each.other introduced.DEF PFX the girls-ACC  
 'Each other introduced the girls to the boys.'

1.7.5.74. *Indirect object—modifier of subject*

This is again a possible configuration if the subject is in focus.

- (425) A fiúk-naki **egymásibarátai** mutatták be a  
 the boys-DAT each.other's friends introduced.DEF PFX the  
 lányok-at.  
 girls-ACC  
 'Each other's friends introduced the boys to the girls.'

1.7.5.75–76. *Indirect object—(modifier of) direct object*

É.Kiss (1987) finds the reciprocal in direct object more acceptable than other speakers, and marks it by a question mark. The structure again improves if focussed.

- (426) a. ?\*A lányok-nak bemutattam.DEF egymás-t.  
 the girls-DAT introduced.1SG each.other-ACC  
 b. A lányok-nak **egymás-t** mutattam be.  
 'I introduced each other to the girls.'  
 The reciprocal in the object modifier yields an acceptable structure.
- (427) Bemutattam a lányok-nak egymás barátai-t.  
 introduced.DEF.1SG the girls-DAT each.other's friends-ACC  
 'I introduced each other's friends to the girls.'

1.7.5.77–78. *Indirect object—(modifier of) case-marked or adpositional NP*

All configurations included here are possible.

- (428) a. Beszéltem a lányok-nak egymás-ról.  
 spoke.1SG the girls-DAT each.other-DEL  
 'I spoke to the girls about each other.'  
 b. Éveltem a lányok-nak egymás ellen.  
 argued.1SG the girls-DAT each.other against  
 'I argued to the girls against each other.'

- (429) a. Beszéltem a lányok-nak egymás barátairól.  
spoke.1SG the girls-DAT each.other friends.POSS-DEL  
'I spoke to the girls about each other's friends.'
- b. Érvettem a lányok-nak egymás barátaival szemben.  
argued.1SG the girls-DAT each.other friends.POSS against  
'I argued to the girls against each other's friends.'

1.7.5.89–104. *Modifier of indirect object—other constituents*

When the antecedent is the modifier of the indirect object coreference is not possible either “upwards” or “downwards” in the hierarchy of syntactic functions.

- (430) a. \*A lányok könyveivel örültek egymásnak.  
the girls' books-DAT rejoiced-(PL) each.other  
'Each other rejoiced over the girls' books.'
- b. \*A lányok barátaival ígértem egymásnak.  
the girls' friends-DAT promised.DEF.1SG each.other-ACC  
'I promised each other to the girls' friends.'
- c. \*A lányaim barátaival beszéltem egymásról.  
the girls' friends-DAT spoke.1SG each.other-DEL  
'I spoke to the girls' friends about each other.'

1.7.5.173–175. *Case-marked or adpositional phrase—subject/object*

Since the reciprocal is higher in the hierarchy, coreference is not possible even if the reciprocal is in focus.

- (431) a. \*A lányok-ról **egymás** beszél a legtöbb.  
the girls-DEL each.other speaks the most  
'Each other speaks the most about the girls.'
- b. \*A lányok-ról **egymás-t** kérdeztem.  
the girls-DEL each.other-ACC asked.DEF.1SG  
'I asked each other about the girls.'

1.7.5.177. *Case-marked or adpositional phrase—indirect object*

This is possible even in neutral sentences.

- (432) Üzenetek érkeztek a lányok-tól egymásnak.  
messages came the girls-ABL each.other-DAT  
'Messages were coming from the girls to each other.'

1.7.5.191. *Case-marked or adpositional phrase—case-marked or adpositional phrase*

As in the case of reflexives, coreference relations in two similar phrases are possible with some restrictions owing to closer or more distant lexical government relations. It appears that at least the antecedent has to be lexically governed. Moreover, if one of the phrases is not in a lexical relation with the predicate, focussing may sometimes circumvent difficulties.

- (433) a. ?Beszéltem a fiúk-kal egymás-ról.  
spoke.1SG the boys-INS each.other-DEL  
'I spoke with the boys about each other.'  
b. ??Beszéltem a fiúk-ról egymás-sal.  
'I spoke about the boys with each other.'  
c. ?A fiúk-ról **egymás-sal** beszéltem.  
'It was with each other that I spoke about the boys.'
- (434) a. ?A fiúk-kal **egymás miatt** beszéltem.  
the boys-INS each. other because spoke.1SG  
'I spoke with the boys because of each other.'  
b. \*A fiúk miatt **egymás-sal** beszéltem.  
'I spoke because of the boys with each other.'

Postpositional phrases are more acceptable as antecedents if they are in a closer lexical government relation with the verb than the reciprocal.

- (435) a. ??A fiúk iránt **egymás miatt** érez Péter szeretet-et.  
the boys for each.other because feel Peter affection-ACC  
'Peter feels an affection for the boys because of each other.'  
b. \*A fiúk miatt **egymás iránt** érez Péter szeretet-et.  
'Peter feels an affection because of the boys for each other.'

1.7.5.193–212. *Modifier of case-marked or adpositional phrase—other constituents*

These are not possible coreference relations.

- (436) a. \*A fiúki barátai-tól egymás-naki érkeztek üzenetek.  
the boys' friends-ABL each. other-DAT came messages  
'Messages were coming in from the boys'i friends to each other.'  
b. \*A fiúk házai-tól sokat kell menni egymás-ig.  
the boys' houses-ABL much must walk.INF each.other-TER  
'There is a lot to walk from the boys' houses to each other.'

**1.7.6. Reciprocals in nominalized clauses**

Reciprocals are also possible in action nominalizations in the same way as reflexives.

- (437) a. a fiúk törőd-és-e egymás-sal  
the boys care-ing-POSS each.other-DAT  
'the boys' caring for each other'
- b. a fiúk egymás-sal való törőd-és-e  
the boys each.other-INS being care-ing-POSS  
'the boys' caring for each other'
- c. a fiúk egymás által való elítél-és-e  
the boys each.other by being judge-ing-POSS  
'the boys' judgment by each other'

Since possessor NPs are in a c-commanding position, they cannot be reciprocals.

- (438) \*egymás-(nak) a fiúk által való elítélése  
'each other's judgment by the boys'

**1.7.7. Reciprocals in ordinary NPs**

Coreference relations between NPs and reciprocals are possible also in NPs formed of result nominals or lexical nouns.

- (439) a. a fiúk ítélet-e-i egymás ellen  
the boys' sentence-POSS-PL each.other against  
'the boys' sentences against each other'
- b. [A fiúk kép-e-i egymás-ról] jól sikerültek.  
the boys' picture-POSS-PL each.other-DEL well succeeded  
'The boys' pictures of each other were a success.'

**1.7.8. Reciprocals without overt antecedents**

In this case, reciprocals in so-called picture nominals that have no antecedents are acceptable with some predicates, but in general are not coreferential. The NPs in which the reciprocal has a (covert or overt) possessive antecedent are always grammatical.

- (440) a. A lányok-nak tetszettek [a képek egymás-ról]  
the girls-DAT pleased the pictures each.other-DEL  
'The girls liked the pictures of each other.'

- b. \*A lányok a falra akasztották [a képek-et  
the girls the wall.SUB hung.DEF the pictures-ACC  
egymás-ról]  
each.other-DEL  
'The girls hung the pictures of each other on the wall.'
- c. A lányok a falra akasztották [a képeik-et egymás-ról]  
their pictures-ACC  
'The girls hung their pictures of each other on the wall.'

## 1.8. COMPARISON

### 1.8.1. Means for expressing comparison

There are two constructions available for the expression of comparison: one of them contains the standard in a (usually elliptic) clause, the other in a case-marked noun phrase. The comparative of adjectives and adverbs is formed by means of the suffix *-bb*, and that of the quantifier or numeral *sok* 'many, much' is the irregular *több* 'more'. "Reverse" comparison is expressed by using *kevésbé* 'less' and the parameter (adjective or adverb) of comparison in construction with the clause containing the standard.

#### 1.8.1.1. Clausal comparative

The full form of the clausal comparative construction is composed of the parameter of comparison (an adjective, numeral, or adverb) in the comparative form, an appropriate relative pro-form, the conjunction or complementizer *mint* 'as, than', and the standard of comparison in a clause. Although it is not ungrammatical, the full form is rarely ever used; for more on this, see below.

- (441) a. Anna érdekes-ebb, mint amilyen érdekes Péter volt.  
Anna interesting-CMP than what interesting Peter was  
'Anna is more interesting than Peter was.'
- b. Anna érdekesebb, mint Péter.  
'Anna is more interesting than Peter.'
- (442) a. Anna több könyv-et olvas, mint amennyi könyv-et  
Anna more book-ACC reads than how-many book-ACC  
Péter olvas.  
Peter reads  
'Anna reads more books than Peter does.'

- b. Anna több könyvet olvas, mint Péter.  
'Anna reads more books than Peter.'
- (443) a. Anna gyors-abb-an olvas, mint amilyen gyorsan Péter  
Anna fast-CMP-ADV reads than how fast-ADV Peter  
olvas.  
reads.  
'Anna reads faster than Peter does.'
- b. Anna gyorsabban olvas, mint Péter.  
'Anna reads faster than Peter.'

It is possible to have different items as apparent parameters in the two clauses, but in this case the actual parameter is some common measure (e.g., length or number). In the structures in question the relative pro-form cannot be omitted.

- (444) a. A polc hossz-abb, mint \*(amilyen) széles a szoba.  
The shelf long-er than what wide the room  
'The shelf is longer than the room is wide.'
- b. \*A polc hossz-abb, mint a szoba széles.
- (445) Anna több könyv-et olvasott, mint \*(amennyi) cikk-et  
Anna more book-ACC read than how-many article-ACC  
Péter írt.  
Peter wrote  
'Anna has read more books than Peter has written articles.'

If two predicates are compared, the subtype of clausal comparative applied is the analytic construction formed by means of the unanalyzable *inkább* 'rather, more' and the predicates.

- (446) a. Anna inkább írja, mint olvassa a könyvek-et.  
Anna rather writes.DEF than reads.DEF the books-ACC  
'Anna writes, rather than reads, books.'
- b. Péter inkább könyvek-et, mint cikkek-et ír.  
Peter rather books-ACC than articles-ACC writes  
'Peter writes books rather than articles.'

"Reverse" comparatives are also clausal, and occur in analytic constructions.

- (447) a. Anna kevésbé érdekes, mint Péter.  
Anna less interesting than Peter  
'Anna is less interesting than Peter.'

- b. Anna kevésbé gyors-an olvas, mint Péter.  
Anna less fast-ADV reads than Peter  
'Anna reads less fast than Peter.'

1.8.1.2. *Case-marked comparative*

In this construction-type the standard of comparison is marked by the adessive case, otherwise used to express adjacency to some place, rendered commonly as 'at' in English.

- (448) a. Anna érdekes-ebb volt Péter-nél.  
Anna interesting-CMP was Peter-ADE  
'Anna was more interesting than Peter.'  
b. Anna gyors-abb-an olvas Péter-nél.  
Anna fast-CMP-ADV reads Peter-ADE  
'Anna reads faster than Peter.'  
c. Anna több könyv-et olvasott Péter-nél.  
Anna more book-ACC read Peter-ADE  
'Anna has read more books than Peter.'

This structure does not allow a change of adjective, even if the standard is nominalized.

- (449) \*?A polc hossz-abb a szoba széles-ség-é-nél.  
the shelf long-CMP the room wide-NML-POSS-ADE  
'The shelf is longer than the room's width.'

**1.8.2–5. Ellipsis in comparative constructions**

Identical elements can, but need not, be deleted in the subordinate clause. Even though the full construction appears to be overextended, and therefore awkward, it is perfectly possible to repeat them in the clause, especially if other constituents differ.

- (450) a. Anna több könyv-et olvasott, mint amennyi (könyv)-ről  
Anna more book-ACC read than how-many book-DEL  
Péter valahais álmodott.  
Peter ever CL dreamed  
'Anna has read more books than Peter has ever dreamed of.'

- b. Anna több könyv-et olvasott, mint (amennyi (könyve)-t)  
 Anna more book-ACC read than how-many book-ACC  
 Péter <olvasott>.  
 Peter read

'Anna has read more books than Peter (has).'

Note that in the last example the verb in the comparative clause can occur only if the relative pro-form (with or without the rest of its NP) is present, as is signalled by the angled brackets around the verb. If the verb is missing, the relative pro-form can also be omitted. Thus, in the clausal construction-type the complementizer and the standard must be present; all other constituents, including the relative pro-form, are optional, though they are usually deleted. As was indicated above, the case-marked comparative can only contain the standard, thus no questions of deletion arise.

The differences between the two constructions follow from their fundamental syntactic properties. On the one hand, the case-marked subtype can only have NPs as standards, in contrast with the clausal type, which allows for various kinds of other standards as well, as was seen above. On the other hand, the case-marked comparative can be easily embedded in structures of premodification, which is not possible for the clausal subtype, since right-branching structures cannot be embedded inside left-branching ones.

- (451) a. Péter [Anná-nál érdekes-ebb emberek könyvei-t]  
 Peter Anna-ADE interesting-CMP people's books-ACC  
 olvasta.  
 read.DEF  
 'Peter has read books by people more interesting than Anna.'  
 b. \*Péter [érdekes-ebb mint Anna emberek könyvei-t]  
 interesting-CMP than Anna  
 olvasta.

### 1.8.6 Correlative comparison

The paired elements *mi-nél...an-nál* 'what-ADE...that-ADE' are the markers of correlative comparative constructions. As shown by the glosses, they constitute a relative vs. main clause construction, similar to what was seen in clausal comparatives.

- (452) a. Mi-nél érdekes-ebb a könyv, an-nál hossz-abb.  
 what-ADE interesting-CMP the book that-ADE long-CMP  
 'The more interesting the book is, the longer it is.'

- b. Mi-nél több-et olvasok, an-nál keves-ebb-et  
what-ADE more-ACC read.1SG that-ADE little-CMP-ACC  
tudok.  
know.1SG  
'The more I read, the less I know.'

## 1.9. EQUATIVES

### 1.9.1. Means for expressing equation

Equatives are solely expressed by means of the clausal construction introduced by the complementizer *mint* 'as, than' and a relative pro-form in the clause, and by various demonstrative items in the main clause. That it is the same type of construction as the clausal comparative is evidenced by the optional presence of identical relative pro-forms. The predicates in angled brackets can be present only if the relative proforms in parentheses occur.

- (453) a. Anna olyan érdekes, mint (amilyen (érdekes)) Péter<volt  
Anna as interesting as how interesting Peter was  
tavaly>.  
last-year  
'Anna is as interesting as Peter (was last year).'
- b. Anna annyi könyv-et olvasott, mint (amennyi  
Anna as-many book-ACC read as how-many  
(könyve)-t) Péter <írt>.  
book-ACC Peter wrote  
'Anna has read as many books as Peter (wrote).'
- c. Anna olyan gyors-an olvas, mint (amilyen gyors-an/ahogy)  
Anna so fast-ADV reads as how fast-ADV/how  
Péter <ír>.  
Peter writes  
'Anna reads as fast as Peter (writes).'

### 1.9.2. Ellipsis in equatives

As was indicated in the above examples, identical constituents can, but need not, be deleted. Different items must, of course, be overt.

Although only the optional omission of the relative pro-forms was indicated in the examples above, in fact it is either the complementizer *mint* or the relative pro-form that can be deleted in equatives—unlike comparatives, cf.:

- (454) a. Anna olyan érdekes, amilyen (érdekes) Péter (volt tavaly).  
Anna as interesting how interesting Peter was last-year  
'Anna is as interesting as Peter (was last year).'
- b. Anna annyi könyv-et olvasott, amennyi (könyve)-t Péter (írt).  
Anna as-many book-ACC read how-many book-ACC Peter wrote  
'Anna has read as many books as Peter (wrote).'
- c. Anna olyan gyors-an olvas, amilyen gyors-an/ahogy Péter (ír).  
Anna so fast-ADV reads how fast-ADV/how Peter writes  
'Anna reads as fast as Peter (writes).'

### 1.9.3. Expression of identity

It is the equative construction that serves to express identity statements formed by means of the prefix *ugyan-* 'same', which can be added to various demonstratives introducing clauses, such as *az* 'that', *olyan* 'such, so', *úgy* 'that-way'. Note that the slash in parentheses indicates the occurrence of either or both of the items separated by it.

- (455) a. Anna ugyan-olyan, mint(/) amilyen Péter.  
Anna same-such as what-like Peter  
'Anna is like Peter.'
- b. Anna ugyan-az-t olvassa, mint(/) ami-t Péter.  
Anna same-that-ACC reads.DEF as what-ACC Peter  
'Anna is reading the same thing as Peter.'
- c. Anna ugyan-olyan gyors-an olvas, mint(/) ahogy Péter.  
Anna same-so fast-ADV reads as how Peter  
'Anna reads at the same rate as Peter.'

### 1.10. POSSESSION

#### 1.10.1. Sentences expressing possession

Of the two structures available for languages of the world, i.e., *have-* and *be-*sentences, Hungarian uses the latter type exclusively to express possession. According to the widely accepted analysis in Szabolcsi (1986/1992,

1994), this construction originates in a possessive noun phrase, from which the dative possessor is extracted for reasons of specificity. She argues that the object of possession in sentences expressing possession (or “possessional sentences” for short) must be nonspecific, and if the possessor stays in the possessive NP it can only be specific, as shown by the (in)definite conjugation in this language.

- (456) a. Nem olvast-ad/\*olvast-ál [Péter vers-é-t]  
not read-2SG.DEF/read-2SG.INDEF Peter poem-POSS-ACC  
'You haven't read Peter's poem.'
- b. Péter-nek nem olvast-ad/olvast-ál [vers-é-t]  
Peter-DAT  
'You haven't read any poem by Peter.'  
'You haven't read Peter's poem.' (archaic)

By extracting the possessor in an existential sentence, it is possible to satisfy the “nonspecificity criterion” possessional sentences have to observe.

- (457) a. \*Van [Péter vers-e]  
is Peter poem-POSS
- b. Péter-nek van vers-e.  
Peter-DAT is poem-POSS  
'Peter has a poem.'
- c. \*Van-nak [Péter vers-e-i]  
is-PL Peter poem-POSS-PL
- d. Péter-nek van-nak vers-e-i.  
'Peter has (some) poems.'

Since the possessive noun phrase shows concord between the possessor and the agreement marker on the possessed noun, the existential predicate *van* 'is' agrees only in number with the possessed head of the noun phrase, which in turn agrees with the possessor in number and person, in addition to its own number expressed by the possessive plural affix *-i*.

- (458) a. Nek-em van vers-e-m.  
DAT-1SG is poem-POSS-1SG  
'I have a poem.'
- b. Nek-em van-nak vers-e-i-m.  
DAT-1SG is-PL poem-POSS-PL-1SG  
'I have poems.'

- c. Nek-ed van vers-e-d.  
DAT-2SG is poem-POSS-2SG  
'You have a poem.'
- d. Nek-ed van-nak vers-e-i-d.  
DAT-2SG is-PL poem-POSS-PL-2SG  
'You have poems.'
- e. Nek-i van vers-e  
DAT-3SG is poem-POSS.3SG  
'S/he has a poem.'
- f. Nek-i van-nak vers-e-i  
DAT-3SG is-PL poem-POSS.3SG-PL  
'S/he has poems.'
- g. Nek-ünk van vers-ünk.  
DAT-1PL is poem-POSS.1PL  
'We have a poem.'
- h. Nek-ünk van-nak vers-e-i-nk.  
DAT-1PL is-PL poem-POSS-PL-1PL  
'We have poems.'
- i. Nek-tek van vers-e-tek.  
DAT-2PL is poem-POSS-2PL  
'You have a poem.'
- j. Nek-tek van-nak vers-e-i-tek.  
DAT-2PL is-PL poem-POSS-PL-2PL  
'You have poems.'
- k. Nek-ik van vers-ük.  
DAT-3PL is poem-POSS.3PL  
'They have a poem.'
- l. Nek-ik van-nak vers-e-i-k.  
DAT-3PL is-PL poem-POSS-PL-3PL  
'They have poems.'

Note that, in accordance with the rules of omission of pronouns in general and in possessive constructions in particular, the pronominal possessors in all of the examples above can be suppressed. Obviously, the possessed object can be modified by an adjectival phrase, a numeral, or by any other means possible for such nominals provided they remain nonspecific. Furthermore, negated possessional sentences are formed with the third person forms of the (suppletive) negative counterpart of the verb of existence, i.e., *nincs(en)* 'not is' and *nincsenek* 'not are', while future and past tenses

are expressed by *lesz(-nek)* 'will-be(-PL)' and *volt(-ak)* 'was/were', respectively.

- (459) a. (Nek-em) nincs sok vers-e-m.  
 DAT-1SG not-is many poem-POSS-1SG  
 'I don't have many poems.'  
 b. (Nek-tek) nem lesznek érdekes vers-e-i-tek.  
 DAT-2PL not will-be interesting poem-POSS-PL-2PL  
 'You won't have interesting poems.'

Finally, mention must be made of possessional sentences with nonpronominal third person plural possessors, since they have two inflectional versions, of which the plural variety is the same as the one with the pronominal possessor, while the one with the singular suffix follows the inflection used inside the noun phrase, and is labelled as nonstandard, though it is widely used even in educated Hungarian.

- (460) a. [A fiúk-nak a vers-e/\*vers-ük] érdekes volt.  
 the boys-DAT the poem-3SG/poem-3PL interesting was  
 'The boys' poem was interesting.'  
 b. A fiúk-nak volt egy érdekes %vers-e/vers-ük.  
 'The boys had an interesting poem.'

#### 1.10.2–5. Restrictions in possessional sentences

There are, in general, no differences in the expression of alienable vs. inalienable, temporary vs. permanent, present vs. past possession, or between the expression of possession of persons, animals, or things. The same *be*-sentence is used in all types, though minor differences can be discerned.

For example, paired body parts (and paired objects associated with them) are often referred to in the singular, which is related to perceiving every paired organ as a single "whole". Note here that a one-eyed or one-legged person is usually referred to as "half-eyed" or "half-legged".

- (461) a. Péter-nek jó szem-e van.  
 Peter-DAT good eye-POSS.3SG is  
 'Peter has good eyes.'  
 b. Anna levette a cipő-jé-t.  
 Anna took-off the shoe-POSS.3SG-ACC  
 'Anna took off her shoes.'

Some relations are so much tied to possessive constructions or possessional sentences that the possessed noun, which expresses the relation

itself, has no "stem-form", i.e., the possessive suffix has become part of the word-form that underlies all of its inflected forms.

- (462) a. Anna-nak van báty-ja/húg-a.  
 Anna-DAT is brother-POSS/sister-POSS  
 'Anna has an (elder) brother/(younger) sister.'  
 b. \*A báty/húg...

Szabolcsi (1986/1992), following Hadrovics (1969), summarized the relationship between possessive noun phrases and possessional sentences. Compare the following list, in which the relations represented are (a) possession, (b) relation, (c) part-whole, (d) \*measure, (e) source, (f) \*property, (g) \*action nominalization, (h) agent-object, (i) \*identity, (j) \*ad hoc relation. Starred subtypes are not possible as possessional sentences.

- |   |                              |
|---|------------------------------|
| (463) a. Péter verse                      | Péternek van verse.          |
| 'Peter's poem'                            | 'Peter has a poem.'          |
| b. Péter húga                             | Péternek van húga.           |
| 'Peter's sister'                          | 'Peter has a sister.'        |
| c. az asztal lába                         | Az asztalnak van lába.       |
| 'the table's leg'                         | 'The table has legs.'        |
| d. a tej literje                          | *A tejnek van literje.       |
| 'a liter of (the) milk'                   | *'Milk has liter(s).'        |
| e. a vad nyoma                            | A vadnak van nyoma.          |
| 'the beast's trace'                       | 'The beast has a trace.'     |
| f. a diadal mámore                        | *A diadalnak van mámore.     |
| 'the ecstasy of triumph'                  | *'Triumph has ecstasy.'      |
| g. Péter megvizsgálása                    | *Péternek van megvizsgálása. |
| 'Peter's examination'                     | *'Peter has examination.'    |
| h. Péter üldözője                         | Péternek van üldözője.       |
| 'Peter's pursuer'                         | 'Peter has a pursuer.'       |
| i. London városa                          | *Londonnak van városa.       |
| 'London's town'                           | *'London has a town.'        |
| j. Péter minisztere                       | *Péternek van minisztere.    |
| 'Peter's minister'                        | *'Peter has a minister.'     |
| (e.g., the minister that he talked about) |                              |

Finally, as regards past vs. present possession, it is possible to use a possessional sentence in the present tense with reference to what is appar-

ently past possession if the sentence is used to predicate some property of the possessed nominal, as Szabolcsi (1986/1992) reports.

- (464) a. \*Lord Byron-nak van kalap-ja.  
 Lord Byron-DAT is hat-POSS  
 'Lord Byron has a hat.'
- b. Lord Byron-nak van olyan kalap-ja, amelyet nem  
 such which.ACC not  
 állítottak ki.  
 exhibited.3PL PFX  
 'Lord Byron has a hat that hasn't been exhibited.'

## 1.11. EMPHASIS

### 1.11.1. Sentence emphasis

Emphasis in Hungarian, whether contrastive or noncontrastive, or whether related to the sentence as a whole or limited to one or more constituents, is associated with the position of the inflected verb and is expressed by means of varying the constituent order and assigning stress to some distinguished element. Emphasis is usually discussed under the term "focus" in current literature and has been extensively studied (among others) by É.Kiss (1987, 1994), Horvath (1986), Brody (1990, 1995) from a syntactic point of view, and by Kálmán and Nádasy (1994) in an approach based on prosodic phonology. Wherever relevant, emphasis/ focus is marked by bold type, as throughout in this chapter.

#### 1.11.1.1. Noncontradictory emphasis

The neutral Subject-Verb-Object/Complement order of sentences containing definite noun phrases is changed for a verb-initial one in case a presentative or presentational sentence is called for to highlight the current occurrence of the event or the emergence, rise, coming into sight, etc., of the thing/person talked about.

- (465) a. *neutral*  
 A vendégek meg-érkeztek a szállodába.  
 the guests PFX-arrived the hotel.ILL  
 'The guests have arrived in the hotel.'
- b. *presentative*  
 Megérkeztek a vendégek a szállodába.  
 ca. 'Guests have arrived in the hotel.'

- a. *neutral*  
A nap fel-kelt.  
the sun PFX-rose  
'The sun has risen.'
- b. *presentative*  
Felkelt a nap.  
'The **sun** has risen.'

Another subtype is called "existential" sentences, since they point at the previous occurrence of the event, that is, they claim that there has already occurred an event characterized by the proposition. They are distinguished by a reversal of the prefix-verb order if the verb has a prefix, and a heavy stress on the verb. Note that the verb need not be initial, though it most often is.

- (467)
- a. *neutral*  
Péter el-felejtett fontos feladatokat.  
Peter PFX-forgot important assignments.ACC  
'Peter forgot/has forgotten important assignments.'
  - b. *existential*  
**Felejtett** el (már) Péter fontos feladatokat.  
already  
'(It has occurred before that) Peter has forgotten important assignments.'
  - c. *existential*  
Péter **felejtett** (már) el fontos feladatokat.  
'(It has occurred before that) Peter has forgotten important assignments.'

#### 1.11.1.2. *Contradictory emphasis*

Emphatic sentences expressing contradiction are marked by heavy stress on the verb, but they differ from existential sentences in that they do not reverse the prefix-verb order. A small number of words can be used to enhance the assertion. This is the only context in which almost all verbs, even auxiliaries, can be emphatic in Hungarian. (The only exception is discussed directly in 1.11.2.2.1.3. Note that auxiliaries have to precede the infinitives they govern, which they otherwise follow.)

- (468) Péter (igenis) **el-felejtett** fontos feladatokat.  
Peter indeed PFX-forgot important assignments  
'Peter **has**/has indeed forgotten important assignments.'='It is not true that Peter hasn't forgotten important documents.'

- a. Péter olvasni fog.  
Peter read.INF will  
'Peter will be reading.'
- b. Péter **fog** olvasni.  
'Peter **will** be reading.'

### 1.11.2. Constituent emphasis

#### 1.11.2.1. Noncontrastive emphasis

Noncontrastive constituent emphasis is almost nonexistent in Hungarian, since all emphatic items must be placed in a preverbal position—unless of course it is the verb itself. However, if for some reason the preverbal position is inaccessible, it is possible to place emphasis on a postverbal element, in which case it is not interpreted contrastively. Such contexts are regularly produced in commands and questions.

- (470)
- a. Olvasd el **ezt** a könyvet!  
read.IMP.DEF PFX this the book.ACC  
'Read **this** book (...if you like).'
  - b. Ki olvasta **ezt** a könyvet?  
who read.DEF this the book.ACC  
'Who has read **this** book?'

#### 1.11.2.2. Contrastive emphasis

Contrastive constituent emphasis (or contrastive focus) is realized by (a) placing the constituent immediately in front of the (prefixless) inflected verb, (b) placing the constituent in question directly in front of the prefixed verb but removing the prefix from its preverbal position, or (c) if the emphasis falls on the inflected verb itself, by retaining the prefix (if any) in front of the verb, and in all cases stressing the item carrying the emphasis. Note that the relative prosodic prominence is achieved in fact by destressing the constituents following the emphatic item (cf. Vogel and Kenesei 1987, 1990, Kálmán and Nádasy 1994).

- (471)
- a. *neutral*  
Péter olvasta a könyvet.  
Peter read.DEF the book.ACC  
'Peter read/was reading the book.'

- b. *neutral*  
 Péter el-olvasta a könyvet.  
 Peter PFX-read.DEF the book.ACC  
 'Peter read/has read the book.'

- (472) a. Péter **a könyvet** olvasta.  
 'It's the book that Peter read.'  
 b. **Péter** olvasta el a könyvet.  
 'It's Peter that has read the book.'  
 c. Péter **(el-)olvasta** a könyvet.  
 'Peter **read** the book (...rather than burned it).'

Negated emphatic constituents are also placed preverbally and are preceded by the negation word *nem* 'not', as was discussed in connection with constituent negation in 1.4.2.

- (473) a. Péter **nem a könyvet** olvasta el.  
 'It's not the book that Peter has read.'  
 b. **Nem Péter** olvasta el a könyvet.  
 'It's not Peter that has read the book.'  
 c. Péter **nem (el)-olvasta** a könyvet.  
 'Peter has not **read** the book (...but burned it).'

In case there is no overt verb in the sentence, i.e., in some of the copular sentences, cf. 1.2.1.1, the predicate adjective or the nominal serves as the focussing device that the emphatic constituent must be to the left of and adjacent to.

- (474) a. Anna **Péter-re** büszke.  
 Anna Peter-SUB proud  
 'It's Peter Anna is proud of.'  
 b. Anna **Péter-re** volt büszke.  
 'It's Peter Anna was proud of.'

The position in front of the verb can host a single constituent only, which, however, does not exclude the possibility of multiple emphasis, as will be seen below.

There are two (or three) particles that can be called emphatic; one of them, *csak* 'only', generally occurs in the preverbal focus position, the other(s), *is* 'too' or *még...is* 'even', have more freedom to be preverbal, but nonadjacent, or postverbal. (*Csak* may occur postverbally, but without the constituent it is associated with.)

- (475) a. Péter **csak a könyvet** olvasta el.  
 'Peter has read only the book.'

- b. Péter a **könyvet** olvasta csak el.  
'Peter has read only the book.'
- c. Péter **még a könyvet is** el-olvasta.  
even CL  
'Peter has read even the book.'
- d. Péter el-olvasta **még a könyvet is**.  
'Peter has read even the book.'

Although other devices, such as clefting and pseudo-clefting, are in principle possible, they are rarely used as a means of focussing.

#### 1.11.2.2.1. Elements emphasized

In general, any major constituent in the clause can be moved into the designated focus position, and so can constituents of complement clauses, as will be seen in detail below.

**1.11.2.2.1.1. Noun phrase** As the examples above illustrate, noun phrases can be emphasized with no difficulty.

**1.11.2.2.1.2. Adjective** Predicative adjectives are stressed *in situ*, since they occupy a preverbal, i.e., pre-copular, position if there is an overt copula in the clause, and a preverbal position if they are predicate complements, i.e., "verbal modifiers".

- (476)
- a. A könyv **érdekes** (volt).  
the book interesting was  
'The book was **interesting**'
  - b. Anna **simá-ra** dörzsölte az asztal-t.  
Anna smooth-SUB rubbed.DEF the table-ACC  
'Anna rubbed the table smooth.'

Attributive adjectives are embedded in noun phrases, and whenever they are emphatic the entire noun phrase has to move into the focus position.

- (477) Péter [az **érdekes** könyv-et] olvasta el.  
Peter the interesting book.ACC read.DEF PFX  
'It's the **interesting** book that Peter has read.'

**1.11.2.2.1.3. Verb** Most verbs, but no auxiliaries, can be contrastively focussed with their prefixes (if any) preceding them, as was discussed above.

As Komlósy (1994) observed, a class of Hungarian verbs cannot occur

in neutral sentences, i.e., either they are emphasized themselves or some other constituent is placed in the focus position in front of them. This group includes mostly verbs of emotion, e.g., *szeret* 'like', *utál* 'hate', *imád* 'adore', *sajnál* 'pity', *aggaszt* 'worry'; and predicates expressing possibility or ability, e.g., *tud* 'know', *beszél* 'speak', *ír* 'write' (in a language); and *emlékszik* 'remember', *tilos* 'is forbidden', *lehet* 'is possible'.

- (478)
- a. *neutral*  
\*Anna szereti Péter-t.  
Anna likes.DEF Peter-ACC
  - b. Anna **szereti** Pétert.  
'Anna **likes** Peter.'
  - c. **Anna** szereti Pétert.  
'It's Anna that likes Peter.'
  - d. Anna **Pétert** szereti.  
'It's Peter that Anna likes.'

Another class is unemphasized because they express the emergence, formation, or coming-/bringing-into-being, sight, possession, etc., of some person or object in the neutral case, where these items have to be interpreted as nonspecific; consequently these noun phrases must be indefinite, as was first observed by Szabolcsi (1986/1992). If the NP is definite, the only way the sentence can be made acceptable is by focussing some constituent in it. (If the verb is emphatic, it is never contrasted, but carries contradictory sentential emphasis, cf. above.) Examples are *érkezik* 'arrive', *kap* 'receive (=come into possession)', *kerül* 'surface (=come into sight)', *talál* 'find', *rajzol* 'draw (something)'.

- (479)
- a. *neutral*  
Tegnap vendégek érkeztek a szállodá-ba.  
yesterday guests arrived the hotel-ILL  
'Guests arrived in the hotel yesterday.'
  - b. A vendégek **tegnap** érkeztek a szállodá-ba.  
'It's yesterday that the guests arrived in the hotel.'

Finally, another group of verbs that cannot be contrasted expresses location or qualification in a complex construction, e.g., *marad* 'remain', *fekszik* 'is situated', *képez* 'constitute', *tart* 'consider'. This is the exceptional verb-class mentioned above, which cannot bear stress if the sentence is in contradictory emphasis; instead, the complement of the verb is stressed and is therefore ambiguous between a sentential emphasis and a constituent contrast.

- (480) a. *neutral*  
A könyv fejezetek-ből áll.  
the book chapters-ELA consists  
'The book consists of chapters.'
- b. **A könyv** all fejezetek-ből.  
'It's the book that consists of chapters.'
- (481) a. \*A könyv (igenis) **áll** fejezetek-ből.  
b. A könyv (igenis) **fejezetek-ből** áll.  
'The book (indeed) consists of chapters.'

**1.11.2.2.1.4. Adverbial** One class of adverbials (of frequency, manner, or degree) must be contrastively focussed; they all have negative semantic content (cf. 1.2.1.3.2 and the references cited there).

- (482) a. Péter **ritkán** olvasta el/\*el-olvasta a könyvet.  
Peter seldom read.DEF PFX the book.ACC  
'Peter seldom read the book.'
- b. Anna **hiányos-an** írta meg/\*meg-írta a feladatot.  
Anna defective-ly wrote.DEF PFX the assignment  
'Anna wrote the assignment with deficiencies.'

Another class qualifies verb phrases and has no contrasting alternatives, which is why they cannot be focussed.

- (483) a. Péter teljes-en el-olvasta/\*olvasta el a könyvet.  
Peter complete-ly PFX-read.DEF the book.ACC  
'Peter read the book completely.'
- b. Anna kereken meg-mondta/\*mondta meg az igazat.  
Anna forthright PFX-said.DEF the truth.ACC  
'Anna told the truth forthrightly.'

The rest of the adverbials can be freely focussed.

- (484) a. Péter tegnap el-olvasta a könyvet.  
Peter yesterday PFX-read.DEF the book.ACC  
'Peter read the book yesterday.'
- b. Péter **tegnap** olvasta el a könyvet.  
'It's yesterday that Peter read the book.'
- (485) a. Anna otthon meg-írta a feladatot.  
Anna at-home PFX-wrote.DEF the assignment.  
'Anna wrote the assignment at home.'

b. Anna **otthon** írta meg a feladatot.

'It's at home that Anna wrote the assignment.'

**1.11.2.2.2.1. Constituents of the main clause** Any constituent of the main clause can be focussed, with the exception of the items listed above, such as auxiliaries, a small set of finite verbs, and certain adverbials. Focussable constituents include even finite clauses, provided they are headless (or free) relative clauses, which count as noun or adpositional phrases; in other words, they are not focussed as clauses.

(486) a. Csak **[aki tud angolul]** olvasta a könyvet.  
only who speaks English read.DEF the book.ACC  
'Only those who speak English have read the book.'

b. Péter nem **[amikor megérkezett]** aludt el.  
Peter not when arrived.3SG slept PFX  
'Peter didn't fall asleep when he arrived (he fell asleep at some other time).'

Evidence for the claim that headless relatives are not focussed as clauses comes from the impossibility of focussing any other type of clause, whether a *that*-clause or a relative clause.

(487) a. \*Anna **[hogy Péter beteg volt]** olvasta.  
Anna that Peter sick was read.DEF  
'What Anna read was that Peter had been sick.'  
b. \*Csak **[az a fiú, aki tud angolul]** olvasta a könyvet.  
only that boy who speaks English read.DEF the book.ACC  
'Only the boy that speaks English has read the book.'

As regards nonfinite complement clauses, infinitival clauses cannot be focussed as such, although their constituents can become focussed in the main clause, as exemplified directly below. Adjunct participial (converb) clauses can sometimes be emphatic.

(488) Péter **[a székben ülve]** aludt el.  
Peter the chair-INE sit-SCVB slept PFX  
'It's (while) sitting in the chair that Peter fell asleep.'

**1.11.2.2.2.2. Constituents of the subordinate clause** Constituents of finite adjunct clauses can be emphatic without further ado, provided they are placed into the preverbal focus position inside their own clause.

(489) a. Mivel Péter meg-érkezett, Anna nem olvasott tovább.  
since Peter PFX-arrived Anna not read further  
'Since Peter had arrived, Anna didn't continue reading.'

b. Mivel **Péter** érkezett meg, Anna nem olvasott tovább.

'Since it was Peter that arrived, Anna didn't continue reading.'

If some constituent of the finite complement clause of the verbal predicate of the main clause is emphatic, the clause itself must also be focussed, as indicated by the position its pronominal expletive marker occupies, or it is possible to move the emphatic constituent into the main clause.

(490) a. Anna **az-t** akarta, hogy Péter **a könyvet**  
Anna it-ACC wanted.DEF that Peter the book.ACC  
olvassa.  
read.SUBJ.DEF.3SG

'It's the book that Anna wanted Peter to read.'

b. Anna **a könyvet** akarta, hogy Péter olvassa.

'It's the book that Anna wanted Peter to read.'

If the subject of the clause is extracted from an object clause, it receives accusative case in the main clause. (Note that some speakers accept extraction from subjunctive clauses better than from indicative ones; others do not accept extraction from clauses at all.)

(491) a. Anna **az-t** akarta, hogy **Péter** olvassa a könyvet.

'It's Peter that Anna wanted to read the book.'

b. Anna **Péter-t** akarta, hogy olvassa a könyvet.

'It's Peter that Anna wanted to read the book.'

If the clause is an adjunct or complement to a nonverbal predicate, the emphatic element is moved into focus position in its own clause and the clause itself is marked as focussed in the main clause by a pronominal expletive in focus position there.

(492) a. Anna **azzal** írta meg a levelet, amit **Péter** adott  
Anna it.INS wrote PFX the letter.ACC which.ACC Peter gave  
neki.  
to.her

'Anna wrote the letter with what **Peter** had given her.'

b. Anna **arra** volt büszke, hogy Péter **a könyvet** olvassa.

Anna it.SUB was proud that Peter the book.ACC reads.DEF

'Anna was proud of the fact that it was the book that Peter was reading.'

Focussed items can move into a focus position inside their own infinitival clause or they can move out from infinitival complement clauses.

- (493) a. Fontos volt Péter-nek **a könyvet** olvas-ni.  
important was Peter-DAT the book.ACC read-INF  
'It was important for Peter to read **the book**.'
- b. **A könyvet** volt fontos Péter-nek olvas-ni.  
'It's the book that it was important for Peter to read.'

If there is a focussed item in a participial clause embedded in a noun phrase, the entire noun phrase is moved into the main clause focus position.

- (494) Anna [a [**könyvet** olvas-ó] személyeket] kereste.  
Anna the book.ACC read-APRT persons.ACC sought.DEF  
'Anna was looking for persons reading **books**.'

If the emphatic element is in an adjunct participial (converb) clause, it is only acceptable if the clause can itself be focussed.

- (495) Péter csak [**a könyvet** olvasva el] tudta megírni  
Peter only the book.ACC read.SCVB PFX could.DEF write  
a levelet  
the letter.ACC  
'Peter could write the letter only having read the book.'

**1.11.2.2.2.3. Noun phrase** Generally, if any constituent of a noun phrase is emphatic, the whole noun phrase has to move into the focus position of its clause, as has been illustrated above for adjectives or nonfinite participial clauses. The case is the same with demonstratives or numerals.

If, however, either the possessor NP or the possessed nominal is emphasized, either one or the other can be independently focussed, since possessor NPs can be extracted from their noun phrases.

- (496) a. Anna [**Péter-nek** a könyv-é-t] olvasta el.  
Anna Peter-DAT the book-POSS-ACC read.DEF PFX  
'It's **Peter's** book that Anna has read.'
- b. Anna **Péter-nek** olvasta el [a könyv-é-t]  
'It's **Peter's** book that Anna has read.'
- (497) a. Anna [Péter-nek a **könyv-é-t**]  
'It's Peter's **book** that Anna has read.'
- b. Anna [**a könyv-é-t**] olvasta el Péter-nek.  
'It's Peter's **book** that Anna has read.'

Constituents of noun phrases can also be emphasized and extracted in appositive constructions, which bear multiple case-marking.

(498)

- a. Anna **könyv-et** olvasott négy-et.  
Anna book-ACC read four-ACC  
'It's books that Anna has read four of.'
- b. Könyv-et Anna **négy-et** olvasott.  
'As for books, Anna has read four of them.'

**1.11.2.2.2.4. Coordinate construction** While any coordinate constructions can be focussed, no constituent can be moved out of the construction, though it is possible for one to receive emphasis independently of the others.

(499)

- a. **Anna és Péter** olvasta el a könyvet.  
Anna and Peter read.DEF PFX the book.ACC  
'It's Anna and Peter that have read the book.'
- b. \***Anna** olvasta el [és Péter] a könyvet.
- c. Nem [Anna és **Péter**] olvasta el a könyvet (hanem not Anna and Peter read.DEF PFX the book.ACC but Anna és Pál).  
Anna and Paul  
'It's not Anna and Peter (but Anna and Paul) that have read the book.'

**1.11.2.2.2.5. Multiple emphasis** If more than one item bears focus, one of them must move into the preverbal focus position, and the other(s) is/ are placed behind the inflected verb.

(500)

- Anna olvasta el **a könyvet** (**Péter** pedig a  
Anna read.DEF PFX the book.ACC Peter in-turn the  
cikket).  
article.ACC  
'**Anna** has read **the book** (and **Peter\_the article**).'

In principle any independently focussable constituent can participate in a multiply emphasized construction, but actually only phrasal (and no clausal) constituents can occupy the preverbal position.

#### 1.11.2.2.3. Properties of movement

As was seen in the examples cited, the movement of a constituent into the preverbal focus position leaves behind no visible trace in any of the cases studied.

**1.12. TOPIC**

Hungarian is often claimed to be a “topic-prominent” language (cf., e.g., É.Kiss 1987, 1994), which is to be understood as claiming that, in contrast to English-type languages, in which the primary predication relation is between the subject and the predicate, in Hungarian it holds between the topic and the predicate. Below we will discuss the movement of nonfocussed or nonquantified elements into initial positions, and will show whether or not the phrases affected qualify for topichood. Note that, partly in order to ascertain what is in topic position and partly to correctly represent topic-focus structure, foci will be marked in the examples (by bold type as usual).

**1.12.1. Means to indicate the topic***1.12.1.1. Movement to topic position*

A nonquantified and nonfocussed pre verbal item is a/the topic in the Hungarian sentence. As was seen above in 1.11, the position directly in front of the inflected verb (stem) is reserved for focus (or emphasis). There is also a “quantifier-field” in front of the focus slot: (phrases containing) universal quantifiers (=UQ) are placed to the left of the optional focus, while there is a further position to the left of the optional quantifiers for *is*-‘even, also’ phrases (cf. Kenesei 1986, Brody 1990). Thus the full array of major constituents in a Hungarian sentence is as follows.

(501) *Topic(s) Is-phrase UQ-Phrases Focus*  
 Anna még a könyvet is mindig **Péter-nek**  
 Anna even the book.ACC CL always Peter-DAT  
 Verb...  
 olvasta fel először.  
 read out first  
 ‘Anna always read out even the book to Peter first.’

There can be more than one topicalized phrase, and the only further condition topics have to observe is that they must in general be specific: nonspecific items can be foci or can be placed postverbally, but they usually cannot occur in the initial topic position.

(502) a. \*Egy könyv-et **Anna** olvasott el.  
 a book-ACC Anna read PFX  
 ‘As for a book, **Anna** has read it.’  
 b. A könyvet **Anna** olvasta el.  
 ‘As for the book, it’s Anna that’s read it.’

- (503) Anna a könyvet tegnap a szobában **egyedül**  
 Anna the book.ACC yesterday the room.ILL alone  
 olvasta.  
 read.DEF  
 'Yesterday in the room Anna was reading the book alone.'

#### 1.12.1.2. Left-dislocation

The only other means by which leftward movement can be carried out is called left-dislocation. It differs from topic-fronting in that it leaves behind a coreferential pronominal or, less frequently, adverbial, which carries the same case as the left-dislocated item.

- (504) a. Anna, az olvasta a könyv-et.  
 Anna it read.DEF.3SG the book-ACC  
 'As for Anna, she's read the book.'  
 b. A könyv-et, az-t Anna olvasta.  
 the book-ACC it-ACC Anna read.DEF  
 'As for the book, Anna has read it.'  
 c. Péter-nek, an-nak Anna olvasta fel a könyv-et.  
 Peter-DAT it-DAT Anna read.DEF.3SG out the book.ACC  
 'As for Peter, it was Anna that read out the book to him.'  
 d. A szobá-ban, ott Anna olvas.  
 the room-ILL there Anna reads  
 'As for the room, Anna is reading there.'

Note that for some dialects it is possible to refer back to left-dislocated zitems denoting human beings by means of personal pronouns. Thus in examples (a) and (c) above it is possible to use *ő* 's/he' and *neki* 'to him/ her' for *az* and *an-nak*, respectively.

While there can be several items moved into initial position through simple topic movement, no more than one can be left-dislocated, and, moreover, an item apparently left-dislocated can be preceded by another one that was not, indicating that the term "left-dislocation" may very well be a misnomer.

- (505) a. \*Anna a könyvet, ő/az azt a szobá-ban olvasta.  
 Anna the book.ACC she it.ACC the room-ILL read  
 b. Anna a könyvet, az-t a szobá-ban olvasta.  
 'The book, Anna read it in the room'

Left-dislocation is frequently interpreted as expressing some kind of contrast between the element involved and some other item, explicit or

implicit. Thus the last example above can be construed also as follows: 'As for the book, Anna read it in the room, but there is/may be some other item that she read at some place other than the room.'

Nevertheless, it cannot be claimed either that nonspecific items are always left-dislocated and therefore contrasted, or that nonfocussed but contrasted items must be left-dislocated, since they can be placed to the right of specific NPs, which are unquestionable topics.

- (506) Anna könyv-et nem olvas (de novellá-t igen).  
 Anna book-ACC not reads but short-story-ACC yes  
 'Anna doesn't read books.'  
 'Anna doesn't read books, but she does read short stories.'

It is often the case that the constituent to be interpreted as contrasted carries a specific rising pitch and is followed by a short pause. In this case the coreferential pronominal does not occur.

### 1.12.2. Elements topicalized

#### 1.12.2.1.1. Noun phrase

As was illustrated above, specific noun phrases can be topicalized with ease, but nonspecific items can also be placed into positions available for topics.

#### 1.12.2.1.2. Adjective

Both predicative adjectives and adjectives in subject or object complement position can be topicalized by the following devices. Both types can be placed in the usual initial position, but the former can also be left-dislocated (and marked by the dative case) and reduplicated inside the clause. Note that all of these are best illustrated in focussed sentences, and that the sense translations are incapable of providing the topicalized readings for the adjectives.

- (507) a. Érdekes **a könyv** volt.  
 interesting the book was  
 'It's the book that was interesting.'  
 b. Érdekes-nek **a könyv** volt érdekes.  
 interesting-DAT  
 'It's the book that was interesting.'
- (508) a. Érdekes-nek **Anna** tartotta a könyv-et.  
 interesting-DAT Anna considered.DEF the book-ACC  
 'It's Anna that considered the book interesting.'

b. \*Érdekes-nek **Anna** tartotta érdekes-nek a könyv-et.

## 1.12.2.1.3. Verb

Unprefixed verbs can be topicalized by left-dislocating them in an infinitival form and retaining their inflected forms inside the clause. Prefixed verbs are topicalized in two ways: in the case of prefixes used in their literal (locative, etc.) meanings the prefix can occur left of the inflected verb and separated from it, while in the case of prefixed verbs in general, the entire complex verb can undergo the operation—an option for verbs with prefixes in literal meanings, but an obligation for those whose prefixes are not used in the literal sense.

- (509) a. Olvas-ni **Anna** olvas-t-a a könyvet.  
read-INF Anna read-PAST-DEF.3SG the book.ACC  
'As for reading (it), it's Anna that's read the book.'  
b. Fel **Anna** ment a lépcső-n.  
up Anna went the stairs-SUP  
ca. 'Up Anna went the stairs.'  
c. Fel-men-ni **Anna** ment fel a lépcső-n.  
up-go-INF  
ca. 'Up Anna went the stairs.'
- (510) a. \*Fel **Anna** olvasta a könyvet.  
up Anna read.DEF the book.ACC  
b. Fel-olvas-ni **Anna** olvasta fel a könyvet.  
up-read-INF Anna read.DEF.3SG PFX the book.ACC  
'As for reading (it) out, it's Anna that's read the book out.'

Reduced complements (or verbal modifiers) of verbs can also be topicalized and interpreted as topicalizing the entire complex verb.

- (511) a. Tegnap könyvet **Anna** olvasott a szobában.  
yesterday book.ACC Anna read the room.ILL  
ca. 'As for book-reading, it's Anna that did so in the room yesterday.'  
b. Fal-ra **Péter** akasztotta a képet.  
wall-SUB Peter hung.DEF the picture.ACC  
ca. 'As for onto-wall-hanging, it's Peter that hung the picture on some wall.'

## 1.12.2.1.4. Adverbial

Time and place adverbials that make specific reference are fully acceptable as topics.

- (512) a. 1986-ban Anna sok könyvet olvasott.  
1986-INE Anna many book.ACC read  
'In 1986, Anna read many books.'
- b. A szobá-ban Anna sok könyvet olvasott.  
the room-INE Anna many book.ACC read  
'In the room, Anna read many books.'

Adverbials of frequency, manner, etc., are nonspecific and can occur in initial positions only if they carry a sense of contrast. This is shown by the fact that nonfocussable (i.e., noncontrastable) adverbials cannot be preposed.

- (513) a. Gyors-an **Anna** olvasta el a könyvet.  
fast-ADV Anna read.DEF PFX the book.ACC  
'Anna was the one that read the book fast (...but there may have been someone else who read it slowly).'
- b. \*Kereken Anna mondta meg az igazat.  
forthright Anna said.DEF PFX the truth.ACC

## 1.12.2.2.1. Constituents of the main clause

In addition to the elements discussed so far, complement clauses can also be topicalized, whether by simple movement or left-dislocation. In the former case (a) the clause moves together with its pronominal expletive, while in the latter there is always a coreferential—viz., (b) personal or (c) nonpersonal—pronominal in the main clause.

- (514) a. Ar-ról, hogy Péter beteg volt, Anna nem olvasott.  
it-DEL that Peter sick was Anna not read  
'Anna didn't read about Peter's having been sick.'
- b. Hogy Péter beteg volt, Anna nem olvasott ról-a.  
ca. 'That Peter had been sick, Anna didn't read about it.'
- c. Hogy Péter beteg volt, ar-ról Anna nem olvasott.  
ca. 'That Peter had been sick, Anna didn't read about it.'

Finite adjunct clauses can also be interpreted as topicalized if the pronominal expletive in construction with them occupies a topic position in the main clause, whether or not the clause itself is adjacent to it.

- (515) a. Az-után, hogy Péter megérkezett, Anna nem olvasott.  
 it-after that Peter arrived Anna not read  
 'Anna wasn't reading after Peter had arrived.'  
 b. Az-után Anna nem olvasott, hogy Péter megérkezett.  
 'Anna wasn't reading after Peter had arrived.'

The question of topicalization probably does not arise in the case of adjunct clauses that do not have a pronominal expletive in the main clause, since they can be placed only in the "periphery" of the main clause, that is, in initial (whether first or second) or final positions.

- (516) a. Mivel Péter megérkezett, Anna nem olvasott tovább.  
 since Peter arrived Anna not read further  
 'Since Peter had arrived, Anna didn't continue reading.'  
 b. Anna, mivel Péter megérkezett, nem olvasott tovább.  
 'Since Peter had arrived, Anna didn't continue reading.'  
 c. Anna nem olvasott tovább, mivel Péter megérkezett.  
 'Since Peter had arrived, Anna didn't continue reading.'

It is difficult to say whether nonfinite complement clauses can be topicalized. First, the constituents of infinitival clauses often do not hold together, that is, they undergo some kind of clause union with the main clause (cf. 1.1.2.2.6.8), and even if they do it is questionable whether they function as topic(s). Second, even though the constituents of simple converb (adverbial participial) clauses can be moved together into initial positions, it is equally dubious whether they serve as topics.

- (517) a. [Péter-nek a könyvet olvas-ni] fontos volt.  
 Peter-DAT the book.ACC read-INF important was  
 'For Peter to read the book was important.'  
 b. [A szék-ben ül-ve] Péter el-aludt.  
 the chair-INE sit-SCVB Peter PFX-slept  
 'Sitting in the chair, Peter fell asleep.'

It is thus necessary to distinguish initial positions from topics: more types of constituents can occur in initial positions than can be said to function as topics.

#### 1.12.2.2.2. Constituents of the subordinate clause

Both simple topicalization and left-dislocation are possible in complement clauses, but left-dislocation is not acceptable inside adjunct (relative, adverbial, etc.) clauses.

- (518) a. Péter azt mondta, hogy Anna, az **olvasta** a  
Peter it.ACC said.DEF that Anna she read.DEF the  
könyv-et.  
book.ACC  
'Peter said that Anna, she'd read the book.'
- b. \*?Péter aludt, amikor Anna, az olvasta a könyv-et.  
Peter slept when  
'Peter was sleeping when Anna, she was reading the book.'

The issue of topicalization within nonfinite clauses does not arise because, apart from infinitival clauses, all subtypes are verb-final, which makes the distinction between topics and (nonemphatic) nontopics impossible. However, constituents of subordinate clauses can be extracted and topicalized in the main clause. Due to the clause union phenomenon observed in infinitival complement clauses, discounting the infinitive itself, any appropriate element can undergo such a process.

- (519) a. A könyvet **Anna** akarja fel-olvas-ni Péter-nek a  
the book.ACC Anna wants.DEF PFX-read-INF Peter-DAT the  
kert-ben.  
garden-INE  
'The book, Anna wants to read out to Peter in the garden.'
- b. A kert-ben **Anna** akarja fel-olvas-ni Péter-nek a könyvet.  
'In the garden, Anna wants to read the book out to Peter.'

Constituents of finite complement subordinate clauses can be moved out into main clause topic positions with or without retaining the pronominal expletive marking the syntactic position of the clause. Observe that, somewhat similarly to focus raising, if the subject is moved into main clause topic position, its nominative can change into accusative; in fact the sentence with the accusative marked subject is significantly better than the one with the nominative marked subject, though for a number of speakers subject raising into a higher topic as such is unacceptable.

- (520) a. A könyv-et Anna az-t mondta, hogy fel-olvassa  
the book-ACC Anna it-ACC said.DEF that PFX-reads  
Péter-nek.  
Peter-DAT  
'The book, Anna said that she would read it to Peter.'
- b. A könyv-et **Anna** mondta, hogy fel-olvassa Péter-nek.  
'The book, Anna said that she would read it to Peter.'

- (521) a. \*?Péter **Anna** mondta, hogy majd fel-olvassa a Peter.NOM Anna said.DEF that then PFX-reads the könyv-et.  
book-ACC  
'(As for) Peter, Anna said he would then read out the book.'
- b. Peter-t **Anna** mondta, hogy majd fel-olvassa a könyv-et.  
Peter-ACC  
'(As for) Peter, Anna said he would then read out the book.'

Topic movement is not possible out of adjunct clauses, whether finite or not.

#### 1.12.2.2.3. Constituents of noun phrases

In general, entire noun phrases are topicalized, whether by simple topicalization or left-dislocation. However, possessive NPs can be broken up in ways illustrated above, and either the possessor NP or the possessed nominal, or both, can become topics.

- (522) a. Péter **tegnap** olvasta [Anná-nak a könyv-é-t]  
Peter yesterday read Anna-DAT the book-POSS-ACC  
'Peter read Anna's book yesterday.'
- b. [Anná-nak a könyv-é-t] Péter **tegnap** olvasta  
'As for Anna's book, Peter read it yesterday.'
- c. [Anná-nak] Péter **tegnap** olvasta [a könyv-é-t]  
'As for Anna, Peter read her book yesterday.'
- d. [A könyv-é-t] Péter **tegnap** olvasta [Anná-nak].  
ca. 'As for Anna's *book*, Peter read it yesterday.'
- e. [Anná-nak] Péter [a könyv-é-t] **tegnap** olvasta.  
ca. 'As for Anna's book, Peter read it yesterday.'

Note that the last example differs in that it indicates a sense of contrast between Anna's book and some other work by her.

As was illustrated in the section on emphasis, if one element in an appositive construction is focussed, the other can be topicalized, cf. 1.11.2.2.2.3.

#### 1.12.2.2.4. Constituents of coordinate construction

No individual constituent of a coordinate construction can be topicalized independently of the other(s); in other words, extraction from coordinate constructions is not possible.

## 1.12.2.2.5. More than one constituent

The process of simple topicalization can be used to move more than one constituent into initial position, and if they are all specific they can be interpreted as topics (cf. 1.12.1.1). That includes even finite subordinate clauses with or without their demonstrative/expletive.

- (523) Anna (az-t), hogy Péter beteg volt, nem olvasta.  
 Anna it-ACC that Peter sick was not read.DEF  
 '(The fact) that Peter was sick, Anna hasn't read.'

In other than nominative and accusative case the pronominal cannot be dropped, but can be placed postverbally even if the clause is in the preverbal topic position.

- (524) a. Anna ar-ról, hogy Péter beteg volt, nem olvasott.  
 Anna it-DEL that Peter sick was not read  
 ca. 'That Peter was sick, Anna hasn't read about it.'  
 b. Anna, hogy Péter beteg volt, ar-ról nem olvasott.  
 ca. 'That Peter was sick, Anna hasn't read about it.'  
 c. Hogy Péter beteg volt, Anna nem olvasott ar-ról.  
 ca. 'That Peter was sick, Anna hasn't read about it.'

## 1.12.2.3. Properties of movement

As was outlined above, the two basic versions of topicalization, simple movement and left-dislocation, differ in that the latter, but not the former, affects a single constituent only and leaves a coreferential pronominal inside the clause. While simple topicalization can move essentially any constituent, left-dislocation is inapplicable to adverbials, with the exception of place adverbials, and, in a more limited manner, time adverbials.

This distribution of topicalization processes is, however, cross-classified by the type of contrastive interpretation mentioned repeatedly above, since nonfocussed contrasted phrases are also called left-dislocated in the literature (cf. É.Kiss 1987, 1994). First of all, such a reading arises only if the sentence carries some kind of emphasis, whether contradictory or contrastive. (Putative topics are in italics.)

- (525) a. *neutral*  
 Péter tegnap olvasta a könyv-et.  
 Peter yesterday read the book-ACC  
 'Yesterday Peter was reading the book.'

b. *emphatic*

*Péter tegnap* nem olvasta a könyv-et.

'Yesterday Peter was not reading the book.'

While the first sentence has only one reading, the second has at least three: (i) the one given above, with no contrast understood; (ii) 'he wasn't reading the book yesterday, but someone else was'; (iii) 'yesterday he wasn't reading the book, but at some other time he was.' The contrast readings can be made more prominent by assigning rising pitch to the element in question, with a pause separating it from the rest of the sentence, which has falling intonation.

The contrast reading is associated with left-dislocation also because it occurs only in emphatic contexts, and left-dislocation is mostly possible under such a condition, too.

(526) a. *neutral*

\*?A könyv-et, az-t Péter olvasta a  
the book-ACC it-ACC Peter yesterday read.DEF

szobá-ban.

the room-INE

b. *emphatic*

A könyv-et, az-t **Péter** olvasta a szobá-ban.

'As for the book, it was Peter that was reading it in the room

(...but there is/may be some other item that someone else was reading).'

Thus, whereas left-dislocated phrases are usually interpreted as contrasted, not all (nonfocussed) contrasted phrases are left-dislocated. Moreover, as was also mentioned above, so-called left-dislocated phrases do not necessarily occur in an absolute initial position.

In sum, both simple movement and, though to a lesser extent, left-dislocation are processes of topic formation. For further analyses of movement, see 1.14.

**1.12.3. The optionality/obligatoriness of topicalization**

Topicalization is an optional process: there are no constituents that are unacceptable if not topicalized.

**1.13. HEAVY SHIFT****1.13.1. Elements affected by Heavy Shift**

Since the order of constituents in the sentence is not fixed according to grammatical functions, it is not in these terms that Heavy Shift can be studied. Heavy Shift affects two types of constituents: finite subordinate clauses and adverbial phrases in NPs, which move obligatorily out of the focus position and optionally out of any other position.

**1.13.2. Structures subject to Heavy Shift***1.13.2.1. Finite subordinate clauses*

The preverbal focus position can host a single constituent, but it cannot accommodate a finite subordinate clause (with the exception of headless or free relative clauses). Since it is possible for the head of the clause to be a pronominal expletive or to contain one, when the clause is removed its focus function remains recoverable.

- (527) a. \*Anna [**az-t, hogy Péter beteg volt**] olvasta tegnap.  
 Anna it-ACC that Peter sick was read.DEF yesterday  
 b. Anna **az-t** olvasta tegnap, hogy Péter beteg volt.  
 ca. 'What Anna read yesterday was that Peter had been sick.'
- (528) a. \*Péter [**ar-ról a fiú-ról, aki beteg volt**] olvasott.  
 Peter that-DEL the boy-DEL who sick was read  
 b. Péter **ar-ról a fiú-ról** olvasott, aki beteg volt.  
 'It's the boy who'd been sick that Peter read about.'

Movement out of other syntactic positions is basically optional. Even clauses are not forced to move away from their heads in topic positions, though when placed postverbally the structure is most acceptable if the clause occupies a final position.

- (529) a. Az-t, hogy Péter beteg volt, **Anna** olvasta tegnap.  
 '(The fact) that Peter had been sick, **Anna** read yesterday.'  
 b. Azt **Anna** olvasta tegnap, hogy Péter beteg volt.  
 '(The fact) that Peter had been sick, **Anna** read yesterday.'
- (530) a. ?**Anna** olvasta azt, hogy Péter beteg volt, tegnap.  
 '**Anna** read yesterday that Peter had been sick.'  
 b. **Anna** olvasta azt tegnap, hogy Péter beteg volt.  
 '**Anna** read yesterday that Peter had been sick.'

1.13.2.2. *Adverbials in NPs*

As was shown in 1.2.5.2.7, subject and object NPs can contain postnominal adverbial phrases constructed of case-marked or postpositional NPs. They, too, are disallowed in focus positions; thus they have to move out.

- (531) a. **Két** könyv-et Ibsen-ről Anna érdekes-nek talált.  
 two book-ACC Ibsen-DEL Anna interesting-DAT found  
 'Anna found two books about Ibsen interesting.'  
 b. \***[Két könyv-et Ibsen-ről]** talált Anna érdekes-nek.  
 c. **[Két könyv-et]** talált Ibsen-ről Anna érdekes-nek.  
 'It's **two** books about Ibsen that Anna found interesting.'

As regards other positions, movement of the adverbial phrase is in principle optional, though since the shifted phrase is not heavy the resulting structure is more awkward than the one with an adjacent adverbial. Below, topic is illustrated.

- (532) Ibsen-ről Anna **két** könyv-et talált érdekesnek.  
 'Anna found **two** books about Ibsen interesting.'

1.13.3. **The target position of Heavy Shift**

As illustrated, Heavy Shift moves finite clauses to the right edge of the clause in question, but adverbials may end up in nonfinal postverbal positions.

1.13.4. **More than one phrase moved**

Since only movement out of focus is obligatory, it is not necessary for two clauses to undergo Heavy Shift within the same sentence. However, it is possible to move two finite subordinate clauses within the same main clause. Below we will index the heads and the clauses belonging to them to help identify them. The first pair of sentences illustrates the ordering variations with clauses inside their original constituents.

- (533) a. [Az a férfi, aki az asztal-nál áll]<sup>1</sup> tudja [azt, hogy ki érkezett]<sup>2</sup>  
 that man who the table-ADE stands knows it.ACC that who came  
 'The man standing by the table knows who had come.'  
 b. [Azt, hogy ki érkezett]<sup>2</sup> tudja [az a férfi, aki az asztal-nál áll]<sup>1</sup>  
 'The man standing by the table knows who had come.'

Not all orders are acceptable if the clauses are shifted to final positions. Whether or not there is focus in the sentence, two ordering possibilities are unacceptable. (The meanings are essentially the same as above. Coindexing associates heads and clauses.)

- (534) a. \*[Az a férfi]<sub>1</sub>**azt**<sub>2</sub> tudja [hogy ki érkezett]<sub>2</sub> [aki az asztalnál áll]<sub>1</sub>  
 b. \* [Az a férfi]<sub>1</sub>**azt**<sub>2</sub> tudja [aki az asztalnál áll]<sub>1</sub> [hogy ki érkezett]<sub>2</sub>  
 c. Azt<sub>2</sub>**[az a férfi]**<sub>1</sub> tudja [hogy ki érkezett]<sub>2</sub> [aki az asztalnál áll]<sub>1</sub>  
 'It's the man standing by the table that knows who had come.'  
 d. Azt<sub>2</sub>**[az a férfi]**<sub>1</sub> tudja [aki az asztalnál áll]<sub>1</sub> [hogy ki érkezett]<sub>2</sub>  
 'It's the man standing by the table that knows who had come.'

It is thus immaterial which clause is in which final position; what matters is that in the competition between the two heads for the single focus position, the head of the relative clause wins out. But note that the head of the object complement clause is not excluded from the focus position; for that to be possible, the relative clause must not be shifted but has to stay adjacent to its head.

- (535) [Az a férfi, aki az asztalnál áll]<sub>1</sub>**azt**<sub>2</sub> tudja [hogy ki érkezett]<sub>2</sub>  
 ca. 'What the man standing by the table knows is who had come.'

#### 1.13.5. Heavy Shift with elements next to complementizers

As illustrated above, Heavy Shift is possible from preverbal positions, including the one next to the complementizer (which, incidentally, is not necessarily a subject position in Hungarian).

### 1.14. OTHER MOVEMENT PROCESSES

#### 1.14.1. Scrambling

As has been claimed throughout, constituent order is fairly free in Hungarian. This is a result of optional focussing and topicalization, and furthermore, of the high degree of freedom of constituents within a nonneutral sentence. Once some element is focussed, the relatively rigid order of the neutral sentence is "liberated" and items can move around with no difficulty.

- (536) a. *neutral*  
 Anna tegnap olvasta a könyvet a szobában.  
 Anna yesterday read.DEF the book.ACC the room.INE  
 'Anna was reading the book in the room yesterday.'

- b. Anna tegnap **a szobában** olvasta a könyvet.  
'It's in the room that Anna was reading the book yesterday.'
- c. **A szobában** olvasta a könyvet Anna tegnap.  
'It's in the room that Anna was reading the book yesterday.'
- d. **A szobában** olvasta Anna a könyvet tegnap.  
'It's in the room that Anna was reading the book yesterday.'
- e. **A szobában** olvasta tegnap a könyvet Anna.  
'It's in the room that Anna was reading the book yesterday.'

In other words, in addition to optional topicalization, there is also an optional process of "scrambling" to the right of the inflected verb.

### 1.14.2. Short verb and verbal prefix movement

In addition to topic and focus (or in general, quantifier) movement, there is a curious type of movement, which affects either simple infinitives or prefixes and reduced complements of complex infinitives that are complements to a class of main verbs, called "prefix-raising" in 1.1.2.2.6.8. They require in neutral sentences that the lower prefix—or, in its absence, the verb itself—be placed in front of them.

- (537) a. Anna le fog szalad-ni Péter-hez.  
Anna down will run-INF Peter.ALL  
'Anna will run down to Peter.'
- b. Péter könyv-et akar olvas-ni.  
Peter book-ACC wants read-INF  
'Peter wants to read books.'
- c. Anna úsz-ni akar.  
Anna swim-INF wants  
'Anna wants to swim.'

Moreover, these elements can move further onto a higher clause if its predicate is also "prefix-raising". In case either the higher or the lower main verb is not "prefix-raising", the prefix (or the reduced complement) must stay in its original clause. Below *igyekszik* 'strive' is not a "prefix-raising" verb.

- (538) a. Anna igyekszik el-olvas-ni a könyv-et.  
Anna strives PFX-read-INF the book-ACC  
'Anna strives to read the book.'
- b. \*Anna el igyekszik olvas-ni a könyv-et.

- (539) a. Anna igyekez-ni fog el-olvasni a könyv-et.  
Anna strive-INF will PFX-read-INF the book-ACC  
'Anna will strive to read the book.'
- b. \*Anna el fog-ja igyekez-ni olvas-ni a könyv-et.
- c. Anna el fog-ja akar-ni olvas-ni a könyv-et.  
Anna PFX will-DEF want-INF read-INF the book-ACC  
'Anna will want to read the book.'

For more analysis, see Farkas and Sadock (1989) and Szabolsci (1996).

### 1.14.3. Focus left-dislocation

Another movement not discussed so far is a version of left-dislocation in which the anaphoric element associated with the left-dislocated item is in focus, rather than in topic, as was shown in 1.12. In this case too, both the left-dislocated phrase and the pronominal in focus bear the same case and, moreover, they have an identical, falling, pitch-accent in indicative clauses. Just as topic left-dislocation, this subtype does not have to occur in absolute initial position.

- (540) a. **A könyv-et**, Anna **az-t** olvasta a szobában  
the book-ACC Anna it-ACC read.DEF the room-INE  
tegnap.  
yesterday  
'It's the book that Anna was reading in the room yesterday.'
- b. Tegnap **a könyv-et**, **azt** olvasta Anna a szobában.  
'It's the book that Anna was reading in the room yesterday.'

### 1.15. MINOR SENTENCE TYPES

Sentences with no finite predicate are possible under certain conditions. In one type the initial locative predicate can do without the otherwise obligatory copula, cf. 1.2.1.1.3.

- (541) a. Előtt-e az élet.  
before-3SG the life  
'Life is before him/her.'
- b. Az élet előtt-e \*(van).  
is

Another type is a short command comprising a directional place adverbial, the equivalent of which is found in a number of other languages.

- a. Előre a bástya-ra!  
forward the bastion-SUB  
'Forward to the bastion!'
- b. Ki az árulók-kal!  
out the traitors-INS  
'Out with the traitors!'

One more type of these noncopular sentences is questions.

- (543)
- a. Mi-nek a sok kiabálás?  
what-DAT the much yelling  
'What's all the yelling for?'
  - b. Merre a kijárat?  
whither the exit  
'Where's the exit?'

Note that the respective answers must contain the copula, unless they fall under the option illustrated in (541).

### 1.16. OPERATIONAL DEFINITIONS FOR WORDCLASSES

Since Hungarian is a highly agglutinative language, major wordclasses can in principle be distinguished by the affixal morphemes they can cooccur with.

#### 1.16.1. Noun

Nouns are inflected for case and number; that is not, however, sufficient to distinguish them from adjectives and numerals, which, for reasons touched upon in 1.2.5.1, can be the rightmost constituents in a noun phrase, thus inflected in identical ways to nouns.

- (544)
- a. Anna négy alacsony férfi-t győzött le.  
Anna four short man-ACC beat PFX  
'Anna beat four short men.'
  - b. Anna négy alacsony-at győzött le.  
'Anna beat four short ones.'
  - c. Anna négy-et győzött le.  
'Anna beat four ones.'

However, neither numerals nor adjectives can occur in the position of the possessed nominal in possessive noun phrases.

- (545)
- a. Anna három érdekes könyv-e  
Anna three interesting book-POSS  
'Anna's three interesting books'
  - b. \*Anna (három) érdekes-e
  - c. \*Anna hárm-a/három-ja

Other criteria are negative, as it were: adjectives and/or numerals can take various inflectional endings which are impossible for nouns. These will be illustrated below.

### 1.16.2. Pronoun

All pronouns substitute for entire noun phrases; further properties are given in the subsections below.

#### 1.16.2.1. Personal pronouns

If the personal pronoun is in subject position, the finite predicate has to agree with it. First person singular verb-forms show agreement with second person objects, as well.

- (546)
- a. en lát-ok b. en lát-lak téged/titeket  
I see-1SG I see-1SG.2OB you.SG/PL.ACC

Personal pronouns are inflected by being affixed to case affixes as bases.

- (547)
- |    |                                      |    |                                    |    |                                |
|----|--------------------------------------|----|------------------------------------|----|--------------------------------|
| a. | könyv-vel<br>book-INS<br>'with book' | b. | vel-e<br>INS-3SG<br>'with him/her' | c. | vel-em<br>INS-1SG<br>'with me' |
| d. | Péter-nek<br>Peter-DAT<br>'to Peter' | e. | nek-i<br>DAT-3SG<br>'to him'       | f. | nek-em<br>DAT-1SG<br>'to me'   |

#### 1.16.2.2. Reflexive pronouns

The apparent root *mag-* is inflected for number and person, and the resulting form for case. Reflexive pronouns do not occur in subject position (see 1.5.1.4).

#### 1.16.2.3. Demonstrative pronouns

They occur in place of noun phrases as well as in an initial position in them, preceding the obligatory definite article. In both instances they can be inflected for number and must be case-marked.

- (548) a. Ez-zel írta Anna a könyvet.  
this-INS wrote.DEF Anna the book.ACC  
'Anna wrote the book with this.'
- b. Ez-zel a tol-lal írta Anna a könyvet.  
this-INS the pen-INS  
'Anna wrote the book with this pen.'

#### 1.16.2.4. Possessive pronouns

They always follow the definite article and are constructed from a base of a personal pronoun, the possessive marker, and are inflected for number and person, and possibly for case as well, since they can stand in for full NPs.

- (549) a. a ti könyv-e-tek  
the you book-POSS-2PL  
'your (PL) book'
- b. a ti-é-tek  
the you-POSS-2PL  
'yours (PL)'

#### 1.16.2.5. Relative pronouns

They are formed from a (sometimes optional) prefix *a-* and a base that is identical with the corresponding question-word. They are invariably placed initially in their clause, unless preceded by *mint* 'as, than' (cf. 1.8 and 1.9). They can be inflected for number and case.

#### 1.16.3. Verb

Verbs are uniquely determined by the inflectional affixes for number and person they take, and in the case of nonauxiliaries by affixes for nonfinite forms, such as infinitive, or active, passive, adverbial, etc. participle.

#### 1.16.4. Adjective

Adjectives, unlike nouns or numerals, can undergo gradation, and they can be modified by various adverbials, such as intensifiers.

#### 1.16.5. Postposition

As was discussed in 1.2.4.1, it is the distinction between postpositions and case suffixes that has to be justified. Postpositions can take the *-i* attributivizer, they can be coordinated themselves, and their arguments can also be conjoined, unlike case suffixes. In addition some postpositions assign oblique cases to their arguments.

**1.16.6. Numeral and quantifier**

Numerals and quantifiers can take the “multiplier” affix *-szor/ször/szer* ‘times’ and, if in subject position and referring to human beings, they are suffixed by *-en/an* (and are taken to be plural).

- (550)
- a. Négy férfi érkezett.  
four man arrived  
‘Four men arrived.’
  - b. Négy érkezett.  
‘Four (things) arrived.’
  - c. Négy-en érkeztek.  
‘Four (people) arrived.’

The syntactic and semantic functions of noun phrases are expressed primarily by suffixes (the most important of which are case endings) and by postpositions in Hungarian.

Bound affixes play an important role in expressing the semantic and syntactic function of words in Hungarian.

In Hungarian, nouns, pronouns, adjectives, and numerals are marked for case: nouns are case-marked everywhere, while pronouns, adjectives, and numerals are case-marked in attributive pro-form positions.

All morphological cases in Hungarian involve suffixing.

The actual number of the cases is a subject of disagreement. The number accepted by various authors ranges from 17 to 27—cf. 17 cases in Abondolo (1988:26); 24 each in Lotz (1939:66), Rácz (1968:197–199), and Olsson (1992:101); 25 cases in Vago (1980:100); 26 cases in Tompa (1968:206–209); and 27 cases in Tompa (1961:557).

Some of the suffixes are treated as derivational rather than inflectional by various authors, e.g., *-n/an/en* is considered the modal-essive case (MOE) and *-lag/leg* the modal case (MOD) by Tompa (1961, 1968), but not the other authors.

Without wanting to take a stand over whether the suffixes considered derivational rather than inflectional by some of the authors are indeed case suffixes or not, I will treat all suffixes accepted at least by some of the authors as inflectional.

Although most of the cases can occur with nouns, pronouns, adjectives, and numerals alike, some of them have restricted use only: for instance,

the locative (LOC) is used only with a few city names, the temporal (TEM) only with nominals referring to time, and the multiplicative (MUL) only with numerals, etc.

The cases are illustrated below by the forms of the nouns *város* 'city' and *szék* 'chair' for all cases that occur with all nouns, and by forms of other nouns for cases with restricted distribution. Other lexical items used in the table below are *Pécs* and *Győr*, both names of Hungarian cities, *Húsvét* 'Easter', *öt* 'five', *nap* 'day', *hét* 'week', *hat* 'six', *távirat* 'telegram', *békítő* 'pacifying', *halk* 'quiet', and *kilenc* 'nine'.

Case	Suffix	Examples
Nominative	∅	város, szék
Accusative	-t/ot/et/öt	váro <sup>s</sup> t, szé <sup>k</sup> et
Dative	-nak/nek	váro <sup>s</sup> nak, szé <sup>k</sup> nek
Locative	-t/ott/ett/ött	Pécs <sup>t</sup> , Győ <sup>r</sup> ött
Inessive	-ban/ben	váro <sup>s</sup> ban, szé <sup>k</sup> ben
Elative	-ból/ből	váro <sup>s</sup> ból, szé <sup>k</sup> ből
Illative	-ba/be	váro <sup>s</sup> ba, szé <sup>k</sup> be
Adessive	-nál/nél	váro <sup>s</sup> nál, szé <sup>k</sup> nél
Ablative	-tól/től	váro <sup>s</sup> tól, szé <sup>k</sup> től
Allative	-hoz/hez/höz	váro <sup>s</sup> hoz, szé <sup>k</sup> hez
Superessive	-n/on/en/ön	váro <sup>s</sup> on, szé <sup>k</sup> en
Delative	-ról/ról	váro <sup>s</sup> ról, szé <sup>k</sup> ről
Sublative	-ra/re	váro <sup>s</sup> ra, szé <sup>k</sup> re
Terminative	-ig	váro <sup>s</sup> ig, szé <sup>k</sup> ig
Temporal	-kor	Húsvé <sup>t</sup> kor, ö <sup>t</sup> kor
Iterative	-nta/nte/onta/ -ente/önte	napo <sup>n</sup> ta, heten <sup>te</sup>
Causal-final	-ért	váro <sup>s</sup> ért, szé <sup>k</sup> ért
Instrumental	-val/vel	váro <sup>s</sup> sal, szé <sup>k</sup> kel
Translative	-vá/vé	váro <sup>s</sup> sá, szé <sup>k</sup> ké
Comitative	-stul/stül/ostul/ -estül/östül	váro <sup>s</sup> ostul, szé <sup>k</sup> estül
Essive	-ul/ül	váro <sup>s</sup> ul, szé <sup>k</sup> ül
Multiplicative	-szor/szer/ször	hatszo <sup>r</sup> , hétszo <sup>r</sup>
Modal	-lag/leg	táviratila <sup>g</sup> , békítóa <sup>g</sup>
Modal-essive	-n/an/en	hal <sup>k</sup> an, kilenc <sup>n</sup>
Formal	-képp(en)	váro <sup>s</sup> képpen, szé <sup>k</sup> képpen
Essive-formal	-ként	váro <sup>s</sup> ként, szé <sup>k</sup> ként
Distributive	-nként/onként/ -enként/önként	váro <sup>s</sup> onként, szé <sup>k</sup> enként

The plural marker is *-k/ok/ak/ek/ök* everywhere except in possessive forms, e.g., *rádiók* 'radios', *városok* 'cities', *falak* 'walls', *székek* 'chairs', *körök*

'circles'. In an inflected form of a plural noun the plural suffix appears inside the case suffix, e.g., *városokban* 'in cities', *székekben* 'in chairs'.

In possessive forms the plural marker is -i, as in the nominal possessive form *városói* 'city's' (as in *Ezek az épületek a városói* 'These buildings are the city's (buildings)', where the plural on *városói* denotes the plurality of the possession) and in forms expressing plurality of the possession (as in *székeim* 'my chairs'). Case suffixes occur outside possessive suffixes, e.g., *a városomban* 'in my city' and *a székeimben* 'in my chairs'.

#### 2.1.1.1.4. Postpositions

Occasionally the meaning normally expressed by a case suffix can be indicated by a postposition instead. The dative -*nak/nek* and the postpositions *részére* and *számára* correspond in meaning in denoting the indirect object. (These postpositions can only occur instead of the dative.) They occur when the indirect object is animate, and mostly in formal contexts only.

- (1) Hoz-t-am egy level-et Péter-nek.  
bring-PAST-DEF.1SG a letter-ACC Peter-DAT  
'I brought a letter for Peter.'
- (2) Hoz-t-am egy level-et Péter részére.  
bring-PAST-DEF.1SG a letter-ACC Peter for  
'I brought a letter for Peter.'
- (3) Hoz-t-am egy level-et Péter számára.  
bring-PAST-DEF.1SG a letter-ACC Peter for  
'I brought a letter for Peter.'

#### 2.1.1.1.8. Combination of different ways

Noun stems undergo the following morphophonemic alternations when certain suffixes are attached to them.

In nouns ending in *a* or *e* the final vowel is *á* and *é*, respectively, when any suffix except for the temporal, the essive-formal, or the formal is attached. The forms of *óra* 'hour, clock' and *körte* 'pear' are given as illustrations below.

<i>Nominative</i>	<i>Accusative</i>	<i>Plural</i>	<i>Essive-Formal</i>	<i>Temporal</i>	<i>Formal</i>
<i>óra</i>	<i>órát</i>	<i>órák</i>	<i>óráként</i>	<i>órákor</i>	<i>óráképpen</i>
<i>körte</i>	<i>körtét</i>	<i>körték</i>	<i>körtéként</i>	–	<i>körtéképpen</i>

Several nouns ending in *ó*, *ő*, *u*, *ú* and *ű* alternate with a stem ending in *v* in some or all of the following forms—the accusative, plural,

superessive, and possessed. The forms of the nouns *ló* 'horse', *kő* 'rock', *falu* 'village', *odú* 'hollow', and *fű* 'grass' are given as illustrations below.

<i>Nominative</i>	<i>Accusative</i>	<i>Plural</i>	<i>Superessive</i>	<i>Possessed, 1SG</i>
ló	lovat	lovak	lovon	lovam
kő	követ	kövek	kövön	kövem
falu	falut	falvak	falun	falum
odú	odút	odúk, odvak	odún	odúm, odvam
fű	füvet	füvek	füvön	füvem

The noun *lélek* 'soul' and several nouns whose last vowel is *é* or *á* alternate with stems in *e* and *a*, respectively, in the accusative, plural, and possessed forms. They are illustrated below by the forms of the nouns *lélek* 'soul', *kéz* 'hand', *tehén* 'cow', *nyár* 'summer', and *pohár* 'glass'.

<i>Nominative</i>	<i>Accusative</i>	<i>Plural</i>	<i>Possessed, 1SG</i>
lélek	lelket	lelkek	lelkem
kéz	kezet	kezek	kezem
tehén	tehenet	tehenek	tehenem
nyár	nyarat	nyarak	nyaram
pohár	poharat	poharak	poharam

Some bisyllabic nouns and nouns ending in *-elem/alom* delete the last vowel of the stem in the accusative, plural, superessive, comitative, and possessed forms. These are illustrated below by the nominative, accusative, plural, and first person singular possessed forms of the nouns *torony* 'tower', *öböl* 'bay', *iker* 'twin', *hatalom* 'power', and *szerelem* 'love'.

<i>Nominative</i>	<i>Accusative</i>	<i>Plural</i>	<i>Possessed, 1SG</i>
torony	tornyot	tornyok	tornyom
öböl	öblöt	öblök	öblöm
iker	ikret	ikrek	ikrem
hatalom	hatalmat	hatalmak	hatalmam
szerelem	szerelmet	szerelmek	szerelmem

Three noun stems, *kehely* 'chalice', *teher* 'load', and *pehely* 'flake', undergo metathesis in the accusative, plural, superessive, comitative, and possessed forms.

<i>Nominative</i>	<i>Accusative</i>	<i>Plural</i>	<i>Superessive</i>	<i>Possessed, 1SG</i>
kehely	kelyhet	kelyhek	kelyhen	kelyhem
teher	terhet	terhek	terhen	terhem
pehely	pelyhet	pelyhek	pelyhen	pelyhem

2.1.1.2. *Marking syntactic functions*

2.1.1.2.1. Subject of intransitive verb

The subject of an intransitive verb is in the nominative, which has no overt suffix.

- (4) A lány áll.  
the girl stand.INDEF.3SG  
'The girl is standing.'
- (5) A virág-ok el-hervad-t-ak.  
the flower-PL PFX-wilt-PAST-INDEF.3PL  
'The flowers wilted.'
- (6) Az ajtó nyikorog.  
the door squeak.INDEF.3SG  
'The door squeaks.'

2.1.1.2.2. Subject of transitive verb

The subject of a transitive verb is in the nominative in the case of all verbs.

- (7) A lány ír-ja a level-et.  
the girl write-DEF.3SG the letter-ACC  
'The girl is writing the letter.'
- (8) Egy férfi tud-ja a válasz-t.  
a man know-DEF.3SG the answer-ACC  
'A man knows the answer.'
- (9) A nap el-olvaszt-ott-a a hav-at.  
the sun PFX-melt-PAST-DEF.3SG the snow-ACC  
'The sun melted the snow.'

2.1.1.2.3. Subject of copular construction

The subject of copular constructions involving *van* 'be' is in the nominative. The verb *van* 'be' is used in the existential (10)–(12), predicate locative (13)–(15), and the *have*-construction (16)–(18).

The copula is not expressed overtly in third person present tense forms in equative constructions, as in (11), but it is expressed overtly everywhere else.

- (10) Én Sándor vagy-ok.  
I Alexander be-1SG  
'I am Alexander.'

- (11) Péter orvos ø.  
Peter doctor be.3SG  
'Péter is a doctor.'
- (12) Ok jégtáncos-ok vol-t-ak.  
they figure.skater-PL be-PAST-3PL  
'They were figure skaters.'
- (13) A hajó-k a nyílt tenger-en van-nak  
the ship-PL the open sea-SUP be-3PL  
'The ships are out in the open sea.'
- (14) Iván a szoba-ban van.  
Ivan the room-INE be.3SG  
'Ivan is in the room.'
- (15) A kiállítás-on vol-t-unk.  
the exhibition-SUP be-PAST-1PL  
'We were at the exhibition.'

In the case of the *have*-construction, the possessor is in the dative, the thing possessed in the nominative, and the verb agrees with the latter in person and number. The thing possessed is obligatorily marked with the personal possessive suffix that agrees with the possessor in person and number (see section 2.1.1.4.7). The only exception to the marking of the thing possessed with the possessive suffix is in the rare case when a first or second person is possessed, as in (18).

- (16) Dániel-nek régi könyv-e-i van-nak.  
Daniel-DAT old book-POSS.3SG-PL be-3PL  
'Daniel has old books.'
- (17) Nek-ünk vol-t egy fekete macská-nk.  
DAT-1PL be-PAST.3SG a black cat-POSS.1PL  
'We had a black cat.'
- (18) Csak mi vagy-unk nek-i.  
only we be-1PL DAT-3SG  
'S/he has only us.'

The subject of the copular verb *válik* 'become' is in the nominative.

- (19) Péter jó író-vá vál-t.  
Peter good writer-TRA become-PAST.INDEF.3SG  
'Peter became a good writer.'

The subject of the copular verb *lesz* 'become' is in the nominative, as in (20). This verb can also be used in a slightly different construction involving the relative, which is similar in meaning to English 'make' in a sentence like 'make a good wife/husband'; cf. (21)–(22).

- (20) Péter jó író le-tt.  
Peter good writer become-PAST.3SG  
'Peter became a good writer.'
- (21) Péter-ből jó író le-tt.  
Peter-ELA good writer become-pt.3SG  
'Peter became a good writer.'='Peter made a good writer.'
- (22) Mi lesz belől-ed?  
what become.3SG ELA-2SG  
'What will become of you?'

The subject of the copular verbs *látszik* 'look' and *tűnik* 'appear' is in the nominative.

- (23) Iván boldog-nak látsz-ik.  
Ivan happy-DAT look-INDEF.3SG  
'Ivan looks happy.'
- (24) Barbara ma szomorú-nak tűn-t.  
Barbara today sad-DAT appear-PAST.INDEF.3SG  
'Barbara appeared sad today.'

#### 2.1.1.2.4. Direct object

The direct object is usually expressed by the accusative case. The marking of the direct object does not differ according to whether the subject is expressed overtly, as in (25) and (26), or covertly through person-marking on the verb, as in (27).

- (25) Mária szeret-i András-t.  
Mary like-DEF.3SG Andrew-ACC  
'Mary likes Andrew.'
- (26) Ő vág-ja a kenyér-et.  
s/he cut-DEF.3SG the bread-ACC  
'S/he cuts the bread.'
- (27) Tud-om a válasz-t.  
know-DEF.1SG the answer-ACC.  
'I know the answer.'

#### 2.1.1.2.5. Indirect object

The indirect object is expressed predominantly with the dative (and occasionally with the postpositions *részére* and *számára*, see section 2.1.1.1.4 above).

- (28) Adam egy csomag-ot küld Edit-nek.  
Adam a package-ACC send.INDEF.3SG Edith-DAT  
'Adam sends a package to Edith.'
- (29) Tamás viz-et ad a kutya-k-nak.  
Thomas water-ACC give.INDEF.3SG the dog-PL-DAT  
'Thomas gives water to the dogs.'

#### 2.1.1.2.6. Object of comparison

The object of comparison can be expressed in two ways: with the adessive case, as in (30) below, or with a construction involving the comparative/ equative conjunction *mint*, as in (31) below, in which case the object of comparison is in the nominative.

- (30) A zongora nagy-obb a gitár-nál.  
the piano big-CMP the guitar-ADE  
'The piano is bigger than the guitar.'
- (31) A zongora nagy-obb, mint a gitár.  
the piano big-CMP than the guitar  
'The piano is bigger than the guitar.'

(In some dialects of Hungarian the adessive case (*gitár-tól*) is also acceptable in sentences like (30) above.)

#### 2.1.1.2.7. Object of equation

The object of equation is expressed with the construction involving the comparative/equative conjunction *mint*, where the object of comparison is in the nominative.

- (32) A toll olyan nagy, mint a ceruza.  
the pen such big as the pencil  
'The pen is as big as the pencil.'

#### 2.1.1.2.8. Other objects governed by verbs

A number of verbs govern objects which are expressed with cases other than the accusative.

Objects in the dative are governed, for instance, by the verbs *örül* 'be glad/happy about', and *telefonál* 'telephone, call'.

- (33) Nagyon örül-ök az ajándék-nak.  
very be.happy-INDEF.1SG the gift-DAT  
'I am very happy about the gift.'

- (34) Telefonál-t-ál János-nak?  
 telephone-PAST-INDEF.2SG John-DAT  
 'Have you called John?'

Inessive is governed, e.g., by *bízik* 'trust', illative by *beleszeret* 'fall in love with' and *kerül* 'cost', elative by *kiszeret* 'fall out of love with'.

- (35) Csak a feleség-em-ben bíz-om.  
 only the wife-POSS.1SG-INE trust-INDEF.1SG  
 'I trust only my wife.'
- (36) Péter bele-szeret-ett Andreá-ba.  
 Peter into-love-PAST.INDEF.3SG Andrea-ILL  
 'Peter fell in love with Andrea.'
- (37) Ez a könyv tíz dollár-ba kerül.  
 this the book ten dollar-ILL cost.INDEF.3SG  
 'This book costs ten dollars.'
- (38) Az az autó túl sok-ba kerül-t.  
 that the car too much-ILL cost-PAST.INDEF.3SG  
 'That car cost too much.'
- (39) Sára ki-szeret-ett Márton-ból.  
 Sara out-love-PAST.INDEF.3SG Martin-ELA  
 'Sara fell out of love with Martin.'

The ablative is governed by verbs such as *függ* 'depend on' and *fél* 'fear, be afraid of', and the allative by *hasonlít* 'resemble' and *tartozik* 'belong to'.

- (40) A siker csak Júliá-tól függ.  
 the success only Julia-ABL depend.INDEF.3SG  
 'Success depends on Julia alone.'
- (41) Mi-től fél-sz?  
 what-ABL be.afraid-INDEF.2SG  
 'What are you afraid of?'
- (42) Ferenc nem hasonlít az ap-já-hoz.  
 Frank not resemble.INDEF.3SG the father-POSS.3SG-ALL  
 'Frank doesn't resemble his father.'
- (43) Ez az épület is az egyetem-hez tartoz-ik.  
 this the building also the university-ALL belong-INDEF.3SG  
 'This building belongs to the university also.'

The superessive is governed by verbs such as *töpreng* 'brood over' and *csodálkozik* 'be surprised at', the delative by *gondoskodik* 'take care of' and *lemond* 'renounce, give up', and the sublative by *emlékszik* 'remember', *vár* 'wait for', and *figyel* 'listen, pay attention to'.

- (44) Attila a jövő-jé-n töpreng.  
Attila the future-POSS.1SG-SUP brood.over.INDEF.3SG  
'Attila is brooding over his future.'
- (45) Nem csodálkoz-ol ez-en a kérdés-en?  
not be.surprised-INDEF.2SG this-SUP the question-SUP  
'Aren't you surprised at this question?'
- (46) Adám maga gondoskod-ik az idős  
Adam himself take.care-INDEF.3SG the elderly  
any-já-ról.  
mother-POSS.3SG-DEL  
'Adam takes care of his elderly mother himself.'
- (47) Attila le-mond-ott az új autó-ról.  
Attila down-say-PAST.INDEF.3SG the new car-DEL  
'Attila gave up the new car.'
- (48) Emléksz-el ar-ra az okos diák-ra?  
remember-INDEF.2SG that-SUB the smart student-SUB  
'Do you remember that smart student?'
- (49) A gyerek-ek nem figyel-t-ek a  
the child-PL not pay.attention-PAST-INDEF.3PL the  
tanár-ra.  
teacher-SUB  
'The children didn't pay attention to the teacher.'

Other cases that appear on objects of verbs are the causal-final (e.g., *felel* 'answer, be responsible for' and *aggódik* 'worry about/for') and the instrumental (e.g., *találkozik* 'meet, see', *tartozik* 'owe', and *ellenkezik* 'contradict').

- (50) Gábor felel az autó-ért.  
Gabriel be.responsible.INDEF.3SG the car-CAU  
'Gabriel is responsible for the car.'
- (51) András aggód-ik Máriá-ért.  
Andrew worry-INDEF.3SG Mária-CAU  
'Andrew worries about Maria.'
- (52) Ma nem találkozt-am Edit-tel.  
today not meet-PAST-INDEF.1SG Edith-INS  
'I didn't meet Edith today.'
- (53) Péter húsz dollár-ral tartoz-ik nek-em.  
Peter twenty dollar-INS owe-INDEF.3SG DAT-1SG  
'Peter owes me twenty dollars.'

- (54) Ne ellenkez-z vel-em!  
not contradict-IMP.INDEF.2SG INS-1SG  
'Don't contradict me!'

## 2.1.1.2.9. Complement of copular construction

**2.1.1.2.9.1–3. Copular constructions involving 'be'** Complements of copular constructions expressing definition, identity, and role are indicated with the nominative.

- (55) Te férfi vagy.  
you.SG man be.2SG  
'You are a man.'

- (56) Én Ádám vagy-ok.  
I Adam be-1SG  
'I am Adam.'

- (57) Mi bányász-ok vagy-unk.  
we miner-PL be-1PL  
'We are miners.'

**2.1.1.2.9.4. Other copular verbs** The copular verb *lesz* 'become' takes a nominative complement.

- (58) Attila orvos le-tt.  
Attila doctor become-PAST.3SG  
'Attila became a doctor.'

The copular verb *válik* 'become', however, takes a translative complement. The difference in meaning between the verbs *válik* and *lesz* is slight, the former being closer in meaning to English 'turn into'.

- (59) A béka királyfi-vá vál-t.  
the frog prince-TRA turn.into-PAST.INDEF.3SG  
'The frog turned into a prince.'

## 2.1.1.2.10. Subject-complement

The subject-complement of the verbs *látszik* 'look' and *tűnik* 'appear' is in the dative.

- (60) A lány szomorú-nak látsz-ik.  
the girl sad-DAT look-INDEF.3SG  
'The girl looks sad.'

- (61) A diák-ok elégedett-nek tűn-nek.  
the student-PL satisfied-DAT appear-INDEF.3PL  
'The students appear satisfied.'

There is no construction in Hungarian that would correspond to the English 'I was made king'. Its closest Hungarian equivalent is expressed with an object-complement construction, with the complement in the translative and the verb in an unspecified third person plural form.

- (62) Engem király-lyá te-tt-ek.  
I.ACC king-TRA make-PAST-INDEF.3PL  
'I was made king.'
- (63) Engem boldog-gá te-tt-ek.  
I.ACC happy-TRA make-PAST-INDEF.3PL  
'I was made happy.'

#### 2.1.1.2.11. Object-complement

Object-complements are most frequently assigned the dative and the translative cases.

Verbs of appointing such as *(ki)kiált* 'proclaim', *(ki)nevez* 'appoint', *(meg)koronáz* 'crown', *(meg)tesz* 'make', *(fel)szentel* 'ordain', and *(meg)-választ* 'elect' take both dative and translative object-complements. Without their perfective prefixes, *ki-*, *meg-*, and *fel-*, they usually take a translative object-complement, and either a translative or a dative one when they occur with the prefix.

- (64) István-t tegnap pap-pá szentel-t-ék.  
Stephen-ACC yesterday priest-TRA ordain-PAST-DEF.3PL  
'Stephen was ordained priest yesterday.'
- (65) Csabá-t tegnap fel-szentel-t-ék  
Csaba-ACC yesterday PFX-ordain-PAST-DEF.3PL  
pap-nak/pap-pá.  
priest-DAT/priest-TRA  
'Csaba was ordained priest yesterday.'
- (66) Anitá-t meg-választ-ott-ák  
Anita-ACC PFX-elect-PAST-DEF.3PL  
elnök-nek/elnök-ké.  
president-DAT/president-TRA  
'Anita was elected president.'

Verbs of characterization, dubbing and declaring which take object-complements, such as *(el)fogad* 'accept', *gondol* 'think', *(el)képzél* 'imagine',

*tart* 'consider', *hív* 'call', *(el)nevez* 'name', *(meg)keresztel* 'baptize', *(meg)szavaz* 'vote', *talál* 'find', and *hisz* 'believe', take the dative.

- (67) Mária-t mindenki butá-nak tart-ja.  
 Maria-ACC everybody stupid-DAT consider-DEF.3SG  
 'Everyone considers Maria to be stupid.'
- (68) Mi-nek nevez-z-em a kutya-m-at?  
 what-DAT name-IMP-DEF.1SG the dog-POSS.1SG-ACC  
 'What shall I name my dog?'
- (69) A fi-unk-at Miklós-nak keresztel-jük.  
 The son-POSS.1PL-ACC Nicholas-DAT baptize-DEF.1PL  
 'We'll baptize our son Nicholas.'
- (70) A katoná-t mindenki halott-nak hi-tt-e.  
 the soldier-ACC everyone dead-DAT believe-PAST-DEF.3SG  
 'Everyone believed the soldier to be dead.'

#### 2.1.1.2.12. Objects governed by adjectives

A small number of Hungarian adjectives govern objects. These include *jó* 'good' (governing sublative in the meaning 'good for' and elative in the meaning 'good at'), *büszke* 'proud' (governing sublative), *független* 'independent' (governing ablative), *érdekelt* 'having a stake/interest in' (governing inessive), as well as *bűnös* and *vétkes*, both meaning 'guilty' (both governing inessive).

- (71) Márton nagyon jó fiziká-ból.  
 Martin very good physics-ELA  
 'Martin is very good at physics.'
- (72) Pál büszke vol-t az angol-já-ra.  
 Paul proud be-PAST.3SG the English-POSS.3SG-SUB  
 'Paul was proud of his English.'
- (73) Ti nem vagy-tok vétkes-ek a lopás-ban.  
 you.PL not be-2PL guilty-PL the theft-INE  
 'You (PL) are not guilty of the theft.'

#### 2.1.1.2.13. Agent in passive/impersonal constructions

The passive is a marginal construction whose status as a real passive is debated in Hungarian (see section 2.1.3.1.1).

In impersonal constructions the agent is expressed with an unspecified third person plural verb-form.

- (74) Még nem ad-t-ák ide a  
 yet not give-PAST-DEF.3PL to.here the  
 jegy-em-et.  
 ticket-POSS.1SG-ACC  
 'I haven't been given my ticket yet.'
- (75) A bank-ot ki-rabol-t-ák.  
 the bank-ACC PFX-rob-PAST-DEF.3PL  
 'The bank was robbed.'

## 2.1.1.2.14. Topic

There is no special case-marking for topic in Hungarian, but see section 1.11 for a discussion of emphasis and 1.12 for details on topic and focus.

2.1.1.3. *Expressing functions with nonfinite and nominalized verbs*

## 2.1.1.3.1. Absolute construction

In this construction the subject is not expressed overtly, but it is understood to be identical with the subject of the finite clause.

- (76) Tanul-t ember lé-vén Dénes tud-t-a a  
 learn-PPRT man be-PCVB Dennis know-PAST-DEF.3SG the  
 válasz-t.  
 answer-ACC  
 'Being a learned man, Dennis knew the answer.'

The direct object is expressed with the accusative in this construction also.

- (77) A tigris-t lát-va a vadász-ok  
 the tiger-ACC see-SCVB the hunter-PL  
 meg-ijed-t-ek.  
 PFX-get.scared-PAST-INDEF.3PL  
 'Seeing the tiger, the hunters got scared.'

## 2.1.1.3.2. Infinitive

The subject of the infinitive is not expressed overtly, and it is always understood to be identical with the subject or the object of the main clause.

(78) Iván el-men-t kosárlabdáz-ni.  
Ivan away-go-PAST.INDEF.3SG play.basketball-INF  
'Ivan has gone to play basketball.'

(79) Mark el-küld-t-e Iván-t  
Mark away-send-PAST-DEF.3SG Ivan-ACC  
kosárlabdáz-ni.  
play.basketball-INF  
'Mark sent Ivan off to play basketball.'

When the infinitival clause is the subject of the main clause, the agent of the infinitive is in the dative.

(80) Péter-nek nehéz franciá-ul olvas-ni.  
Peter-DAT hard French-ESS read-INF  
'For Peter to read in French is hard.'

The subject-complement of an infinitival subject clause is also expressed with the dative if the verb is *van* 'be'.

(81) Nek-em nagyon nehéz újra diák-nak le-nn-em.  
DAT-1SG very hard again student-DAT be-INF-1SG  
'For me to be a student again is very hard.'

If the subject of an infinitival subject clause is not expressed, the clause indicates generic reference.

(82) Diák-nak le-nni jó.  
student-DAT be-INF good  
'It's good to be a student.'

If the subject-complement of a verb is expressed with the translative in a finite clause, it is expressed with the translative in an infinitival clause also.

(83) A béká-nak nem vol-t könnyű királyfi-vá  
the frog-DAT not be-PAST.3SG easy prince-TRA  
vál-ni-a.  
become-INF-3SG  
'For the frog to become a prince was not easy.'

The case of the object-complement is the same in an infinitival clause as it is in the finite clause.

(84) Károly-t király-nak koronáz-ni nem lesz könnyű.  
Charles-ACC king-DAT crown-INF not be.FUT.3SG easy  
'To crown Charles king will not be easy.'

- (85) János-t elnök-ké választ-ani hosszadalmas  
 John-ACC president-TRA elect-INF lengthy  
 le-nne.  
 be-CON.3SG

'To elect John president would be a lengthy process.'

In the case of adjectives governing objects in infinitival clauses, both the subject of the clause and the adjective are in the dative, while the object of the adjective remains in the same case as it is in a finite clause.

- (86) Márton-nak nagyon könnyű jó-nak le-nni-e  
 Martin-DAT very easy good-DAT be-INF-3SG  
 fiziká-ból.  
 physics-ELA

'For Martin to be good at physics is very easy.'

#### 2.1.1.3.4. Nominalization

All lexical verbs (but none of the auxiliaries) can have a nominalized form in Hungarian. Nominalized forms employ deverbal nominals derived with *-ás/és*, and the possessive construction, with the possessor's slot being occupied by the subject in the case of intransitive verbs and obligatorily by the object in the case of transitive verbs.

- (87) Ilona meg-érkez-és-e  
 Helen PFX-arrive-NML-POSS.3SG  
 'Helen's arrival'
- (88) a könyv el-olvas-ás-a  
 the book PFX-read-NML-POSS.3SG  
 'the reading of the book'

The subject of a nominalized transitive verb is optionally included in an attributive adjectival phrase involving the adjectival *általi* form of the postposition *által* 'by', or involving the postposition *által* and the active participial form *való* of the verb *van* 'be'.

- (89) a könyv-nek János által-i el-olvas-ás-a  
 the book-DAT John by-ADJDER PFX-read-NML-POSS.3SG  
 'John's reading of the book'
- (90) a könyv-nek János által való el-olvas-ás-a  
 the book-DAT John by be-APRT PFX-read-NML-POSS.3SG  
 'John's reading of the book'

Other arguments of the verb retain their case-marking. Nominalized

constructions involving verbs assigning inherent cases always contain the participle *való*.

- (91) Gyöngyi repülő-vel val-ó meg-érkez-és-e  
 Pearl plane-INS be-APRT PFX-arrive-NML-POSS.3SG  
 'Pearl's arrival by plane'
- (92) Dénes-nek Mártá-ba val-ó bele-szeret-és-e  
 Dennis-DAT Martha-ILL be-APRT into-love-NML-POSS.3SG  
 'Dennis's falling in love with Martha'

Nominalized constructions involving verbs that assign only noninherent cases in addition to an accusative object do not have to contain *való*.

- (93) akapu piros-ra fest-és-e  
 the gate red-SUB paint-NML-POSS.3SG  
 'painting the gate red'

Phrases containing nominalizations can serve as subjects, as arguments governed by verbs, and as adverbial phrases.

- (94) A kapu kék-re fest-és-e egy órá-ig  
 the gate blue-SUB paint-NML-POSS.3SG one hour-TER  
 tart.  
 take.INDEF.3SG  
 'Painting the gate blue takes one hour.'
- (95) János a kincs el-rejt-és-é-t  
 John the treasure PFX-hide-NML-POSS.3SG-ACC  
 javasol-t-a.  
 suggest-PAST-DEF.3SG  
 'John suggested hiding the treasure.'
- (96) Örül-ök Pál váratlan  
 be.happy-INDEF.1SG Paul unexpected  
 meg-érkez-és-é-nek.  
 PFX-arrive-NML-POSS.3SG-DAT  
 'I am happy about Paul's unexpected arrival.'
- (97) A váza el-tör-és-e-kor Éva a szobá-ban  
 the vase PFX-break-NML-POSS.3SG-TEM Eve the room-INE  
 vol-t.  
 be-PAST.3SG  
 'Eve was in the room when the vase was broken.'

## 2.1.1.4. Expressing nonlocal semantic functions

## 2.1.1.4.1. Benefactive

The benefactive is most commonly expressed by the dative in Hungarian. The benefactive cannot be expressed by the copular expression (the equivalent of English 'This is for Bill') in Hungarian. As an attributive element in the noun phrase, the benefactive can be expressed with a passive participial construction.

(98) Dénes virág-ot ad-ott Júliá-nak.  
Dennis flower-ACC give-PAST.INDEF.3SG Julia-DAT  
'Dennis gave flowers to Julia.'

(99) a Dénes-nek köt-ött pulóver  
the Dennis-DAT knit-PPRT sweater  
'the sweater knitted for Dennis'

The meaning 'for the sake of' is expressed by the causal-final *-ért*.

(100) Márta mindez-t János-ért te-tt-e.  
Martha all.this-ACC John-CAU do-PAST-DEF.3SG  
'Martha did all of this for John's sake.'

The postpositions *számára* and *részére*, both meaning 'for', also indicate the benefactive and are used as alternative to dative case-marking. They are used with animate benefactors and mostly only in formal contexts.

(101) Jö-tt egy levél az igazgató  
come-PAST.INDEF.3SG a letter the director  
részére/számára.  
for/for

'A letter came for the director.'  
(102) az igazgató részére jö-tt levél  
the director for come-PPRT letter  
'the letter which came for the director'

The postposition *javára* 'for the good/benefit/favor' also indicates the benefactive. It is also used in sports, to announce results and positive points in games.

(103) Mark le-mond-ott a ház-ról Béla  
Mark down-say-PAST.INDEF.3SG the house-DEL Béla  
javára.  
for.favor  
'Mark renounced the house in Béla's favor.'

- (104) Egyelőre 3:1 a Fradi javára.  
so.far 3 1 the Fradi for.benefit  
'It's 3 to 1 Fradi so far.'
- (105) Szabadrúgás az Újpest javára.  
free.kick the Újpest for.benefit  
'a free kick for Újpest'
- (106) az Újpest javára ítélt szabadrúgás  
the Újpest for.benefit rule-PPRT free.kick  
'the free kick ruled for Újpest'

## 2.1.1.4.2. Source

Source is most commonly expressed with the elative and the ablative, and occasionally with the delative, the three cases which in local functions denote 'motion from'. The selection of the case is determined by the verb: *kap valamit valakitől* 'receive something from someone' (ablative); *nyer valamit valamiből* 'obtain something from something', *fakad valamiből* 'spring/ stem from something', *ered valamiből* 'be derived/originate from something' (all elative); *egy tőről fakad* 'stem from one source (idiomatic)' (delative); *származik valakitől/valahonnan* 'originate/come from somebody/ somewhere' (ablative with human source, and any of the 'motion from' cases with nonhumans and places, as required by the noun—see section 2.1.1.5).

- (107) Ez-t a level-et Györgyi-től  
this-ACC the letter-ACC Georgina-ABL  
kap-t-am.  
receive-PAST-DEF.1SG  
'I received this letter from Georgina.'
- (108) A DNS-t a vér-ből nyer-ik.  
the DNA-ACC the blood-ELA obtain-DEF.3PL  
'DNA is obtained from blood.'
- (109) Pál hibá-ja tudatlanság-ból  
Paul mistake-POSS.3SG ignorance-ELA  
fakad-t.  
stem-PAST.INDEF.3SG  
'Paul's mistake stemmed from his ignorance.'
- (110) Éva Szentes-ről származ-ik, munkáscsalád-ból.  
Eve Szentes-DEL originate-INDEF.3SG worker.family-ELA  
'Eve comes from Szentes, from a working-class family.'

The elative is also used to denote a partitive meaning.

- (111) Eb-ből a tortá-ból kér-ek.  
this-ELA the cake-ELA want-INDEF.1SG  
'I want a slice from this cake.'

The postposition *közül* 'from between/among', used as an alternative to the case suffixes, also indicates source.

- (112) Ez-ek közül a könyv-ek közül  
this-PL from.among the book-PL from.among  
válasz-sz-ál.  
choose-IMP-INDEF.2SG  
'Choose from among these books.'

In copular constructions the same case or postposition is used as in adverbial constructions denoting source.

- (113) Ez a levél Györgyi-től van.  
this the letter Georgina-ABL be.3SG  
'This letter is from Georgina.'

In attributive phrases the passive participle form of the verb is used together with the case it normally requires.

- (114) a Györgyi-től kap-ott levél  
the Georgina-ABL receive-PPRT letter  
'the letter received from Georgina'
- (115) a vér-ből nyer-t DNS  
the blood-ELA obtain-PPRT DNA  
'the DNA obtained from blood'

#### 2.1.1.4.3. Instrumental

The instrumental semantic function is most commonly expressed by the instrumental case in Hungarian.

- (116) A kilincs-et kalapács-csal tör-t-em  
the door.handle-ACC hammer-INS break-PAST-DEF.1SG  
le.  
down  
'I broke off the door handle with a hammer.'
- (117) János a level-et írógép-pel ír-t-a.  
John the letter-ACC typewriter-INS write-PAST-DEF.3SG  
'John wrote the letter with a typewriter.'

(118) Erika János segítség-é-vel jut-ott  
 Erika John help-POSS.3SG-TRA reach-PAST.INDEF.3SG  
 haza.  
 to.home  
 'Erika got home with John's help.'

(119) Vonat-tal vagy repülő-vel utaz-ol Prágá-ba?  
 train-INS or plane-INS travel-INDEF.2SG Prague-ILL  
 'Are you traveling to Prague by train or by plane?'

The instrumental is also expressed with the postpositions *által* 'by, through', *keresztül* 'through', *révén* 'through', and *útján* 'through, by way of, replacing the appropriate case.

(120) A szultán követ által üzen-t  
 the sultan envoy by send.message-PAST.INDEF.3SG  
 nek-ik.  
 DAT-3PL

'The sultan sent a message to them through an envoy.'

(121) A hír-ről egy level útján  
 the news-DEL a letter by.way.of  
 értesül-t-ek.'  
 be.informed-PAST-INDEF.3PL

'They were informed of the news through a letter.'

The negative instrumental is expressed with the postposition *nélkül* 'without'.

(122) Kalapács nélkül tör-t-em le a  
 hammer without break-PAST-DEF.1SG down the  
 kilincs-et.  
 door.handle-ACC

'I broke off the door handle without a hammer.'

Since the instrumental function always requires a lexical verb in Hungarian, it is not possible to express it with a copular expression.

In an attributive construction, the verb is in the passive participle form and its object is in the case required by the verb. Verbs not taking an accusative object (e.g., *utazik* 'travel' or *értesül* 'be informed') cannot be used in an attributive construction.

(123) a kalapács-csal le-tör-t kilincs  
 the hammer-INS down-break-PPRT door.handle  
 'the door handle broken off with the hammer'

- (124) a kalapács nélkül le-tör-t kilincs  
the hammer without down-break-PPRT door.handle  
'the door handle broken off without the hammer'

## 2.1.1.4.4. Comitative

The comitative semantic function is most commonly expressed with the instrumental case in both copular and adverbial constructions.

- (125) Erzsébet Lajos-sal van.  
Elizabeth Louis-INS be.3SG  
'Elizabeth is with Louis.'
- (126) Nem szeret-ek Karcsi-val táncol-ni.  
not like-INDEF.1SG Charlie-INS dance-INF  
'I don't like to dance with Charlie.'

The comitative construction involving the instrumental is also used to express a coordinated phrase involving the speaker, the hearer, or some other person(s).

- (127) Ma a gyerek-ek-vel a park-ban játszottunk.  
today the child-PL-INS the park-INE play-PAST-INDEF.1PL  
'The children and I/we played in the park today.'
- (128) A diák-ok-kal a múzeum-ba ment-étek?  
the student-PL-INS the museum-ILL go-PAST-INDEF.2PL  
'Did you (SG/PL) and the students go to the museum?'
- (129) A kiállítás-t nem néz-t-ék meg a  
the exhibition-ACC not see-PAST-DEF.3PL PFX the  
vendég-ek-vel.  
guest-PL-INS  
'S/he/They and the guests didn't see the exhibition.'

The comitative function is also expressed by the comitative case, but usually when the activity is carrying something or somebody rather than being accompanied by it. The comitative case suffix cannot attach to plural nouns (cf. (132)), and it is ambiguous with respect to number marking in its stem (cf. (131) and (133)).

- (130) Ruhá-stul és cipő-stül feküdt-em az  
clothes-COM and shoe-COM lie-PAST-INDEF.1SG the  
ágy-ban.  
bed-INE  
'I was lying in bed with my clothes and shoes on.'

- (131) Gyerek-estül men-t-ek nyaral-ni.  
child-COM go-PAST-INDEF.3PL vacation-INF  
'They went on vacation with their child/children.'
- (132) \*Kutyá-k-ostul men-t-ek vadász-ni.  
dog-PL-COM go-PAST-INDEF.3PL hunt-INF  
'They went hunting with dogs.'
- (133) a gyerek-estül nyaral-ó házaspár  
the child-COM vacation-APRT married.couple  
'the married couple vacationing with their child/children'

The negative comitative function is expressed with the postposition *nélkül* 'without'.

- (134) A vadász-ok kutyá-k nélkül men-t-ek  
the hunter-PL dog-PL without go-PAST-INDEF.3PL  
vadász-ni.  
hunt-INF  
'The hunters went hunting without dogs.'
- (135) A rendőr fegyver nélkül van.  
the policeman gun without be.3SG  
'The policeman is without a gun.'

The comitative can be expressed in an attributive phrase if the phrase contains a lexical verb. The verb is in the active participial form, and its argument is in the case normally required by the verb.

- (136) a farkas-ok-ra vadász-ó férfi  
the wolf-PL-SUB hunt-APRT man  
'the man hunting wolves'
- (137) a kutyá-k nélkül vadász-ó ember-ek  
the dog-PL without hunt-APRT person-PL  
'the people hunting without dogs'

#### 2.1.1.4.5. Circumstance

Constructions expressing circumstance in Hungarian can only be indicated with attributive phrases or as complements of the copular construction. They usually employ denominal adjectives.

- (138) a piszkos kez-ű férfi  
the dirty hand-ADJDER man  
'the dirty-handed man'

(139) A férfi piszkos kez-ű.  
the man dirty hand-ADJDER  
'The man is dirty-handed.'

(140) a fekete szoknya-s lány  
the black skirt-ADJDER girl  
'the girl with the black skirt' (lit. 'the black-skirted girl')

Negative circumstance is expressed with denominal adjectives derived with the privative suffix.

(141) a fark-atlan macska  
the tail-PRIV cat  
'the cat with no tail'='the tailless cat'

(142) az állás-talan tanár  
the job-PRIV teacher  
'the jobless teacher'

Negative circumstance can also be expressed with the postposition *nélkül* 'without' in a copular expression, or by an adjectival phrase involving the adjective *nélküli*, which is derived from this postposition.

(143) A tanár állás nélkül van.  
the teacher job without be.3SG  
'The teacher is without a job.'

(144) az állás nélkül-i tanár  
the job without-ADJDER teacher  
'the teacher without a job'

#### 2.1.1.4.6. Possessive

The possessive relationship is expressed with personal possessive suffixes (see next section) attached to the thing possessed.

The possessor is either in the nominative or dative case. If it is not specifically emphasized, it is in the nominative (145)–(146), appearing overtly only if it is not a pronominal possessor (145).

(145) a fiú könyv-e  
the boy book-POSS.3SG  
'the boy's book'

(146) a könyv-em  
the book-POSS.1SG  
'my book'

A pronominal possessor is expressed overtly only if it is emphasized.

- (147) Ez az én könyv-em, nem a tiéd.  
 this the I book-POSS.1SG not the yours  
 'This is my book, not yours.'

When the possessive phrase is focussed, the possessor can occur in either the nominative or the dative.

- (148) Az én könyv-em nem vesz-ett el.  
 the I book-POSS.1SG not get.lost-PAST.INDEF.3SG PFX  
 'As for my book, it didn't get lost.'
- (149) Nek-em a könyv-em nem vesz-ett  
 DAT-1SG the book-POSS.1SG not get.lost-PAST.INDEF.3SG  
 el.  
 PFX  
 'As for my book, it didn't get lost.'
- (150) János könyv-e nem vesz-ett el.  
 John book-POSS.3SG not get.lost-PAST.INDEF.3SG PFX  
 'As for John's book, it didn't get lost.'
- (151) János-nak a könyv-e nem vesz-ett  
 John-DAT the book-POSS.3SG not get.lost-PAST.INDEF.3SG  
 el.  
 PFX  
 'As for John's book, it didn't get lost.'

When the possessor but not the possessed nominal is focussed, dative is obligatory in the possessor phrase, and the possessor is moved out of the possessive noun phrase.

- (152) Nek-em nem vesz-ett el a  
 DAT-1SG not get.lost-PAST.INDEF.3SG PFX the  
 könyv-em.  
 book-POSS.1SG  
 'As for me, my book didn't get lost.'
- (153) János-nak nem vesz-ett el a  
 John-DAT not get.lost-PAST.INDEF.3SG PFX the  
 könyv-e.  
 book-POSS.3SG  
 'As for John, his book didn't get lost.'

In the possessive *have*-construction the possessor is expressed with the dative (with the pronominal possessor appearing overtly only when emphasized), the verb is the verb *van* 'be' (agreeing with the thing

possessed in person and number), and the thing possessed is marked with the personal possessive suffix corresponding to the possessor in person and number.

- (154) Ritá-nak szép gyerek-ei van-nak.  
Rita-DAT beautiful child-POSS.3SG.PL be-3PL  
'Rita has beautiful children.'
- (155) Hosszú haj-am van.  
long hair-POSS.1SG be.3SG  
'I have long hair.'
- (156) Nek-em hosszú haj-am van.  
DAT-1SG long hair-POSS.1SG be.3SG  
'As for me, I have long hair.'

There is no difference in Hungarian between alienable and inalienable possession.

When the possessor is referred to as a nominal rather than attributively (e.g., as in 'mine' rather than as in 'my (book)'), the lexical noun phrase indicating the possessor receives the nominal possessive suffix -é (marked by a following -i if the possession is plural) and a pronominal phrase is expressed with the nominal possessive pronoun (see section 2.1.2.3.4).

- (157) Ez-ek a virág-ok Év-é-i, nem Irén-é-i.  
this-PL the flower-PL Eve-POS-PL not Irene-POS-PL  
'These flowers are Eve's, not Irene's.'
- (158) Az a macska az én gyerek-ei-m-é.  
that the cat the I child-POSS.1SG.PL-POS  
'That cat is my children's.'
- (159) Az a kabát az enyém.  
that the coat the mine  
'That coat is mine.'

#### 2.1.1.4.7. Possessed

The thing possessed is marked with the personal possessive suffix in Hungarian.

The possessive suffixes are the following:

<i>Person</i>	<i>Singular</i>	<i>Plural</i>
1st	-m/om/em/öm	-nk/unk/ünk
2nd	-d/od/ed/öd	-(o)tok/(e)tek/(ö)tök
3rd	-(j)a/(j)e	-(j)uk/(j)ük

In the first and second person, nouns ending in vowels receive consonantinitial suffixes, while nouns ending in consonants take vowel-initial

suffixes. In the third person, nouns ending in vowels always take *j*-initial suffixes, while for nouns ending in consonants it is not possible to propose a rule that could adequately predict whether a noun will take a *j*-initial suffix or a *j*-less one.

The paradigms for *autó* 'car', *kabát* 'coat', and *szék* 'chair' are as follows:

Person	Singular	Plural
1st	autóm, kabátom, székem	autónk, kabátunk, székünk
2nd	autód, kabátod, széked	autótok, kabátotok, széketek
3rd	autója, kabátja, széke	autójuk, kabátjuk, székük

Plurality of the thing possessed is marked with the plural possessive suffix *-i*:

Person	Singular	Plural
1st	-im/(j)aim/(j)eim	-ink/(j)aik/(j)eik
2nd	-id/(j)aid/(j)eid	-itok/(j)aitok/(j)eitek
3rd	-i/(j)ai/(j)ei	-ik/(j)aik/(j)eik

Nouns ending in vowels receive *i*-initial suffixes, while for nouns ending in consonants it is impossible to predict morphophonemically whether a noun will take *j*-initial suffixes or *j*-less ones.

The paradigms for *körte* 'pear', *kalap* 'hat', and *könyv* 'book' are the following:

Person	Singular
1st	körtéim, kalapjaim, könyveim
2nd	körtéid, kalapjaid, könyveid
3rd	körtéi, kalapjai, könyvei
Person	Plural
1st	körtéink, kalapjaink, könyveink
2nd	körtéitek, kalapjaitok, könyveitek
3rd	körtéik, kalapjaik, könyveik

The third person plural possessive suffix occurs on the thing possessed only if the possessor is expressed, overtly or covertly, with a pronoun (cf. (160)–(162) and (164)–(165)). If the possessor is expressed with a nominal, the possessed noun is marked with third person singular suffix (cf. (163) and (166)). Note also that the third person plural pronoun is *ő* instead of the usual *ők* 'they' when it indicates a possessor (cf. (161)). When, as in (162), the possessor is marked with the dative, the possessor and the thing possessed cannot be in a single NP (*\*a nekik kutyájuk* 'their dog').

- (160) A kutyá-juk ugat.  
 the dog-POSS.3PL bark.INDEF.3SG  
 'Their dog is barking.'

- (161) Az ő kutyá-juk ugat.  
the they dog-POSS.3PL bark.INDEF.3SG  
'It's their dog that is barking.'
- (162) Nek-ik a kutyá-juk ugat.  
DAT-3PL the dog-POSS.3PL bark.INDEF.3SG  
'It's their dog that is barking.'
- (163) A gyerek-ek kutyá-ja ugat.  
the child-PL dog-POSS.3SG bark.INDEF.3SG  
'The children's dog is barking.'
- (164) Van egy kutyá-juk.  
be.3SG a dog-POSS.3PL  
'They have a dog.'
- (165) Nek-ik van egy kutyá-juk.  
DAT-3PL be.3SG a dog-POSS.3PL  
'They have a dog.'
- (166) A gyerek-ek-nek van egy kutyá-ja.  
the child-PL-DAT be.3SG a dog-POSS.3SG  
'The children have a dog.'

Also see section 1.10 on the possessive.

In the case of plural possessors, a possession marked for the plural is ambiguous between each possessor having one and more than one possession (167), while a singular possession unambiguously indicates each possessor as having only one possession (168).

- (167) Az apá-k fi-ai-k-kal együtt  
the father-PL son-PL-POSS.3PL-INS together  
jö-tt-ek.  
come-PAST-INDEF.3PL  
The fathers came together with their sons=each father came with his son(s).'
- (168) A diplomatá-k feleség-ük-vel együtt  
the diplomat-PL wife-POSS.3PL-INS together  
jö-tt-ek.  
come-PAST-INDEF.3PL  
'The diplomats came together with their wives=each diplomat came with his wife.'

#### 2.1.1.4.8. Quality

Quality is expressed only with attributive phrases, in a way that parallels the expression of circumstance (see 2.1.1.4.5).

(169) a jó ízlés-ű nő  
the good taste-ADJDER woman  
'the woman with good taste'

(170) az ízlés-es terítő  
the taste-ADJDER tablecloth  
'the tasteful tablecloth'

Negative quality is usually also expressed with adjectival phrases involving adjectives derived with the privative suffix *-tlan/tlen/talan/telen/atlan/etlen*.

(171) az ízlés-telen terítő  
the taste-PRIV tablecloth  
'the tasteless tablecloth'

Reference quality is expressed by means of a possessive phrase.

(172) a férfi becsület-e  
the man honor-POSS.3SG  
'the honor of the man'

#### 2.1.1.4.9. Quantity

Quantity is expressed with adjectival phrases involving denominal adjectives derived with *-s/os/es/ös* or *-ú/ű*, in either copular expressions or attributive phrases.

(173) Az a hajó ezer tonnás.  
that the ship thousand ton-ADJDER  
'That ship is a thousand tons.'

(174) a nagy súlyú hajó  
the great weight-ADJDER ship  
'the ship of great weight'

Reference quantity is expressed with adjectival phrases involving uninflected measurement words.

(175) egy kiló kenyér  
a kilogram bread  
'a kilogram of bread'

(176) három liter tej  
three liter milk  
'three liters of milk'

(177) néhány tábla csokoládé  
some bar chocolate  
'a few bars of chocolate'

tíz szál rózsza  
ten stem rose  
'ten roses'

#### 2.1.1.4.10. Material

Material can be expressed in two alternative ways: by compound nouns formed with adjectival phrases involving underived adjectives, or by attributive phrases containing the passive participle.

- (179) Ez egy téglaház.  
this a brick.house  
'This is a brick house.'
- (180) Ez egy téglá-ból épül-t ház.  
this a brick-ELA build-PPRT house  
'This is a house built of bricks.'

Negative material is expressed by attributive phrases containing the passive participle and the postposition *nélkül* 'without'.

- (181) Ez egy szög-ek nélkül fel-épít-ett fatemplom.  
this a nail-PL without PFX-build-PPRT wood.church  
'This is a wooden church built without nails.'

#### 2.1.1.4.11. Manner

Manner is expressed with adverbial elements or attributive phrases, employing several cases. The modal-essive, the essive, and the modal are attached to adjectives to express manner.

The essive is used with names of languages to express 'speak/ understand/write/read, etc. in language x'. It is also used with several qualitative adjectives, especially with those denoting negative qualities (182).

- (182) Halk-an beszélget-t-ünk.  
quiet-MOE talk-PAST-INDEF.1PL  
'We were talking quietly.'
- (183) Az a férfi magyar-ul beszél vagy  
that the man Hungarian-ESS speak.INDEF.3SG or  
finn-ül?  
Finnish-ESS  
'Is that man speaking Hungarian or Finnish?'

- (184) a hanyag-ul dolgoz-ó ember  
the careless-ESS work-APRT person  
'the person working carelessly'
- (185) A bírák egyhangú-lag dönt-ött-ek.  
the referee-PL unanimous-MOD decide-PAST-INDEF.3PL  
'The referees decided unanimously.'

Of the cases that can express manner on nouns, the instrumental and the inessive are most common.

- (186) rokon-ok örö-m-el fogad-t-ák a  
the relative-PL joy-INS receive-PAST-DEF.3PL the  
hír-t.  
news-ACC  
'The relatives received the news with joy.'
- (187) Dénes szenvedély-lyel ölel-t-e meg  
Dennis passion-INS embrace-PAST-DEF.3SG PFX  
Mártá-t.  
Martha-ACC  
'Dennis embraced Martha with passion.'
- (188) Attila csend-ben ki-men-t a szobá-ból.  
Attila silence-INE out-go-PAST.INDEF.3SG the room-ELA  
'Attila left the room quietly.'
- (189) A barát-ok harag-ban vál-t-ak el.  
the friend-PL anger-INE part-PAST-INDEF.3PL PFX  
'The friends parted in anger.'

The relative also sometimes expresses manner.

- (190) A diák-ok szív-ből utál-t-ák a  
the student-PL heart-ELA hate-PAST-DEF.3PL the  
tornatanár-t.  
gym.teacher-ACC  
'The students hated the gym teacher wholeheartedly.'

The postpositions *módra* and *módjára*, both meaning 'in the mode/ manner of', also express manner.

- (191) Az férfi angol módra tart-ott-a a vill-át.  
the man English in.mode hold-PAST-DEF.3SG the fork-ACC  
'The man held the fork in the English manner.'

- (192) A kutya farkas módjára üvölt-ött.  
 the dog wolf in. mode howl-PAST.INDEF.3SG.  
 'The dog howled like a wolf.'

Manner is often expressed with the adverbial participle.

- (193) A nő sikoltoz-va szalad-t ki a  
 the woman scream-SCVB run-PAST.INDEF.3SG out the  
 ház-ból.  
 house-ELA  
 'The woman ran out of the house screaming.'
- (194) A kislány ugrál-va men-t le a  
 the little.girl hop-SCVB go-PAST.INDEF.3SG down the  
 lépcső-n.  
 steps-SUP  
 'The little girl hopped down the steps.' (lit. 'went hopping')
- (195) a lépcső-n ugrál-va le-men-ő kislány  
 the steps-SUP hop-SCVB down-go-APRT little.girl  
 'the little girl hopping down the steps'

There are numerous adverbs that express manner as well, among them *egyedül* 'alone', *együtt* 'together', *külön* 'separately', *hirtelen* 'suddenly', and *gyalog* 'on foot'.

- (196) Ők mindig külön utaz-nak.  
 they always separately travel-INDEF.3PL  
 'They always travel separately.'
- (197) Az apá-m gyalog jár mindenhova.  
 the father-POSS.1SG on.foot go.INDEF.3SG to.everywhere  
 'My father walks everywhere.' (lit. 'goes on foot')
- (198) a mindig külön utaz-ó ember-ek  
 the always separately travel-APRT person-PL  
 'the people always traveling separately'

Negative manner can be expressed by the postposition *nélkül* 'without' or by adjectives derived with the privative suffix and inflected for essive.

- (199) Dénes szenvedély nélkül ölel-t-e meg  
 Dennis passion without embrace-PAST-DEF.3SG PFX  
 Mártá-t.  
 Martha-ACC  
 'Dennis embraced Martha without passion.'

- (200) a Mártá-t szenvedély nélkül meg-ölel-ő  
the Martha-ACC passion without PFX-embrace-APRT  
férfi  
man  
'the man embracing Martha without passion'
- (201) Attila szó-tlan-ul men-t ki a szobá-ból.  
Attila word-PRIV-ESS go-PAST.INDEF.3SG out the room-ELA  
'Attila left the room without a word.'

## 2.1.1.4.12. Cause

Cause is expressed in Hungarian by copular constructions, attributive phrases, and adverbial phrases. These employ a number of cases, as well as postpositional phrases and adverbs.

The cases that most commonly express cause are the elative and the ablative.

- (202) Júlia majdnem össze-és-ett a fáradtság-tól.  
Julia almost PFX-fall-PAST.INDEF.3SG the exhaustion-ABL  
'Julia almost collapsed with exhaustion.'
- (203) Éva gyávaság-ból nem ül-t fel a  
Eve cowardice-ELA not sit-PAST.INDEF.3SG up the  
hullámvasút-ra.  
roller.coaster-SUB  
'Eve didn't go on the roller coaster out of cowardice.'
- (204) a hullámvasút-ra gyávaság-ból fel nem ül-ő lány  
the roller.coaster-SUB cowardice-ELA up not sit-APRT girl  
'the girl not going on the roller coaster out of cowardice'

The inessive is used with names of diseases to express cause of death.

- (205) Pál nagymamá-ja rák-ban hal-t  
Paul grandmother-POSS.3SG cancer-INE die-PAST.INDEF.3SG  
meg.  
PFX  
'Paul's grandmother died of cancer.'
- (206) Pál-nak a rák-ban meg-hal-t nagynén-je  
Paul-DAT the cancer-INE PFX-die-PPRT aunt-POSS.3SG  
'Paul's aunt who died of cancer'

The causal is used to express 'in exchange' type of cause.

- (207) Csaba minden hibá-ért meg-büntet-i a  
Csaba every mistake-CAU PFX-punish-DEF.3SG the  
fi-á-t.  
son-POSS.3SG-ACC  
'Csaba punishes his son for every mistake.'

The most commonly used postposition expressing cause is *miatt* 'because of'. Other causal postpositions are *fogva* and *folytán*, both meaning 'as a result of', *nyomán* 'on the basis of', and *következtében* 'as a consequence of'.

- (208) A bolt betegség miatt van zár-va.  
the shop illness because.of be.3SG close-SCVB  
'The shop is closed because of illness.'
- (209) a betegség miatt be-zár-t bolt  
the illness because.of in-close-PPRT shop  
'the shop closed because of illness'
- (210) Rita a baleset-e következtében  
Rita the accident-POSS.3SG as.consequence.of  
sántít.  
limp.INDEF.3SG  
'Rita is limping as a consequence of her accident.'

Adverbial participles can also sometimes express cause.

- (211) Meg-ijed-vén a kutya-tól, a fiú  
PFX-frighten-PCVB the dog-ABL the boy  
el-szalad-t.  
away-run-PAST.INDEF.3SG  
'Frightened by the dog, the boy ran away.'

#### 2.1.1.4.13. Purpose

Purpose is expressed with various cases, postpositional phrases, infinitival clauses, and imperative-subjunctive clauses in Hungarian. The relevant constructions comprise adverbial and attributive phrases as well as copular constructions.

The cases that are most commonly used to express purpose are the causal-final, the sublative, and the allative.

- (212) Miklós el-men-t a könyvtár-ba egy  
Nicholas away-go-PAST.INDEF.3SG the library-ILL a  
könyv-ért.  
book-CAU  
'Nicholas went to the library for a book.'
- (213) Hány forint-ot kap-ok egy dollár-ért?  
how.many forint-ACC get-INDEF.1SG one dollar-CAU  
'How many forints do I get for a dollar?'
- (214) Éva az új kalap-já-t ve-tt-e fel az  
Eve the new hat-POSS.3SG-ACC take-PAST-DEF.3SG up the  
ünnepség-re.  
ceremony-SUB  
'Eve wore her new hat for the ceremony.'
- (215) Ma hal lesz vacsorá-ra.  
today fish be.FUT.3SG dinner-SUB  
'There will be fish for dinner today.'
- (216) Az orvos be-mosakod-ott a műtét-hez.  
the doctor in-wash-PAST.INDEF.3SG the operation-ALL  
'The doctor scrubbed in for the operation.'
- (217) Ez a gép a műtét-hez van.  
this the machine the operation-ALL be.3SG  
'This machine is for the operation.'
- (218) a műtét-hez be-mosakod-ott orvos  
the operation-ALL into-wash-PPRT doctor  
'the doctor scrubbed in for the operation'

The postposition *végett* 'with the purpose/aim of' also expresses purpose.

- (219) Hévíz-re utaz-om gyógykezelés végett.  
Hévíz-SUB travel-INDEF.1SG medical.treatment with.purpose  
'I'm going to Hévíz for medical treatment.'

Infinitival clauses are a common means of expressing purpose.

- (220) Márta étterem-be men-t vacsoráz-ni.  
Martha restaurant-ILL go-PAST.INDEF.3SG dine-INF  
'Martha went to the restaurant to dine.'

- (221) Andrea el-küld-t-e Pál-t az  
 Andrea away-send-PAST-DEF.3SG Paul-ACC the  
 ajándék-ot meg-ve-nni.  
 present-ACC PFX-buy-INF  
 'Andrea sent Paul to buy the present.'

Clauses involving the imperative-subjunctive are also used to express purpose in Hungarian.

- (222) Az-ért men-t haza, hogy  
 that-CAU go-PAST.INDEF.1SG to.home that  
 dolgoz-z-on.  
 work-IMP-INDEF.3SG  
 'S/he went home to work.'
- (223) A baba az-ért sír-t, hogy rá  
 the baby that-CAU cry-PAST.INDEF.3SG that SUB.3SG  
 figyel-j-ünk.  
 pay.attention-IMP-INDEF.1PL  
 'The baby was crying in order that we pay attention to him/  
 her.'

#### 2.1.1.4.14. Function

Function is indicated by the dative case in adverbial and attributive phrases.

- (224) Az-t a pulóver-t használ-t-am párná-nak.  
 that-ACC the sweater-ACC use-PAST-DEF.1SG pillow-DAT  
 'I used that sweater as a pillow.'
- (225) a párná-nak használ-t pulóver  
 the pillow-DAT use-PPRT sweater  
 'the sweater used for a pillow'
- (226) András a vágódeszká-t használ-t-a tálcá-nak.  
 Andrew the cutting.board-ACC use-PAST-DEF.3SG tray-DAT  
 'Andrew used the cutting board as a tray.'

#### 2.1.1.4.15. Reference

Reference is expressed by the delative case when verbs of communication such as *szól* 'be about, mention', *beszél* 'speak', *ír* 'write', *gondolkodik* 'think' are used. Several other verbs of communication, e.g., *(el)mond* and

(*el*)*mesél*, both meaning 'relate', (*el*)*magyaráz* 'explain', and (*meg*)*említ* 'mention', take the accusative to express reference. The copular construction cannot be used to express reference in Hungarian.

- (227) Szól-t-am Dénes-nek az új munká-ról.  
mention-PAST-INDEF.1SG Dennis-DAT the new job-DEL  
'I told Dennis about the new job.'
- (228) Ez a film a vadnyugat-ról szól.  
this the movie the Wild.West-DEL be.about.INDEF.3SG  
'This movie is about the Wild West.'
- (229) a vadnyugat-ról szól-ó könyv  
the Wild.West-DEL be.about-APRT book  
'the book about the Wild West'
- (230) El-mesél-t-ük nek-i a baleset-et.  
PFX-relate-PAST-DEF.1PL DAT-3SG the accident-ACC  
'We related the accident to him/her.'
- (231) El-magyaráz-t-am nek-ik a múlt-am-at.  
PFX-explain-PAST-DEF.1SG DAT-3PL the past-POSS.1SG-ACC  
'I explained (about) my past to them.'

#### 2.1.1.4.16. Essive

The essive semantic function is expressed with the formal and essive-formal cases through adverbial and attributive phrases.

- (232) Azelőtt tolmács-ként dolgoz-t-am az ENSZ-ben.  
that.before interpreter-ESF work-PAST-INDEF.1SG the UN-INE  
'I worked as an interpreter at the UN before then.'
- (233) a tolmács-ként dolgoz-ó nő  
the interpreter-ESF work-APRT woman  
'the woman working as an interpreter'
- (234) Ez-t példa-képpen említem.  
this-ACC example-FOR mention-DEF.1SG  
'I mention this as an example.'

## 2.1.1.4.17. Translative

The translative function is expressed with the dative and the translative cases. Verbs such as *(ki)kiált* 'proclaim', *(ki)nevez* 'appoint', *(meg)koronáz* 'crown', *(meg)tesz* 'make', *(fel)szentel* 'ordain', and *(meg)választ* 'elect' take both dative and translative: without their perfective prefixes, *ki-*, *meg-*, and *fel-*, they usually take a translative object-complement; together with the prefix they can take either the dative or the translative.

Translative phrases can be either adverbial or attributive.

- (235) Gábor-t ki-nevez-t-ük  
Gabriel-ACC PFX-appoint-PAST-DEF.1PL  
tanzékvezető-nek.  
department.head-DAT  
'We appointed Gabriel head of the department.'
- (236) Gábor-t ki-nevez-t-ék  
Gabriel-ACC PFX-appoint-PAST-DEF.3PL  
tanzékvezető-vé.  
department.head-TRA  
'Gabriel was appointed head of the department.'
- (237) a tanzékvezető-vé ki-nevez-ett  
the department.head-TRA PFX-appoint-PPRT  
férfi  
man  
'the man appointed department head'
- (238) Gábor-t tanzékvezető-nek választ-ott-ák.  
Gabriel-ACC department.head-DAT elect-PAST-DEF.3PL  
'Gabriel was elected head of the department.'

## 2.1.1.4.18. Part-whole

Part-whole relations are expressed with the possessive construction in Hungarian.

- (239) a macska fül-e  
the cat ear-POSS.3SG  
'the cat's ear'
- (240) a fa tete-je  
the tree top-POSS.3SG  
'the top of the tree'

**2.1.1.4.19.1. Partitive numeral** Partitive numerals are expressed with the postposition *közül* 'from among' with the numeral in the modal-essive case if it refers to humans, and the numeral in the nominative if it refers to nonhumans. Partitive numerals can only be used as adverbial phrases.

(241) A fiú-k közül kett-en szóké-k.  
the boy-PL from.among two-MOE blond-PL  
'Two of the boys are blond.'

(242) A könyv-ek közül három  
the book-PL from.among three  
el-tűn-t.  
PFX-disappear-PAST.INDEF.3PL  
'Three of the books disappeared.'

**2.1.1.4.19.2. Nonpartitive numeral** Nonpartitive numerals are expressed with numerals used attributively, and the noun they modify in the singular.

(243) három fiú  
three boy  
'three boys'

(244) nyolc polc  
eight shelf  
'eight shelves'

**2.1.1.4.19.3. Partitive quantifier** Partitive quantifiers are expressed in two ways in Hungarian.

When the partitive quantifiers *sok* 'many', *néhány* 'some', and *kevés* 'few' are used, similarly to partitive numerals, they are accompanied by the postposition *közül* 'from among', with the quantifier phrase in the modalessive if it refers to humans and in the nominative if it refers to non-humans. Partitive quantifier phrases are always adverbial. Noncount nouns cannot be used with partitive quantifiers.

(245) a gyerek-ek közül néhány-an/sok-an/keves-en  
the child-PL from.among some-MOE/many-MOE/few-MOE  
'some/many/few of the children'

(246) a kutya-k közül néhány/sok/kevés  
the dog-PL from.among some/many/few  
'some/many/few of the dogs'

When the quantifiers *mindegyik* 'each' and *fél* 'half' are used, they receive third person singular possessive suffixes.

- (247) a lány-ok mindegyik-e/fel-e  
the girl-PL each-POSS.3SG/half-POSS.3SG  
'each/half of the girls'
- (248) a szék-ek mindegyik-e/fel-e  
the chair-PL each-POSS.3SG/half-POSS.3SG  
'each/half of the chairs'
- (249) a tej fel-e  
the milk half-POSS.3SG  
'half of the milk'

**2.1.1.4.19.4. Nonpartitive quantifier** Nonpartitive quantifiers are used attributively in Hungarian, with the noun in the singular.

- (250) néhány diák  
some student  
'some students'
- (251) sok naptár  
many calendar  
'lots of calendars'

Nonpartitive quantifiers can also be used with noncount nouns.

- (252) sok tej  
much milk  
'a lot of milk'
- (253) kevés víz  
little water  
'little water'
- (254) egy kis sajt  
a little cheese  
'a little cheese'

**2.1.1.4.19.5. Partitive negative quantifier** Partitive negative quantifiers are expressed with the postposition *közül* 'from among' and the negative quantifier phrase *egyik sem* 'none' (lit. 'one neither'), in adverbial phrases only.

- (255) a fiú-k közül egyik sem  
the boy-PL from. among one neither  
'none of the boys'
- (256) az asztal-ok közül egyik sem  
the table-PL from.among one neither  
'none of the tables'

**2.1.1.4.19.6. Nonpartitive negative quantifier** If the negated noun is a count noun, negation in the nonpartitive construction is expressed with the numeral *egy* 'one' and the negative element *sem*, or with the negation of the verb.

- (257) Egy fiú sem jö-tt.  
one boy neg come-PAST.INDEF.3SG  
'Not one boy came.'='No boy came.'
- (258) Fiú-k nem jö-tt-ek.  
boy-PL not come-PAST-INDEF.3PL  
'Boys didn't come.'='No boys came.'

If the negated noun is noncount, negation in the nonpartitive construction can be expressed only with the negation of the verb.

- (259) Sajt-ot nem ve-tt-em.  
cheese-ACC not buy-PAST-INDEF.1SG  
'I didn't buy cheese.'='I bought no cheese.'

#### 2.1.1.4.20. Price

Price is expressed in Hungarian with the causal-final case in an adverbial or an attributive phrase.

- (260) A kompjúter-em-et ezer dollár-ért  
the computer-POSS.1SG-ACC thousand dollar-CAU  
ve-tt-em.  
buy-PAST-DEF.1SG  
'I bought my computer for a thousand dollars.'
- (261) az ezer dollár-ért ve-tt kompjúter  
the thousand dollar-CAU buy-PPRT computer  
'the computer bought for a thousand dollars'

#### 2.1.1.4.21. Value

Value is expressed with attributive phrases or as the accusative object of the verb *ér* 'be worth' in Hungarian. The attributive phrase can involve a denominal adjective derived with *-s/os/es/ös*, the participle *érvő* 'worth', or the denominal adjectival phrase *értékű* 'of value'.

- (262) Ez az óra tíz dollár-t ér.  
this the watch ten dollar-ACC be.worth.INDEF.3SG  
'This watch is worth ten dollars.'
- (263) Ez egy tíz dollár-os óra.  
this a ten dollar-ADJDER watch  
'This is a ten-dollar watch.'

(264) Ez egy tíz dollár-t ér-ő óra.  
 this a ten dollar-ACC be.worth-APRT watch  
 'This is a watch worth ten dollars.'

(265) Ez egy tíz dollár érték-ű óra.  
 this a ten dollar value-ADJDER watch  
 'This is a watch of ten-dollar value.'

#### 2.1.1.4.22. Distance

Distance is expressed in various ways in Hungarian.

The sublative case is used to express relative distance between points.

(266) Az ágy két centiméter-re van a fal-tól.  
 the bed two centimeter-SUB be.3SG the wall-ABL  
 'The bed is two centimeters from the wall.'

(267) a fal-tól két centiméter-re áll-ó ágy  
 the wall-ABL two centimeter-SUB stand-APRT bed  
 'the bed standing two centimeters from the wall'

(268) Innen egy saroknyi-ra van egy bolt.  
 from.here one corner.length-SUB be.3SG a store  
 'There is a store one block from here.'

(269) A polc-ot öt centi-re el-tol-t-uk.  
 the shelf-ACC five centimeter-SUB away-push-PAST-DEF.1PL  
 'We moved the shelf five centimeters.'

(270) a fal-tól öt centi-re el-tol-t polc  
 the wall-ABL five centimeter-SUB away-push-PPRT shelf  
 'the shelf pushed away from the wall by five centimeters'

Verbs of motion take the accusative to express distance.

(271) Két kilométer-t fut-ott-am.  
 two kilometer-ACC run-PAST-INDEF.1SG  
 'I ran two kilometers.'

(272) Péter hatszáz méter-t úsz-ott.  
 Peter six.hundred meter-ACC swim-PAST.INDEF.3SG  
 'Peter swam six hundred meters.'

(273) A csiga egy méternyi-t men-t egy óra  
 the snail a meter.length-ACC go-PAST.INDEF.3SG an hour  
 alatt.  
 under  
 'The snail moved a meter in an hour.'

With other verbs, distance is referred to with the postpositions *keresztül* and *át*, both meaning 'through, across'.

- (274) Az autó tíz méter-en át tol-t-a a  
the car ten meter-SUP across push-PAST-DEF.3SG the  
szeker-et.  
cart-ACC

'The car pushed the cart for ten meters.'

#### 2.1.1.4.23. Extent

Extent is expressed with attributive phrases or copular expressions.

- (275) Ez az asztal három méter hosszú.  
this the table three meter long  
'This table is three meters long.'
- (276) egy három méter hosszú asztal  
a three meter long table  
'a table three meters long'
- (277) a negyvenkét emelet magas épület  
the forty-two story high building  
'the forty-two-story building'
- (278) a két méter mély medence  
the two meter deep pool  
'the two-meter-deep pool'

If the adjectives *hosszú*, *magas*, etc. are omitted in the adjectival phrase, the denominal measurement phrases derived with *-s/os/es/ös* are used.

- (279) Ez az asztal három méter-es.  
this the table three meter-ADJDER  
'This table is three meters long.'
- (280) egy három méter-es asztal  
a three meter-ADJDER table  
'a table three meters long'
- (281) a negyvenkét emelet-es épület  
the forty-two story-ADJDER building  
'the forty-two-story building'
- (282) a két méter-es medence  
the two meter-ADJDER pool  
'the two-meter-deep pool'

## 2.1.1.4.24. Concessive

The concessive relationship is expressed with the postpositions *ellenére* and *dacára*, both meaning 'despite', used as adverbial phrases.

- (283) Az eső ellenére mindenki itt volt.  
the rain despite everyone here be-PAST.3SG  
'Everyone was here despite the rain.'

## 2.1.1.4.25. Inclusion

Inclusion is expressed with the adverbial participle *beleértve* 'including' and the postposition *együtt* 'together' forming adverbial phrases.

- (284) Mindenki itt van, János-t is beleértve.  
everyone here be.SG John-ACC too including  
'Everyone is here including John.'

- (285) Péter-rel együtt mindenki itt van.  
Peter-INS together everyone here be.3SG  
'Everyone is here, including Peter.'

## 2.1.1.4.26. Exclusion

Exclusion is expressed with the postpositions *kivéve* and *kivételével*, both meaning 'except, excluding', and the participial phrase *nem számítva* 'not counting'.

- (286) Mindenki itt van, Mária-t kivéve.  
every here be.3SG Maria-ACC except  
'Everyone is here except Maria.'

- (287) Mária kivételével mindenki itt van.  
Maria except everyone here be.3SG  
'Everyone is here except Maria.'

- (288) Mária-t nem számít-va mindenki itt van.  
Maria-ACC not count-SCVB everyone here be.3SG  
'Everyone is here, not counting Maria.'

## 2.1.1.4.27. Addition

Addition is expressed with the postposition *kívül* 'besides' used in an adverbial phrase.

- (289) János-on kívül három ember van itt.  
John-SUP besides three person be.3SG here  
'Three people are here besides John.'

## 2.1.1.4.28. Vocative

The vocative particle is *ó*, but its use is optional in vocative sentences. The addressee is expressed with the nominative case.

- (290) Ó, Attila, ez-t miért csinál-t-ad?  
oh Attila this-ACC why do-PAST-DEF.2SG  
'Oh, Attila, why did you do this?'
- (291) Imád-lak, Tímea!  
adore-1SG.2OBJ Tímea  
'I adore you, Tímea!'

## 2.1.1.4.29–30. Citation and label forms

In Hungarian the nominative is used for citation and label forms.

## 2.1.1.5. Local semantic functions

Local semantic functions are expressed with several cases, postpositions, adverbs, and universal and partitive pronouns. Hungarian differentiates very strictly between expressing 'at rest', 'motion to', and 'motion from'. The 'motion past' semantic functions are normally identical with the expression of 'at rest'. In Hungarian there is no difference between motion past a long object in the direction of its length and in the direction at right angles to its length.

The locative case has a very restricted use in Hungarian: it is used to express the 'at rest' function in the case of a handful of Hungarian city names, e.g., *Székesfehérvár-t* 'in Székesfehérvár', *Győr-ött* 'in Győr', *Pécs-ett* 'in Pécs', and *Vác-ott* 'in Vác'. The other local cases, however, can be used even with these city names to denote the 'at rest' function—the use of inessive or superessive (the cases used to express 'at rest' with placenames) with these city names is prevalent in modern Hungarian: *Székesfehérvár-on*, *Pécs-en*, *Vác-on* (all superessive), and *Győr-ben* (inessive).

The remaining nine local cases indicate the three major functions of 'at rest', 'motion to', and 'motion from' in the following configuration:

	<i>Motion from</i>	<i>At rest</i>	<i>Motion to</i>
<i>Interior</i>	elative -ból/ből	inessive -ban /ben	illative -ba/be
<i>Exterior</i>	ablative -tól/től	adessive -nál/nél	allative -hoz/hez/höz
<i>Surface</i>	delative -ról/ről	superessive -n/on/en/ön	sublative -ra/re

In addition to their basic meaning indicating interior, exterior, or surface, the local cases all have some restricted usage with names of institutions and placenames: only one set of the cases (only one row, in terms of the table above) can cooccur with each. For instance, the noun *iskola* 'school' takes the interior cases, as in *az iskolából jön* 'come from school' (elative), *az iskolában van* 'be at school' (inessive), and *az iskolába megy* 'go to school' (illative), while the noun *állomás* 'station' takes the surface cases, as in *az állomásról jön* 'come from the station' (ablative), *az állomás-on van* 'be at the station' (superessive), and *az állomás-ra megy* 'go to the station'. The majority of the names of Hungarian cities, towns, and villages (as well as of names of places that at one time constituted part of Hungary), take the surface cases, e.g., *Budapest-ről* 'from Budapest', *Budapest-en* 'in Budapest', and *Budapest-re* 'to Budapest', while the rest of Hungarian placenames as well as all foreign city names take the interior cases, e.g., *Debrecen-ből* 'from Debrecen', *Boston-ból* 'from Boston', *Debrecen-ben* 'in Debrecen', *Boston-ban* 'in Boston', *Debrecen-be* 'to Debrecen', and *Boston-ba* 'to Boston'.

Postpositions, the universal and partitive pronouns, and some of the adverbs indicating location also strictly refer to the function of 'motion from', 'at rest', and 'motion to', e.g.:

	<i>Motion from</i>	<i>At rest</i>	<i>Motion to</i>
<i>Postpositions</i>			
'near'	<i>mellől</i>	<i>mellett</i>	<i>mellé</i>
'in front of'	<i>elől</i>	<i>előtt</i>	<i>elé</i>
'behind'	<i>mögül</i>	<i>mögött</i>	<i>mögé</i>
'over, above'	<i>fölül</i>	<i>felett, fölött</i>	<i>fölé</i>
'below, under'	<i>alól</i>	<i>alatt</i>	<i>alá</i>
'between, among'	<i>közül</i>	<i>között</i>	<i>közé</i>
'around'	—	<i>körül</i>	<i>köré</i>
<i>Universal and partitive pronouns</i>			
'somewhere'	<i>valahonnan</i>	<i>valahol</i>	<i>valahova</i>
'anywhere'	<i>akárhonnan</i>	<i>akárhol</i>	<i>akárhova</i>
	<i>bárhonnan</i>	<i>bárhol</i>	<i>bárhova</i>
'everywhere'	<i>mindenhonnan</i>	<i>mindenhol</i>	<i>mindenhova</i>
'nowhere'	<i>sehonnan</i>	<i>sehol</i>	<i>sehova</i>
<i>Adverbs</i>			
'here'	<i>innen</i>	<i>itt</i>	<i>ide</i>
'there'	<i>onnan</i>	<i>ott</i>	<i>oda</i>

To combine local cases and postpositions with personal pronouns, e.g., to express 'in me' and 'behind you', etc., the possessive personal suffixes are attached to the case-markers and postpositions: the only morpho-

phonemic difference between the possessives of nouns and possessive forms of postpositions is that postpositions take *a* as a connecting vowel when a back connecting vowel is required (as opposed to the *o* connecting vowel in nouns in such cases, cf. *város-om* 'my city' and *alól-am* 'from under me'). The postpositions receive the possessive suffixes in a very regular way morphologically, so only two sets will be illustrated here, those for *mellől* 'from near' and *alatt* 'under'.

	<i>mellől</i>	
1SG	<i>mellőlem</i>	'from near me'
2SG	<i>mellőled</i>	'from near you'
3SG	<i>mellőle</i>	'from near him/her/it'
1PL	<i>mellőlünk</i>	'from near us'
2PL	<i>mellőletek</i>	'from near you (PL)'
3PL	<i>mellőlük</i>	'from near them'
	<i>alatt</i>	
1SG	<i>alattam</i>	'under me'
2SG	<i>alattad</i>	'under you'
3SG	<i>alatta</i>	'under him/her/it'
1PL	<i>alattunk</i>	'under us'
2PL	<i>alattatok</i>	'under you (PL)'
3PL	<i>alattuk</i>	'under them'

For the pronominal forms of the various local cases, see section 2.1.2.1.20.5.

In addition to the local cases, the terminative case is also used to express a local function. Its meaning in locatives is 'up to' or 'as far as'.

(292) A labda a fá-ig gurul-t.  
the ball the tree-TER roll-PAST.INDEF.3SG  
'The ball rolled up to the tree.'

(293) Ez a vonat csak Budapest-ig megy.  
this the train only Budapest-TER go.INDEF.3SG  
'This train goes only as far as Budapest.'

All location functions can be expressed with attributive and adverbial phrases. The phrases denoting 'at rest' functions can also be copular complements.

#### 2.1.1.5.1. General location

As explained above, the basic meanings of the three sets of local cases are interior, exterior, and surface, so there is no way of describing general location in Hungarian.

'Motion past' is expressed with the postposition *mellett* 'near, at'.

- (294) El-men-t-ünk Budapest mellett.  
 PFX-go-PAST-INDEF.1PL Budapest near  
 'We passed by Budapest.'

Direction is expressed in Hungarian with the postpositions *felé* 'towards' and *felől* 'from the direction of', as well as the third person singular possessive form *irány-a* of the noun *irány* 'direction' inflected for the elative (*irány-á-ból* 'from the direction of') or the illative (*irány-á-ba* 'into the direction of').

- (295) Az ember-ek a templom felől  
 the person.PL the church from.direction.of  
 jö-tt-ek.  
 come-PAST-INDEF.3PL  
 'The people were coming from the direction of the church.'
- (296) A férfi a templom irány-á-ba  
 the man the church direction-POSS.3SG-ILL  
 fut-ott.  
 run-PAST.INDEF.3SG  
 'The man was running in the direction of the church.'
- (297) a templom irány-á-ból közeled-ő  
 the church direction-POSS.3SG-ELA approach-APRT  
 ember-ek  
 person-PL  
 'the people approaching from the direction of the church'

#### 2.1.1.5.2. Proximate location

Proximate location can be expressed with the postpositions *mellől* 'from near', *mellett* 'near', *mellé* 'to near', and *közel* 'near, not far', with the exterior cases, the ablative, the adessive, and the allative, or with the forms of *közel* inflected for possessive and the interior cases.

- (298) Ez a bokor nem látsz-ik a garázs mellől.  
 this the bush not be.seen-INDEF.3SG the garage from.near  
 'You can't see this bush from near the garage.'
- (299) Az iskola a színház mellett van.  
 the school the theater near be.3SG  
 'The school is near the theater.'
- (300) A kutya a tévé mellé men-t.  
 the dog the TV to.near go-PAST.INDEF.3SG  
 'The dog went (to) near the TV.'

- (301) Az iskola a színház-hoz közel van.  
the school the theater-ALL nearby be.3SG  
'The school is near the theater.'
- (302) Az iskola a színház-nál van.  
the school the theater-ADE be.3SG  
'The school is by the theater.'
- (303) a színház-nál lev-ő iskola  
the theater-ADE be-APRT school  
'the school by the theater'
- (304) A labda a fal-hoz gurul-t.  
the ball the wall-ALL roll-PAST.INDEF.3SG  
'The ball rolled to the wall.'
- (305) A labda el-gurul-t a fal-tól.  
the ball away-roll-pt.INDEF.3SG the wall-ABL  
'The ball rolled away from the wall.'
- (306) Az iskola valahol a színház közel-é-ben van.  
the school somewhere the theater near-POSS.3SG-INE be.3SG  
'The school is somewhere in the vicinity of the theater.'

## 2.1.1.5.3. Interior location

Interior location is expressed with the interior cases (the inessive, the illative, and the elative) as well as the third person singular possessive form *belse-je* of the noun *belső* 'inside' inflected for the interior cases (*belse-jé-ben* 'in the inside of', *belse-jé-be* 'into the inside of', and *belse-jé-ből* 'from the inside of').

- (307) A toll a fiók-ban van.  
the pen the drawer-INE be.3SG  
'The pen is in the drawer.'
- (308) A toll-at a fiók-ba tesz-em.  
the pen-ACC the drawer-ILL put-DEF.1SG  
'I put the pen into the drawer.'
- (309) A toll-at ki-vesz-em a fiók-ból.  
the pen-ACC out-take-DEF.1SG the drawer-ELA  
'I take the pen out of the drawer.'
- (310) a fiók-ban lév-ő toll  
the drawer-INE be-APRT pen  
'the pen in the drawer'

(311) A hiba a motor belse-jé-ben van.  
 the problem the engine inside-POSS.3SG-INE be.3SG  
 'The problem is inside the engine.'

'Motion past' for the interior location is expressed with the postpositions *át* and *keresztül*, both meaning 'through, across' (312), or with a construction involving the prefix *át-* 'through, across' and the superessive case (313).

(312) Át-men-t-ünk a város-on keresztül.  
 across-go-PAST-INDEF.1PL the city-SUP through  
 'We went through the city.'

(313) A madár át-repül-t a szobá-n.  
 the bird through-fly-PAST.INDEF.3SG the room-SUP  
 'The bird flew across the room.'

All names of continents, countries, counties, all foreign cities and towns, and mountains take the interior cases to express location, with three exceptions—*Antarktisz* 'Antarctica', *Arktisz* 'Arctic', and *Magyarország* 'Hungary'—which take the surface cases (superessive, delative, and sublative). The word *utca* 'street' also takes interior cases, except when something is described as being on the sidewalk or pavement.

(314) Tavaly Angliá-ban vol-t-am nyaral-ni.  
 last.year England-INE be-PAST-1SG vacation-INF  
 'Last year I was in England for a vacation.'

(315) Mikor mész London-ba?  
 when go.INDEF.2SG London-ILL  
 'When are you going to London?'

(316) Ez a hajó Európá-ból jön.  
 this the ship Europe-ÉLA come.INDEF.3SG  
 'This ship is coming from Europe.'

(317) az Európá-ba men-ő hajó  
 the Europe-ILL go-APRT ship  
 'the ship going to Europe'

(318) A nagybátyá-m Cheshire-ben lak-ik.  
 the uncle-POSS.1SG Cheshire-INE live-INDEF.3SG  
 'My uncle lives in Cheshire.'

(319) Én eb-ben az utcá-ban lak-om.  
 I this-INE the street-INE live-INDEF.1SG  
 'I live in this street.'

(320) Ilyen fa nincs az Ural-ban.  
 such tree not.be.3SG the Ural-INE  
 'There are no such trees in the Urals.'

The words *tér* 'city square', *sugárút* and *út* 'avenue', and *körút* 'boulevard' take the surface cases to express location.

(321) Lajos a Bartók tér-en lak-ik.  
 Louis the Bartók square-SUP live-INDEF.3SG  
 'Louis lives in Bartók Square.'

Some of the Hungarian city and town names taking interior cases to express location are the following: *Badacsony*, *Debrecen*, *Eger*, *Észtergom*, *Győr*, *Marcali*, *Sopron*, and *Tihany*. In addition to these, two of the towns and cities that used to be part of Hungary (and therefore have native Hungarian names) also take interior cases: *Brassó* (Brasov, Romania) and *Pozsony* (Bratislava, Slovakia).

(322) Ez a vonat Debrecen-be megy.  
 this the train Debrecen-ILL go.INDEF.3SG  
 'This train goes to Debrecen.'

Most of the Hungarian city and town names, however, take the surface cases to express location. Some of these are *Aggtelek*, *Baja*, *Balatonfüred*, *Békéscsaba*, *Budapest*, *Cegléd*, *Fertőd*, *Gyula*, *Hévíz*, *Hódmezővásárhely*, *Kaposvár*, *Kecskemét*, *Keszthely*, *Kőszeg*, *Makó*, *Nyíregyháza*, *Pannonhalma*, *Pápa*, *Pécs*, *Siklós*, *Siófok*, *Szarvas*, *Szeged*, *Szekszárd*, *Szentendre*, *Szigetvár*, *Szolnok*, *Szombathely*, *Tata*, *Vác*, *Visegrád*, and *Zalaegerszeg*. Some formerly Hungarian cities and towns that take exterior cases are *Arad* (Arad, Romania), *Kassa* (Košice, Slovakia), *Kolozsvár* (Cluj-Napoca, Romania), *Munkács* (Mukachevo, Ukraine), *Nagybánya* (Baia Mare, Romania), *Nagyszeben* (Sibiu, Romania), *Szabadka* (Subotica, Yugoslavia), *ungvár* (Uzhgorod, Ukraine), and *újvidék* (Novi Sad, Yugoslavia).

(323) Az a vonat Szeged-re megy.  
 that the train Szeged-SUB go.INDEF.3SG  
 'That train goes to Szeged.'

Names of institutions most commonly take interior cases to express location. Some of them are *áruház* 'department store', *bolt* 'store', *üzlet* 'store', *iskola* 'school', *kórház* 'hospital', *könyvtár* 'library', *mozi* 'movie theater', *söröző* 'beer bar', and *színház* 'theater'.

(324) Sára a bolt-ban van.  
 Sara the store-INE be.3SG  
 'Sara is in the store.'

Other institutions, like *állomás* 'station', *egyetem* 'university', *főiskola* 'college', *kiállítás* 'exhibition', and *tanszék* 'university department', take the surface cases.

- (325) Sára az egyetem-en van.  
Sara the university-SUP be.3SG  
'Sara is at the university.'

#### 2.1.1.5.4. Exterior location

Exterior location is expressed with the exterior local cases, the adessive, the ablative, and the allative, and the postpositions *kívül* 'outside', *kívülről* 'from outside', and *kívül-re* 'to outside'.

- (326) A kutya a fal-nál alsz-ik.  
the dog the wall-ADE sleep-INDEF.3SG  
'The dog is sleeping by the wall.'
- (327) a fal-nál lév-ő lámpa  
the wall-ADE be-APRT lamp  
'the lamp by the wall'
- (328) A kutya a fal-hoz megy.  
the dog the wall-ALL go.INDEF.3SG  
'The dog goes up to the wall.'
- (329) A kutya az ajtó-tól szalad.  
the dog the door-ABL run.INDEF.3SG  
'The dog is running from the door.'
- (330) A busz a város-on kívül-re megy.  
the bus the city-SUP outside-SUB go.INDEF.3SG  
'The bus is going to outside the city.'

'Motion past' is expressed with the postposition *mellett* 'near, at'.

- (331) A kutya a garázs mellett szalad.  
the dog the garage near run.INDEF.3SG  
'The dog runs past the garage.'
- (332) a garázs mellett szalad-ó kutya  
the garage near run-APRT dog  
'the dog running past the garage'

#### 2.1.1.5.5. Anterior location

Anterior location is expressed with the postpositions *előtt* 'in front of', *elől* 'from in front of', and *elé* 'to in front of'.

- (333) A fa a ház előtt van.  
the tree the house in.front.of be.3SG  
'The tree is in front of the house.'
- (334) A macska az autó elől szalad.  
the cat the car from.in.front.run.INDEF.3SG  
'The cat is running from in front of the car.'
- (335) az autó elől szalad-ó macska  
the car from.in.front run-APRT cat  
'the cat running from in front of the car'
- (336) A férfi a csónak elé úsz-ott.  
the man the boat to.in.front.swim-PAST.INDEF.3SG  
'The man swam (to) in front of the boat.'

## 2.1.1.5.6. Posterior location

Posterior location is expressed with the postpositions *mögött* 'behind', *mögé* 'to behind', and *mögül* 'from behind'.

- (337) A pohár az üveg-ek mögött van.  
the glass the bottle-PL behind be.3SG  
'The glass is behind the bottles.'
- (338) Andrea a ház mögé men-t.  
Andrea the house to.behind go-PAST.INDEF.3SG  
'Andrea went behind the house.'
- (339) A gyerek-ek az iskola mögül szalad-t-ak  
the child-PL the school from.behind run-PAST-INDEF.3SG  
ide.  
to.here  
'The children ran here from behind the school.'
- (340) az iskola mögül ide-szalad-ó gyerek-ek  
the school from.behind to.here-run-APRT child-PL  
'the children running here from behind the school'

## 2.1.1.5.7. Superior location

Superior location is expressed with the postpositions *felett* and *fölött*, both meaning 'above, over', *fölül* 'from above', and *fölé* 'to above'.

- (341) A tükör a mosdó fölött van.  
the mirror the sink above be.3SG  
'The mirror is above the sink.'

- (342) A repülő fel-száll-t a város fölé.  
the plane up-fly-PAST.INDEF.3SG the city to.above  
'The plane flew up above the city.'
- (343) A könyv-et a lexikon fölül ve-tt-em  
the book-ACC the dictionary from.above take-PAST-DEF.1SG  
le.  
down  
'I took the book down from above the dictionary.'

## 2.1.1.5.8. Superior-contact and surface location

Superior-contact and surface locations are expressed with the surface cases—the superessive, the delative, and the sublative.

- (344) A hajó a tenger-en van.  
the ship the sea-SUP be.3SG  
'The ship is on the sea.'
- (345) A könyv-et a polc-ra tesz-em.  
the book-ACC the shelf-SUB put-DEF.1SG  
'I put the book on the shelf.'
- (346) Fel-vesz-em a pohar-at az asztal-ról.  
up-take-DEF.1SG the glass-ACC the table-DEL  
'I pick up the glass from the table.'

## 2.1.1.5.9. Inferior location

Inferior location is expressed with the postpositions *alatt* 'under, below', *alól* 'from under/below', and *alá* 'to under/below'.

- (347) A macska az autó alatt alsz-ik.  
the cat the car under sleep-INDEF.3SG  
'The cat is sleeping under the car.'
- (348) A kulcs-ot a lábtörő alá tesz-em.  
the key-ACC the doormat to.under put-DEF.1SG  
'I'm putting the key under the doormat.'
- (349) Ki-vesz-em a szőnyeg-et a tévé alól.  
out-take-DEF.1SG the rug-ACC the TV from.under  
'I'll get the rug out from under the TV.'

## 2.1.1.5.11. Lateral location

Lateral location is expressed with the postpositions *mellett* 'near, at', *mellől* 'from near', and *mellé* 'to near'. See examples in sections 2.1.1.5.2 and 2.1.1.5.4.

## 2.1.1.5.13. Citerior location

Citerior location is expressed with the third person singular possessive form *oldal-a* of the noun *oldal* 'side' inflected for the exterior or the surface cases.

(350) Péter az asztal-nak ez-en az oldal-á-n  
Peter the table-DAT this-SUP the side-POSS.3SG-SUP

ül.

sit.INDEF.3SG

'Peter sits on this side of the table.'

(351) Az asztal-nak ah-hoz az oldal-á-hoz  
the table-DAT that-ALL the side-POSS.3SG-ALL

ül-t-em.

sit-PAST-INDEF.1SG

'I sat down on that side of the table.'

## 2.1.1.5.15. Ulterior location

Ulterior location is expressed with the postpositions *túl* 'beyond', *túlra* 'to beyond', and *túlról* 'from beyond' in Hungarian.

(352) A város a folyó-n túl van.  
the town the river-SUP beyond be.3SG

'The town is beyond the river.'

(353) Az ember-ek a folyó-n túl-ról jön-nek.  
the person-PL the river-SUP beyond-DEL come-INDEF.3PL

'The people are coming from beyond the river.'

(354) A vonat a hegy-ek-en túl-ra megy.  
the train the mountain-PL-SUP beyond-SUB go.INDEF.3SG

'The train is going beyond the mountains.'

## 2.1.1.5.17. Medial location

Medial location is expressed with the postpositions *között* 'between, among', *közül* 'from between/among', and *közé* 'to between/among'.

- (355) A kismacska a virág-ok között alsz-ik.  
the kitten the flower-PL among sleep-INDEF.3SG  
'The kitten is sleeping among the flowers.'
- (356) Ki-válogat-om az almá-k közül a  
out-choose-DEF.1SG the apple-PL from.among the  
rossz-ak-at.  
bad-PL-ACC  
'I'll get the bad ones out from among the apples.'
- (357) Péter két teherautó közé parkol-t be.  
Peter two truck to.among park-PAST.INDEF.3SG in  
'Péter parked his car in between two trucks.'

## 2.1.1.5.19. Circumferential location

Circumferential location is expressed with the postpositions *körül* 'around' and *köré* 'to around'.

- (358) A gyerek-ek a tanár körül áll-t-ak.  
the child-PL the teacher around stand-PAST-INDEF.3PL  
'The children were standing around the teacher.'
- (359) A gyerek-ek a tanár körül szaladgál-t-ak.  
the child-PL the teacher around run-PAST-INDEF.3PL  
'The children were running around the teacher.'
- (360) A gyerek-ek a tanár köré áll-t-ak.  
the child-PL the teacher to.around stand-PAST-INDEF.3PL  
'The children formed a circle around the teacher.'

## 2.1.1.5.20. Citerior-anterior location

Citerior-anterior location is expressed in two ways: with the postpositions *szemben* 'opposite', *szembe* 'to opposite', and *szemből* 'from opposite', or with the derived adjectives *szemközti* and *szembeni*, both meaning 'opposite', and the local case appropriate to the head noun.

- (361) Az iskola a színház-zal szemben van.  
the school the theater-INS opposite be.3SG  
'The school is opposite the theater.'

- (362) János a színház-zal szemben-i épület-be  
 John the theater-INS opposite-ADJDER building-ILL  
 megy.  
 go.INDEF.3SG  
 'John is going into the building opposite the theater.'

#### 2.1.1.6. Location in time

There are only two cases, the temporal and the iterative, that only express location in time in Hungarian adverbial elements. In addition to these, several other cases, postpositions, and adverbs are also used to express location in time.

##### 2.1.1.6.1. General

As complements of copular constructions, phrases referring to time are in the nominative.

- (363) Hétfő/Február/1996 van.  
 Monday/February/1996 be.3SG  
 'It is Monday/February/1996.'

As adverbial and attributive phrases they are usually assigned a case other than the nominative, as discussed in detail below.

**2.1.1.6.1.1. Time of day** Time of day is expressed with the temporal case when it is indicated with time on the clock or with the noun *éjfél* 'mid-night'. It is expressed with the inessive in the case of the noun *dél* 'noon'.

Attributive forms of time expressions involving *óra* 'o'clock' are derived with *-s*, while those involving *éjfél* and *dél* are derived with *-i*.

- (364) A film hét-kor kezdőd-ik.  
 the movie seven-TEM start-INDEF.3SG  
 'The movie starts at seven o'clock.'
- (365) a hét órá-s film  
 the seven o'clock-ADJDER movie  
 'the seven o'clock movie'
- (366) a hét-kor kezdőd-ő film  
 the seven-TEM start-APRT movie  
 'the movie starting at seven'
- (367) Pál este hat óra-kor érkez-ett.  
 Paul evening six o'clock-TEM arrive-PAST.INDEF.3SG  
 'Paul arrived at six o'clock in the evening.'

- (368) Pál éjfél-kor érkezett.  
Paul midnight-TEM arrive-PAST.INDEF.3SG  
'Paul arrived at midnight.'
- (369) Pál dél-ben érkezett.  
Paul noon-INE arrive-PAST.inef.3SG  
'Paul arrived at noon.'
- (370) a dél-i vonat  
the noon-ADJDER train  
'the noon train'

**2.1.1.6.1.2. Period of day** The period of day is expressed with uninflected nouns in the case of *reggel* 'morning', *délelőtt* 'late morning' (from approximately 9:00 a.m. until noon), *délután* 'afternoon', *este* 'evening', *éjjel* and *éjszaka*, both meaning 'night'; the inessive is used with the noun *hajnal* 'night, early morning' (from approximately 3:00 to 5:30 a.m.).

As attributive constructions, phrases expressing the period of the day can be participial or adjectival forms (derived with *-i*) of the nouns indicating the given period of the day.

- (371) Pál reggel/este/hajnal-ban  
Paul morning/evening/early.morning-INE  
érkezett.  
arrive-PAST.INDEF.3SG  
'Paul arrived in the morning/evening/early morning.'
- (372) az éjszaka érkező vonat  
the night arrive-APRT train  
'the train arriving at night'
- (373) az éjszaka-i vonat  
the night-ADJDER train  
'the night train'

**2.1.1.6.1.3. Day of the week** The day of the week is expressed with the name of the day in the superessive; except for Sunday, which is in the nominative.

As attributive constructions, phrases expressing days of the week can be participial or employ adjectival forms (derived with *-i*) of the names of the days.

- (374) Júlia hétfő-n/kedd-en/csütörtök-ön  
 Julia Monday-SUP/Tuesday-SUP/Thursday-SUP  
 indul.  
 leave.INDEF.3SG  
 'Julia is leaving on Monday/Tuesday/Thursday.'
- (375) Júlia vasárnap indul.  
 Julia Sunday leave.INDEF.3SG  
 'Julia is leaving on Sunday.'
- (376) a péntek-en be-fejeződ-ő konferencia  
 the Friday-SUP PFX-end-APRT conference  
 'the conference ending on Friday'
- (377) a péntek-i tanácskozás  
 the Friday-ADJDER meeting  
 'the Friday meeting'

The word *hét* 'week' requires the superessive case in adverbial expressions, while in attributive phrases it is derived with *-i*.

- (378) Ez-en a hét-en nem dolgoz-om.  
 this-SUP the week-SUP not work-INDEF.1SG  
 'I'm not working this week.'
- (379) a múlt het-i TV műsor  
 the last week-ADJDER TV guide  
 'last week's TV guide'

**2.1.1.6.1.4. Month of the year** Months of the year, as well as the word *hónap* 'month', receive the inessive case in Hungarian. Attributive forms of the names of months are formed with the derivational suffix *-i*. The attributive form of *hónap* is *havi*.

- (380) Anna október-ben szület-ett.  
 Anna October-INE be.born-PAST.INDEF.3SG  
 'Anna was born in October.'
- (381) az eb-ben a hónap-ban nyíl-ó virág-ok  
 the this-INE the month-INE bloom-APRT flower-PL  
 'the flowers blooming this month'
- (382) a december-i hó  
 the December-ADJDER snow  
 'December snow'
- (383) a jövő hav-i fizetés  
 the next month-ADJDER pay  
 'next month's pay'

**2.1.1.6.1.5. Year** Years receive the inessive case in Hungarian. Attributive forms of years are formed with the derivational suffix *-s/os/es/ös*.

- (384) Ágnes 1964-ben született.  
 Anges 1964-INE be.born-PAST.INDEF.3SG  
 'Agnes was born in 1964.'
- (385) egy 1976-os újság  
 a 1976-ADJDER newspaper  
 'a newspaper from 1976'

**2.1.1.6.1.6. Festivals** Festivals receive the temporal case, and are derived with *-i* in attributive phrases.

- (386) Karácsony-kor esett a hó.  
 Christmas-TEM fall-PAST.INDEF.3SG the snow  
 'It snowed at Christmas.'
- (387) Katalin-nap-kor jönnek a rokonok.  
 Catherine-day-TEM come-INDEF.3PL the relative-PL  
 'The relatives are coming on St. Catherine's Day.'
- (388) a húsvét-i tojás  
 the Easter-ADJDER egg  
 'the Easter egg'

**2.1.1.6.1.7. Seasons** In adverbial phrases *nyár* 'summer' and *tél* 'winter' receive the superessive case, while *ősz* 'autumn' and *tavas* 'spring' receive the instrumental. The attributive forms for all four are derived with *-i*.

- (389) Nyár-on nagyon meleg van.  
 summer-SUP very hot be.3SG  
 'It is very hot in the summer.'
- (390) Tavasz-szal sok virág nyílik.  
 spring-INS many flower bloom-INDEF.3SG  
 'Lots of flowers bloom in the spring.'
- (391) Az őszi levelek nagyon szép-ek.  
 the autumn-ADJDER leaf-PL very beautiful-PL  
 'Autumn leaves are very beautiful.'

#### 2.1.1.6.2. Frequentative

Frequentative expressions employ the iterative and the distributive cases. Such expressions exist for words denoting periods of time such as periods of the day, days of the week, and seasons, as well as phrases involving the words *nap* 'day', *hét* 'week', *hónap* 'month', and *év* 'year'.

Days of the week can take only the distributive, while the remaining time expressions can receive either the iterative or the distributive with identical meaning.

- (392) Az újság csak hétfő-nként jelen-ik meg-  
the newspaper only Monday-DIS appear-INDEF.3SG PFX  
'The newspaper is only published on Mondays.'
- (393) Pista reggel-ente/reggel-enként úsz-ni jár.  
Steve morning-ITE/morning-DIS swim-INF go.INDEF.3SG  
'Steve goes for a swim every morning.'

#### 2.1.1.6.3. Punctual-future

Punctual-future is expressed with the postposition *múlva* 'past' in Hungarian. Attributive phrases involving *múlva* can only be participial.

- (394) Egy óra múlva itt vagy-ok.  
one hour past here be-1SG  
'I'll be here in an hour.'
- (395) az öt perc múlva érkez-ő repülő  
the five minute past arrive-APRT plane  
'the plane arriving in five minutes'

#### 2.1.1.6.4. Punctual-past

Punctual-past is expressed with the postpositions *ezelőtt* 'before this' and *azelőtt* 'before that'. *Ezelőtt* is used in referring a point in time to the moment of speaking, while *azelőtt* is used to refer a point in time prior to the moment of speaking. In attributive phrases these propositions are derived with *-i*.

- (396) Csaba két perc-cel ezelőtt jö-tt.  
Csaba two minute-INS this.before come-PAST.INDEF.3SG  
'Csaba came two minutes ago.'
- (397) a két nap-pal azelőtt-i koncert  
the two day-INS that.before-ADJDER concert  
'the concert two days ago'

#### 2.1.1.6.5. Duration

Duration phrases referring to an action that is still going on are formed with the third person singular possessive form of the time phrase in question.

- (398) Két év-e lak-om itt.  
two year-POSS.3SG live-INDEF.1SG here  
'I've been living here for two years.'

Duration phrases referring to a completed past action are expressed with the terminative.

- (399) Attila három hét-ig vol-t Párizs-ban.  
Attila three week-TER be-PAST.3SG Paris-INE  
'Attila was in Paris for three weeks.'

Duration phrases referring to an action to be completed are indicated with the sublative.

- (400) Nóra két hónap-ra men-t Moszkvá-ba.  
Nora two month-SUB go-PAST.INDEF.3SG Moscow-ILL  
'Nora went to Moscow for two months.'

The equivalent of the durative phrase of the 'within x time' employs the postposition *alatt* 'under' in Hungarian.

- (401) Zoltán egy óra alatt meg-ír-t-a a  
Zoltán an hour under PFX-write-PAST-DEF.3SG the  
level-et.  
letter-ACC  
'Zoltán completed writing the letter in an hour.'

#### 2.1.1.6.6–7. Anterior-duration

Anterior-duration is expressed with the terminative case in Hungarian, regardless of whether it refers to the past or the future.

- (402) Semmi nem történ-t szerdá-ig.  
nothing not happen-PAST.INDEF.3SG Wednesday-TER  
'Nothing happened until Wednesday.'

- (403) Péntek-ig valami történ-ni fog.  
Friday-TER something happen-INF FUT.INDEF.3SG  
'Something is going to happen before Friday.'

#### 2.1.1.6.8. Posterior-duration-past

Posterior-duration-past is expressed with the postposition *óta* 'since'

- (404) Hat óra óta vár-unk.  
six o'clock since wait-INDEF.1PL  
'We have been waiting since six o'clock.'

(405) a kedd óta hiányzó tanuló  
the Tuesday since be.absent-APRT student  
'the student absent since Tuesday'

2.1.1.6.9. Posterior-duration-future

Posterior-duration-future can be expressed either with the postposition *után* 'after' or the ablative case.

(406) Kilenc után otthon lesz-ek.  
nine after at.home be.FUT-1SG  
'I'll be at home after nine.'

(407) Kilenc-től otthon lesz-ek.  
nine-ABL at.home be.FUT-1SG  
'I'll be at home from nine on.'

2.1.1.6.10. Anterior-general

Anterior is expressed with the postposition *előtt* 'before'.

(408) Nyolc előtt az irodá-ban vol-t-am.  
eight before the office-INE be-PAST-1SG  
'I was in the office before eight.'

2.1.1.6.12. Point in period-past

Point in period-past is expressed with phrases involving the participial adjective *elmúlt* 'past' and a time phrase with the postposition *alatt* 'under' or in the inessive case.

(409) Az elmúlt egy órá-ban senki nem  
the past one hour-INE nobody not  
telefonál-t.  
phone-PAST.INDEF.3SG  
'Nobody called in the past hour.'

(410) Az elmúlt két nap alatt senki nem  
the past two day under nobody not  
telefonál-t.  
phone-PAST.INDEF.3SG  
'Nobody called in the past two days.'

## 2.1.1.6.13. Point in period-future

Point in period-future is expressed with the postposition *belül* 'within'.

- (411) A vendég-ek öt perc-en belül meg-érkez-nek.  
 the guest-PL five minute-SUP within PFX-arrive-INDEF.3PL  
 'The guests will arrive within five minutes.'

## 2.1.1.7. Double case-marking

In dialectal and nonstandard speech case-marking is sometimes doubled on the accusative forms of the third person singular pronoun *ő* and the determiners *ez* 'this' and *az* 'that' as *ő-t-et*, *ez-t-et*, and *az-t-at*, and the pronominal forms of the adessive case as *nál-am-nál*, *nál-ad-nál*, *nál-á-nál*, etc. Historically more widespread, such forms are, however, not considered to be correct in modern Standard Hungarian.

## 2.1.1.8. Number marking

## 2.1.1.8.1. Number marking in nouns

The Hungarian number marking system uses the singular-plural opposition, of which only the plural is marked.

**2.1.1.8.1.1. Singular-plural** Singular number is unmarked in Hungarian. The plural is marked with *-i* in possessives (to mark the plurality of the possessed nominal) and with *-k* everywhere else. Plural marking is always inside any case-marking.

- (412) könyv-ek  
 book-PL  
 'books'
- (413) Attila autó-i  
 Attila car-POSS.3SG.PL  
 'Attila's cars'

The derivational suffix *-ék* denotes groups of people collectively, and refers to the person denoted and those whom the speaker and hearer associate with that person, usually family members or friends. Such nouns take plural verbs.

- (414) Péter-ék  
 Peter-COL  
 'Peter and his friend(s)/family'

(415) Kovács-ék nem jön-nek.  
Kovács-COL not come-INDEF.3PL  
'The Kovácses aren't coming.'

#### 2.1.1.8.2. Obligatoriness of number marking

Plural is obligatorily unmarked in Hungarian when a noun is modified with an attributive numeral denoting plurality.

(416) két/néhány könyv  
two/some book  
'two/some books'

(417) Attila három lány-a  
Attila three daughter-POSS.3SG  
'Attila's three daughters'

Body parts occurring in pairs (as well as teeth), and pieces of clothing belonging to such body parts, are usually referred to in the singular in Hungarian.

(418) El-fárad-t a szem-em.  
PFX-get.tired-PAST.INDEF.3SG the eye-POSS.1SG  
'My eyes got tired.'

(419) Ve-tt-em egy szép barna cipő-t.  
buy-PAST-INDEF.1SG a nice brown shoe-ACC  
'I bought a pair of nice brown shoes.'

#### 2.1.1.8.5. Collective nouns

Most Hungarian collective nouns are formed with the derivational suffix *-ság/ség*, which is added to singular forms of nouns referring to one entity, e.g., *katonaság* 'army' from *katona* 'soldier' and *rendőrség* 'police' from *rendőr* 'policeman'. Others, like *család* 'family', *klub* 'club', and *bizottság* 'committee', form singulatives by compounding with the noun *tag* 'member'—*családtag* 'family member', *klubtag* 'member of the club' and *bizottsági tag* 'committee member'—and have regular plurals. Several borrowed collective nouns have corresponding borrowed singulatives, like *arisztokrácia* 'aristocracy' and *proletariátus* 'proletariat' existing along with *arisztokrata* 'aristocrat' and *proletár* 'proletarian'.

#### 2.1.1.8.6. Means of number marking

The plural morpheme *-k* has five allomorphs for marking nouns: *-k*, *-ok*, *-ak*, *-ek*, and *-ök*.

The *-k* allomorph appears on nouns ending in vowels: *olló—ollók* 'scissors—pairs of scissors', *alma—almák* 'apple—apples', *körte—körték* 'pear—pears'.

The vowel-initial allomorphs attach to nouns ending in consonants, with the alternation determined by vowel harmony: *-ok* on back vowel stems like *város—városok* 'town—towns', *-ak* on a few monomorphemic back vowel stems like *ház—házak* 'house—houses' (such nouns require the *a* connecting vowel with the accusative and possessive suffixes as well, e.g., *házat* 'house-ACC', *házam* 'my house'), *-ek* on stems with unrounded front vowels, e.g., *gyerek—gyerekek* 'child—children', and *-ök* on stems whose last vowel is a rounded front vowel, e.g., *gyümölcs—gyümölcsök* 'fruit—fruits'. For more details see the section on vowel harmony in Chapter 3.

The plural allomorphs used with adjectives are usually *-ak/ek*: *okos—okosak* 'clever—clever ones', *szép—szépek* 'nice—nice ones'. Some exceptions are *nagy—nagyok* 'big' and *boldog—boldogok* 'happy'.

#### 2.1.1.8.7. Number marking of foreign words

All foreign and borrowed words are assigned a *-k* plural in Hungarian, e.g., *lift—liftek* 'elevator—elevators', *szon—szonok* 'chanson—chansons'.

Several words borrowed in plural form are singular in Hungarian and receive *-k* plurals: *klipsz—klipszek* '(ear) clip—clips', *notesz—noteszok* '(small) notebook—notebooks', *bricsesz—bricseszok* 'breeches—pairs of breeches'.

#### 2.1.1.9. Noun classes

Hungarian nouns are not divided into classes or genders.

Gender is indicated only on some names of professions through compounding with the noun *nő* 'woman', as in *király* 'king' and *királynő* 'queen', *színész* 'actor' and *színésznő* 'actress', *orvos* '(male) doctor' and *orvosnő* 'female doctor', and *ápoló* 'male nurse' and *ápolónő* 'nurse'.

A small number of nouns have masculine and feminine counterparts, like *aglegény* 'bachelor' and *vénlány* 'spinster', *szerzetes* 'monk' and *apáca* 'nun', and *úr* 'gentleman' and *hölgy* 'lady'.

#### 2.1.1.10. Definiteness in noun phrases

All proper nouns and noun phrases involving a definite article are definite noun phrases in Hungarian. The definiteness or indefiniteness of the object is crucial in determining the conjugation of the verb (see section 2.1.3.6).

- (420) Nem lát-om Péter-t.  
not see-DEF.1SG Peter-ACC  
'I don't see Peter.'
- (421) Nem lát-om a fiú-t.  
not see-DEF.1SG the boy-ACC  
'I don't see the boy.'

Definiteness is not marked on nouns by affixation. Phrases whose head is a possessed noun, however, always behave like definite noun phrases whether or not they are preceded by a definite article.

- (422) Lát-om egy rendőr feleség-é-t.  
see-DEF.1SG a policeman wife-POSS.3SG-ACC  
'I see a policeman's wife.'
- (423) Lát-om anyá-m-at.  
see-DEF.1SG mother-POSS.1SG-ACC  
'I see my mother.'
- (424) Lát-om a kutyá-m-at.  
see-DEF.1SG the dog-POSS.1SG-ACC  
'I see my dog.'

Nominals marked with the unique identification suffix *-ik* are also definite in Hungarian (see section 2.1.1.15). Some proper names are always preceded by the definite article *a* or *az*: names of lakes, rivers, seas, oceans, and canals, e.g., *az Erie tó* 'Lake Erie', *a Duna* 'the Danube', *a Fekete tenger* 'the Black Sea', *az Atlanti óceán* 'the Atlantic Ocean', *a Szezi csatorna* 'the Suez Canal'; names of mountains and mountain ranges, e.g., *a Mont Everest* 'Mount Everest', *a Sziklás hegység* 'the Rockies', and *az Ural* 'the Urals'; names of newspapers and journals, e.g., *a Népszabadság* 'Népszabadság', *a The Times* 'The Times', *a Magyar Nyelv* 'Magyar Nyelv', *a Language in Society* 'Language in Society'; names of universities and other institutions, e.g., *a Budapesti Műszaki Egyetem* 'the Technical University of Budapest', *a Yale* 'Yale University', *a Harvard* 'Harvard University', and *a Nemzeti Múzeum* 'the National Museum'; names of streets and city squares, e.g., *a Váci utca* 'Váci Street', *a Times Square* 'Times Square'; and, exceptionally, *az Arktisz* 'the Arctic', and *az Antarktisz* 'Antarctica'.

In colloquial usage personal names are also often preceded by the definite article.

- (425) Hol van a János?  
where be.3SG the John  
'Where is John?'

(426) Lát-t-ák a Clinton-t.  
 see-PAST-DEF.3PL the Clinton-ACC  
 'They have seen Clinton.'

Abstract nouns are most often preceded by the definite article:

(427) Szeret-em a szabadság-ot.  
 like-DEF.1SG the freedom-ACC  
 'I like freedom.'

(428) A tanulás fontos.  
 the education important  
 'Education is important.'

#### 2.1.1.11. Indefiniteness in noun phrases

Indefiniteness in a noun phrase is indicated by the indefinite article *egy* and by absence of an article.

(429) Lát-ok egy kutyá-t.  
 see-INDEF.1SG a dog-ACC  
 'I see a dog.'

(430) Tej-et vesz-ek.  
 milk-ACC buy-INDEF.1SG  
 'I'm buying milk.'

Incorporated argumental preverbs when they express objects are also usually articleless and therefore indefinite (see section 2.1.3.6.12).

(431) Andrea újság-ot olvas.  
 Andrea newspaper-ACC read.INDEF.3SG  
 'Andrea is reading a newspaper. (= 'newspaper-reading')

Among proper names, the following do not receive articles: names of continents, countries, states, counties, cities, towns and villages, e.g., *Európa* 'Europe', *Oroszország* 'Russia', *Dél-Dakota* 'South Dakota', *Csongrád megye* 'Csongrád County', *Budapest* 'Budapest', *Velence* 'Venice', and *Szóreg* 'Szóreg'.

Subject- and object-complements normally do not receive articles in Hungarian.

(432) Diák vagy-ok.  
 student be-1SG  
 'I am a student.'

(433) Peti-t választ-ott-ák kapus-nak.  
 Pete-ACC choose-PAST-DEF.3PL goalkeeper-DAT  
 'They chose Pete to be the goalkeeper.'

In discourse, entities often appear with no article when they are first mentioned.

- (434) Tűzoltóautó áll-t meg a ház előtt.  
 fire.truck stop-PAST.INDEF.3SG PFX the house in.front.of  
 'A fire truck has stopped in front of the house.'

#### 2.1.1.12. Referential and nonreferential indefiniteness

Referential and nonreferential indefiniteness are both expressed with the indefinite article in Hungarian.

Nonreferential indefiniteness can also be indicated by the attributive use of the pronouns *valami* and *valamilyen* 'some kind' with both count and noncount nouns, the former in both singular and plural.

- (435) Béla talál-t valamilyen könyv-(ek)-et a  
 Béla find-PAST.INDEF.3SG some.kind book-(PL)-ACC the  
 padlás-on.  
 attic-SUP

'Béla found some book(s) in the attic.'

- (436) Gyula valami rossz sör-t iv-ott.  
 Julius some bad beer-ACC drink-PAST.INDEF.3SG  
 'Julius drank some bad beer or other.'

#### 2.1.1.13. Genericness in noun phrases

Generic reference can be indicated with a definite singular or plural noun phrase.

- (437) A hód a víz-ben él.  
 the beaver the water-INE live.INDEF.3SG  
 'The beaver lives in the water.'

- (438) A hód-ok víz-ben él-nek.  
 the beaver-PL water-INE live-INDEF.3PL  
 'Beavers live in the water.'

- (439) Szeret-em az almá-t.  
 like-DEF.1SG the apple-PL  
 'I like apples.'

- (440) Szeret-em a gyerekek-et.  
 like-DEF.1SG the child-PL-ACC  
 'I like children.'

Noncount nouns are always definite in generic reference.

- (441) A tej fehér.  
the milk white  
'Milk is white.'
- (442) A velencei üveg gyönyörű.  
the Venetian glass gorgeous  
'Venetian glass is gorgeous.'

In partitive generic reference the plural form of a noncount noun is also preceded by the definite article.

- (443) A magyar bor-ok híres-ek.  
the Hungarian wine-PL famous-PL  
'Hungarian wines are famous.'

#### 2.1.1.15. Unique identification

The unique identification suffix *-ik* is added to nominals, especially to comparative adjectives (*nagyobbik* 'the bigger one', *kisebbik* 'the smaller one'), ordinal numerals (*második* 'the second', *harmadik* 'the third'), and some universal and partitive pronouns (*mindegyik* 'each one', *valamelyik* 'any/either one', *semelyik* 'not one') to denote 'givenness', i.e., membership in a set of entities known to be limited to both speaker and hearer. Nominals marked for *-ik* assume a limited set of items predefined for both speaker and listener (Harlig 1989), and are identified by personal knowledge as unique (Hetzron 1970). Such nominals are also always definite—in fact, on a scale of definiteness proposed by Hetzron (1970), more definite than entities identified referentially through earlier mention. (See also sections 2.1.3.2.1.2, 2.1.4.4.2, and 2.1.6.6.)

### 2.1.2. Pronouns

#### 2.1.2.1. Personal pronouns

##### 2.1.2.1.1. Free pronouns

Free pronouns occur in Hungarian in subject, direct object, indirect object, and other positions. Free pronouns are not obligatory in all circumstances.

The nominative forms of the free pronouns are the following (see section 2.1.2.1.20.5 for the forms bearing other cases):

<i>Person</i>	<i>Singular</i>	<i>Plural</i>
first	én	mi
second	te	ti
third	ő	ők

In several Hungarian dialects the plural forms *mink* and *tik* occur for first and second person, respectively; these, however, are considered nonstandard in modern Hungarian.

The third person pronouns *ő* and *ők*, singular and plural respectively, do not express gender. As subjects and direct objects they are used to refer only to humans, and as indirect objects and arguments governed by verbs or adjectives they can usually refer only to animates. Inanimates are referred to with the demonstrative *az* 'that' inflected for the appropriate case.

Hungarian does not mark differently various third person actors as more or less important. There is no differentiation between different degrees of proximity in participants, and no special anaphoric third person pronouns.

### 2.1.2.1.1.3. Occurrence of free pronouns

2.1.2.1.1.3.1. *Noncontrastive nonemphatic contexts* Free pronouns as subjects usually do not occur in noncontrastive nonemphatic contexts, since all verbs are marked for subject. The free pronoun subjects that are obligatorily present in noncontrastive nonemphatic contexts are third person subject pronouns in present tense copular constructions in simple sentences like (446), since the copula does not overtly occur in these cases.

- (444) Diák-ok vagy-unk.  
student-PL be-1PL  
'We are students.'
- (445) Az egyetem-en dolgoz-tok?  
the university-SUP work-INDEF.2PL  
'Do you (PL) work at the university?'
- (446) Ők tanár-ok.  
they teacher-PL  
'They are teachers.'

Because third person pronoun direct objects require the verb to be in the definite conjugation, while first and second pronoun direct objects require the indefinite conjugation, third person pronoun direct objects are usually not expressed overtly if they are singular, though they are obligatory in the plural.

- (447) Szeret-ed?  
love-DEF.2SG  
'Do you love him/her/it?'

(448) Szeret-ed ők-et?  
 love-DEF.2SG they-ACC  
 'Do you love them?'

In the case of a first or second person pronoun direct object, the pronoun can be omitted if it is singular and if the person referred to is unambiguous from the context, and it is expressed overtly if it is plural or if there would be ambiguity as to whether the object referred to is first or second person.

(449) Szeret-lek.  
 love-1SG.2OBJ  
 'I love you (SG).'

(450) Szeret-lek titeket.  
 love-1SG.2OBJ you.PL.ACC  
 'I love you (PL).'

(451) Szeret-sz?  
 love-INDEF.2SG  
 'Do you love me?'

(452) Szeret-sz minket?  
 love-INDEF.2SG we.ACC  
 'Do you like us?'

(453) Péter szeret engem?  
 Peter love.INDEF.3SG I.ACC  
 'Does Peter love me?'

In indirect object and other positions, pronouns are usually expressed overtly, since case must be marked on them. When the personal pronoun is governed by a postposition, the person and number are indicated on the postposition itself.

(454) Ez-t a pulóver-t ve-tt-em nek-ed.  
 this-ACC the sweater-ACC buy-PAST-DEF.1SG DAT-2SG  
 'I bought this sweater for you.'

(455) Ez-t a pulóver-t ve-tt-em.  
 this-ACC the sweater-ACC buy-PAST-DEF.1SG  
 'I bought this sweater.'

(456) Péter felel ért-ünk.  
 Peter be.responsible.INDEF.3SG CAU-1PL  
 'Peter is responsible for us.'

(457) Senki nem ül mellett-em.  
nobody not sit.INDEF.3SG near-1SG  
'Nobody is sitting next to me.'

2.1.2.1.1.3.2. *Emphatic and contrastive contexts* In contexts where the pronoun is emphasized or contrasted it is always expressed overtly, in a preverbal focussed position (also see 1.11 and 1.12).

(458) Te ül-sz itt?  
you sit-INDEF.2SG here  
'Is it you who is sitting here?'

(459) En téged szeret-lek, nem ő-t.  
I you.ACC love-1SG.2OBJ not s/he-ACC  
'It is you that I love, not him/her.'

2.1.2.1.1.3.3. *Unemphatic contexts with imperative verbs* In unemphatic contexts involving imperative verbs, pronouns do not occur overtly, since the person and number are always indicated on the verb.

(460) Nézz-iz ide!  
come-IMP.INDEF.2SG to.here  
'Look here!'

(461) Ne gyér-tek ide!  
not come.IMP-INDEF.2PL to.here  
'Don't come here!'

2.1.2.1.1.3.4. *Emphatic and contrastive contexts with imperative verbs* In emphatic contexts pronouns are not expressed with imperative verbs. Instead, other markers of emphasis, like *már* or a vocative clause, are usually used.

(462) Gyér-e már ide!  
come.IMP-INDEF.2SG EMPH to.here  
'Come here!'  
(emphatic)

(463) Nóra, gyér-e ide!  
Nora come.IMP-INDEF.2SG to.here  
'Nora, you come here!'

In contrastive contexts, however, pronouns are expressed with imperative verbs overtly.

(464) Te gyér-e ide, ne Zsófia!  
you come.IMP-INDEF.2SG to.here not Sophia  
'You come here, not Sophia!'

2.1.2.1.1.3.5. *Answer to 'Who is that?' question-type* Questions of the 'Who is that?' type have nominative forms of the pronouns. A resumptive *az* is optional in answers involving first and second persons: it is usually present with the third person singular, and is obligatory with the third person plural.

(465) Én vagy-ok (az).  
I be-1SG (that)

(466) 'It's me.'  
Ok az-ok.  
they that-PL  
'It is they.'

2.1.2.1.1.3.6. *Cleft and pseudo-cleft constructions* Hungarian does not have cleft or pseudo-cleft constructions. The Hungarian equivalents of such constructions contain relative clauses, with the main clause receiving extra emphasis through focus. (Also see section 1.11 for emphasis and focus.)

(467) Zsuzsa vol-t az, aki  
Susan be-PAST.3SG that REL.who  
be-vásárol-t.  
PFX-do.shopping-PAST.INDEF.3SG  
'It was Susan who did the shopping.'

(468) Vígjáték-ok az-ok, ami-k-et Irén  
comedy-PL that-PL REL.what-PL-ACC Irene  
nez.  
watch.INDEF.3SG

(469) 'It is comedies that Irene watches.'  
A Karácsony az, ami-nek a legjobb-an  
the Christmas that REL.what-DAT the best-MOE  
örül.  
be.happy.INDEF.3SG

(470) 'It's Christmas that s/he is happiest about.'  
A fiók az, ahova a toll-at  
the drawer that REL.to.where the pen-ACC  
te-tt-e.  
put-PAST-DEF.3SG  
'It was the drawer that s/he put the pen into.'

**2.1.2.1.1.4. Suprasegmental characteristics of free pronouns** In emphatic contexts free pronouns always receive primary stress (marked by ' below) if they are in the preverbal focus position and secondary stress (marked by .) otherwise. In nonemphatic contexts pronouns are unaccented.

- (471) 'Téged szeret-lek.  
you.ACC love-1SG.2OBJ  
'It's you that I love.'
- (472) .Én 'téged szeret-lek.  
I you.ACC love-1SG.2OBJ  
'As for me, it is you that I love.'
- (473) Figyel-sz rá-m?  
listen-INDEF.2SG SUB-1SG  
'Are you listening to me?'

#### 2.1.2.1.2–3. Person distinctions in pronouns

Hungarian distinguishes among first, second, and third person pronouns. There is no inclusive-exclusive distinction in Hungarian.

#### 2.1.2.1.4. Number marking in pronouns

Hungarian distinguishes between singular and plural in pronouns. Number marking is obligatory.

Pronouns can be associated with numerals.

If the pronoun the numeral is associated with is the subject, the numeral phrase serves as an adverbial inflected for the modal-essive case. There is no upper limit on the numeral in such cases.

- (474) Kett-en megy-ünk sétál-ni.  
two-MOE go-INDEF.1PL walk-INF  
'The two of us will go for a walk.'
- (475) Sokezr-en meg-néz-t-ék a  
many.thousand-MOE PFX-see-PAST-DEF.3PL the  
kiállítás-t.  
exhibition-ACC  
'Many thousands of people have seen the exhibition.'

If the pronoun the numeral is associated with is not a subject and is not emphasized, the numeral is marked with the personal possessive suffix corresponding to the person of the pronoun. If the pronoun associated with the numeral receives special emphasis, it is expressed overtly before the numeral and bears the case required in the position that it appears in.

- (476) A fiú kettő-nk-et vár-ja.  
the boy two-POSS.1PL-ACC expect-DEF.3SG  
'The boy is expecting the two of us.'
- (477) Mink-et kettő-nk-et vár a fiú.  
we-ACC two-POSS.1PL-ACC expect.INDEF.3SG the boy  
'It's us two that the boy is expecting.'
- (478) (Nek-ik) husz-uk-nak küld-t-ünk  
(DAT-3PL) twenty-POSS.3PL-DAT send-PAST-INDEF.1PL  
meghívó-t.  
invitation-ACC  
'We sent invitations to twenty of them.'

Collectivity in such expressions is indicated by the collective pronoun *mind* 'all'. *Mind* can be compounded with the numerals *kettő* 'two' and *három* 'three' to form *mindkettő* 'both' and *mindhárom* 'all three'. *Mind* also occurs in noun phrases with all numerals, including *kettő* and *három*. Personal pronouns bearing the case appropriate in the given position can also be included in such phrases for special emphasis.

- (479) Mindkett-en ott vol-t-unk.  
all.two-MOE there be-PAST-1PL  
'Both of us were there.'
- (480) (Ök) mind a hat-an el-jö-tt-ek.  
(they) all the six-MOE PFX-come-PAST-INDEF.3PL  
'All six of them came.'
- (481) Mindhárm-unk-at meg-hív-t-ak.  
all.three-POSS.1PL-ACC PFX-invite-PAST-INDEF.3PL  
'They invited all three of us.'
- (482) (Nek-ik) mind a tíz-ük-nek küld-ünk  
(DAT-3PL) all the ten-POSS.3PL-DAT send-INDEF.1PL  
meghívó-t.  
invitation-ACC  
'We'll send invitations to all ten of them.'

#### 2.1.2.1.12. Status distinction

In Hungarian the use of the second person pronouns *te* 'you (SG)' and *ti* 'you (PL)' conveys familiarity, informality, solidarity, and/or intimacy.

Formality, politeness, and/or lack of familiarity or intimacy is expressed by the nominal forms *ön* or *maga* in the singular and *önök* and *maguk* in the plural, cooccurring with third person verb-forms in the

appropriate number. Of the two sets, *ön/önök* is more formal and/or polite than *maga/maguk*.

- (483) Hol lak-ik ön?  
 where live-INDEF.3SG you.formal  
 'Where do you (SG, formal) live?'
- (484) Mag-uk tanár-ok?  
 you.formal-PL teacher-PL  
 'Are you (PL, formal) teachers?'

The choice of informal *te*-address and formal *ön-* or *maga*-address, as well as of reciprocal or nonreciprocal usage, is determined along lines very much like those proposed in Brown and Gilman's classic 1960 study. For further details on Hungarian address, see Reményi (1994) and Terestyéni (1995).

The use of names, titles, and various combinations of names and titles indicates politeness if the addressee's title and/or name is known to the addresser, whereas their omission indicates the lack thereof.

Honorary kinship titles are *bácsi* and *néni* in Hungarian, literally meaning 'uncle' and 'aunt', respectively, used by children in addressing adults and by adults in nonreciprocal formal (but familiar and intimate) address toward adults at least a generation older.

Titles and combinations of titles and names are generally of the following kind in Hungarian:

first name (full or diminutive)	<i>Péter, Peti, Anna, Ani</i>
last name	<i>Kovács, Szabó</i>
first name+honorary kinship title	<i>Péter bácsi, Mari néni</i>
last name+honorary kinship title	<i>Kovács bácsi, Szabó néni</i>
title alone	<i>uram</i> 'sir', <i>asszonyom</i> 'ma'am', <i>kisasszony</i> 'miss'
last name+title	<i>Kovács úr</i> 'Mr Kovács', <i>Szabó kisasszony</i> 'Miss Szabó'
double title	<i>doktor úr</i> 'sir doctor', <i>elnök asszony</i> 'ma'am president', <i>tanárnő</i> 'ma'am teacher/professor'

The cooccurrence of *te-*, *ön-* and *maga*-address with the various title and name combinations creates over a dozen possible ways of address, the choice among which is determined by a complex set of Hungarian sociolinguistic rules. Sociolinguistic variables that contribute to determining the appropriate address are: the social context of the interaction, shared group membership, kinship ties and previous acquaintance between the parties involved, sex, and age.

**2.1.2.1.13.2. Nonspecific indefinite pronouns** The second person singular pronoun *te* is sometimes used as a nonspecific indefinite pronoun. It is, however, usually used only in situations where informal address would otherwise be acceptable as well.

If informal address would not be acceptable in the given situation (e.g., in instructions for products or in giving directions to a stranger), third person verb-forms are normally used. First person plural forms are also sometimes used in nonspecific indefinite usage, e.g., in recipes and sewing instructions in magazines.

In all these kinds of nonspecific indefinite usage, the pronouns themselves are usually not expressed overtly, but are indicated by agreement on the verb.

- (485) A hús-t meg-süt-jük és apró szelet-ek-re  
 the meat-ACC PFX-bake-DEF.1PL and small slice-PL-SUB  
 vág-juk.  
 cut-DEF.1PL  
 'Bake the meat and cut it into small slices.'

The most common kind of nonspecific indefinite usage, however, is that involving the noun *ember* 'person'; see 2.1.2.1.13.3 below.

**2.1.2.1.13.3. Nouns in nonspecific indefinite usage** The noun phrase *az ember* 'the person' most commonly functions in nonspecific indefinite usage in everyday conversation, with corresponding third person singular verbs.

- (486) Az ember nem tud-ja, mi-t  
 the person not know-DEF.3SG what-ACC  
 csinál-j-on ilyen-kor.  
 do-IMP-INDEF.3SG such-TEM  
 'One doesn't know what to do in a situation like this.'

#### 2.1.2.1.14. Specific indefinite pronouns

The specific indefinite pronoun referring to humans is *valaki* 'someone'. The pronoun *némelyik* 'someone' is occasionally used instead, especially in the possessive with a partitive meaning. Its plural, *némelyek*, refers to specific indefinite persons, but is used mostly with negative connotations.

- (487) Valaki be-jö-tt.  
 someone in-come-PAST.INDEF.3SG  
 'Someone came in.'

- (488) A falusi-ak némelyik-e nyul-ak-at  
the villager-PL someone-POSS.3SG rabbit-PL-ACC  
tart.  
keep.INDEF.3PL  
'Some of the villagers keep rabbits.'
- (489) Némely-ek nem tud-nak viselked-ni.  
someone-PL not know-INDEF.3PL behave-INF  
'Some people don't know how to behave.'

The specific indefinite pronoun referring to nonhumans is *valami* 'something'.

- (490) Lát-ok valami-t.  
see-INDEF.1SG something-ACC  
'I see something.'

#### 2.1.2.1.15. Emphatic pronouns

Hungarian has no special set of emphatic pronouns. Instead, the reflexive pronouns are used for purposes of emphasis; see section 2.1.2.2.7.

#### 2.1.2.1.17. Pronoun-noun constructions with the same reference

Pronoun-noun constructions with the same reference are possible with first and second person plural pronouns and in phrases containing the formal plural *maguk* (but not *önök*).

- (491) Mi nyelvész-ek jól beszél-ünk nyelv-ek-et.  
we linguist-PL well speak-INDEF.1PL language-PL-ACC  
'We linguists speak languages well.'
- (492) Ti orvos-ok sok-at dolgoz-tok.  
you.PL doctor-PL much-ACC work-INDEF.2PL  
'You doctors work a lot.'
- (493) Mag-uk orvos-ok sok-at dolgoz-nak.  
you.formal-PL doctor-PL much-ACC work-INDEF.3PL  
'You (formal) doctors work a lot.'

#### 2.1.2.1.18. Coordination with first person plural pronoun

The construction of the general type 'we (and) the priest', meaning 'the priest and I', occurs in Hungarian with the noun part of the construction in the instrumental. It can contain the second person singular pronoun *te* as well. The coordinators *és* and *meg*, both meaning 'and', which are the normal coordinators for noun phrases, cannot occur in this construction

in Hungarian (*\*mi és Péterrel*, *\*mi és veled* could not occur instead of *mi Péterrel* and *mi veled* in the examples below).

- (494) *Mi Péter-rel sok-at jár-unk koncert-re.*  
 we Peter-INS much-ACC go-INDEF.1PL concert-SUB  
 'Peter and I go to concerts a lot.'
- (495) *Mi vel-ed sok-at jár-unk koncert-re.*  
 we INS-2SG much-ACC go-INDEF.1PL concert-SUB  
 'You and I go to concerts a lot.'

#### 2.1.2.1.20. Case system in pronouns

Pronouns are inflected for case in Hungarian. Pronouns do not have any additional cases beyond those found in nouns. Not all of the noun cases, however, occur with pronouns.

The cases that do NOT occur with personal pronouns are the locative, terminative, temporal, iterative, translative, comitative, essive, multiplicative, modal, modal-essive, formal, essive-formal, and distributive.

The allative forms of the pronouns are used instead of the terminative.

**2.1.2.1.20.5. Irregular forms of cases** The accusative forms of the personal pronouns are the following:

Person	Singular	Plural
1st	engem(et)	minket, bennünket
2nd	téged(et)	titeket, benneteket
3rd	őt	őket

The accusative suffix *-et* is optional (and redundant) with the first and second person singular pronouns.

The other cases of the personal pronouns are formed with the possessive personal endings attached to one of the allomorphs of the case suffix. In the following pronominal paradigms all pronouns have alternative forms with the nominative forms of the pronouns attached before them (e.g., dative forms *énnekem* and *teneked* instead of *nekem* and *neked*, etc.), which are used to provide extra emphasis on the person (e.g., *Énnekem ilyet mondasz?* 'You say this to ME?').

Person	Dative	Causal-final	Instrumental
1SG	nekem (nékem)	értem	velem
2SG	neked (néked)	érted	veled
3SG	neki(néki)	érte	vele
1PL	nekünk (nékünk)	értünk	velünk
2PL	nektek (néktek)	értetek	veletek
3PL	nekik(néik)	értük	velük

	<i>Elative</i>		<i>Inessive</i>		<i>Illative</i>
1SG	belőlem		bennem		belém
2SG	belőled		benned		beléd
3SG	belőle		benne		belé
1PL	belőlünk		bennünk		belénk
2PL	belőletek		bennetek		belétek
3PL	belőlük		bennük		beléjük
	<i>Ablative</i>		<i>Adessive</i>		<i>Allative</i>
1SG	tőlem		nálam		hozzám
2SG	tőled		nálad		hozzád
3SG	tőle		nála		hozzá
1PL	tőlünk		nálunk		hozzánk
2PL	tőletek		nálatok		hozzátok
3PL	tőlük		náluk		hozzájuk
	<i>Delative</i>		<i>Superessive</i>		<i>Sublative</i>
1SG	rólam		rajtam		rám (reám)
2SG	rólad		rajtad		rád (reád)
3SG	róla		rajta		rá (reá)
1PL	rólunk		rajtunk		ránk (reánk)
2PL	rólatok		rajtatok		rátok (reátok)
3PL	róluk		rajtuk		rájuk (reájuk)

The bracketed forms of the dative and sublative pronouns are archaic and are used only very rarely in literary texts in modern Hungarian.

#### 2.1.2.2. Reflexive pronouns

Hungarian has a set of reflexive pronouns. Below are the nominative forms of these pronouns, which are used only as emphatic pronouns (see section 2.1.2.2.7 below):

<i>Person</i>	<i>Singular</i>	<i>Plural</i>
1st	magam	magunk
2nd	magad	magatok
3rd	maga	maguk

Reflexivity can also be expressed with reflexive verbs in Hungarian; see sections 1.6, 2.1.3.1.2.1, and 2.2.2.2.4.

#### 2.1.2.2.4. Case-marking of reflexive pronouns

Reflexive pronouns are marked for case. Case suffixes are attached to the base forms in a regular manner, e.g., *magam-ban* (inessive), *magam-on* (superessive), and *magam-nak* (dative).

- (496) Márta egy sál-at ve-tt  
Martha a scarf-ACC buy-PAST.INDEF.3SG  
magá-nak.  
him/herself-DAT  
'Martha bought a scarf for herself.'
- (497) Bíz-z-atok magatok-ban.  
trust-IMP-INDEF.2PL yourselves-INE  
'Trust yourselves.'

The accusative forms of the first and second person reflexive pronouns are marked optionally: *magam(at)*, *magad(at)*.

- (498) Lát-om magam(-at) a tükör-ben.  
see-DEF.1SG myself(-ACC) the mirror-INE  
'I see myself in the mirror.'
- (499) Nem lát-juk magunk-at a kép-en.  
not see-DEF.1PL ourselves-ACC the picture-SUP  
'We don't see ourselves in the picture.'

#### 2.1.2.2.7. Other uses of reflexive pronouns

Reflexive pronouns are used as emphatic pronouns, occurring optionally together with the personal pronouns.

- (500) (Én) magam varr-t-am ez-t a zakó-t.  
(I) myself sew-PAST-DEF.1SG this-ACC the jacket-ACC  
'I sewed this jacket myself.'
- (501) Pál-nak magá-nak is van autó-ja.  
Paul-DAT him/herself-DAT also be.3SG car-POSS.3SG  
'Paul himself has a car, too.'

#### 2.1.2.3. Reciprocal pronoun

Hungarian has one reciprocal pronoun: *egymás*. It is marked for case in a regular manner: *egymás-t* (accusative), *egymás-nak* (dative), *egymás-tól* (ablative), etc.

- (502) A gyerek-ek ajándék-ot készít-ett-ek  
the child-PL present-ACC make-PAST-INDEF.3PL  
egymás-nak.  
each.other-DAT  
'The children made presents for each other.'

- (503) Ők szeret-ik egymás-t?  
they love-DEF.3PL each.other-ACC  
'Do they love each other?'
- (504) A lány-ok be-fon-t-ák egymás  
the girl-PL PFX-braid-PAST-DEF.3PL each.other  
haj-a-t.  
hair-POSS.3SG-ACC  
'The girls braided each other's hair.'
- (505) A nyul-ak egymás után el-pusztul-t-ak.  
the rabbit-PL each.other after PFX-die-PAST-INDEF.3PL  
'The rabbits died one after the other.'

#### 2.1.2.4. Possessive pronouns

In attributive positions (in the equivalent of 'my book', etc.) Hungarian uses personal pronouns (see section 2.1.1.4.6 for details).

In predicative positions the following possessive pronouns are used:

	<i>Singular possession</i>	<i>Plural possession</i>
1SG	enyém	enyéim, enyéme
2SG	tied, tiéd	tieid
3SG	övé	övéi
1PL	mienk, miénk	mieink
2PL	tietek, tiétek	tieitek
3PL	övék	övéik

The alternative forms *tiéd*, *miénk*, *tiétek*, and *enyéme* are used mostly in spoken Hungarian, but there they are very common.

Possessive pronouns are usually preceded by the definite article in Hungarian.

- (506) Az a kávé az enyém.  
that the coffee the mine  
'That coffee is mine.'
- (507) Ez-ek a könyv-ek az övé-i.  
this-PL the book-PL the his/hers-PL  
'These books are his/hers.'

Hungarian does not make a distinction between alienable and inalienable, temporary and permanent, or present and past possession.

## 2.1.2.4.4. Case-marking in predicative possessive pronouns

Predicative possessive pronouns are marked for case in the regular way, e.g., *enyém-nek* (dative) and *tied-hez* (allative).

(508) Az én kutyá-m nem fél a  
the I dog-POSS.1SG not be.afraid.INDEF.3SG the  
tied-től.  
yours-ABL  
'My dog is not afraid of yours.'

(509) Az ő any-ja szeret-i az enyém-et.  
the s/he mother-POSS.3SG like-DEF.3SG the mine-ACC  
'His/Her mother likes mine.'

## 2.1.2.4.7. Reflexive possessive pronouns

Hungarian does not have specific reflexive possessive pronouns, but reflexive pronouns can be marked for the possessive with the *-é* possessive suffix (see section 2.1.1.4.6 for details): *magam-é*, *magad-é*, *magá-é*, *magunk-é*, *magatok-é*, *maguk-é*. These forms can also be marked for case: *magamé-t* (accusative), *magamé-nak* (dative), etc.

(510) Éva az ő kutyá-já-val játszik, én a  
Eve the s/he dog-POSS.3SG-INS play-DEF.3SG I the  
magam-é-val.  
myself-POS-INS  
'Eve is playing with her dog and I with my own.'

## 2.1.2.4.8. Reciprocal possessive pronouns

There are no specific reciprocal possessive pronouns in Hungarian, but the reciprocal pronoun *egymás* can be marked with the *-é* possessive: *egymásé*. This form, in turn, can receive case-marking: *egymásét* (accusative), *egymásénak* (dative), etc.

(511) *Question*  
Ki-nek a kép-e-i-t nézeget-itek?  
who-DAT the picture-POSS.3SG-PL-ACC look.ITER-DEF.2PL  
'Whose pictures are you looking through?'  
*Answer*  
Egymás-é-i-t.  
each.other-POS-PL-ACC  
'Each other's.'

2.1.2.5. *Demonstrative pronouns*

Hungarian has the following demonstrative pronouns:

<i>ez</i>	'this'	<i>az</i>	'that'
<i>emez</i>	'this other'	<i>amaz</i>	'that other'
<i>ugyanez</i>	'this same'	<i>ugyanaz</i>	'that same'
<i>ily, ilyen</i>	'such'	<i>oly, olyan</i>	'such'
<i>emilyen</i>	'such like this'	<i>amolyan</i>	'such like that'
<i>ugyanilyen</i>	'same as this'	<i>ugyanolyan</i>	'same as that'
<i>efféle</i>	'this kind'	<i>afféle</i>	'that kind'
<i>ilyenféle</i>	'this kind'	<i>olyanféle</i>	'that kind'
<i>ilyesféle</i>	'this kind'	<i>olyasféle</i>	'that kind'
<i>ilyesmi</i>	'this kind'	<i>olyasmi</i>	'that kind'
<i>akkora</i>	'this size'	<i>akkora</i>	'that size'
<i>ugyanakkora</i>	'this same size'	<i>ugyanakkora</i>	'that same size'
<i>ennyi</i>	'this much'	<i>annyi</i>	'that much'
<i>emennyi</i>	'this other amount'	<i>amennyi</i>	'that other amount'
<i>ugyanennyi</i>	'this same amount'	<i>ugyanannyi</i>	'that same amount'

Note that the *z* of *ez* and *az* fully assimilates to any suffix-initial consonant. Thus forms such as *ennyi* and *afféle* (above) are the assimilations from *ez+nyi* and *az+féle*. See also the discussion of case-marking on demonstrative pronouns in section 2.1.2.5.6 below.

All of the demonstrative pronouns can be used attributively and as nominals as well.

(512) *Ennyi pénz-t kap-t-am.*  
 this.much money-ACC receive-PAST-INDEF.1SG  
 'I received this much money.'

(513) *Ennyi-t kap-t-am.*  
 this.much-ACC receive-PAST-INDEF.1SG  
 'I received this much.'

When any of the basic demonstrative pronouns *ez*, *az*, *emez*, *amaz*, *ugyanez* or *ugyanaz* is used attributively, it is obligatorily followed by the definite article in the noun phrase.

(514) *Ez a könyv régi,*  
 this the book old  
 'This book is old.'

(515) Ugyanab-ban a könyv-ben olvas-t-am ez-t  
 that.same-INE the book-INE read-PAST-DEF.1SG this-ACC  
 is.  
 also  
 'I read this in that same book also.'

2.1.2.5.1. Parameters involved in the demonstrative pronouns

**2.1.2.5.1.1. Relative distance from speaker** The main parameter in the Hungarian demonstrative system is relative distance from the speaker. The reference of the pronoun *ez* (*efféle*, *akkora*, etc.) is a relatively short distance from the speaker, while the reference of the pronoun *az* and the demonstrative pronouns containing it (*ugyanaz*, *akkora*, etc.) is a relatively greater distance from the speaker.

(516) Ez egy toll, az egy ceruza.  
 this a pen, that a pencil  
 'This is a pen, and that is a pencil.'

**2.1.2.5.1.25. Other parameters** Other parameters in the demonstrative system are contrastive emphasis and identity.

2.1.2.5.1.25.1. *Contrastive emphasis* Demonstrative pronouns compounded with *em-* and *am-*, such as *emez*, *amaz*, *emilyen*, *amolyan*, *emennyi*, and *amennyi*, are used to express emphasis to *ez*, *az*, *ilyen*, *olyan*, *ennyi*, and *annyi*, respectively.

(517) Nem ez-t kér-em, hanem emez-t.  
 not this-ACC want-DEF.1SG but this.other-ACC  
 'It's not this that I want but this other one.'

(518) Az én ház-am nem olyan, hanem amolyan.  
 the I house-POSS.1SG not that.kind but that.other.kind  
 'My house is not like that but like that other one.'

2.1.2.5.1.25.2. *Identity* The demonstrative pronouns compounded with *ugyan-*, such as *ugyanaz*, *ugyanolyan*, and *ugyanakkora*, express identity with something else.

(519) Még mindig ugyanaz-t a könyv-et olvas-od?  
 yet always that.same-ACC the book-ACC read-DEF.2SG  
 'Are you still reading that same book?'

(520) En ugyanolyan cipő-t akar-ok, mint te.  
 I same.that.kind shoe-ACC want-INDEF.1SG as you  
 'I want the same kind of shoes as you.'

(521) Ugyanannyi-ból él-ek én is. also  
 that.same.amount-ELA live-INDEF.1SG I  
 'I live on exactly the same amount also.'

#### 2.1.2.5.4. Number marking in demonstrative pronouns

All demonstrative pronouns except those referring to amounts (*ennyi* 'this amount', *ugyanannyi* 'that same amount', etc.) can be marked for plural in Hungarian. As in nouns, plural is marked with the plural marker *-k*.

(522) Ez-ek-ről a könyv-ek-ről beszél-t-em  
 this-PL-DEL the book-PL-DEL speak-PAST-INDEF.1SG  
 vel-e.  
 INS-3SG

'I talked to him about these books.'

(523) Lajos ilyen-ek-et mond-ott.  
 Louis such-PL-ACC say-PAST.INDEF.3SG

'Louis said these kinds of things.'

#### 2.1.2.5.6. Case-marking in demonstrative pronouns

Demonstrative pronouns are marked for case in Hungarian. The cases that do NOT occur with the main demonstrative pronouns *ez* and *az* are: the locative, iterative, comitative, essive, distributive, multiplicative, modal, and modal-essive. The occurrence of the forms of other demonstrative pronouns are even further restricted by their meaning: for instance, the pronouns referring to amounts (such as *ennyi* and *annyi*) never occur with the essive-formal case which is used to express functions.

The *z* of the pronouns *ez*, *az* (and of the compounds *emez*, *amaz*, *ugyanez*, and *ugyanaz*) completely assimilates to a following suffix-initial consonant in all possible cases. It does not assimilate in the accusative, however, or in the translative (where the suffix-initial *v* assimilates to the *z* obligatorily), the instrumental (where either the suffix-initial *v* assimilates to the *z* or vice versa), or the formal (where the *z* is deleted). The forms of *ez* and *az* in the various cases are the following:

Accusative	ezt	azt
Dative	ennek	annak
Inessive	ebben	abban
Elicative	ebből	abból
Illative	ebbe	abba
Adessive	ennél	annál
Ablative	ettől	attól

Allative	ehhez	ahhoz
Superessive	ezen	azon
Delative	erről	arról
Sublative	erre	arra
Terminative	eddig	addig
Temporal	ekkor	akkor
Causal-final	ezért	azért
Instrumental	ezzel, evvel	azzal, avval
Translative	ezzé	azzá
Formal	eképpen	aképpen
Essive-formal	ekként	akként

The pronouns *ez*, *az*, *emez*, *amaz*, *ugyanez*, and *ugyanaz* are marked for case when they are used attributively, and they also require the definite article to be included in the noun phrase (e.g., *ez a város* 'this city'). In such phrases, these demonstrative pronouns are modified by the case-marking as well as by the postpositions. This is thus the only instance of case-marking inside the noun phrase in Hungarian that involves anything beyond the head noun (although attributive adjectives and numerals are also case-marked when their head nouns are not overtly expressed and they constitute pro-forms; see section 2.1.4.3). When these attributive demonstrative pronouns are governed by postpositions beginning with a consonant, the *z* of *ez* and *az* is deleted.

- (524) Eb-ben a város-ban lak-om.  
this-INE the city-INE live-INDEF.1SG  
'I live in this city.'
- (525) A kulcs az alatt a könyv alatt van.  
the key that under the book under be.3SG  
'The key is under that book.'
- (526) A kulcs e mellett a könyv mellett van.  
the key this near the book near be.3SG  
'The key is next to this book.'

#### 2.1.2.6. Interrogative pronouns and other question-words

Hungarian has interrogative pronouns which are used identically in direct and indirect questions.

##### 2.1.2.6.1. Interrogative pronouns

**2.1.2.6.1.1. General interrogative pronouns** The general interrogative pronouns in Hungarian are *ki* 'who' and *mi* 'what', with the former being

used in reference to humans and the latter to nonhumans. They are marked for plural (*kik* and *mik*) if the answer is expected to be in the plural. They are also marked for case and can be governed by postpositions.

- (527) Mi ez?  
what this  
'What is this?'
- (528) Ki-k-et vár-sz?  
who-PL-ACC expect-INDEF.2SG  
'Whom are you expecting?'
- (529) Ki-ben bíz-ol?  
who-INE trust-INDEF.2SG  
'Whom do you trust?'
- (530) Mi-ről beszél-t Júlia?  
what-DEL speak-PAST.INDEF.3SG Julia  
'What was Julia speaking about?'
- (531) Mi után szalad-t-ál?  
what after run-PAST-INDEF.2SG  
'What were you running after?'

**2.1.2.6.1.2. Selective interrogative pronouns** The selective interrogative pronouns are *melyik* 'which one' and *hányadik* 'which one (ordinal)'. The pronoun *hányadik* is used to refer to something occupying a place in a certain order, and its answer contains an ordinal numeral. Both can be used attributively or as nominals. When they are used as nominals they are marked for case.

- (532) Melyik virág-ot kér-ed?  
which flower-ACC want-DEF.2SG  
'Which flower do you want?'
- (533) Melyik-et kér-ed?  
which-ACC want-DEF.2SG  
'Which one do you want?'
- (534) *Question*  
Hányadik sor-ban ül-sz?  
which.ordinal row-INE sit-INDEF.2SG  
'What row do you sit in?'
- Answer*  
A harmadik-ban.  
the third-INE  
'In the third row.'

**2.1.2.6.1.3. Other interrogative pronouns** Other interrogative pronouns are *milyen*, *miféle*, *mifajta*, all three meaning 'what kind'; *mekkora* 'what size'; *hány* 'how many'; *mennyi* 'how much/many'; *mikor* 'when'; *miért* 'why'; *kié* 'whose'; *hol* 'where'; *honnán* 'from where'; and *hová/hova* 'to where'.

The pronoun *milyen* is the most usual pronoun in questions of the 'What is it like?' type, whereas *miféle* and *mifajta* are used much less frequently, in the 'What sort of...?' type of questions.

(535) Milyen ez a könyv?

what.kind this the book

'What is this book like?'

(536) Milyen-ek a diák-jai-d?

what.kind-PL the student-PL-POSS.2SG

'What are your students like?'

The pronouns *milyen*, *mekkora*, *hány*, and *mennyi* can be used both attributively and as nominals. In the latter usage they can be marked for case. The pronouns *milyen*, *miféle*, *mifajta*, and *mekkora* can also be marked for the plural when they are used as nominals.

(537) Mekkora kert-et akar-sz?

what.size garden-ACC want-INDEF.2SG

'What size garden do you want?'

(538) Mennyi-ért ve-tt-ed az autó-t?

how.much-CAU buy-PAST-DEF.2SG the car-ACC

'How much did you buy the car for?'

(539) Milyen-ek-et szeret-sz?

what.kind-PL-ACC like-INDEF.2SG

'What kinds do you like?'

(540) Hány-ban szület-t-él?

how.many-INE be.born-PAST-INDEF.2SG

'What year were you born in?'

(541) Hány-kor indul-unk?

how.many-TEM leave-INDEF.1PL

'What time are we leaving?'

The pronoun *kié* 'whose' can only be used as a nominal, and only to refer to human possessors. *Kinek* and *minek* (*ki* 'who' and *mi* 'what' bearing dative to signal the possessor) are used to refer to possessors attributively.

- (542) Kié ez a táska?  
whose this the bag  
'Whose is this bag?'
- (543) Ki-nek a táská-ja ez?  
who-DAT the bag-POSS.3SG this  
'Whose bag is this?'
- (544) Mi-nek az ajta-ja ez?  
what-DAT the door-POSS.3SG this  
'What is this the door of (=the door to)?'

The pronouns *hol* 'where', *honnan* 'from where', and *hová/hova* 'to where' refer to place adverbs.

- (545) Hol van Attila?  
where be.3SG Attila  
'Where is Attila?'
- (546) Honnan jön a vonat?  
where.from come.INDEF.3SG the train  
'Where is the train coming from?'
- (547) Hová mész?  
where.to go.INDEF.2SG  
'Where are you going?'

#### 2.1.2.6.2. Other question phrases

The pronoun *milyen* 'what kind' is used in interrogative phrases involving adjectives.

- (548) Milyen szín-ű az új autó-d?  
what.kind color-ADJDER the new car-POSS.2SG  
'What color is your new car?'
- (549) Milyen széles a Duna?  
what.kind wide the Danube  
'How wide is the Danube?'
- (550) Milyen magas az a fa?  
what.kind tall that the tree  
'How tall is that tree?'

#### 2.1.2.7. Relative pronouns

Hungarian has a set of special relative pronouns. They are derived from the interrogative pronouns through compounding with *a-* (historically *az*),

e.g., *aki* 'who', *ami* 'which', *ahol* 'where', and *ahány* 'as much'. The pronoun *aki* is used in reference to humans. The pronoun *amely* (or, in colloquial usage, *amelyik* or *ami*) is used in reference to countable and/or specific nonhumans. The pronoun *ami* is used in reference to all other nonhumans.

All relative pronouns can be used in both restrictive and nonrestrictive relative clauses, which are differentiated by other means (see section 1.1.2.3.2). Each relative pronoun can be marked for plural and for case, and can be modified by a postposition in exactly the same fashion as the interrogative pronoun from which it is derived.

- (551) A férfi, aki-vel táncol-t-am, svéd.  
the man REL.who-INS dance-PAST-INDEF.1SG Swedish  
'The man who I danced with is Swedish.'
- (552) A könyv-ek, ami-k-et ve-tt-él,  
the book-PL REL.what-PL-ACC buy-PAST-INDEF.2SG  
el-tűn-t-ek.  
PFX-disappear-PAST-INDEF.3PL  
'The books that you bought have disappeared.'
- (553) Amikor tíz év-es vol-t-am, Rómá-ban  
REL.when ten year-ADJDER be-PAST-1SG Rome-INE  
él-t-ünk.  
live-PAST-INDEF.1PL  
'When I was ten years old we lived in Rome.'
- (554) Az utca, ahol lak-unk, egy park mellett van.  
the street REL.where live-INDEF.1PL a park near be.3SG  
'The street where we live is near a park.'
- (555) A kutya, amely után szalad-t-am,  
the dog REL.what after run-PAST-INDEF.1SG  
Máté-é.  
Matthew-POS  
'The dog I was running after is Matthew's.'

### 2.1.3. Verb morphology

#### 2.1.3.1. Voice

##### 2.1.3.1.1. Passive

The Hungarian passive is a very restricted construction. Its status as a separate construction is questioned in traditional Hungarian descriptive grammars (e.g., Tompa 1961, Rácz 1968), which view it as a participial

construction involving the copula and expressing a state adverbial. Without wanting to take a stand on whether it is truly passive or adverbial, I will refer to this construction in the following discussion as 'the passive construction'. The discussion of several features of the passive below draws heavily on Alberti (1996).

In the passive construction the lexical verb is in the adverbial participial (or 'simple converb') form (bearing the suffix *-va/ve*), and tense, person and number are marked on the copula.

**2.1.3.1.1.1. Direct object of the active as subject of passive** Some, but by no means all, transitive verbs can be passivized in Hungarian, with the accusative direct object of the active becoming the nominative subject of the passive.

- (556) A ház ki van ad-va külföldi-ek-nek.  
the house out be.3SG give-SCVB foreigner-PL-DAT  
'The house is rented out to foreigners.'
- (557) Egy autó meg vol-t vé-ve.  
a car PFX be-PAST.3SG buy-SCVB  
'A car was bought.'
- (558) A kincs el lesz ás-va.  
the treasure PFX be.FUT.3SG dig-SCVB  
'The treasure will be buried.'
- (559) \*Péter messzi-ről meg vol-t lát-va.  
Peter far-DEL PFX be-PAST.3SG see-SCVB  
'Peter was seen from afar.'

According to Alberti (1996), the verb must be telic in order for the passive construction to be grammatical.

Robert Hetzron (personal communication, 1996) notes that the passive construction needs to denote a change of state (as in (556) and (557) above) to be grammatical in Hungarian; hence the ungrammaticality of (559).

**2.1.3.1.1.3. Subject of active as subject of passive** In some cases the subject of an intransitive verb becomes the subject of the passive: the subject of the active construction in (560) and of the passive one in (561) is the same.

- (560) Enikő meg-hatód-ott a  
Enikő PFX-be.touched-PAST.INDEF.3SG the  
kedvesség-ünk-től.  
kindness-POSS.1PL-ABL  
'Enikő was touched by our kindness.'

- (561) Enkiő meg vol-t hatód-va a  
 Enikő PFX be-PAST.3SG be.touched-SCVB the  
 kedvesség-ünk-től.  
 kindness-POSS.1PL-ABL  
 'Enikő was touched by our kindness.'

According to Alberti (1996), it is only unaccusative verbs, i.e., verbs with patient arguments, that can undergo passivization of this type in Hungarian.

- (562) Le vol-t hull-va egy levél.  
 down be-PAST.3SG fall-SCVB a leaf  
 'There was a leaf fallen down.'
- (563) Attila be van rúg-va.  
 Attila in be.3SG get.drunk-SCVB  
 'Attila is drunk.'

Not all intransitive verbs can, however, undergo such a change: unergative verbs, for instance, cannot.

- (564) \*Énekel-ve vol-t.  
 sing-SCVB be-PAST.3SG  
 'There was sung.'

#### 2.1.3.1.2. Means of decreasing valency

In Hungarian, the means of decreasing valency of a verb are derivational, very often operating not to derive verbs from other verbs, but to derive them from adjectives or nouns in ways that contrast with processes deriving verbs with a higher number of arguments:

- e.g. *szép* 'beautiful' → *szépül* 'become beautiful'  
 → *szépít* 'make something/somebody beautiful'.

**2.1.3.1.2.1. Nonagentive verbs** Verbs that do not express the agent are often derived from verbs that do by means of the derivational suffix *-ódik/ődik*: *húz* 'pull' → *húzódik* 'stretch, drag on', *ver* 'beat' → *verődik* 'beat against', *vonz* 'attract' → *vonzódik* 'be drawn/attracted', *tud* 'know' → *kitudódik* 'become known'.

- (565) Az ügy szeptember óta húzód-ik.  
 the matter September since stretch-INDEF.3SG  
 'The matter has been dragging on since September.'
- (566) Ágnes a magas férfi-ak-hoz vonzód-ik.  
 Agnes the tall man-PL-ALL be.attracted-INDEF.3SG  
 'Agnes is attracted to tall men.'

Several reflexive verbs are derived from agentive verbs with the suffixes *-kodik/kedik/ködik* and *-kozik/kezik/közik*: *mos* 'wash' → *mosakodik* 'wash oneself', *fésül* 'comb' → *fésülködik* 'comb oneself', *ruház* 'clothe' → *ruház-kodik* 'clothe oneself'; *borotvál* 'shave v.t.' → *borotválkozik* 'shave oneself', *törül* 'wipe' → *törülközik* 'wipe oneself (with towel)', *zár* 'lock' → *zárkózik* 'lock oneself in'. Other verbs not expressing the agent are also derived with these suffixes, e.g., *emel* 'lift' → *emelkedik* 'ascend', and *vár* 'wait for' → *várakozik* 'wait around'.

Nonagentive verbs are very often derived from adjectives with the derivational suffix *-ul/ül*: *kék* 'blue' → *kékül* 'turn/become blue', *barna* 'brown' → *barnul* 'turn/become brown', *buta* 'stupid' → *butul* 'become stupid', *vak* 'blind' → *vakul* 'become blind'. The suffix *-odik/edik/ödik* often serves the same function, deriving verbs not expressing the agent from adjectives: *fekete* 'black' → *feketedik* 'turn/become black', *piros* 'red' → *pirosodik* 'turn/become red', *erős* 'strong' → *erősödik* 'become strong', *széles* 'wide' → *szélesedik* 'become wide'. Verbs derived with these suffixes usually have a counterpart expressing an agent, derived from the base adjective with *-it*: *barnít* 'make brown', *butít* 'stupefy', *feketít* 'blacken', *erősít* 'strengthen', *szélesít* 'widen'.

A number of verbs not expressing the agent are derived with the non-productive suffix *-ad/ed*: *ébred* 'wake up', *reped* 'crack v.i.', *hasad* 'burst'. These verbs can have a counterpart expressing the agent, derived with *-aszt/eszt*, as in *ébreszt* 'awaken', *repezst* 'crack v.t.', or with *-ít*, as in *hasít* 'split v.t.'.

Some verbs are derived with the suffix *-g/og/eg/ög* from verbs expressing the agent: *gőzölög* 'steam v.i.' ← *gőzöl* 'steam v.t.', *füstölög* 'smoke v.i.' ← *füstöl* 'smoke v.t.'

Passive verbs can be derived with the suffix *-atik/etik/tatik/tetik* from agentive verbs in a process with limited productivity: *ad* 'give' → *adatik* 'be given', *enged* 'allow' → *engedettik* 'be allowed', *néz* 'look at' → *nézetik* 'be looked at'. In some instances, the verb root does not express the agent, e.g., *forr* 'boil v.i.' or *fő* 'cook v.i.', and it is the verb expressing the agent that is derived from it, e.g., *forral* 'boil v.t.' and *főz* 'cook v.t.'.

**2.1.3.1.2.2. Verbs not specifying direct object** Several verbs have the same form in both a transitive and an absolute transitive meaning: *eszik* 'eat v.i.' and 'eat v.t.', *iszik* 'drink v.i.' and 'drink v.t.', *öl* 'kill v.i.' and 'kill v.t.', *fest* 'paint v.i.' and 'paint v.t.', *mos* 'do laundry' and 'wash', *rajzol* 'make a drawing' and 'draw v.t.'. These verbs, however, acquire an unambiguously transitive meaning if an appropriate prefix is attached to them: *megeszik* 'eat v.t.', *megiszik* 'drink v.t.', *megöl* 'kill v.t.', *megfest* or *lefest* 'paint v.t.', *kimos* 'wash (clothes)', *lerajzol* 'draw v.t.'.

**2.1.3.1.2.3. Reciprocal intransitive verbs** Several verbs have the same form when expressing both the subject and the direct object as the subject, and when expressing the direct object as the instrumental object: e.g., *csókolózik* 'kiss', *ölelkezik* 'embrace', *randevúzik* 'rendezvous', *szeretkezik* 'make love', *vitatkozik* 'argue', *összeütközik* 'collide', *veszekszik* 'fight (verbally)', *verekszik* 'fight physically (not using a weapon)', *harcol* 'fight using a weapon', *háborúzik* 'war', *bírkózik* 'wrestle'.

- (567) Gábor és Anikó csókolóz-ik.  
Gabriel and Anikó kiss-INDEF.3SG  
'Gabriel and Anikó are kissing.'
- (568) Gábor Anikó-val csókolóz-ik.  
Gabriel Anikó-INS kiss-INDEF.3SG  
'Gabriel is kissing Anikó.'
- (569) János és Dénes vereksz-ik.  
John and Dennis fight-INDEF.3SG  
'John and Dennis are fighting.'
- (570) János Dénes-sel vereksz-ik.  
John Dennis-INS fight-INDEF.3SG  
'John is fighting Dennis.'

#### 2.1.3.1.3. Means of increasing valency

The main method of increasing valency in Hungarian is through the derivation of causative verbs from noncausatives by means of the derivational suffix *-at/et/tat/tet*, which derives causatives from intransitives, transitives, and ditransitives alike. (See also section 2.2.2.2.2.) It is important to note that the derivation of causatives from noncausatives is not a completely productive process in Hungarian.

A large group of transitive verbs with causative meaning are derived with the *-ít* suffix from adjectives: *szép* 'beautiful' → *szépít* 'make pretty, beautify', *buta* 'stupid' → *butít* 'make stupid, stupefy', *kék* 'blue' → *kékít* 'make blue', *gazdag* 'rich' → *gazdagít* 'enrich', *apró* 'tiny' → *aprít* 'cut up into small pieces', etc. The causer is the subject of such verbs, and the causee, if it is expressed, is the direct object in the accusative.

- (571) Margit szépít-i a szobá-t.  
Margaret make.pretty-DEF.3SG the room-ACC  
'Margaret is making the room pretty.'
- (572) A sok tévénéz-és butít.  
the much TV.watch-NML stupefy.INDEF.3SG  
'Watching a lot of TV is stupefying.'

2.1.3.1.3.1.1. *Intransitives made causative* Intransitive verbs can be made causative with the suffix *-at/et/tat/tet*: *ugrik* 'jump' → *ugrat* 'make jump', *legel* 'graze' → *legeltet* 'make graze', *alszik* 'sleep' → *(el)altat* 'make sleep, anesthetize', *fekszik* 'lie' → *(le)fektet* 'put to bed', *ázik* 'soak v.i.' → *(be)áztat* 'soak v.t.', *csikorog* 'squeak, grind' → *(meg)csikorgat* 'make squeak, grind', *pattog* 'bounce v.i.' → *pattogtat* 'make bounce'.

The causer is the nominative subject of such verbs, while the causee is the direct object in the accusative.

(573) Az anya el-altat-t-a a gyerek-et.  
the mother PFX-sleep.CAUS-PAST-DEF.3SG the child-ACC  
'The mother made the child sleep.'

(574) András be-áztat-t-a az  
Andrew PFX-soak.CAUS-PAST-DEF.3SG the  
ing-é-t.  
shirt-POSS.3SG-ACC  
'Andrew soaked his shirt.'

(575) A fiú csikorgat-ja a fog-á-t.  
the boy squeak.CAUS-DEF.3SG the tooth-POSS.3SG-ACC  
'The boy is grinding his teeth.'

2.1.3.1.3.1.2. *Transitives made causative* Transitives are made causative with the same *-at/et/tat/tet* suffix: *vág* 'cut' → *vágat* 'make cut', *ír* 'write' → *írat* 'make write', *olvas* 'read' → *olvastat* 'make read', *szerez* 'repair' → *szereztet* 'make repair'.

The causer of such causative verbs is the subject, the direct object in the accusative is the theme, and the causee is in the instrumental. The causee can usually be omitted with no resulting ambiguity.

(576) Pál le-vágat-t-a a haj-á-t  
Paul PFX-cut.CAUS-PAST-DEF.3SG the hair-POSS.3SG-ACC  
a borbély-lyal.  
the barber-INS  
'Paul had his hair cut by the barber.'

(577) Pál le-vágat-t-a a haj-a-t.  
Paul PFX-cut.CAUS-PAST-DEF.3SG the hair-POSS.3SG-ACC  
'Paul had a haircut.'

- (578) A tanár dolgozat-ot írat a  
the teacher test-ACC write.CAUS.INDEF.3SG the  
gyerek-ek-kel.  
child-PL-INS  
'The teacher makes the children write a test.' (= 'gives a test')
- (579) A tanár dolgozat-ot írat.  
the teacher test-ACC write.CAUS.INDEF.3SG  
'The teacher is giving a test.'

2.1.3.1.3.1.3. *Ditransitives made causative* Ditransitives are made causatives in the same way as other transitives: *ad* 'give' → *adat* 'make give', *küld* 'send' → *küldet* 'make send', *vesz* 'buy' → *vetet* 'make buy'.

The causer of such causative verbs is the subject, the direct object in the accusative is the theme, the causee is in the instrumental, and the indirect object is in the dative. The causee can usually be omitted with no resulting ambiguity.

- (580) Tamás főzet egy kávé-t magá-nak  
Thomas cook.CAUS.INDEF.3SG a coffee-ACC himself-DAT  
a titkárnő-vel.  
the secretary-INS  
'Thomas makes the secretary make a coffee for him.'
- (581) Tamás egy kávé-t főzet magá-nak.  
Thomas a coffee-ACC cook.CAUS.INDEF.3SG himself-DAT  
'Thomas has a coffee made for himself.'
- (582) Márton küldet-ett Nórá-val egy  
Martin send.CAUS-PAST.INDEF.3SG Nora-INS a  
csekk-et Évá-nak.  
check-ACC Eve-DAT  
'Martin made Nora send a check to Eve.'
- (583) Márton küldet-ett egy csekk-et  
Martin send.CAUS-PAST.INDEF.3SG a check-ACC  
Évá-nak.  
Eve-DAT  
'Martin had a check sent to Eve.'

2.1.3.1.4. Reflexive and reciprocal verbs

For a discussion of reflexive and reciprocal verbs, see sections 2.1.3.1.2.1 and 2.1.3.1.2.3, respectively.

## 2.1.3.2. Tense

Tense is a category of the finite verb in Hungarian.

## 2.1.3.2.1. Tenses distinguished formally

Hungarian distinguishes between three tenses: present, past, and future. Present tense verb-forms are unmarked, past tense forms bear the past tense marker *-t/tt*, and the future tense is expressed by the auxiliary verb *fog* (except for the verb 'be', which has synthetic future forms in all persons and numbers).

Hungarian has no formally distinguished universal tense: actions characteristic of all time are expressed with the present tense.

(584) A nap kelet-en kel fel.  
the sun east-SUP rise.INDEF.3SG up  
'The sun rises in the east.'

**2.1.3.2.1.2. Present** Present tense can be expressed in all three Hungarian moods, the indicative, the conditional, and the imperative.

In the indicative mood the present tense has no marker; the personal suffixes are attached directly to the verb stem.

The present tense forms of the verb 'be' are the following:

1SG	vagyok	1PL	vagyunk
2SG	vagy	2PL	vagytok
3SG	van	3PL	vannak

In the third person the verb 'be' has negative forms: *nincs(en)* 'is not' *nincsenek* '3PL are not', *sincs(en)* 'is not either', and *sincsenek* '3PL are not either'.

The present tense personal suffixes of other verbs are illustrated with the paradigms of the verbs *ad* 'give', *kér* 'want, ask for', *tör* 'break', *iszik* 'drink', *eszik* 'eat', and *szökik* 'escape'. (For a discussion of the second person singular *-ol/el* suffix, as in *iszol* and *eszel*, see below.)

*Indefinite conjugation*

	<i>-ik-less verbs</i>	<i>-ik verbs</i>
1SG	adok, kérek, török	iszom, eszem, szököm
2SG	adsz, kérsz, törsz	iszol, eszel, szöksz
3SG	ad, kér, tör	iszik, eszik, szökik
1PL	adunk, kérünk, törünk	(same as <i>-ik-less verbs</i> )
2PL	adtok, kérték, törtök	
3PL	adnak, kérnek, törnek	
1SG subject with second person object	adlak, kérelek, törlek	

*Definite conjugation:*

1SG	adom, kérem, töröm
2SG	adod, kéred, töröd
3SG	adja, kéri, töri
1PL	adjuk, kérjük, törjük
2PL	adjátok, kéritek, töritek
3PL	adják, kérik, törik

In the indefinite conjugation first person singular forms *-ik* verbs, i.e., verbs whose present tense third person singular indefinite forms receive the *-ik* suffix, use what is otherwise the definite suffix in Standard Hungarian. The use of the indefinite *-ok/ek/ök* suffix for *-ik* verbs (e.g., *eszek* 'I eat', *iszok* 'I drink', and *szökök* 'I escape') is very common in colloquial Hungarian, although speakers striving to use what is considered 'good Hungarian' use the traditional *m*-final endings (Kontra 1995:64).

Verbs whose stem ends in two consonants (except for geminates) or in a long vowel (except for *á* and *é*) and *-t* insert a linking vowel before the second person singular and plural and before the third person plural suffixes. The relevant forms for *tanít* 'teach', *segít* 'help', and *fűt* 'heat' are given below:

*Indefinite conjugation*

1SG	tanítok, segítek, fűtök
2SG	tanítasz, segítesz, fűtesz
3SG	tanít, segít, fűt
1PL	tanítunk, segítünk, fűtünk
2PL	tanítotok, segítetek, fűtötök
3PL	tanítanak, segítenek, fűtenek
1SG subject with second person object	tanítalak, segítelek, fűtelek

Verbs whose stem ends in *-s*, *-sz*, or *-z*, in the second person singular indefinite receive *-ol/el/öl* instead of the *-sz* suffix; see forms of *iszik* and *eszik* above, and e.g., *olvasol* 'you (SG) read', *viszel* 'you (SG) carry', and *főzöl* 'you (SG) cook'. In the definite conjugation the stem-final sibilants of these verbs completely assimilate all suffix-initial *js* (in the back vowel third person singular and all plural suffixes, and in the front vowel first person plural suffixes).

The definite forms of the verbs *olvas* 'read', *visz* 'carry', and *főz* 'cook' are given below as illustrations:

*Definite conjugation:*

1SG	olvasom, viszem, főzöm
2SG	olvasod, viszed, főzöd
3SG	olvassa, viszi, főzi
1PL	olvassuk, vesszük, főzzük
2PL	olvassátok, viszitek, főzitek
3PL	olvassák, viszik, főzik

In non-Standard Hungarian verbs ending in *-t* undergo assimilations identical to those of imperative forms when *j*-initial suffixes are attached to them, e.g., *lássuk* 'we see (DEF)' and *válasszuk* 'we choose (DEF)' instead of the Standard *látjuk* and *választjuk*, respectively. Such forms are, however, very heavily stigmatized as uneducated (Kontra 1995:64, Váradi and Kontra 1995). (For details about the assimilations in imperative forms, see section 2.1.3.4.3.)

The verb *megy* 'go' has irregular forms in the second person singular and plural and in the third person plural: *mész* 'you (SG) go', *mentek* 'you (PL) go', and *mennek* 'they go'.

The verbs *ró* 'carve (archaic)', *lő* 'shoot', *sző* 'weave', *nő* 'grow', *fő* 'cook', and *rí* 'weep' insert an epenthetic *-v-* before suffixes beginning with a vowel. In those same cases the verb *jön* 'come' takes an *-n-*less stem and inserts an epenthetic *-v-* as well. (Note that *jön* is slightly irregular in other forms as well.) The forms of *ró*, *lő*, and *jön* are given below.

*Indefinite conjugation*

1SG	rovok, lövök, jövök
2SG	rósz, lősz, jössz
3SG	ró, lő, jön
1PL	rovunk, lövünk, jövünk
2PL	rótok, lőtök, jöttök
3PL	rónak, lőnek, jönnek
1SG subject with second person object	rólak, lőlek

*Definite conjugation:*

1SG	rovom, lövöm
2SG	rovod, lövöd
3SG	rója, lövi
1PL	rójuk, lőjük
2PL	rójátok, lövitek
3PL	róják, lövik

In the indicative mood the present tense indicates that the action:

- (i) is taking place at the moment of speaking (585)
- (ii) is taking place at about this time but not necessarily at the moment of speaking (586)
- (iii) takes place habitually, always or often (587)
- (iv) began in the past and still continues (588)
- (v) has not happened for some time and is not expected to happen again (589)
- (vi) will take place in the future (590)–(592)
- (vii) took place in the past—only in narratives, relating historical biographies etc. (593).

The interpretation of the present tense verb-form is affected by adverbials occurring in the sentence (cf. (589) and (590)) or by the general context (cf. (591) and (592)).

- (585) Hova megy-ünk?  
where.to go-INDEF.1PL  
'Where are we going?'
- (586) Franciá-ul tanul-ok.  
French-ESS learn-INDEF.1SG  
'I'm learning French.'
- (587) Veronika gyalog jár iskolá-ba.  
Veronica on.foot go.INDEF.3SG school-ILL  
'Veronica always walks to school.'
- (588) Andrea 1989 óta lak-ik Budapest-en.  
Andrea 1989 since live-INDEF.3SG Budapest-SUP  
'Andrea has been living in Budapest since 1989.'
- (589) Attila már egy év-e nem dohányz-ik.  
Attila already one year-POSS.3SG not smoke-INDEF.3SG  
'Attila hasn't been smoking for a year now.'
- (590) Jövő kedd-en érkez-ünk London-ba.  
next Tuesday-SUP arrive-INDEF.1PL London-ILL  
'We'll arrive in London next Tuesday.'
- (591) *Question*  
Most mi-t fog-sz csinál-ni?  
now what-ACC FUT-INDEF.2SG do-INF  
'What are you going to do now?'
- Answer*  
Meg-vesz-em ez-t a könyv-et.  
PFX-buy-DEF.1SG this-ACC the book-ACC  
'I'm going to buy this book.'
- (592) Orvos lesz-ek, beteg-ek-et gyógyít-ok és  
doctor be.FUT-1SG sick-PL-ACC cure-INDEF.1SG and  
élet-ek-et ment-ek.  
life-PL-ACC save-INDEF.1SG  
'I'll be a doctor, I'll cure the sick and save lives.'

(593) Később Bartók Ameriká-ba megy, és 1945-ben  
 later Bartók America-ILL go.INDEF.3SG and 1945-INE  
 ott hal meg.  
 there die.INDEF.3SG PFX

'Later Bartók goes to America and that is where he dies in 1945.'

Present conditional verb-forms refer to the present or the future, in absolute or relative terms. (For the formation of the conditional verb-forms see section 2.1.3.4.2 below.)

(594) Ha nem le-nné-k beteg, el-men-né-k  
 if not be-CON-1SG sick PFX-go-CON-INDEF.1SG  
 mozi-ba.  
 movies-ILL

'If I weren't sick, I'd go to the movies.'

(595) Mi le-nne, ha nem men-né-nk mozi-ba?  
 what be-CON.3SG if not go-CON-INDEF.1PL movies-ILL  
 'What would happen if we didn't go to the movies?'

(596) Az-t mond-t-ad, hogy el-men-né-1  
 that-ACC say-PAST-DEF.2SG that PFX-go-CON-INDEF.2SG  
 mozi-ba.  
 movies-ILL

'You said that you would go to the movies.'

(597) Az-t mond-od, hogy el-men-né-1  
 that-ACC say-DEF.2SG that PFX-go-CON-INDEF.2SG  
 mozi-ba?  
 movies-ILL

'Are you saying that you would go to the movies?'

(598) Az-t fog-od mond-ani, hogy  
 that-ACC FUT-DEF.2SG say-INF that  
 el-men-né-1 mozi-ba.  
 PFX-go-CON-INDEF.2SG movies-ILL

'You will say that you would go to the movies.'

Imperative forms do not have tense distinctions in Hungarian. In their meaning they can refer only to the future. (For the formation of imperative verb-forms see section 2.1.3.4.3 below.)

(599) Vegy-él nek-em fagylalt-ot!  
 buy.IMP-INDEF.2SG DAT-1SG ice.cream-ACC  
 'Buy me some ice cream!'

In their subjunctive use, imperative forms can have a relative past, present, or future tense meaning.

- (600) Az-t mond-t-ad, hogy vegy-ek  
that-ACC say-PAST-DEF.2SG that buy.IMP-INDEF.1SG  
fagylalt-ot.  
ice.cream-ACC  
'You told me to buy some ice-cream.'
- (601) Az-t mond-od, hogy vegy-ek nek-ed  
that-ACC say-DEF.2SG that buy.IMP-INDEF.1SG DAT-2SG  
fagylalt-ot?  
ice.cream-ACC  
'Are you telling me to buy you some ice-cream?'
- (602) Az-t fog-od mond-ani, hogy vegy-ek  
that-ACC FUT-DEF.2SG say-INF that buy.IMP-1SG  
fagylalt-ot.  
ice.cream-ACC  
'You'll tell me to buy some ice-cream.'

**2.1.3.2.1.3. Past** The past tense can be expressed in the indicative and the conditional moods in Hungarian. In the indicative mood the past tense is marked by the *-t/tt* past tense suffix which is attached to the verb stem before personal suffixes. The past tense paradigms are illustrated by the forms of the verbs *vár* 'wait, expect', *kér* 'want, ask for', *tart* 'keep' and *fest* 'paint' below.

*Indefinite conjugation*

1SG	vártam, kértem, tartottam, festettem
2SG	vártál, kértél, tartottál, festettél
3SG	várt, kért, tartott, festett
1PL	vártunk, kértünk, tartottunk, festettünk
2PL	vártatok, kértetek, tartottatok, festettetek
3PL	vártak, kértek, tartottak, festettek
1SG subject with second person object	vártalak, kértelek, tartottalak, festettelek

*Definite conjugation*

1SG	vártam, kértem, tartottam, festettem
2SG	vártad, kérted, tartottad, festetted
3SG	várta, kérte, tartotta, festette
1PL	vártuk, kértük, tartottuk, festettük
2PL	vártátok, kértétek, tartottátok, festettétek
3PL	várták, kérték, tartották, festették

The choice between the short (-t) suffix and the long (-tt) suffix is determined in the following way.

Verbs ending in a vowel and -l, -r, -n, -ny, -j, or -ly, or in a geminate of any of these consonants, take the short past tense suffix in all of their forms: for instance, the first person singular forms of *csinál* 'do', *köszön* 'thank', *folyik* 'flow' are *csináltam*, *köszöntem*, and *folytam*, respectively. Vowel-deleting stems ending in other consonants take the long past tense suffix (attached to the shortened stem) in the third person singular indefinite form and the short past tense suffix in all other past forms: e.g., the first and third person singular indefinite forms of the verbs *érez* 'feel', *inog* 'wobble, sway' and *mosolyog* 'smile' are *éreztem*, *inogtam*, and *mosolyogtam*, but *érezett*, *ingott*, and *mosolygott*, respectively.

Verbs ending in a consonant cluster (with some exceptions, such as *küld* 'send', *mond* 'say', *zeng* 'resound', and *mereng* 'brood over'), or in -ít and the verb *bocsát* 'admit', as well as monosyllabic verbs ending in -t (except *lát*), take the long past tense suffix in all forms (see paradigms for *tart* and *fest* above).

All other verbs take the long past tense suffix in the third person singular indefinite form and the short one in all other forms. So, for instance, the first and third person singular indefinite forms for *ad* 'give', *dolgozik* 'work', *szeret* 'like, love' and *lép* 'step' are *adtam*, *dolgoztam*, *szerettem*, *léptem*, but *adott*, *dolgozott*, *szeretett*, and *lépett*, respectively.

The past tense stem of 'be' is *vol-* (*voltam* 'I was', *voltál* 'you (SG) were' etc.). Irregular verbs of the *vesz*-type take an allomorph ending in the stem vowel and employ the long past tense suffix: e.g., the first person singular forms of *vesz* 'take', *visz* 'carry', *iszik* 'drink' and *eszik* 'eat' are *vettem*, *vittem*, *ittam*, and *ettem*, respectively. (In the third person singular indefinite forms *eszik* and *iszik* have the forms *evett* and *ivott*.) The -ik verbs that take stems ending in -d in the infinitive take the -d stems in past tense forms as well: the first person singular forms of *alszik* 'sleep', *fekszik* 'lie', *nyugszik* 'calm', and *cselekszik* 'act' are *aludtam*, *feküdtem*, *nyugodtam*, *cselekedtem*, respectively. Some of these, like *nyugszik* and *cselekszik*, take the long past tense suffix in third person singular indefinite forms (*nyugodott*, *cselekedett*), while others, like *alszik* and *fekszik*, take the short past tense suffix in all forms.

The past tense in Hungarian refers to an action which:

- (i) took place before the moment of speaking (603)–(604)
- (ii) started in the past and was completed before the moment of speaking (605)
- (iii) has not taken place for some time but is expected to happen (606) (also cf. (589) above)
- (iv) took place often or habitually in the past (607).

- (603) Márta telefonál-t.  
Martha call-PAST.INDEF.3SG  
'Martha called.'
- (604) Mária három év-ig lak-ott eb-ben a  
Maria three year-TER live-PAST.INDEF.3SG this-INE the  
ház-ban.  
house-INE  
'Maria lived in this house for three years.'
- (605) Ezer év-e nem lát-t-alak!  
thousand year-POSS.3SG not see-PAST-1SG.2OBJ  
'I haven't seen you for ages!'
- (606) Május óta nem ve-tt-em könyv-et.  
May since not buy-PAST-INDEF.1SG book-ACC  
'I haven't bought any books since May.'
- (607) Pál mindig gyalog jár-t iskolá-ba.  
Paul always on.foot go-PAST.INDEF.3SG school-ELA  
'Paul always walked to school.'

In the conditional mood, past conditional forms refer to past unfulfilled actions.

- (608) Ha nem le-tt-em volna beteg, el-men-t-em  
if not be-PAST-1SG COND sick PFX-go-PAST-INDEF.1SG  
volna mozi-ba.  
COND movies-ILL  
'If I hadn't been sick, I would have gone to the movies.'

2.1.3.2.1.3.1. *Subdivision of past* Historically, Hungarian had four past tenses, of which only one survives in modern Hungarian. The short summary of the historical past tenses below is based on Bárczi *et al.* (1967:505–506).

The historical 'relating past tense' involved an *-á/é* past tense marker (e.g., *várék* 'I waited', *várál* 'you waited') and was used for the relation of past events.

A continuous past tense, expressed with the present tense verb-form and the auxiliary *vala* (e.g., *várok vala* 'I waited', *vársz vala* 'you waited'), was used to refer to incomplete past actions, providing background information about the actions referred to by the relating past tense.

The completive past tense contained the *-t/tt* past tense marker (e.g., *vártam* 'I waited', *vártál* 'you waited') and was used to refer to past actions with result in the present or with which the speaker felt an emotional connectedness.

The pluperfect past tense, consisting of the completive *-t/tt* past tense-marked verb and the auxiliary *vala* (e.g., *vártam vala* 'I had waited, *vártál vala* 'you had waited'), was used to refer to a past action that occurred earlier than actions referred to with the other past tenses.

None of these past tenses, except for what used to be the completive and is now the only past tense, are now used in modern Standard Hungarian.

In modern Hungarian, remoteness of past can only be indicated by adverbials.

**2.1.3.2.1.4. Future** Future tense is marked only in the indicative mood in Hungarian. It refers to an action that will take place after the moment of speaking.

Note that future actions can also be referred to with the present tense in Hungarian; see section 2.1.3.2.1.2 above.

The use of the present tense for future time reference is more common with perfective than with imperfective verb-forms.

Only the verb 'be' has synthetic future forms; all other forms are expressed with the auxiliary verb *fog* marked for person, number, and definiteness, while the lexical verb is in the infinitive not marked for person.

*Future forms of 'be'*

1SG	leszek
2SG	leszel
3SG	lesz
1PL	leszünk
2PL	lesztek
3PL	lesznek

*Forms of auxiliary 'fog'*

*Indefinite conjugation*

1SG	fogok
2SG	fogsz
3SG	fog
1PL	fogunk
2PL	fogtok
3PL	fognak
1SG subject with second person object	foglak

## Definite conjugation

1SG	fogom
2SG	fogod
3SG	fogja
1PL	fogjuk
2PL	fogjátok
3PL	fogják

(609) Hat után otthon lesz-ek.  
six after at.home be.FUT-1SG  
'I'll be home after six.'

(610) Meg fog-om kérdez-ni er-ről Krisztinát.  
PFX FUT-DEF.1SG ask-INF this-DEL Christina-ACC  
'I'll ask Christina about this.'

Remote future can only be indicated with adverbials in Hungarian.

## 2.1.3.2.3. Absoluteness and relativeness of the tenses

The tenses in Hungarian are absolute or relative depending on the context. In indirect speech, subordinate clauses retain the tenses they would have in direct speech and are interpreted in relation to the main clause.

(611) Eva az-t mond-t-a, hogy beszél  
Eve that-ACC say-PAST-DEF.3SG that speak.INDEF.3SG  
angol-ul.  
English-ESS

'Eve said that she spoke English.'

(612) Péter az-t mond-t-a, hogy fáradt vol-t.  
Peter that-ACC say-PAST-DEF.3SG that tired be-PAST.3SG  
'Peter said that he had been tired.'

(613) Györgyi az-t mond-t-a, hogy itt lesz.  
Georgina that-ACC say-PAST-DEF.3SG that here be.FUT.3SG  
'Georgina said that she would be here.'

(614) Györgyi az-t fog-ja mond-ani, hogy fáradt  
Georgina that-ACC FUT-DEF.3SG say-INF that tired  
vol-t.  
be-PAST.3SG  
'Georgina will say that she was tired.'

## 2.1.3.3. Aspect

Aspect is a grammatical category that has not yet been fully and comprehensively dealt with in the linguistic literature of Hungarian, descriptive or theoretical. The present account aims at summarizing the findings to date, primarily on the basis of Tompa (1961), Hetzron (1982), Kiefer (1982a), and É.Kiss (1987).

Aspect is expressed primarily through the use and syntactic positioning of prefixes in Hungarian. (For information about prefixes see section 2.1.3.6.12.)

## 2.1.3.3.2. Aspect distinctions as different ways of viewing the duration of a situation

The main markers of aspect in Hungarian are prefixes and their syntactic positions in the sentence. (For a discussion of prefixes see section 2.1.3.6.12.) In addition, several aspectual properties such as continuity, iterativity, and ingressivity, can be expressed by derivational means in the verb. Prefixes modify the aspectual properties of the verbs they occur with, but the way in which that modification works depends to a great extent on the aspectual properties of the verbs themselves. There are no formal means of marking aspect in Hungarian that apply regularly to all verbs.

**2.1.3.3.2.1. Formal marking of aspect**

2.1.3.3.2.1.1. *Perfective aspect* Stative verbs express perfectivity in their past tense forms.

(615) Kristóf tud-t-a a válasz-t.  
Christopher know-PAST-DEF.3SG the answer-ACC  
'Christopher knew the answer.'

(616) Mihály szeret-t-e Mártá-t.  
Michael love-PAST-DEF.3SG Martha-ACC  
'Michael loved Martha.'

(617) Anitá örül-t az ajándék-nak.  
Anitá be.happy-PAST.INDEF.3SG the present-DAT  
'Anitá was very happy about the present.'

Perfectivity in a construction involving a prefix can always be expressed by placing a prefix immediately before the verb in a neutral sentence, and immediately after it in a sentence containing a focussed constituent or a negative particle. All preverbal prefixes express perfectivity in these positions. (For a somewhat different, although not altogether

contradictory, account of the aspectual meaning of such sentences, see Hetzron (1982), where they are seen as expressing factual aspect, as opposed to the descriptive—in other approaches, progressive—aspect.)

- (618) József ki-men-t a terem-ből.  
Joseph out-go-PAST.INDEF.3SG the classroom-ELA  
'Joseph went out of the classroom.'
- (619) Andrea kék-re fest-ett-e a kapu-t.  
Andrea blue-SUB paint-PAST-DEF.3SG the gate-ACC  
'Andrea painted the gate blue.'
- (620) Károly el-beszélget-t-e Mártá-val az idő-t.  
Charles away-talk-PAST-DEF.3SG Martha-INS the time-ACC  
'Charles spent his time talking to Martha.'
- (621) A vállalat csőd-be men-t.  
the company bankruptcy-ILL go-PAST.INDEF.3SG  
'The company went bankrupt.'

In verbs that do not have a prefix, perfectivity is often expressed with the preverbal prefixes *meg* (which has no primary adverbial meaning, only an aspectual one) and *el* 'away': *ír* 'write'—*megír* 'write completely', *olvas* 'read'—*elolvas* 'read completely', *énekel* 'sing'—*elénekel* 'sing completely', *csinál* 'do'—*megcsinál* 'complete, do completely', *főz* 'cook'—*megfőz* 'cook completely', *számol* 'count'—*megszámol* 'count up', *iszik* 'drink'—*megiszik* 'drink completely', *eszik* 'eat'—*megeszik* 'eat completely'.

- (622) El-olvas-t-ad a könyv-et?  
PFX-read-PAST-DEF.2SG the book-ACC  
'Have you finished reading the book?'
- (623) Meg-ír-t-ad a level-et?  
PFX-write-PAST-DEF.2SG the letter-ACC  
'Have you written the letter?'
- (624) Pál meg-csinál-t-a a lecké-jé-t.  
Paul PFX-do-PAST-DEF.3SG the homework-POSS.3SG-ACC  
'Paul did his homework.'

Some verbs occur only with prefixes: the verb 'die' has to have either a preverbal prefix, as in *meghal* 'die', or an argumental preverb, as in *hósi halált hal* 'die a heroic death'. (For a discussion of argumental preverbs see section 2.1.3.6.12.)

- (625) Péter nem hal-t meg.  
Peter not die-PAST.INDEF.3SG PFX  
'Peter didn't die.'

(626) A nagyapá-m hős-i halál-t  
 the grandfather-POSS.1SG hero-ADJDER death-ACC  
 hal-t.  
 die-PAST.INDEF.3SG  
 'My grandfather died a heroic death.'

2.1.3.3.2.1.2. *Imperfective aspect* The imperfective aspect as such cannot be expressed formally in Hungarian, though various imperfective categories—habitual, progressive, and iterative aspect—can be.

2.1.3.3.2.1.3. *Habitual aspect* Habitual aspect is indicated by the auxiliary *szokott*, which is formally a past tense verb-form, but which refers only to the present, expressing present habitual actions in Standard Hungarian.

(627) Nem szok-t-am tévé-t néz-ni.  
 not HABIT-PAST-INDEF.1SG TV-ACC watch-INF  
 'I don't watch TV usually.'

(628) Gyalog szok-t-ál jár-ni az egyetem-re?  
 on.foot HABIT-PAST-INDEF.2SG go-INF the university-SUB  
 'Do you walk to the university?'

(629) Miklós korán szok-ott fel-kel-ni.  
 Nicholas early HABIT-PAST.INDEF.3SG up-get-INF  
 'Nicholas gets up early.'

Past habitual actions can be referred to with past tense verb-forms, past tense adverbs, and adverbs of frequency such as *mindig* 'always', *sokat* 'a lot', and *gyakran* 'often'. The past tense adverbs *régen* and *régebben*, both meaning 'earlier', indicate that the action no longer happens, much like the auxiliary *used to* in English.

(630) Régebb-en mindig gyalog jár-t-am az  
 earlier-MOE always on.foot go-PAST-INDEF.1SG the  
 egyetem-re.  
 university-SUB  
 'I always used to walk to the university.'

(631) Péter régen sok-at dohányz-ott.  
 Peter earlier much-ACC smoke-PAST.INDEF.3sh  
 'Peter used to smoke a lot.'

(632) Gyerekkor-om-ban sok-at  
 childhood-POSS.1SG-INE much-ACC  
 bicikliz-t-em.  
 ride.bike-PAST-INDEF.1SG  
 'I rode my bike a lot when I was a child.'

2.1.3.3.2.1.5. *Progressive aspect* In verbal constructions containing prefixes, the progressive aspect is expressed by placing the prefix immediately after the verb and assigning primary stress (marked with ' below) to the verb, the prefix, and any phrase after it in the same clause. (With a different stress pattern, i.e., with primary stress on the preverbal constituent and secondary stress on the other constituents in the main clause, these sentences would be interpreted as involving a focussing of the preverbal constituent, e.g., (633) would mean 'It was Irene who went out the gate when I arrived'.)

Progressive sentences can also involve the adverb *épp(en)* 'just', as in (636) below.

(633) Irén 'men-t 'ki a 'kapu-n, amikor  
 Irene go-PAST.INDEF.3SG out the gate-SUP REL.when  
 meg-érkez-t-em.  
 PFX-arrive-PAST-INDEF.1SG

'Irene was going out the gate when I arrived.'

(634) Ferenc száll-t 'le a 'busz-ról, amikor  
 Frank get-PAST.INDEF.3SG down the bus-DEL REL.when  
 meg-lát-t-am.  
 PFX-see-PAST-1SG

'Frank was getting off the bus when I noticed him.'

Verbs that take up prefixes only to express perfectivity occur by themselves to express the progressive.

(635) 'Olvas-t-am a 'könyv-et, amikor  
 read-PAST-DEF.1SG the book-ACC REL.when  
 meg-szólal-t a csengő.  
 PFX-ring-PAST.INDEF.3SG the bell

'I was reading the book when the doorbell rang.'

(636) A kutya éppen 'ev-ett, amikor a macska  
 the dog just eat-PAST.INDEF.3SG REL.when the cat  
 be-jö-tt.  
 in-come-PAST.INDEF.3SG

'The dog was just eating when the cat came in.'

Verbs with a durative meaning (see section 2.1.3.3.2.1.11) occur by themselves to express the progressive.

2.1.3.3.2.1.6. *Ingressive aspect* Derivational suffixes expressing the ingressive aspect are the unproductive suffixes *-odik/edik/ödik*: *felháborít* 'make indignant'—*felháborodik* 'become indignant'.

Ingressive aspect can be marked on many stative verbs with the prefixes *meg*, *el*, and sometimes *fel*: *tud* 'know'—*megtud* 'find out, get to know', *lát* 'see'—*meglát* 'notice', *szerelem* 'like, love'—*megszeret* 'get to like, love', *haragszik* 'be angry'—*megharagszik* 'become angry', *örül* 'be happy'—*megörül* 'become happy', *hallgat* 'be quiet, listen'—*elhallgat* 'become quiet, shut up', *alszik* 'sleep'—*elalszik* 'fall asleep', *zúg* 'roar, drone'—*felzúg* 'start to roar, drone'.

Other stative verbs, such as *van* 'be', *létezik* 'exist', and *tartalmaz* 'consist', cannot be combined with prefixes.

(637) Rita nagyon meg-haragud-ott rá-nk.  
Rita very PFX-be.angry-PAST.INDEF.3SG SUB-1PL  
'Rita got very angry with us.'

(638) A kisfiú gyors-an el-alud-t.  
the little.boy quick-MOE PFX-sleep-PAST.INDEF.3SG  
'The little boy fell asleep quickly.'

The ingressive aspect can be indicated for nonstative verbs with the help of the verb (*el*)*kezd* 'begin, start'.

(639) Mária énekel-ni kezd-ett.  
Maria sing-INF start-PAST.INDEF.3SG  
'Maria started to sing.'

2.1.3.3.2.1.8. *Iterative aspect* The derivational suffix *-gat/get/ogat/eget/öget* indicates iterativity: *néz* 'look'—*nézeget* 'look repeatedly', *ölt* 'stitch'—*öltöget* 'stitch repeatedly, sew', *int* 'wave once'—*integet* 'wave repeatedly', *szólít* 'address'—*szólítgat* 'address, call at repeatedly'.

(640) A gyerek-ek fénykép-ek-et nézeget-t-ek.  
the child-PL photo-PL-ACC look.ITER-PAST-INDEF.3PL  
'The children were looking at photos.'

(641) János hiába szólítgat-t-a Pál-t, az nem  
John in.vain call.ITER-PAST-DEF.3SG Paul-ACC that not  
ébred-t fel.  
wake-PAST.INDEF.3SG up  
'John was calling Paul in vain, and he didn't wake up.'

(It is important to note that in some cases the *-gat/get/ogat/eget/öget* suffix

changes the meaning of the verb it is derived from: e.g., *mos* 'wash'—*mosogat* 'do dishes', *lát* 'see'—*látogat* 'visit', *kér* 'ask for'—*kéreget* 'beg' (Robert Hetzron, personal communication, 1996.)

Other common but unproductive derivational suffixes expressing iterativity are *-ong/eng/öng*, as in *hajlik* 'bend'—*hajlong* 'bow repeatedly', *jaj* 'oh! (interjection)'—*jajong* 'wail, lament'; and *-oz(ik)/ez(ik)/öz(ik)*, as in *kiált* 'call out, cry'—*kiáltozik* 'call out, shout repeatedly', *sóhajt* 'sigh'—*sóhajtozik* 'sigh repeatedly'.

- (642) *Miért sóhajtoz-ol?*  
 why sigh.ITER-INDEF.2SG  
 'Why are you sighing?'

A rarer and rather unproductive iterative suffix is *-kod/ked/köd*, which occurs on some verbs ending in *-p*: e.g., *csap* 'strike'—*csapkod* 'strike repeatedly', *lép* 'step'—*lépked* 'step repeatedly', and *repül* 'fly'—*röpköd* 'fly around'.

- (643) *A szobá-ban egy madár röpköd-ött.*  
 the room-INE a bird fly.ITER-PAST.INDEF.3SG  
 'A bird was flying around in the room.'

Also rare and unproductive are the suffixes *-gál/gél/igál* and *-dos/des/dös*: *húz* 'pull'—*húzgál* 'pull repeatedly', *szalad* 'run'—*szaladgál* 'run around', *nevet* 'laugh'—*nevetgél* 'giggle', *bök* 'poke'—*bökdös* 'poke repeatedly', *lök* 'push'—*lökdös* 'push repeatedly'.

- (644) *Évi-ke egész nap csak szaladgál a szobá-ban.*  
 Eve-DIM whole day just run.ITER.INDEF.3SG the room-INE  
 'Little Eve just runs around the room all day.'

- (645) *Ne lökdös-s!*  
 not push.ITER-IMP.INDEF.2SG  
 'Stop pushing me!'

Iterativity can also be expressed by doubling of the preverbal prefix.

- (646) *Anna ki-ki-néz-ett az utcá-ra.*  
 Anna out-out-look-PAST.INDEF.3SG the street-SUB  
 'Every now and then Anna looked out in the street.'

- (647) *Rita el-el-men-t a nagynén-jé-hez*  
 Rita away-away-go-PAST.INDEF.3SG the aunt-POSS.3SG-ALL  
 a kórház-ba.  
 the hospital-ILL  
 'Rita visited her aunt in the hospital every now and then.'

Such doubled prefixes are hyphenated in orthography: *ki-kinéz* 'look out repeatedly'.

2.1.3.3.2.1.9. *Semelfactive aspect* Semelfactive aspect is most often expressed by verbs derived with *-an/en*, *-int*, and *-ant/ent*: *pattan* 'bounce once', *csobban* 'splash once', *durran* 'make banging noise once', *szökken* 'leap once', *harsan* '(for trumpet) sound once', *köhög* 'cough'—*köhint* 'cough once', *bólogat* 'nod repeatedly'—*bólint* 'nod once', *horkol* 'snore'—*horkant* 'snore once', *vakkant* 'bark once', *tüsszög* 'sneeze repeatedly'—*tüsszent* 'sneeze once'.

- (648) Valaki tüsszent-ett.  
somebody sneeze.SEM-PAST.INDEF.3SG  
'Somebody sneezed (once).'
- (649) A labda csak egy-et pattan-t.  
the ball only one-ACC bounce.SEM-PAST.INDEF.3SG  
'The ball only bounced once.'
- (650) A kutya nem mer-t még vakkant-ani  
the dog not dare-PAST.INDEF.3SG even bark.SEM-INF  
sem.  
neither  
'The dog didn't dare to bark even once.'

Other verbs can sometimes take the extent adjunct *egyet* 'once' to express semelfactivity:

- (651) A harang kondul-t egy-et.  
the bell toll-PAST.INDEF.3SG one-ACC  
'The bell tolled once.'
- (652) Az oroszlán mordul-t egy-et.  
the lion growl-PAST.INDEF.3SG one-ACC  
'The lion growled once.'

The prefix *meg* can express semelfactivity with durative verbs: *csóvál* 'wag'—*megcsóvál* 'wag once', *csókol* 'kiss'—*megcsókol* 'kiss once', *dörzsöl* 'rub'—*megdörzsöl* 'rub once', *kapar* 'scratch'—*megkapar* 'scratch once'.

- (653) A kutya meg-csóvál-t-a a fark-á-t.  
the dog PFX-wag-PAST-DEF.3SG the tail-POSS.3SG-ACC  
'The dog wagged his tail once.'
- (654) Judit meg-csókol-t-a Márton-t.  
Judith PFX-kiss-PAST-DEF.3SG Martin-ACC  
'Judith gave Martin a kiss.'

2.1.3.3.2.1.10. *Punctual aspect* The punctual aspect is not expressed by any formal syntactic or derivational means in Hungarian.

2.1.3.3.2.1.11. *Durative aspect* Verbs with a durative meaning can be derived with various derivational suffixes. The most productive of these is *-gat/get/ogat/eget/öget*, as in *hall* 'hear'—*hallgat* 'listen', *beszél* 'speak'—*beszélget* 'talk', *köt* 'knit'—*kötöget* 'be knitting', *töröl* 'wipe'—*törölget* 'be wiping', and *söpör* 'sweep'—*söpröget* 'be sweeping'.

Less productive suffixes include *-oz(ik)/ez(ik)/öz(ik)*, as in *önt* 'pour'—*öntöz* 'water', and *álmodik* 'dream'—*álmodozik* 'be dreaming, daydream'; *-og/eg/ög*, as in *pattog* 'be bouncing', *mekeg* '(for goat) be bleating', *zümmög* 'be buzzing', *közeleg* 'be nearing'; and *-dogál/degél/dögél*, as in *fúj* 'blow'—*fújdogál* '(for wind) be blowing', *megy* 'go'—*mendegél* 'be going', *ül* 'sit'—*üldögél* 'sit around', and *áll* 'stand'—*álldogál* 'stand around'.

(655) Az ember-ek álldogál-t-ak és  
the person-PL stand.DUR-PAST-INDEF.3PL and  
beszélget-t-ek.  
talk-PAST-INDEF.3PL

'The people were standing around talking.'

(656) Gábor egész nap csak álmodoz-ott.  
Gabriel whole day only daydream-PAST.INDEF.3SG  
'Gabriel was just daydreaming all day.'

(657) A labda soká-ig pattog-ott.  
the ball late-TER bounce.DUR-PAST.INDEF.3SG  
'The ball bounced for a long time.'

2.1.3.3.2.1.12. *Simultaneous aspect* Simultaneity can be expressed in Hungarian only with the help of adverbial clauses.

(658) Amíg én takarít-ott-am, Gábor a kert-ben  
while I clean-PAST-INDEF.1SG Gabriel the garden-INE  
dolgoz-ott.  
work-PAST.INDEF.3SG

'While I was cleaning, Gabriel was working in the garden.'

2.1.3.3.2.1.13. *Existential aspect* The existential aspect, as proposed by É.Kiss, "expresses that the action has already taken place an indefinite number of times, but at least once, or will take place an indefinite number of times, but at least once" (1987:72). The existential aspect is expressed by stressing the verb and placing the prefix after the verb, with the adverbs *már* 'already' and *meg* 'still' often occurring between the verb and the prefix, the former in past tense sentences and the latter in sentences referring to the future.

- (659) Nóra men-t már el Pál-tól sír-va.  
Nora go-PAST.INDEF.3SG already away Paul-ABL cry-SCVB  
'Nora has left Paul's place crying before.'
- (660) Vilmos jön meg haza részeg-en.  
William come.INDEF.3SG still to.home drunk-MOE  
'William will come home drunk at some point.'

In cases when no prefix occurs in the verbal construction, the adverbs *már* and *még* appear to be obligatory. Without them the sentences have different interpretations (cf. (661)–(662) and (663)–(664), respectively):

- (661) Edit dohányz-ott már az erkély-en.  
Edith smoke-PAST.INDEF.3SG already the balcony-SUP  
'Edith has smoked on the balcony before.'
- (662) Edit dohányz-ott az erkély-en.  
Edith smoke-PAST.INDEF.3SG the balcony-SUP  
'As for Edith, what she did on the balcony is smoke.'
- (663) Edit fog még dohányoz-ni az erkély-en.  
Edith FUT.INDEF.3SG still smoke-INF the balcony-SUP  
'Edith will smoke on the balcony at some point.'
- (664) Edit fog dohányoz-ni az erkély-en.  
Edith FUT.3SG smoke-INF the balcony-SUP  
'As for Edith, she *will* smoke on the balcony.'

2.1.3.3.2.1.14. *Telicity* In Hungarian, verbal constructions with a perfective prefix or, in the progressive, with a definite direct object indicate telicity, whereas verbs without perfective prefixes and with an incorporated articleless object indicate the atelic nature of the situation. Thus, (665) and (666) express telicity, while (667) does not.

- (665) György meg-i-tt-a a bor-t.  
George PFX-drink-PAST-DEF.3SG the wine-ACC  
'George drank the wine.'
- (666) György i-tt-a a bor-t.  
George drink-PAST-DEF.3SG the wine-ACC  
'George was drinking the wine.'
- (667) György bor-t iv-ott.  
George wine-ACC drink-PAST.INDEF.3SG  
'George drank (some) wine.'

2.1.3.3.2.2.2. Restrictions on combination of aspect with other verbal features

2.1.3.3.2.2.2.1. Aspect and voice The passive construction almost always involves a preverbal prefix in Hungarian, which, at least partly, carries a perfective meaning.

(668) A kérvény meg van ír-va.  
the application PFX be.3SG write-SCVB  
'The application has been written.'

(669) A kérvény be vol-t ad-va.  
the application in be-PAST.3SG give-SCVB  
'The application was submitted.'

2.1.3.3.2.2.2.2. Aspect and tense Aspect distinctions are the same in all tenses in Hungarian.

2.1.3.3.2.2.2.3. Aspect and mood Aspect distinctions are the same in all moods in Hungarian.

2.1.3.3.2.2.2.4. Aspect and finiteness Aspect distinctions are the same across finite and nonfinite verb-forms in Hungarian.

2.1.3.4. Mood

Three moods are marked in Hungarian morphologically: the indicative, the conditional, and the imperative.

The debitive and the potential, as well as possibility and the degree of certainty, can be expressed with auxiliary verbs in Hungarian.

2.1.3.4.1. Indicative

The indicative mood is expressed by zero marking on the verb. The indicative occurs in all three of the tenses.

(670) Sára egyetem-en tanít.  
Sara university-SUP teach.INDEF.3SG  
'Sara teaches at a university.'

(671) Andrea tegnap érkez-ett Párizs-ból.  
Andrea yesterday arrive-PAST.INDEF.3SG Paris-ELA  
'Andrea arrived from Paris yesterday.'

(672) Holnap-tól László itt fog dolgoz-ni.  
 tomorrow-ABL László here FUT.INDEF.3SG work-INF  
 'László will be working here from tomorrow.'

## 2.1.3.4.2. Conditional

The conditional mood occurs in the present tense and the past tense in Hungarian.

In the present tense the conditional is marked by the *-na/ne/ná/né* suffix, which is attached to the verb stem before the suffix expressing person and number. (The allomorphs *-ná/né* occur in all persons and numbers and in both conjugations, except for the third person singular indefinite conjugation forms of *-ik*-less verbs, which take *-na/ne*.) The personal suffixes are identical with those of the present tense indicative suffixes in both conjugations, except in the definite conjugation forms of *-ik* verbs.

The conditional forms are illustrated below with *vár* 'wait, expect' and *kér* 'want, ask for' (as well as by *utazik* 'travel' and *esik* 'fall' for the indefinite forms of *-ik* verbs).

*Indefinite conjugation*

		<i>-ik</i> -less verbs	<i>-ik</i> verbs	
1SG	várnék	kérnék	utaznám	esném
2SG	várnál	kérnél	utaznál	esnél
3SG	várna	kérne	utaznék	esnék
			all verbs	
1PL			várnánk	kérnénk
2PL			várnátok	kérnétek
3PL			várnának	kérnének
1SG with second person object			várnálak,	kérnélek

*Definite conjugation*

	all verbs	
1SG	várnám	kérem
2SG	várnád	kéred
3SG	várná	kérne
1PL	várnánk	kérnénk
2PL	várnátok	kérnétek
3PL	várnák	kérnék

In the singular forms of the indefinite conjugation, the *-ik* verbs retain their separate paradigms in very formal literary style as well as in some Hungarian dialects. The same *-ik*-less paradigm forms (e.g., *utaznék* 'I

would travel', *esnék* 'I would fall', *utazna* 's/he would travel', and *esne* 's/he would fall') are used almost exclusively for the *-ik* verbs nowadays.

Verbs of the *vesz*-type form the conditional with a vowel-final stem and a geminated *n* of the conditional suffix: e.g., the first person singular indefinite forms of *vesz* 'take', *eszik* 'eat', and *iszik* 'drink' are *vennék*, *enném*, and *innám*, respectively.

(673) *Ha nem es-ne az eső, sétál-ni*  
if not fall-CON.INDEF.3SG the rain walk-INF  
men-né-k.  
go-CON-INDEF.1SG

'If it wasn't raining, I would go for a walk.'

(674) *Ha sok pénz-em le-nne, sok-at*  
if much money-POSS.1SG be-CON.3SG much-ACC  
*utaz-né-k.*  
travel-CON-INDEF.1SG

'If I had a lot of money, I would travel a lot.'

In the past tense, the conditional mood is expressed by the past tense verb and the auxiliary *volna*.

(675) *Ha nem es-ett volna az eső, sétál-ni*  
if not fall-PAST.INDEF.3SG COND the rain walk-INF  
men-t-em volna.  
go-PAST-INDEF.1SG COND

'If it hadn't rained, I would have gone for a walk.'

(676) *Ha siet-t-em volna, találko-z-t-am*  
if hurry-PAST-INDEF.1SG COND meet-PAST-INDEF.1SG  
volna vel-e.  
COND INS-3SG

'If I had hurried up, I would have met him/her.'

#### 2.1.3.4.3. Imperative

The imperative has no tense marking in Hungarian.

The imperative suffix *-j* is attached to the verb stem before personal suffixes. The imperative paradigms are illustrated by the forms of the verbs *vár* 'wait, expect' and *kér* 'want, ask for' below.

*Indefinite conjugation:*

1SG	várjak	kérjek
2SG	várj(ál)	kérj(él)
3SG	várjon	kérjen
1PL	várjunk	kérjünk
2PL	várjatok	kérjetek
3PL	várjanak	kérjenek
1SG subject with second person object	várjalak	kérjelek

*Definite conjugation:*

1SG	várjam	kérjem
2SG	vár(ja)d	kér(je)d
3SG	várja	kérje
1PL	várjuk	kérjük
2PL	várjátok	kérjetek
3PL	várják	kérjék

In verbs ending in *-s*, *-z*, or *-sz*, the imperative suffix assimilates completely to the stem-final consonant, for instance the first person singular indefinite forms for *olvas* 'read', *néz* 'watch', and *játszik* 'play' are *mossak*, *nézzek*, and *játsszak*, respectively. In verbs ending in *-st* and *-szt*, the stem-final *-t* is deleted and the preceding sibilant completely assimilates the imperative *-j*: e.g., the first person singular indefinite forms for *fest* 'paint' and *választ* 'choose' are *fessek* and *válasszak*, respectively.

In verbs ending in a short vowel and *-t*, the stem-final vowel and the imperative suffix coalesce into a geminate *-ss*: e.g., the first person singular indefinite forms for *szeret* 'like, love' and *fut* 'run' are *szeressek* and *fussak*, respectively.

In verbs ending in a long vowel or a nonsibilant consonant and *-t*, the imperative *-j* partially assimilates into a *-s*: e.g., the first person singular indefinite forms for *készít* 'prepare', *javít* 'repair', *kiált* 'shout', and *ért* 'understand' are *készítsek*, *javítsak*, *kiáltsak*, and *értsek*, respectively.

Verbs of the *vesz*-type form irregular stems ending in *-gy* in their imperative forms: e.g., the first person singular indefinite forms for *vesz* 'take' and *iszik* 'drink' are *vegyek* and *igyak*, respectively. In the second person singular definite forms the shorter alternative forms of these verbs end in *-dd*, *vidd* and *idd*. The verb *jön* takes a stem ending in *-j*: *jöjje* 'come.IMP.1SG.INDEF', and has two alternative forms in the second person: *jöjjél* and *gyere* in the singular, and *jöjjetek* and *gyertek* in the plural.

The imperative forms are used in genuine imperative constructions, in indirect commands, in first person plural suggestions (the equivalent of English 'let's' phrases), in the equivalent of 'let somebody do something' phrases together with *hadd* 'let (2SG imperative)', in first person questions

asking for suggestions (the equivalent of English 'shall I/we...?'), and in subordinate clauses of purpose.

In the imperative a preverbal prefix is placed after the verb in the neutral sentence. In negative imperatives the negative particle *ne* is used.

- (677) Olvas-d el ez-t!  
read-IMP.DEF.2SG PFX this-ACC  
'Read this!'
- (678) Éva az-t mond-t-a, hogy olvas-s-am  
Eve that-ACC say-PAST-DEF.3SG that read-IMP-DEF.1SG  
el ez-t.  
PFX this-ACC  
'Eve said that I should read this.'
- (679) Men-j-ünk mozi-ba!  
go-IMP-INDEF.1PL movies-ILL  
'Let's go to the movies.'
- (680) Had-d főz-z-ek ma ebéd-et!  
let-IMP.2SG cook-IMP-INDEF.1SG today lunch-ACC  
'Let me cook lunch today.'
- (681) Most mi-t csinál-j-ak?  
now what-ACC do-IMP-INDEF.1SG  
'What shall I do now?'
- (682) Az-ért men-t haza, hogy  
that-CAU go-PAST.INDEF.3SG to.home that  
olvas-s-on.  
read-IMP-INDEF.3SG  
'S/he went home to read.'

#### 2.1.3.4.4. Optative

There is no formal optative mood in Hungarian. A wish for something to come about can be indicated by the adverbs *bárcsak*, *bár*, both meaning 'if only', and *csak* 'only', all occurring together with a conditional verb phrase.

- (683) Bárcsak meg-hív-ná-nak minket!  
if.only PFX-invite-CON-INDEF.3PL we.ACC  
'If only they invited us!'
- (684) Bár ne le-nne ennyi dolg-om!  
if.only not be-CON.3SG this.much thing-POSS.1SG  
'If only I didn't have so much to do!'

- (685) Csak az-t a könyv-et el-olvas-t-am  
 only that-ACC the book-ACC PFX-read-PAST-DEF.1SG  
 volna!  
 COND  
 'If only I had read that book!'

## 2.1.3.4.5. Intentional

There is no special intentional mood in Hungarian. Intentionality can be expressed with the verbs *akar* 'want', *kíván* 'wish to', *óhajt* 'desire', *szándékozik* 'wish to', and the conditional verb-form *szeretne* 'would like to', together with the infinitive form of the lexical verb. (The verb *szándékozik* does not mark definiteness agreement.)

- (686) Haza akar-ok men-ni.  
 to.home want-INDEF.1SG go-INF  
 'I want to go home.'
- (687) Pál nem kíván kérdés-t fel-ten-ni.  
 Paul not wish.INDEF.3SG question-ACC up-put-INF  
 'Paul does not wish to ask a question.'
- (688) Pál nem szándékozik az-t a kérdés-t  
 Paul not wish-INDEF.3SG that-ACC the question-ACC  
 fel-ten-ni.  
 up-put-INF  
 'Paul does not wish to ask that question.'

## 2.1.3.4.6. Debitive

There is no formal debitive mood in Hungarian.

Obligation can be expressed with the auxiliary verbs *kell* 'need, have to' and *kellene* 'ought to'. The former expresses a stronger obligation than the latter.

The subject of both *kell* and *kellene* is in the dative case. The lexical verb is in the infinitive, which is marked for person and number if the obligation refers to a specific person rather than being a general statement. In the past tense *kell* forms a regular past tense, *kellett*, while *kellene*, formally a conditional verb-form, is used in the regular past conditional form, *kellett volna*.

Hungarian does not formally indicate a difference between moral and physical obligation.

- (689) Nek-em most men-n-em kell.  
DAT-1SG now go-INF-1SG need  
'As for me, I have to go now.'
- (690) Tegnap el kell-ett men-ni-ük a postá-ra.  
yesterday away need-PAST go-INF-3PL the post.office-SUB  
'Yesterday they had to go to the post office.'
- (691) Dorottya-nak sok-at kellene olvas-ni-a.  
Dorothy-DAT much-ACC ought.to read-INF-3SG  
'Dorothy ought to read a lot.'
- (692) Dorottya-nak több-et kell-ett volna olvas-ni-a.  
Dorothy-DAT more-ACC need-PAST COND read-INF-3SG  
'Dorothy ought to have read more.'
- (693) Mi-t kell a kert-tel csinál-ni?  
what-ACC need the garden-INS do-INF  
'What needs to be done to the garden?'

## 2.1.3.4.7. Potential

There is no formal potential mood in Hungarian.

Ability can be expressed with the auxiliaries *tud* and *bír*, both meaning 'be able to'. Both take the nonperson-marked infinitive forms of the lexical verb. In the past they both form regular past tenses.

The auxiliary *bír* is used to express physical ability or strength. The verb *tud* can indicate both learned ability (695) and potential due to circumstances (696).

- (694) Nem bír-ok fel-all-ni.  
not be.able-INDEF.1SG up-stand-INF  
'I am not able to stand up.'
- (695) Eszter már tavaly is tud-ott  
Esther already last.year also be.able-PAST.INDEF.3SG  
úsz-ni.  
swim-INF  
'Esther could already swim last year.'
- (696) Nem tud-ok fel-áll-ni, a macska  
not be.able-INDEF.1SG up-stand-INF the cat  
ül az öl-em-ben.  
sit.INDEF.3SG the lap-POSS.1SG-INE  
'I can't stand up; the cat is sitting in my lap.'

Verbs bearing the inflectional suffix *-hat/het* can also express potential—having the ability, the opportunity, the circumstances, the permission, the possibility, or the right to act. Verbs with *-hat/het* can be in the indicative or the conditional, but they can only be used in their finite forms. In the past tense the past tense suffix is attached after *-hat/het*.

- (697) Ez-t a könyv-et könny-en meg-szerez-het-em.  
this-ACC the book-ACC easy-MOE PFX-get-POT-DEF.1SG  
'I can get this book easily.'
- (698) Péter nem ír-hat Mária-nak level-et.  
Peter not write-POT.INDEF.3SG Maria-DAT letter-ACC  
'Peter can't write letters to Maria (=was not allowed to).'
- (699) Mi-t mond-hat-né-k nek-ed?  
what-ACC say-POT-CON-INDEF.1SG DAT-2SG  
'What could I say to you?'
- (700) Nem mond-hat-t-am meg nek-ed, hol vagy-ok.  
not tell-POT-PAST-DEF.1SG PFX DAT-2SG where be-1SG  
'I couldn't tell you where I was (=was not allowed to).'

Permission is also expressed with the auxiliaries *lehet* and *szabad*, while lack of permission can be indicated with *tilos*.

Both *lehet* and *szabad* take the nonperson-marked infinitive when the permission is general, and the person-marked infinitive when the permission refers to a specific person. The noun phrase indicating the person that the permission refers to is in the dative. In the past tense *szabad* occurs with the third person singular past form of *volt*, 'be', while *lehet* forms a past tense form, *lehetett*.

- (701) Péter-ké-nek nem szabad a kés-sel játsz-ani-a.  
Peter-DIM-DAT not PERM the knife-INS play-INF-3SG  
'Little Peter is not allowed to play with the knife.'
- (702) Itt ezelőtt szabad vol-t parkol-ni.  
here this.before PERM be-PAST.3SG park-INF  
'One could park here before.'
- (703) Haza lehet men-n-em?  
to.home PERM go-INF-1SG  
'Am I allowed to go home?'

The auxiliary *lehet* can also express potential due to circumstances. In cases where the subject is a passive recipient (as in (705) below), the auxiliary is optional.

- (704) A piac-on mindig lehet friss gyümölcs-öt ve-nni.  
the market-SUP always POTEN fresh fruit-ACC buy-INF  
'One can always buy fresh fruit at the farmer's market.'
- (705) A Vár-ból majdnem egész Budapest-et (lehet)  
the castle-ELA almost whole Budapest-ACC (POTEN)  
lát-ni.  
see-INF  
'One can see almost all of Budapest from the castle.'

The auxiliary *tilos* is mostly used in the wording of official prohibitions, and takes the infinitive of the lexical verb. In the past tense it occurs with *volt*.

- (706) Fű-re lép-ni tilos.  
grass-SUB step-INF PROHIB  
'Keep off the grass.'
- (707) Itt ezelőtt tilos vol-t dohányoz-ni.  
here this.before PROHIB be-PAST.3SG smoke-INF  
'Smoking was prohibited here before.'

#### 2.1.3.4.8. Degree of certainty

Degree of certainty can be indicated in Hungarian by the adjectives *valószínű* 'probable, likely', *lehetséges* 'possible', and *biztos* 'certain'; the verb *lehet* 'be possible'; or the adverbs *biztosan* 'certainly', *talán* 'perhaps', and *valószínűleg* 'probably'.

The adjectives *valószínű* and *lehetséges* and the verb *lehet* are used with clausal complements. In expressing degree of certainty the verb *lehet* cannot be used in the past.

- (708) Lehetséges, hogy Lajos is jön.  
possible that Louis also come.INDEF.3SG  
'It's possible that Louis is also coming.'
- (709) Nem vol-t valószínű, hogy Péter ott lesz.  
not be-PAST.3SG likely that Peter there be.FUT.3SG  
'It was not likely that Peter was going to be there.'
- (710) Lehet, hogy jöv-ök.  
be.possible that come-INDEF.1SG  
'I may be coming.'
- (711) Talán otthon van András.  
perhaps at.home be.3SG Andrew  
'Perhaps Andrew is at home.'

- (712) András biztosan otthon van.  
Andrew certainly at.home be.3SG  
'Andrew is most certainly at home.'

## 2.1.3.4.11. Monitory

There is no formal monitory mood in Hungarian.

An imperative involving a verb with a preverbal prefix indicates warning if the prefix is placed before the verb (rather than after it, as in non-warning imperatives). If the warning involves a negative particle, it is placed between the prefix and the verb.

- (713) El-mosogás-s, mi-re  
PFX-do.dishes-IMP.INDEF.2SG what-SUB  
vissza-jöv-ök!  
back-come-INDEF.1SG  
'You better do the dishes by the time I come back!'
- (714) El ne olvas-d az-t a könyv-et, nagyon  
PFX not read-IMP.DEF.2SG that-ACC the book-ACC very  
rossz!  
bad  
'Don't read that book, it's really bad!'

## 2.1.3.4.14. Contingent

There is no contingent mood in Hungarian. Possibility is expressed similarly to degree of certainty; see section 2.1.3.4.8 above.

## 2.1.3.5. Finite and nonfinite forms

Finite verbs indicate the person and number of the subject, the definiteness or indefiniteness of the accusative direct object, and—in one exceptional case, when the subject is first person singular and the object is second person—the person of the direct object. Finite forms also indicate time relations and mood.

Hungarian has the following nonfinite forms: one infinitive (marked or unmarked for the subject) and five participial forms.

The infinitive of a verb is derived with the suffix *-ni*: *ír* 'write'—*írni* 'to write', *olvas* 'read'—*olvasni* 'to read'. If the verb stem ends in two consonants or a long vowel (except *á* and *é*) and a consonant, the infinitival suffix is usually preceded by the linking vowel *-a/e*: *hall* 'hear'—*hallani* 'to hear', *tart* 'keep'—*tartani* 'to keep', *ért* 'understand'—*érteni* 'to understand'.

The verb *megy* 'go' takes the stem allomorph *men-* in the infinitive: *menni* 'to go'. The *vesz*-type verbs—*vesz* 'take', *tesz* 'put', *visz* 'carry', *hisz* 'believe', *eszik* 'eat', and *iszik* 'drink'—take stem allomorphs ending in a vowel and geminate the *n* of the infinitive suffix: *venni*, *tenni*, *vinni*, *hinni*, *enni*, and *inni*, respectively. The infinitive of 'be' is *lenni*. Several *-ik* verbs ending in *-sz*, like *alszik* 'sleep', *fekszik* 'lie', and *esküszik* 'swear', take stems ending in *-d* in their infinitival forms: *aludni*, *feküdni*, and *esküdni*.

The nonperson-marked infinitival forms are used as complements of lexical verbs, in expressing the future with the verb *fog* (see section 2.1.3.2.1.4), and with the auxiliaries *tud* and *bír* (see section 2.1.3.4.7); they can also be used with the other auxiliaries to express general, nonperson-specific forms (see sections 2.1.3.4.6 and 2.1.3.4.7).

(715) Nem szeret-ek itt lak-ni.  
not like-INDEF.1SG here live-INF  
'I don't like to live here.'

The person-marked infinitival forms have the possessive personal suffixes (see section 2.1.1.4.7). The paradigm is illustrated with the forms of *olvas* 'read', *fest* 'paint', and *tör* 'break' below.

1SG olvasnom, festenem, törnöm  
2SG olvasnod, festened, törnöd  
3SG olvasnia, festenie, törnie  
1PL olvasnunk, festenünk, törnünk  
2PL olvasnotok, festenetek, törnetek  
3PL olvasniuk, festeniük, törniük

The person-marked infinitive is used with the auxiliaries *kell*, *kellene*, *lehet*, and *szabad* (see sections 2.1.3.4.6 and 2.1.3.4.7), as well as in subject-complement clauses of adjectives:

(716) Nem fontos magyar-ul beszél-ni-e.  
not important Hungarian-ESS speak-INF-3SG  
'It is not important that s/he speak Hungarian.'

Hungarian has five participles: the active (present) participle, the passive (past) participle, the future participle, the simple (simultaneous) adverbial participle, and the perfective adverbial participle.

The active participle is formed with the *-ó/ő* suffix, and is used in an adjectival function.

(717) Az a táncol-ó nő az anyá-m.  
that the dance-APRT woman the mother-POSS.1SG  
'That dancing woman is my mother.'

(718) Az a kopasz férfi-val táncol-ó nő az  
 that the bald man-INS dance-APRT woman the  
 anyá-m.  
 mother-POSS.1SG

'That woman dancing with the bald man is my mother.'

Several lexicalized nouns originate in active participles: *író* 'writer', *olvasó* 'reader', *hűtőszekrény* 'refrigerator' (lit. 'cooling cupboard'), *szántóföld* 'arable land' (lit. 'plowing land'), *teniszütő* 'tennis racket' (lit. 'tennis hitter'), *Megváltó* 'Savior', etc.

The passive participle is formed with the *-t/tt* suffix, where the choice between the allomorphs is made exactly like the third person singular indefinite past tense form of the given verb (see section 2.1.3.2.1.3). The passive participle serves an adjectival function in Hungarian.

Passive participles can be formed from both transitive (719)–(720) and intransitive verbs (721)–(722).

(719) a meg-beszél-t találko-z-ó  
 the PFX-arrange-PPRT meet-APRT  
 'the arranged meeting'

(720) a tanul-t ember  
 the learn-PPRT person  
 'the learned person'

(721) a ki-tisztul-t ég  
 the out-clear-PPRT sky  
 'the cleared-up sky'

(722) a meg-hal-t ember  
 the PFX-die-PPRT person  
 'the dead person'

Several passive participles are also lexicalized adjectives and nouns: *sápadt* 'pale', *nyugodt* 'calm', *fáradt* 'tired', *halott* 'dead person', *őrült* 'mad person', *múlt* 'past'.

The future participle is derived with the *-andó/endő* suffix. It can be formed from transitive and intransitive verbs alike (although only future participles of transitive verbs are formed productively), and is adjectival in meaning.

(723) az el-jöv-endő kor  
 the PFX-come-FPRT age  
 'the age to come'

(724) a le-endő férj  
 the be-FPRT husband  
 'the husband-to-be'

- (725) a meg-ír-andó könyv  
the PFX-write-FPRT book  
'the book to be written'
- (726) a ki-javít-andó dolgozat-ok  
the PFX-correct-FPRT paper-PL  
'the papers to be corrected'

Some lexicalized adjectives and nouns originate in a future participial form: *állandó* 'stable', *halandó* 'mortal', *jövendő* 'future'.

The simple adverbial participle (called, in recent analyses, the 'simple converb') is formed with the suffix *-va/ve*, from transitive and intransitive verbs alike. It is used as an adverb of manner, and refers to an action happening simultaneously with the action referred to by the finite verb in the same sentence.

- (727) A gyerekek kiabál-va szalad-t-ak végig az  
the child-PL shout-SCVB run-PAST-INDEF.3PL along the  
utca-n.  
street-SUP  
'The children ran down the street shouting.'
- (728) A bot pörög-ve repül-t át az udvar-on.  
the stick spin-SCVB fly-PAST.INDEF.3SG across the yard-SUP  
'The stick flew across the yard spinning.'

The perfective adverbial participle (also called, in recent analyses, the 'perfective converb') is formed with the suffix *-ván/vén*, from both transitive and intransitive verbs. It is very infrequent in spoken Hungarian, and is used only in formal and ceremonious style in writing, as an adverb of manner. A perfective participle has historically been used to refer to an action preceding that referred to by the finite verb in the same sentence (728). Nowadays it is sometimes used synonymously with the simple adverbial participle to refer to an action happening simultaneously with that referred to by the finite verb of the sentence (729).

- (729) Az élet-nek e pillanat-á-hoz érkez-vén,  
the life-DAT this second-POSS.3SG-ALL arrive-PCVB  
gondol-j-unk [...]  
think-IMP-INDEF.1PL  
'Having arrived at this moment in life, let's think [...]'.

(730) Ez-t mond-t-a nek-em az asztalfő-n  
this-ACC say-PAST-DEF.3SG DAT-1SG the table.head-SUP  
ül-vén.  
sit-PCVB  
'Sitting at the head of the table s/he said this to me.'

#### 2.1.3.5.1. Finite and nonfinite forms versus voices

All of the nonfinite forms can be found in the active voice in Hungarian.

The passive construction is expressed by the simple adverbial participle, and no other nonfinite form is possible in the passive. (For details about the passive and about its debated status in Hungarian, see section 2.1.3.1.1.)

#### 2.1.3.5.2. Finite and nonfinite forms versus tenses

Finite forms in Hungarian are all marked for tense (see section 2.1.3.2).

None of the nonfinite forms mark absolute tenses; instead, they express relative tenses and express relative time reference to the finite verbs in the same sentence.

#### 2.1.3.5.3. Finite and nonfinite forms versus aspects

For aspect marking in finite forms, see section 2.1.3.3.

Nonfinite forms express aspect to the extent that preverbal prefixes occurring in them do. (For the aspect relations expressed by prefixes, also see section 2.1.3.3.)

#### 2.1.3.5.4. Finite and nonfinite forms versus moods

Mood is a property of finite forms only in Hungarian (see section 2.1.3.4).

#### 2.1.3.6. *Person- and number-marking*

The agreement categories coded in the verb are the person and number of the subject and the definiteness of the direct object. Throughout the verbal paradigm, in all moods and tenses, Hungarian has two conjugations—indefinite and definite.

The indefinite (traditionally called 'subjective') conjugation is used when the verb has no direct object (i.e., when it is intransitive) or when it is transitive and has an indefinite direct object. The definite (traditionally called 'objective') conjugation is used when the verb is transitive and has a definite direct object.

The kind of direct object phrases that constitute indefinite objects in Hungarian (and therefore call for the indefinite conjugation) are the following:

- (i) a noun phrase with an indefinite article or no article (731)
- (ii) a noun phrase premodified by a numeral or a quantifier (but not the definite article (732)
- (iii) first or second person pronoun (733)
- (iv) an interrogative pronoun unmarked by the unique identification *-ik* suffix, such as *ki* 'who', *mi* 'what', *milyen* 'what kind', *mekkora* 'what size', *hány* 'how many', and *mennyi* 'how much' (734)–(735)
- (v) the indefinite universal pronoun *minden* 'everything' and the indefinite demonstrative pronouns *ennyi* 'this many/much', *annyi* 'that many/much', *valamennyi* 'some number/amount', *senki* 'no one', *semmi* 'nothing', *valaki* 'someone', *valami* 'something', *valamilyen* 'some kind', and *semmilyen* 'no kind' (736)–(737)
- (vi) a noun phrase containing any of the pronouns in (iv) and (v) as an attributive modifier (738)–(739)
- (vii) a sentential object with an indefinite anticipatory pronoun such as *annyi* 'that much' in the main clause (740).

- (731) András viz-et/egy könyv-et kér.  
Andrew water-ACC/a book-ACC want.INDEF.3SG  
'Andrew wants some water/a book.'
- (732) Mária két gyerek-et akar.  
Maria two child-ACC want.INDEF.3SG  
'Maria wants two children.'
- (733) Márton szeret téged/engem.  
Martin love.INDEF.3SG you.SG.ACC/I.ACC  
'Martin loves you (SG)/me.'
- (734) Ki-t/Mi-t vár-sz?  
who-ACC/what-ACC wait-INDEF.2SG  
'Who/What are you waiting for?'
- (735) Hány-at/Mily-et kér-sz?  
how.many-ACC/what.kind-ACC want-INDEF.2SG  
'How many/What kind do you want?'
- (736) Minden-t/Valami-t/Ennyi-t  
every thing-ACC/something-ACC/this.much-ACC  
lát-ok.  
see-INDEF.1SG  
'I see every thing/some thing/this much.'

- (737) Semmi-t/Senki-t nem lát-ok.  
nothing-ACC/nobody-ACC not see-INDEF.1SG  
'I don't see anything/anybody.'
- (738) Hány/Milyen könyv-et vesz-el?  
how.many/what.kind book-ACC buy-INDEF.2SG  
'How many/What kind of books are you buying?'
- (739) Csak ennyi kávé-t kér-ek.  
only this.much coffee-ACC want-INDEF.1SG  
'I want only this much coffee.'
- (740) Csak annyi-t mond-ott, hogy  
only that.much-ACC say-PAST.INDEF.3SG that  
el-megy.  
away-go.INDEF.3SG  
'S/he said only that s/he would leave.'

The kind of direct object phrases that constitute definite objects in Hungarian (and therefore call for the definite conjugation) are the following:

- (i) a proper noun with or without the definite article (741)
  - (ii) a noun phrase with a definite article (742)
  - (iii) a possessive noun phrase (743)
  - (iv) a third person pronoun (744)
  - (v) the demonstrative pronoun *ez* 'this' or *az* 'that' (745)
  - (vi) a reflexive pronoun, the reciprocal pronoun (*egymás* 'each other'), a nominal possessive pronoun (*enyém* 'mine', *övé* 'his/hers', etc.), (746)–(747)
  - (vii) an interrogative, definite partitive, or universal pronoun marked by the *-ik* unique identification suffix, e.g., *melyik* 'which one', *valamelyik* 'any/either one', *egyik* 'one', *semelyik* 'not one', *mindegyik* 'each and every one' (748)–(749)
  - (viii) the universal pronouns *mind* 'all' and *valamennyi* 'each (one)' (750)
  - (ix) a noun phrase containing any of the pronouns in (v)–(viii) as a pre-modifier (751)–(752)
  - (x) a sentential object not containing the anticipatory pronoun *annyi* 'that much' (753).
- (741) János szeret-i Budapest-et/a Duná-t.  
John like-DEF.3SG Budapest-ACC/the Danube-ACC  
'John likes Budapest/the Danube.'
- (742) Ferenc szeret-i a krimi-k-et.  
Frank like-DEF.3SG the mystery-PL-ACC  
'Frank likes mysteries.'

- (743) Dániel szeret-i a  
Daniel like-DEF.3SG the  
lány-á-t/apá-m-at.  
daughter-POSS.3SG-ACC/father-POSS.1SG-ACC  
'Daniel likes his daughter/my father.'
- (744) Szeret-em ő-t.  
like-DEF.1SG s/he-ACC  
'I like him/her.'
- (745) Az-t kér-em.  
that-ACC want-DEF.1SG  
'I want that.'
- (746) A gyerek-ek lát-ják maguk-at/egymás-t.  
the child-PL see-DEF.3PL themselves-ACC/each.other-ACC  
'The children see themselves/each other.'
- (747) Az enyém-et kér-ed vagy a tied-et?  
the mine-ACC want-DEF.2SG or the yours-ACC  
'Do you want mine or yours?'
- (748) Melyik-et kér-ed?  
which.one-ACC want-DEF.2SG  
'Which one do you want?'
- (749) Edit valamelyik-et/az egyik-et kér-i.  
Edith either.one-ACC/the one-ACC want-DEF.3SG  
'Edith wants any/either one.'
- (750) Tamás mind-et/valamennyi-t kér-i.  
Thomas all-ACC/each.one-ACC want-DEF.3SG  
'Thomas wants all/each one.'
- (751) Az-t a könyv-et kér-ed?  
that-ACC the book-ACC want-DEF.2SG  
'Do you want that book?'
- (752) Valamelyik/Mindegyik/Az egyik könyv-et kér-em.  
either.one/all.ones/the one book-ACC want-DEF.1SG  
'I want either/all/one of the books.'
- (753) Judit (az-t) mond-t-a, hogy  
Judith (that-ACC) say-PAST-DEF.3SG that  
el-jön.  
PFX-come.INDEF.3SG  
'Judith said that she would come.'

In a small number of cases there is ambiguity as to the definiteness or indefiniteness of the direct object. In these cases the verb can be in either conjugation. The direct object is ambiguously definite or indefinite when:

- (i) it is a possessive noun phrase with a partitive meaning (754)–(755)  
 (ii) it is a universal or partitive pronoun used as a nominal and bearing the possessive (756)–(758).

(754) Három könyv-em-et  
 three book-POSS.1SG-ACC  
 el-lop-t-a/el-lop-ott  
 PFX-steal-PAST-DEF.3SG/PFX-steal-PAST.INDEF.3SG  
 valaki.  
 somebody  
 'Somebody has stolen three of my books.'

(755) Péter négy-ünk-et  
 Peter four-POSS.1SG-ACC  
 lát-t-a/lát-ott.  
 see-PAST-DEF.3SG/see-PAST.INDEF.3SG  
 'Peter saw four of us.'

(756) Orsolya valamennyi-ünk-et  
 Ursula each.one-POSS.1PL-ACC  
 szeret/szeret-i.  
 like.INDEF.3SG/like-DEF.3SG  
 'Ursula likes each one of us.'

(757) Mátyás minden-em-et  
 Matthias everything-POSS.1SG-ACC  
 el-vi-tt/el-vi-tt-e.  
 PFX-take-PAST.INDEF.3SG/PFX-take-PAST-DEF.3SG  
 'Matthias took everything of mine.'

(758) Mátyás semmi-m-et nem  
 Matthias nothing -POSS.1SG-ACC not  
 vi-tt/vi-tt-e el.  
 take-PAST.INDEF/take-PAST-DEF.3SG PFX  
 'Matthias did not take anything of mine.'

It is important to note that verbal arguments that are marked by the accusative case but do not constitute direct objects also affect the choice of

conjugations. Verbs denoting sports activities appearing with adjuncts expressing extent can involve preverbal prefixes (*fut* 'run'—*lefut* 'complete running', *úszik* 'swim'—*leúszik* 'complete swimming', *ugrik* 'jump'—*megugrik* 'complete the jump', etc.) and definite extent phrases to express the completion of a distance, in which case the verb has to be in the definite conjugation (cf. (760) and (762)).

- (759) Péter három kör-t fut-ott.  
Peter three lap-ACC run-PAST.INDEF.3SG  
'Peter ran three laps.'
- (760) Péter le-fut-ott-a a három kör-t.  
Peter down-run-PAST-DEF.3SG the three lap-ACC  
'Peter completed running the three laps.'
- (761) Ágnes ezer méter-t úsz-ik.  
Agnes thousand meter-ACC swim-INDEF.3SG  
'Agnes swims a thousand meters.'
- (762) Ágnes le-úsz-sza az ezer méter-t.  
Agnes down-swim-DEF.3SG the thousand meter-ACC  
'Agnes completes swimming the thousand meters.'

Other verbs that take arguments and adjuncts marked by the accusative but cannot express the completion of a distance always take indefinite phrases as arguments and adjuncts and, therefore, can only be in the definite conjugation (763)–(764).

- (763) A csomag húsz kiló-t nyom.  
the package twenty kilo-ACC weigh.INDEF.3SG  
'The package weighs twenty kilos.'
- (764) A macska tíz méter-t és-ett lefelé.  
the cat ten meter-ACC fall-PAST.INDEF.3SG downwards  
'The cat fell ten meters downwards.'

It is also important to note that only direct objects marked by the accusative case affect the choice between the conjugations. When the verb governs a direct object marked with any other case, e.g., the dative or the inessive, the verb receives the indefinite conjugation even if the object is definite.

- (765) Erika nem bíz-ik János-ban.  
Erica not trust-INDEF.3SG John-INE  
'Erica doesn't trust John.'

(766) A gyerek-ek örül-nek a vakáció-nak.  
 the child-PL be.happy-INDEF.3PL the vacation-DAT  
 'The children are happy about the vacation.'

The person of the direct object is coded only when the verb has a first person singular subject and a second person object (with a *-lak/-lek* suffix throughout the verbal paradigm).

This form does not belong formally to either the definite or the indefinite conjugation.

**2.1.3.6.1.1. Subject** The person and number of the subject are marked on every finite verb in Hungarian. Although accidentally identical forms marking different persons do occur (e.g., *-ik* as the present tense third person singular indefinite suffix in *-ik* verbs and as the present tense third person plural definite front vowel suffix, making *reggelizik* ambiguous between 's/he eats breakfast' and 'they eat it for breakfast'), such ambiguities are very rare and are always easily disambiguated in context.

Because the personal suffixes are slightly different across the tenses and moods, the paradigms are given under the sections covering the present tense (section 2.1.3.2.1.2), the past tense (2.1.3.2.1.3), the future tense (2.1.3.2.1.4), the conditional mood (2.1.3.4.2), and the imperative mood (2.1.3.4.3).

**2.1.3.6.1.2. Direct object** As noted above, the person of the direct object is expressed with one subject/object pair: the *-lak/lek* suffix indicates a first person singular subject with a second person singular or plural object. This form is found in all tenses and moods, e.g., *tanítalak* 'I teach you', *szerelek* 'I love you', *tanítottalak* 'I taught you', *szerelettek* 'I loved you', *tanítsalak* 'I teach.IMP you', *szerebbelek* 'I love.IMP you', *tanítanálak* 'I would teach you', and *szereznék* 'I would love you'.

#### 2.1.3.6.2. Agreement

Finite verbs always agree with their subjects in person and number in all tenses and moods. With the exception of the person-marked infinitival forms (see section 2.1.3.5 above), nonfinite verb-forms do not express number or person in Hungarian.

Coordinated noun phrases involving two or more human singular subjects can receive either singular or plural verb agreement. Coordinated nonhuman singular subjects usually receive singular verb agreement.

(767) János és Klára itt van/van-nak.  
 John and Claire here be.3SG/be-3PL  
 'John and Claire are here.'

(768) A kés és a villa a tányér mellett van.  
 the knife and the fork the plate near be.3SG  
 'The knife and the fork are by the plate.'

A coordinated noun phrase involving a combination of both singular and plural subjects receives plural verb agreement. In such cases the plural subject is usually listed closer to the verb than the singular subject.

(769) János és a gyerek-ek mozi-ba men-nek.  
 John and the child-PL movies-ILL go-INDEF.3PL  
 'John and the children are going to the movies.'

(770) Az asztal-on van-nak a pohar-ak és a kancsó?  
 the table-SUP be-3PL the glass-PL and the pitcher  
 'Are the glasses and the pitcher on the table?'

Numeral noun phrases—which, in Hungarian, involve a singular head noun (e.g., *négy tanár* 'four teachers')—require singular verb and predicative adjective agreement.

(771) Négy tanár vol-t a terem-ben.  
 four teacher be-PAST.3SG the classroom-INE  
 'Four teachers were in the classroo.'

(772) Négy tanár vol-t magas.  
 four teacher be-PAST.3SG tall  
 'Four teachers were tall.'

#### 2.1.3.6.7. Identity/nonidentity of subjects in successive clauses

Identity and nonidentity between the subject of a verb and the subject of the following or preceding verb is not indicated in Hungarian inflectionally. For details of anaphoric relations see section 1.5.

#### 2.1.3.6.8. Reflexive verb-forms

Hungarian does not have special inflectional reflexive forms of verbs. Reflexivity can be expressed syntactically (see section 1.6.1) and derivationally (see sections 2.1.3.1.2.1 and 2.2.2.2.4).

#### 2.1.3.6.12. Incorporation

Incorporation of various elements in Hungarian has been suggested in several current analyses (e.g., Ackerman 1987, Farkas and Sadock 1989, Komlósy 1994, É.Kiss 1996). The two main types of elements for which incorporation analyses have been proposed are the adverbial

preverbal prefixes and argumental constituents. Ackerman (1987) calls both kinds of elements preverbs, distinguishing between preverbal prefixes and argumental preverbs, while Komlósy (1994) calls both complex predicates. In the present description I will follow Ackerman's terminology.

Preverbal prefixes are all adverbial in their basic meaning, except for the prefix *meg* which is purely perfective in modern Hungarian. They include *fel* 'up', *le* 'down', *ki* 'out', *be* 'in', *szét* 'apart', *el* 'away', etc. In verbal constructions the prefix may keep its original adverbial meaning (e.g., *felmegy* 'go up', *lemegy* 'go down', *kimegy* 'go out'), or have an aspectual meaning (e.g., *megír* 'write up', *elolvas* 'read (completely)', *megcsókol* 'kiss (once)'), or become part of a noncompositional idiomatic unit with the verb (e.g., *felvág* meaning 'show off' instead of the literal 'cut up', and *kiad* meaning 'publish' instead of the literal 'give out', although both exist with their literal meaning as well).

Articleless internal arguments constitute argumental preverbs in Hungarian, e.g., the direct object as in *level-et ír* 'write a letter' (= 'letter-write'), an object-complement as in *bolond-nak tart* 'consider a fool' (= 'for-fool-consider'), a subject-complement as in *katona+copula* 'serve in the army' (lit. 'be a soldier'), a locative as in *mozi-ba megy* 'go to the movies' (= 'movies-into-go'), an adverb of manner as in *ügyes-en vezeti (a labdát)* 'handle (the ball) skillfully', a translative adverb as in *szén-né éget* 'burn (something) to cinders', or a postposition as in *utánanéz valami-nek* 'look something up' (lit. 'after-look something.DAT').

The two types of preverbs pattern together with respect to their syntactic position with the verb, and in serving as inputs to derivational processes.

As for their syntactic positions, to give just one example, both kinds of preverbs precede the verb in neutral sentences and follow it when there is a preverbal focus constituent or a negative particle in the sentence.

- (773) Attila ki-men-t.  
Attila out-go-PAST.INDEF.3SG  
'Attila went out.'
- (774) Attila nem men-t ki.  
Attila not go-PAST.INDEF.3SG out  
'Attila didn't go out.'
- (775) Attila egy perc-cel ezelőtt men-t ki.  
Attila a minute-INS this.before go-PAST.INDEF.3SG out  
'Attila went out a minute ago.'

- (776) A gyerek-ek almá-t szed-nek.  
the child-PL apple-ACC pick-INDEF.3PL  
'The children are picking apples (=are apple-picking).'
- (777) A gyerek-ek nem szed-nek almá-t.  
the child-PL not pick-INDEF.3PL apple-ACC  
'The children are not picking apples.'
- (778) A gyerek-ek itt szed-nek almá-t.  
the child-PL here pick-INDEF.3PL apple-ACC  
'The children are picking apples here.'

In derivational processes, as argued by Ackerman (1987), nouns can be formed from verbs with both prefixes and argumental preverbs, as in *felvág* [fel-vág] 'show off' → *felvágás* [[fel-vág]-ás] 'showing off', *bemegy* [bemegy] 'go in' → *bemenet* [[be-men]-et] 'entrance, opening', and in *fát vág* [fát vág] 'cut wood' → *favágás* [[fa-vág]-ás] 'wood cutting' and *nyélbe üt* [nyélbe üt] 'close a deal on' (lit. 'hit into the handle') → *nyélbe ütés* [[nyélbe üt]-és] 'closing of a deal'.

#### 2.1.4. Adjectives

In Hungarian the only adjective that has two different forms, attributive vs. predicative, is *kis/kicsi* 'small'. The form *kis* is used exclusively attributively, *kicsi* is used mostly predicatively, and only rarely attributively.

- (779) Ez egy kis ház.  
this a small house  
'This is a small house.'
- (780) Ez a ház kicsi.  
this the house small  
'This house is small.'

The comparative and superlative forms of adjectives are used most often with the unique identification *-ik* suffix (see section 2.1.1.15) when they are used attributively and their head noun is definite.

- (781) Egy nagy-obb ház-at akar-ok.  
a big-CMP house-ACC want-INDEF.1SG  
'I want a bigger house.'
- (782) A nagy-obb-ik ház-at fog-om meg-ven-ni.  
the big-CMP-UNIQ house-ACC FUT-DEF.1SG PFX-buy-INF  
'I'm going to buy the bigger house.'

Hungarian makes no distinction between absolute and contingent state.

2.1.4.3. *Agreement in predicative and attributive adjectives*

In Hungarian predicative adjectives agree with the subject in number, but no number marking occurs with attributive adjectives whose head noun is expressed overtly.

- (783) A hav-as fa szép.  
the snow-ADJDER tree beautiful  
'The snow-covered tree is beautiful.'
- (784) A magyar fiú-k magas-ak.  
the Hungarian boy-PL tall-PL  
'Hungarian boys are tall.'

Attributive adjectives receive number and case-marking when their head nouns are not expressed overtly and they therefore constitute pro-forms.

- (785) A fehér ing-et vesz-ed fel vagy a kék-et?  
the white shirt-ACC put-DEF.2SG up or the blue-ACC  
'Are you going to wear the white shirt or the blue one?'
- (786) Nem bíz-om a fiatal orvos-ok-ban, csak az  
not trust-INDEF.1SG the young doctor-PL-INE only the  
öreg-ek-ben.  
old-PL-INE  
'I don't trust young doctors, only old ones.'

2.1.4.4. *Comparison of adjectives*2.1.4.4.1. *Equality*

Equality is expressed with the unchanged adjective stem (in the singular or the plural) in Hungarian.

- (787) János olyan magas, mint én.  
John such tall as I  
'John is as tall as me.'
- (788) A fiú-k olyan magas-ak, mint én.  
the boy-PL such tall-PL as I  
'The boys are as tall as me.'

## 2.1.4.4.2. Comparative

The comparative of adjectives is formed with the *-bb/abb/ebb* suffix. Adjectives ending in a vowel take the vowelless allomorph of the suffix, while those ending in a consonant take a harmonizing vowel-initial one:

*olcsó* 'cheap'—*olcsóbb* 'cheaper'

*igazi* 'real'—*igazibb* 'more real'

*savanyú* 'sour, tart'—*savanyúbb* 'more sour'

*keserű* 'bitter'—*keserűbb* 'more bitter'

*lusta* 'lazy'—*lustább* 'lazier'

*gyenge* 'weak'—*gyengébb* 'weaker'

*gazdag* 'rich'—*gazdagabb* 'richer'

*unalmas* 'boring'—*unalmasabb* 'more boring'

*érdekes* 'interesting'—*érdekesebb* 'more interesting'

*erős* 'strong'—*erősebb* 'stronger'

Some adjectives ending in *-ű* or *-ű*, however, delete the stem-final vowel in the comparative and take a vowel-initial comparative suffix:

*lassú* 'slow'—*lassabb* 'slower'

*hosszú* 'long'—*hosszabb* 'longer'

*könnyű* 'easy'—*könnyebb* 'easier'

There are some vowel-shortening and vowel-deleting stems among adjectives as well:

*kevés* 'few, little'—*kevesebb* 'fewer, less'

*derék* 'brave, honest'—*derekabb* 'braver, more honest'

*bátor* 'brave'—*bátrabb* 'braver'

Some adjectives have irregular forms in the comparative:

*jó* 'good'—*jobb* 'better'

*nagy* 'big'—*nagyobb* 'bigger'

*szép* 'beautiful'—*szébb* 'more beautiful'

*kicsi* 'small'—*kisebb* 'smaller'

*sok* 'much, many'—*több* 'more'

Several adjectives are formed by compounding *nagy* 'big', *kis* 'small', *jó* 'good', and *rossz* 'bad' with denominal adjectives derived with *-ű/ű*. These form their comparatives with the comparative form of the first part of the compound if the denominal adjective refers to literally 'having the noun':

*nagyfejű* 'with a big head'—*nagyobb fejű* 'with a bigger head'  
*nagyszemű* 'with big eyes'—*nagyobb szemű* 'with bigger eyes'  
*nagyszámú* 'of great number'—*nagyobb számú* 'of greater number'  
*kisszámú* 'of small number'—*kisebb számú* 'of smaller number'  
*kisfülű* 'with small ears'—*kisebb fülű* 'with smaller ears'  
*kisméretű* 'of small size'—*kisebb méretű* 'of smaller size'  
*jóízű* 'good-tasting'—*jobb ízű* 'better-tasting'  
*rosszízű* 'bad-tasting'—*rosszabb ízű* 'worse-tasting'

Such compounded adjectives form regular comparative forms if the denominal adjective does not literally mean 'having the noun':

*nagyképű* 'pompous'—*nagyképűbb* 'more pompous'  
*nagyhangú* 'loud-mouthed, bombastic'—*nagyhangúbb* 'more loud-mouthed, more bombastic'  
*nagylelkű* 'generous'—*nagylelkűbb* 'more generous'  
*nagynevű* 'renowned'—*nagynevűbb* 'more renowned'  
*nagyszájú* 'noisy, pertinent'—*nagyszájúbb* 'noisier, more pertinent'  
*nagyszabású* 'grandiose'—*nagyszabásúbb* 'more grandiose'  
*nagyvonalú* 'generous'—*nagyvonalúbb* 'more generous'  
*jóhiszemű* 'well-meaning'—*jóhiszeműbb* 'more well-meaning'  
*jóindulatú* 'friendly, kind'—*jóindulatúbb* 'friendlier, kinder'  
*jókedvű* 'cheerful'—*jókedvűbb* 'more cheerful'  
*jóképű* 'handsome'—*jóképűbb* 'more handsome'  
*jólelkű* 'charitable, kind'—*jólelkűbb* 'more charitable, kinder'  
*jómódú* 'affluent'—*jómódúbb* 'more affluent'  
*jószívű* 'good-hearted'—*jószívűbb* 'more good-hearted'  
*jóvágású* 'good-looking'—*jóvágásúbb* 'more good-looking'  
*rosszhiszemű* 'distrustful'—*rosszhiszeműbb* 'more distrustful'  
*rosszindulatú* 'malignant'—*rosszindulatúbb* 'more malignant'  
*rosszkedvű* 'moody'—*rosszkedvűbb* 'more moody'  
*rosszmájú* 'malicious'—*rosszmájúbb* 'more malicious'  
*rossznyelvű* 'sharp-tongued'—*rossznyelvűbb* 'more sharptongued'

Some lexicalized active and passive-participial adjectives can also have comparative forms:

*felháborító* 'revolting, shocking'—*felháborítóbb* 'more shocking'  
*ragyogó* 'brilliant'—*ragyogóbb* 'more brilliant'  
*elhibázott* 'unsuccessful'—*elhibázottabb* 'more unsuccessful'  
*sápadt* 'pale'—*sápadtabb* 'paler'

(789) János magas-abb, mint én.  
John tall-CMP than me  
'John is taller than I.'

The pronouns *ilyen* 'such, like this' and *olyan* 'such, like that', and some adverbs, such as *távol* 'far', *hátra* 'back', *belül* 'inside', *fent* 'high up', and *lent* 'down low', also have comparative forms: *ilyenebb* 'more like this' and *olyanabb* 'more like that', *távolabb* 'further', *hátrább* 'further back', *beljebb* 'further in', *fentebb* 'further up', and *lentebb* 'further down', respectively.

The lesser degree of comparison is expressed with the adverb *kevésbé* 'less' and the equational form of the adjective:

(790) Ez a szótag kevésbé hangsúly-os.  
this the syllable less stress-ADJDER  
'This syllable is less stressed.'

#### 2.1.4.4.3. Superlative

The superlative of an adjective is formed by attaching the prefix *leg-* on the comparative form of the adjective: *legszebb* 'most beautiful', *legkisebb* 'smallest', *legnagyobb fejű* 'with the biggest head', *legjóképűbb* 'most handsome', *legfelháborítóbb* 'most shocking', *legsápadtabb* 'palest', etc.

(791) János a leg-magas-abb.  
John the SPR-tall-CMP  
'John is the tallest.'

The adverb *legkevésbé* 'least' is used with the equational form of the adjective to express 'least x'.

(792) Ez a folyó a legkevésbé veszély-és.  
this the river the least danger-ADJDER  
'This river is the least dangerous.'

Comparison of entities to other entities, and to themselves at other points or times, employs the same superlative forms in Hungarian.

(793) Ez a folyó a leg-széles-ebb.  
this the river the SPR-wide-CMP  
'This river is the widest.'

(794) Ez a folyó itt a leg-széles-ebb.  
this the river here the SPR-wide-CMP  
'This river is widest here.'

Pronouns and adverbs that have comparative forms also have superlative forms, e.g., *legilyenebb* 'most like it', *legtávolabb* 'furthest', *leghátrább*

'furthest back', *legbeljebb* 'furthest in', *legfentebb* 'furthest up', and *leglentebb* 'furthest down', etc.

#### 2.1.4.4.4. Emphatic superlative

All adjectives that can have comparative and superlative forms in Hungarian can also have emphatic superlative forms referring to the superabundance of the quality. The emphatic superlative is formed from the superlative with the prefix *leges-* attached before the superlative *leg-*: *legeslegszebb* 'absolutely the most beautiful', *legeslegkisebb* 'absolutely the smallest', *legeslegfelháborítóbb* 'absolutely the most shocking', etc.

The emphatic superlative forms are used to provide special emphasis, mostly in spoken and more colloquial discourse only.

#### 2.1.4.5. Degrees of quality

##### 2.1.4.5.1. Large measure

A large measure of a quality is expressed with various intensifying adverbs. The most frequently used intensifier is *nagyon* 'very'. Other intensifiers include *igen* 'very', *kivételesen* 'exceptionally', *egészen* 'quite', *rendkívül* 'extremely', *hallatlanul* 'extremely', *hihetetlenül* 'unbelievably', and *borzasztóan* 'terribly'. Some are restricted to certain lexical items, e.g., *mélyen vallásos* 'deeply religious'. The adjective *jó* 'good' and various expletives are also used as intensifiers in colloquial Hungarian.

(795) Ez a fa nagyon magas.

this the tree very tall

'This tree is very tall.'

(796) Ez a környék rendkívül veszély-és.

this the neighborhood extremely danger-ADJDER

'This neighborhood is extremely dangerous.'

##### 2.1.4.5.2. Superabundance

Superabundance can be expressed with the adverbs *túl* and *túlságosan*, both meaning 'too'.

(797) Ez a kabát túl hosszú nek-em,

this the coat too long DAT-1SG

'This coat is too long for me.'

(798) Az a bolt túlságosan messze van.

that the store too far be.3SG

'That store is too far.'

## 2.1.4.5.3. Small measure

Small measure of a quality can be expressed with the adverb *elég* 'enough'.

- (799) Az a film elég jó, de lát-t-am  
that the movie enough good but see-PAST-INDEF.1SG  
már jobb-at is.  
already better-ACC also  
'That movie is good enough, although I've seen better ones.'

In colloquial Hungarian *valami* 'something' can also be used as an intensifying adverb expressing small measure when there is a negative particle in the sentence.

- (800) Ez a film nem vol-t valami jó.  
this the movie not be-PAST.3SG very good  
'This movie wasn't very good (= it was rather bad).'
- (801) Ez a fa nem valami magas.  
this the tree not very tall  
'This tree is not very tall (=it's rather short).'

## 2.1.4.5.4. Verbs with predicative adjectives

Predicative adjectives are used with the verb 'be' in Hungarian.

**2.1.5. Postpositions**

Hungarian has no prepositions, only postpositions.

Postpositions are divided into two types according to their morphosyntactic behavior: some govern objects in the nominative and others govern objects bearing other cases.

Most postpositions can be combined with personal pronouns in the form of personal possessive suffixes. Some, however, cannot be person-marked because of their meaning (*óta* 'since (a point in time)', *múlva* 'in (some time)', *szerte* 'all over (a place)'). Others, such as *számára* and *részére*, both denoting a benefactor and synonymous with the dative case, and *révén* 'through, by means of' have only person-marked forms (*számomra* 'for me', *számodra* 'for you (SG)', *számára* 'for him/her', *számunkra* 'for us', *számotokra* 'for you (PL)', *számukra* 'for them').

A near-exhaustive list of the two types of postpositions (those governing nominative and nonnominative objects, respectively), together with their meaning and characteristics of pronoun marking, is given below.

Note that several postpositions can have additional meanings besides those listed below.

If a postposition can be person-marked for all persons and numbers, its first and second person singular forms, marked with the suffixes *-m/am/ em* and *-d/ad/ed*, respectively, are given in the third column. If it cannot be person-marked, it is labeled 'no person-marking'. If, however, a postposition has only person-marked forms and no nonperson-marked forms, it is labeled 'only person-marked' after the first and second person singular forms. In the latter case the form listed as the basic form in the first column is the third person singular form.

*Postpositions governing nominative objects*

<i>Postposition</i>	<i>Meaning</i>	<i>Person-marking</i>
<i>alá</i>	'to under'	<i>alám, alád</i>
<i>alatt</i>	'under'	<i>alattam, alattad</i>
<i>alól</i>	'from under'	<i>alólam, alólad</i>
<i>által</i>	'by'	<i>általam, általad</i>
<i>elé</i>	'to in front of'	<i>elém, eléd</i>
<i>ellen</i>	'against'	<i>ellenem, ellened</i>
<i>elől</i>	'from in front of'	<i>előlem, előled</i>
<i>előtt</i>	'in front of'	<i>előttem, előtted</i>
<i>esetén</i>	'in case of'	no person-marking
<i>felé</i>	'towards'	<i>felém, feléd</i>
<i>felett</i>	'above, over'	<i>felettem, feletted</i>
<i>felől</i>	'from the direction of'	<i>fölém/föléd</i>
<i>fölé</i>	'to above/over'	<i>fölém, föled</i>
<i>fölött</i>	'above, over'	<i>fölöttem, fölötted</i>
<i>fölül</i>	'from above/over'	<i>fölülem, fölүled</i>
<i>folytán</i>	'as a consequence of'	no person-marking
<i>helyett</i>	'instead of'	<i>helyettem, helyetted</i>
<i>iránt</i>	'towards'	<i>irántam, iránta</i>
<i>köré</i>	'to around'	<i>körém, köréd</i>
<i>körül</i>	'around'	<i>körülöttem, körülötted</i>
<i>közé</i>	'to between/among'	<i>közém, közéd</i>
<i>között</i>	'between, among'	<i>közöttem, közötted</i>
<i>közül</i>	'from between/among'	<i>közülem, közүled</i>
<i>létére</i>	'despite being'	<i>létemre, létedre</i> ; only person-marked
<i>mettē</i>	'to near'	<i>mellém, melléd</i>
<i>mellett</i>	'near'	<i>mellettem, melletted</i>
<i>mellől</i>	'from near'	<i>mellőlem, mellőled</i>
<i>miatt</i>	'because of'	<i>miattam, miattad</i>
<i>módjára</i>	'in the manner of'	no person-marking
<i>módra</i>	'in the mode of'	no person-marking
<i>mögé</i>	'to behind'	<i>mögém, mögéd</i>
<i>mögött</i>	'behind'	<i>mögöttem, mögötted</i>

<i>Postposition</i>	<i>Meaning</i>	<i>Person-marking</i>
<i>mögül</i>	'from behind'	<i>mögülem, mögüled</i>
<i>nélkül</i>	'without'	<i>nélkülem, nélküled</i>
<i>nyomán</i>	'based on'	no person-marking
<i>óta</i>	'since (point in time)'	no person-marking
<i>részére</i>	'for' (DAT)	<i>részemre, részédre</i> ; only person-marked
<i>révén</i>	'through, by means of'	<i>révemen, réveden</i> ; only person-marked
<i>számára</i>	'for' (DAT)	<i>számomra, számodra</i> ; only person-marked
<i>szerint</i>	'according to, in the opinion of'	<i>szerintem, szerinted</i>
<i>tájban</i>	'around (point in time)'	no person-marking
<i>után</i>	'after'	<i>utánam, utánad</i>
<i>útján</i>	'by way of'	no person-marking
<i>végett</i>	'with the aim of'	no person-marking

The following postpositions all govern objects in cases other than the nominative. Such postpositions, if they can be combined with personal pronouns, do so in the following way: the postposition itself remains unchanged, while the pronoun appears in its case-marked form (see section 2.1.2.1.20.5). For instance, the postposition *kívül* 'besides' governs superessive, so the postpositional phrases 'besides me' and 'besides you' are *rajtam kívül* and *rajtad kívül*, respectively.

In the table below, postpositions are listed together with their meanings, the case they govern, and with information about the way they are combined with pronouns. If a postposition can be combined with a pronoun, the postpositional phrase containing the first person singular pronoun is listed in the fourth column. (If it cannot be combined with a pronoun, this column contains the label 'does not occur'.) In the 'case' column below, 'dative' occurs in parentheses when dative case-marking on the object of the postpositional phrase appears only when the possessor phrase is emphasized or moved out (for these features of the possessor see section 2.1.1.4.6).

<i>Postposition</i>	<i>Meaning</i>	<i>Case</i>	<i>With pronoun</i>
<i>alul</i>	'below'	SUP	does not occur
<i>át</i>	'through, across'	SUP	does not occur
<i>belül</i>	'inside of'	SUP	does not occur
<i>dacára</i>	'despite'	(DAT)	does not occur
<i>együtt</i>	'together'	INS	<i>velem együtt</i>
<i>ellenére</i>	'despite'	(DAT)	does not occur
<i>fogva</i>	'as a result of'	ADE	does not occur

## Postposition

Postposition	Meaning	Case	With pronoun
<i>fogva</i>	'from (time)'	ABL	does not occur
<i>felül</i>	'over'	SUP	does not occur
<i>hasonlóan</i>	'similarly to'	ALL	<i>hozzám hasonlóan</i>
<i>innen</i>	'on this side of'	SUP	does not occur
<i>képest</i>	'compared to'	ALL	<i>hozzám képest</i>
<i>keresztül</i>	'through'	SUP	<i>rajtam keresztül</i>
<i>kezdve</i>	'beginning from'	ABL	does not occur
<i>kivéve</i>	'except for'	ACC	<i>engem kivéve</i>
<i>kívül</i>	'outside, beside'	SUP	<i>rajtam kívül</i>
<i>kívülre</i>	'to outside'	SUP	does not occur
<i>kívülről</i>	'from outside'	SUP	does not occur
<i>közel</i>	'close to'	ALL	<i>hozzám közel</i>
<i>nézve</i>	'regarding'	SUB	<i>rám nézve</i>
<i>szemben</i>	'opposite'	INS	<i>velem szemben</i>
<i>túl</i>	'beyond'	SUP	<i>rajtam túl</i>
<i>túlra</i>	'to beyond'	SUP	does not occur
<i>túlról</i>	'from beyond'	SUP	does not occur
<i>végig</i>	'to the end of'	SUP	does not occur

Some postpositions—typically postpositions which evolved relatively recently, or are still evolving, from case-marked third person singular possessive nouns such as *alkalmazásával* 'with the application of'—have only third person singular forms (listed below as the basic form in the first column):

Postposition	Meaning	Case
<i>alkalmazásával</i>	'with the application of'	dative
<i>folyamán</i>	'during'	(dative)
<i>megfelelően</i>	'in agreement with'	dative
<i>segítségével</i>	'with the help of'	dative

Postpositions do not combine with the articles of noun phrases that they govern in Hungarian.

The postpositions which do not occur in section 2.1.1 are illustrated in (802)–(816) below.

- (802) Hat óra tájban fel-hív-om Kati-t.  
six o'clock around up-call-DEF.1SG Kathy-ACC  
'I'll call up Kathy around six o'clock.'
- (803) Ilona helyett Anikó-val men-t-em mozi-ba.  
Helen instead.of Anikó-INS go-PAST-INDEF.1SG movies.ILL  
'I went to the movies with Anikó, instead of Ilona.'

- (804) Szánalm-at érz-ek Zoltán iránt.  
pity-ACC feel-INDEF.1SG Zoltán towards  
'I feel pity for Zoltán.'
- (805) Melyik ország ellen harcol-t Anglia?  
which country against fight-PAST.INDEF.3SG England  
'Which country was England fighting against?'
- (806) János szerint ez jó, de szerint-em nem.  
John according.to this good but according.to-POSS.1SG not  
'In John's opinion this is good, but not in my opinion.'
- (807) Fiú létére Józsi sok-at sír.  
boy despite.being Joey much-ACC cry  
'Even though he is a boy, Joey cries a lot.'
- (808) Tűz esetén az üveg-et ki kell tör-ni.  
fire in.case.of the glass-ACC out need break-INF  
'In case of fire break glass (=the glass has to be broken).'
- (809) A ház-at ár-on alul ve-tt-ük.  
the house-ACC price-SUP below buy-PAST-DEF.1PL  
'We bought the house below its price.'
- (810) Ez-en felül nem vállal-unk az áru-ért  
this-SUP beyond not accept-INDEF.1PL the goods-CAU  
felelősség-et.  
responsibility-ACC  
'We do not accept responsibility for the goods beyond this.'
- (811) A mi tanyá-nk a Tiszá-n innen van.  
the we farmhouse-POSS.1PL the Tisza-SUP this.side.of be.3SG  
'Our farmhouse is on this side of the Tisza river.'
- (812) Mostan-tól kezdve egyedül él-ek.  
now-ABL starting.from alone live-INDEF.1SG  
'Starting from now I'll live alone.'
- (813) Szentes-hez képest Szeged nagy város.  
Szentes-ALL compared.to Szeged big city  
'Compared to Szentes, Szeged is a big city.'
- (814) Mostan-tól fogva barát-ok lesz-ünk.  
now-ABL starting.from friend-PL be.FUT-1PL  
'We'll be friends from now on.'
- (815) A nagy hó ellenére László dolgoz-ni men-t.  
the big snow despite László work-INF go-PAST.INDEF.3SG  
'Despite the great amount of snow, László went to work.'

Pál-ra nézve ez nagyon kínos.

Paul-SUB regarding this very embarrassing

'Regarding Paul, this is very embarrassing.'

### 2.1.6. Numerals and quantifiers

The Hungarian numerals used in counting are the cardinal numerals.

#### 2.1.6.1. Cardinal numerals

Numerals are compounded in a regular fashion in Hungarian, with the exception that, while 'ten' and 'twenty' are *tíz* and *húsz*, respectively, other numerals in the teens and twenties are formed with the stems *tizen-* and *huszon-*.

All numerals are written in one word up to 2000; after that only numerals divisible by 1000 are written in one word, and the rest are hyphenated in three-digit units, e.g., *kétszázhuszonháromezer-négyszázharmincegy* 'two hundred and twenty-three thousand, four hundred and thirty-one' (223, 431).

<i>egy</i>	'one'
<i>kettő</i>	'two'
<i>három</i>	'three'
<i>négy</i>	'four'
<i>öt</i>	'five'
<i>hat</i>	'six'
<i>hét</i>	'seven'
<i>nyolc</i>	'eight'
<i>kilenc</i>	'nine'
<i>tíz</i>	'ten'
<i>tizenegy</i>	'eleven'
<i>tizenkettő</i>	'twelve'
<i>húsz</i>	'twenty'
<i>huszonegy</i>	'twenty-one'
<i>huszonkettő</i>	'twenty-two'
<i>harminc</i>	'thirty'
<i>harmincegy</i>	'thirty-one'
<i>negyven</i>	'forty'
<i>ötven</i>	'fifty'
<i>hatvan</i>	'sixty'
<i>hetven</i>	'seventy'
<i>nyolcvan</i>	'eighty'
<i>kilencven</i>	'ninety'
<i>száz</i>	'hundred'

<i>százegy</i>	'one hundred and one'
<i>kétszáz</i>	'two hundred'
<i>háromszáz</i>	'three hundred'
<i>ezer</i>	'thousand'
<i>ezeregy</i>	'one thousand and one'
<i>kétezer</i>	'two thousand'
<i>kétezer-egy</i>	'two thousand and one'
<i>kétezer-száztizenhat</i>	'two thousand one hundred and sixteen'
<i>tízezer</i>	'ten thousand'
<i>húszezer</i>	'twenty thousand'
<i>százezer</i>	'one hundred thousand'
<i>egymillió</i>	'one million'
<i>egymillió kétszázezer</i>	'one million, two hundred thousand'
<i>kétmillió</i>	'two million'
<i>milliárd</i>	'one billion (=1,000,000,000)'
<i>billió</i>	'trillion (1,000,000,000,000)' [little used]

Numerals, especially *száz* 'hundred', *ezer* 'thousand', *tízezer* 'ten thousand', *százezer* 'one hundred thousand', *millió* 'million', and *milliárd* 'billion (1,000,000,000,000)', can occur in the plural and be marked for case if they refer to hundreds, thousands, etc., of people and units of currency.

- (817) *Ezr-ek meg-néz-t-ék a kiállítás-t.*  
 thousand-PL PFX-see-PAST-DEF.3PL the exhibition-ACC  
 'Thousands have seen the exhibition.'
- (818) *Az a férfi millió-k-at keres-ett az üzlet-en.*  
 that the man million-PL-ACC make-PAST.INDEF.3SG the deal-SUP  
 'That man made millions on the deal.'

Otherwise, numerals are marked for case when they are used in mathematical operations such as addition, subtraction, division, multiplication, etc.

- (819) *Ha a hat-hoz hozzá-ad-unk egy-et, az hét.*  
 if the six-ALL to-add-INDEF.1PL one-ACC that seven  
 'If we add one to six, that makes seven.'
- (820) *Hat-ból egy, az öt.*  
 six-ELA one that five  
 'Six minus one is five.'
- (821) *Hat-ban a kettő meg-van három-szor.*  
 six-INE the two PFX-be.3SG three-MUL  
 'Six divided by two is three.'

(822) Ha a hat-ot el-oszt-juk három-mal, az kettő.  
if the six-ACC PFX-divide-DEF.1PL three-INS that two  
'If we divide six by three, that's two.'

(823) Két-szer három, az hat.  
two-MUL three that six  
'Two times three is six.'

#### 2.1.6.2. Cardinal numerals as attributes

All cardinal numerals have the same forms as attributes, except for the numeral *kettő* 'two' (and other numerals compounded with it, e.g., *tizenkettő* 'twelve' and *huszonkettő* 'twenty-two'). Its attributive form, *két*, is used when the numeral is used attributively and its head noun is expressed (although the form *kettő* is also sometimes used in such situations, especially when used emphatically or in spoken discourse to avoid misunderstandings due to the similarity of *két* and *hét* 'seven'). The form *kettő* is used in attributive phrases when the numeral acts as a pro-form for a head noun which is not overtly expressed (825).

Attributive numerals are not inflected for case in Hungarian if they occur together with their head nouns, but they are inflected for case when they serve as pro-forms for the head nouns that are not overtly expressed.

(824) An-nak a három lány-nak szép ruhá-ja van.  
that-DAT the three girl-DAT nice dress-POSS.3SG be.3SG  
'Those three girls have nice dresses.'

(825) Az-t a kettő-t kér-em.  
that-ACC the two-ACC want-DEF.1SG  
'I want those two.'

#### 2.1.6.4. Ordinal numerals

Ordinal numerals are derived from cardinals by the suffix *-dik*, which is connected to the stem by a linking vowel; the only exceptions are the numerals *egy* 'one' and *kettő* 'two', which have suppletive ordinal stems: *első* and *második*, respectively. Numerals compounded with *egy* and *kettő*, such as *tizenegy* 'eleven' and *huszonkettő* 'twenty-two', however, employ the regular numeral stems for ordinals: *tizenegyedik* 'eleventh' and *huszon-kettedik* 'twenty-second', respectively.

The basic ordinals are listed below.

<i>első</i>	'first'
<i>második</i>	'second'
<i>harmadik</i>	'third'
<i>negyedik</i>	'fourth'

<i>ötödik</i>	'fifth'
<i>hatodik</i>	'sixth'
<i>hetedik</i>	'seventh'
<i>nyolcadik</i>	'eighth'
<i>kilencedik</i>	'ninth'
<i>tizedik</i>	'tenth'
<i>tizenegyedik</i>	'eleventh'
<i>tizenkettedik</i>	'twelfth'
<i>huszadik</i>	'twentieth'
<i>harmincadik</i>	'thirtieth'
<i>negyvenedik</i>	'fortieth'
<i>ötvenedik</i>	'fiftieth'
<i>hatvanadik</i>	'sixtieth'
<i>hetvenedik</i>	'seventieth'
<i>nyolcvanadik</i>	'eightieth'
<i>kilencvenedik</i>	'ninetieth'
<i>századik</i>	'(one) hundredth'
<i>ezredik</i>	'(one) thousandth'
<i>milliomodik</i>	'(one) millionth'

The third person possessive forms of the ordinal numerals are used in naming dates: e.g., *ötödike* 'the fifth', *május harmadika* 'the third of May'. The superessive is used in time adverbials containing dates.

(826) *Április huszonhet-edik-é-n*  
 April twenty.seven-ORD-POSS.3SG-SUP  
*szület-t-em.*  
 be.born-PAST-INDEF.1SG  
 'I was born on April 27th.'

#### 2.1.6.5. Other derivatives of numerals

Denominators of fractions are formed from numerals with the derivational suffix *-d* connected to the stem by a linking vowel. The forms of the fractions are the same as those of the ordinal numerals minus *-ik* (see above), except for the form for 'two', *ketted* 'second' (as in *öt ketted* 'five seconds'). Numerators of fractions are cardinal numbers: *három nyolcad* 'three-eighths', *hét kilenced* 'seven-ninths' etc.

The names of the numbers, and also attributive adjectival forms of numerals, are derived with the derivational suffix *-s/os/es/ös* (see also section 2.2.3.5.1).

(827) *a hat-os*  
 the six-ADJDER  
 'the number six'

(828) a het-es busz  
the seven-ADJDER bus  
'bus number seven'

(829) egy 1987-es Honda  
a 1987-ADJDER Honda  
'a 1987 Honda'

(830) Nincs egy tíz-es-ed?  
not.be.3SG a ten-ADJDER-POSS.2SG  
'Do you have a ten (=a 10 forint coin, a \$10 bill etc.)?'

Multiplicative forms of numerals are formed by attaching the multiplicative case suffix *-szor/szer/ször* to the cardinal numeral: *egyszer* 'one time, once', *kétszer* 'two times, twice', *háromszor* 'three times', *négyszer* 'four times', *ötször* 'five times', etc. Such forms are used in multiplication and division (see examples (823) and (821) above), as well as to express the frequency of the occurrence of an action.

(831) Már három-szor csenget-t-em.  
already three-MUL ring.bell-PAST-INDEF.1SG  
'I rang the bell three times already.'

Multiplicative forms of ordinal numerals express frequency in 'for the second time' types of phrases.

(832) Negy-ed-szer is csenget-t-em.  
four-ORD-MUL also ring.bell-PAST-INDEF.1SG  
'I rang the bell for the fourth time, too.'

Multiplicative forms of both cardinals and ordinals can be made adjectival with the derivation suffix *-i*, while multiplicative forms of cardinals can also be further derived with *-os/es* (also see section 2.2.3.5.2).

(833) a három-szor-i csenget-és  
the three-MUL-ADJDER ring.bell-NML  
'the ringing of the bell three times'

(834) a negy-ed-szer-i csenget-és  
the four-ORD-MUL-ADJDER ring.bell-NML  
'the fourth ringing of the bell'

(835) a három-szor-os bajnok  
the three-MUL-ADJDER champion  
'the three-time champion'

For partitive numerals, see section 2.1.1.4.19.1.

## 2.1.6.6. Quantifiers

Hungarian quantifiers are the following.

There is a small group of closed-class quantifiers that are used only attributively with the head noun they modify or as pro-forms without it: *sok* 'much, many', *kevés* 'few, little', *néhány* and *egynéhány*, both meaning 'some (countable)', *pár* and *egypár*, both meaning 'a few', *számos* 'several', and *elég* 'enough'. (Also see sections 2.1.1.4.19.3–6.) As pro-forms they can be marked for case just like adjectives and numerals.

(836) Sok ember-t lát-t-ál vagy keves-et?  
 many person-ACC see-PAST-INDEF.3SG or few-ACC  
 'Did you see many people or few?'

Universal and partitive pronominal quantifiers are the following:

<i>akárhány</i>	'whatever number'
<i>akármennyi</i>	'whatever amount'
<i>akármí</i>	'whatever (countable nonhumans)'
<i>akármilyen</i>	'whatever kind'
<i>bármennyi</i>	'whatever amount'
<i>bármí</i>	'whatever (countable nonhumans)'
<i>bármilyen</i>	'whatever kind'
<i>egyik</i>	'one'
<i>másik</i>	'other/another'
<i>mindegyik</i>	'each one'
<i>minden</i>	'all (both count and noncount nouns)'
<i>mindkét</i>	'both'
<i>mindhárom</i>	'all three'
<i>semelyik</i>	'not one'
<i>semennyi</i>	'no amount'
<i>valahány</i>	'some number'
<i>valamelyik</i>	'any/either one'
<i>valamennyi</i>	'some amount'
<i>valamiféle</i>	'some kind'
<i>valamilyen</i>	'some kind'

The sets of quantifiers involving *akár*- and *bár*- are synonymous in several contexts; for details about the slight differences, see Hetzron (1991).

The quantifier *egyik* 'one' is used with *sem* 'is not either' to express 'neither' or 'none (countable)'.  
 (837) Egyik fiú-t sem lát-om.

one boy-ACC is.not.either see-DEF.1SG  
 'I see neither/none of the boys.'

## 2.1.6.6.1. Quantifier compounds

The quantifier compounds in Hungarian are formed in a regular fashion with *vala-* 'some', *se-* 'no', *minden-* 'every', *bár-* 'ever', and *akár-* 'ever', and the interrogative pronouns *ki* 'who', *mi* 'what', *hol* 'where', *hova* 'to where', *honnan* 'from where', and *mikor* 'when'. The only irregular form is *minden* 'everything', which does not contain *mi* 'what'.

Forms containing *ki* and *mi* are marked for case.

The sets containing *akár-* and *bár-* are symonymous in several contexts; for a discussion of the slight differences, see Hetzron (1991).

<i>akárhol</i>	'wherever'
<i>akárhonnan</i>	'from wherever'
<i>akárhova</i>	'to wherever'
<i>akárki</i>	'whoever'
<i>akármí</i>	'whatever'
<i>akármikor</i>	'whenever'
<i>bárho</i>	'wherever'
<i>bárhonnan</i>	'from wherever'
<i>bárhova</i>	'to wherever'
<i>bárki</i>	'whoever'
<i>bármí</i>	'whatever'
<i>bármikor</i>	'whenever'
<i>minden</i>	'everything'
<i>mindenhol</i>	'everywhere'
<i>mindenhonnan</i>	'from everywhere'
<i>mindenhova</i>	'to everywhere'
<i>mindenki</i>	'everybody'
<i>mindenkor</i>	'at all times'
<i>sehol</i>	'nowhere'
<i>sehonnan</i>	'from nowhere'
<i>sehova</i>	'to nowhere'
<i>semmi</i>	'nothing'
<i>semmikor</i>	'at no time'
<i>senki</i>	'nobody'
<i>valahol</i>	'somewhere'
<i>valahonnan</i>	'from somewhere'
<i>valahova</i>	'to somewhere'
<i>valaki</i>	'somebody'
<i>valami</i>	'something'
<i>valamikor</i>	'sometime'

**2.1.7. Adverbs**

Adverbs most commonly indicate place, time, and manner in Hungarian.

Adverbs of place express the dimension of 'at rest', 'motion to', or 'motion from'. Some of the 'at rest' place adverbs are *kint* 'outside', *bent* 'inside', *fent* 'up(stairs)', *lent* 'down(stairs)', *otthon* 'at home', *közel* 'nearby', *távol* 'far', *középen* 'in the middle'. Some of the 'motion to' place adverbs are *hátra* 'back', *előre* 'forward', *félre* 'aside', *haza* 'to home'. The 'motion from' adverbs include *hátról* 'from the back', *előlről* 'from the front', *otthonról* 'from home'. Time adverbs include *ma* 'today', *holnap* 'tomorrow', *tegnap* 'yesterday', *tavaly* 'last year', *jövőre* 'next year', *valaha* 'sometime in the past', *este* 'in the evening', *reggel* 'in the morning', *délután* 'in the afternoon', *délelőtt* 'in the late morning', *rögtön* 'at once', *későn* 'late', *gyakran* 'often', *néha* 'sometimes', *mindig* 'always', *soha* 'never'.

Adverbs of manner are of different types in Hungarian. Some are underived and uninflected, such as *így* 'this way', *úgy* 'that way', *egyedül* 'alone', *veszteg* 'still', *hirtelen* 'suddenly'. Others evolved from case-marked nouns, for instance *egyenesen* 'straight', *vaktában* 'at random', *sutytyomban* 'secretly', *fehéren-feketén* 'in black and white'.

A great number of manner adverbs are formed from adjectives marked for the modal-essive case *-n/an/en*: *forrón* 'hotly', *drágán* 'expensively', *szomorúan* 'sadly', *szépen* 'nicely', *bátran* 'bravely', *éber* 'watchfully'. A small number of adverbs are formed from adjectives with the modal case *-lag/leg*: *helyeslőleg* 'approvingly', *békítőleg* 'pacifyingly', *szemrehányólag* 'disapprovingly'.

**2.1.7.1. Kinds of comparison**

In Hungarian the gradable adverbs are typically the ones employing adjectives with the modal-essive case.

**2.1.7.1.1. Equality**

Equality is expressed with the base forms of gradable adverbs.

- (838) Ez az autó olyan gyors-an megy, mint a  
this the car so fast-MOE go.INDEF.3SG as the  
másik.  
other.one  
'This car goes as fast as the other one.'
- (839) Zsófia olyan szép-en énekel, mint a pacsirta.  
Sophia so nice-MOE sing.INDEF.3SG as the lark  
'Sophia sings as nicely as a lark.'

## 2.1.7.1.2. Comparative

The comparative of gradable adverbs is formed by attaching the modalessive case ending *-an/en* to the comparative form of adjectives: *szebben* 'more nicely', *gyorsabban* 'faster', *lassabban* 'more slowly', etc. (For comparative forms of adjectives see section 2.1.4.4.2.)

- (840) Az en kutyá-m hangos-abb-an ugat, mint  
 the I dog-POSS.1SG loud-CMP-MOE bark.INDEF.3SG than  
 a tied.  
 the yours  
 'My dog barks more loudly than yours.'

## 2.1.7.1.3. Superlative

The superlative of gradable adverbs is formed by attaching the modalessive case ending *-an/en* to the superlative form of adjectives: *legszebben* 'most nicely', *leggyorsabban* 'fastest', *leglassabban* 'most slowly', etc. (For superlative forms of adjectives see section 2.1.4.4.3.)

- (841) Az én kutyá-m ugat a  
 the I dog-POSS.3SG bark.INDEF.3SG the  
 leg-hangos-abb-an.  
 SPR-loud-CMP-MOE  
 'My dog barks the loudest.'

## 2.1.7.1.4. Emphatic superlative

The emphatic superlative of gradable adverbs is formed by attaching the modal-essive case ending *-an/en* to an emphatic superlative adjective: *legeslegszebben* 'absolutely most nicely', *legesleggyorsabban* 'absolutely fastest', *legesleglassabban* 'absolutely most slowly', etc. (For emphatic superlative forms of adjectives see section 2.1.4.4.4.)

- (842) Az en kutyá-m ugat a  
 the I dog-POSS.3SG bark.INDEF.3SG the  
 leges-leg-hangos-abb-an.  
 EMS-SPR-loud-CMP-MOE  
 'My dog barks absolutely the loudest.'

2.1.7.2. *Degrees of quality*

2.1.7.2.1. Large measure

Large measure of a quality in adverbs is expressed with the same intensifying adverbs as in the case of adjectives; see section 2.1.4.5.1.

2.1.7.2.2. Superabundance

The superabundance of a quality in adverbs is expressed with the same intensifying adverbs as in the case of adjectives; see section 2.1.4.5.2.

2.1.7.2.3. Small measure

Small measure of a quality in adverbs is expressed with the same intensifying adverbs as in the case of adjectives; see section 2.1.4.5.3.

**2.1.8. Clitics**

Hungarian has one clitic: the -e question particle, which is used:

(i) obligatorily in embedded yes-no questions (843)

(ii) obligatorily in yes-no echo-questions (844)

(iii) optionally, as a marker of emphasis, in nonembedded yes-no questions (845).

It is connected to its host with a hyphen in orthography.

(843) Tamás nem tud-ja, hogy otthon vol-t-am-e.  
Thomas not know-DEF.3SG that at.home be-PAST-1SG-Q  
'Thomas doesn't know whether I was at home.'

(844) Szeret-ek-e táncol-ni?  
like-INDEF.1SG-Q dance-INF  
'Do I like to dance?'

(845) Es ők-et meg-kérdez-t-ed-e?  
and they-ACC PFX-ask-PAST-DEF.2SG-Q  
'And did you (SG) ask them?'  
(emphatic)

The question clitic occupies a postverbal position when there is a verb or overt copula in the sentence (see examples above). When the copula is not expressed overtly, in the present tense third person existential copular construction, the clitic occupies the position immediately following the subject-complement.

(846) Nem tud-om, Zsolt boldog-e.  
not know-DEF.1SG Zsolt happy-Q  
'I don't know whether Zsolt is happy.'

(847) Nem tud-om, Zsolt orvos-e.  
not know-DEF.1SG Zsolt doctor-Q  
'I don't know if Zsolt is a doctor.'

In nonstandard and dialectal Hungarian the question clitic can attach to a preverbal focussed constituent (848) or a negative particle before a preverbal focussed constituent as well (849)—such usage, however, is very strongly stigmatized as uneducated in Hungarian (Kontra 1995).

(848) Zsuzsa kérdez-t-e, hogy meg-e jön a  
Susan ask-PAST-DEF.3SG that PFX-Q come.INDEF.3SG the  
vonat.  
train

'Susan asked whether the train was coming.'

(849) Zsuzsa kérdez-t-e, hogy nem-e holnap  
Susan ask-PAST-DEF.3SG that not-Q tomorrow  
jöv-ünk.  
come-INDEF.1PL  
'Susan asked whether it wouldn't be tomorrow that we'd  
come.'

## 2.2. DERIVATIONAL MORPHOLOGY

Since Hungarian is an agglutinative language, it is small wonder that derivation has an important role in word formation processes. There are a large number of derivational suffixes, a fraction of which are completely productive; some are governed by various properties of the base, others are highly idiosyncratic. For a more complete discussion, see the relevant chapters in Tompa (1961) and Rácz (1968); for a more up-to-date presentation, cf. Kiefer (forthcoming).

Below primarily productive derivational affixes are listed in their most frequent allomorphs, usually without the epenthetic vowels necessary to resolve consonant clusters. To ascertain productivity, Papp (1969) was used.

**2.2.1. Derived nouns****2.2.1.1. Nouns from nouns**

A number of the devices discussed here are also used as deadjectival derivational affixes and will reoccur in the appropriate section.

**2.2.1.1.1. -s**

Its fundamental meaning is the essentially adjectival 'provided with something', from which it has come to mean (a) occupations, (b) collective nouns, and (c) nouns expressing units of measure.

(850)	a.	<i>óra</i>	'watch'	<i>óra-s</i>	'watchmaker'
		<i>fazék</i>	'pot'	<i>fazék-as</i>	'potter'
		<i>kártya</i>	'card'	<i>kártyá-s</i>	'card-player'
		<i>autó</i>	'car'	<i>autó-s</i>	'motorist'
	b.	<i>gyümölcs</i>	'fruit'	<i>gyümölcs-ös</i>	'orchard'
		<i>tölgy</i>	'oak'	<i>tölgy-és</i>	'oak-wood'
	c.	<i>forint</i>	'forint'	<i>forint-os</i>	'1 forint coin'

**2.2.1.1.2. -ság/ség**

It is in general applied to derive abstract nouns. When added to nouns, it can also form collective nouns.

(851)	a.	<i>vezér</i>	'leader'	<i>vezér-ség</i>	'leadership'
		<i>igazgató</i>	'director'	<i>igazgató-ság</i>	'directorate'
	b.	<i>katona</i>	'soldier'	<i>katona-ság</i>	'army'
		<i>hegy</i>	'mountain'	<i>hegy-ség</i>	'mountain range'

**2.2.1.1.3. -ász/ész**

This is almost exclusively used to produce names of occupation.

(851)	<i>jog</i>	'law'	<i>jog-ász</i>	'lawyer'
	<i>kert</i>	'garden'	<i>kert-ész</i>	'gardener'
	<i>seb</i>	'wound'	<i>seb-ész</i>	'surgeon'

**2.2.1.1.4. -at/et**

When added to the bases ending in the above mentioned affix *-ász/ész*, it serves to denote an institution or a profession.

- (853) *kertész* 'gardener'  
*fogász* 'dentist'  
*kertész-et* 'gardening, horticultural establishment'  
*fogász-at* 'dentistry, dental surgery'

## 2.2.1.1.5. Diminutive derivational affixes

Diminutive suffixes do not differ in meaning, though they can select their bases according to phonological and lexical properties.

-*ka/ke* can be added to stems ending in liquids, nasals and the vowels *ó, ő,* and *i*.

- (854) *asztal* 'table' *asztal-ka* 'little table'  
*Péter* 'Peter' *Peter-ke* 'little Peter'

-*cska/cske* is the general diminutive suffix; it can occur on most bases listed above in addition to any others.

- (855) *asztal* 'table' *asztal-ocska* 'little table'  
*könyv* 'book' *könyv-ecske* 'little book' (cf. \**könyv-ke*)

-*i* is the general diminutive for names; it is added to truncated stems, the morphophonology of which is an interesting issue.

- |       |               |              |
|-------|---------------|--------------|
| (856) | Full          | Diminutive   |
|       | <i>Ferenc</i> | <i>Fer-i</i> |
|       | <i>Gábor</i>  | <i>Gab-i</i> |
|       | <i>Mária</i>  | <i>Mar-i</i> |

-*i* is also added to a limited class of nouns of "familiar" usage, such as names of institutions or school subjects, etc.

- |       |                  |                     |               |
|-------|------------------|---------------------|---------------|
| (857) | Full             |                     | Diminutive    |
|       | <i>óv-oda</i>    | 'care-NML, nursery' | <i>ov-i</i>   |
|       | <i>mikrofon</i>  | 'microphone'        | <i>mik-i</i>  |
|       | <i>csokoládé</i> | 'chocolate'         | <i>csok-i</i> |
|       |                  |                     | —             |
|       |                  |                     | 'mike'        |
|       |                  |                     | 'choc(cy)'    |

2.2.1.1.6. -*ék*

It is usually added to nouns denoting persons—such as proper names or names of kinship or occupation—to form plural nouns meaning a group of people associated with the person referred to by the base. When on a common noun, it must be used with the definite article to guarantee referentiality. Its status as a derivational affix is questionable; it may well qualify as an inflectional affix.

(858) *Anna Anna* (first name)*órás* 'watchmaker'*apá-m* 'father-1SG'*Anná-ék* 'Anna and her family/friends/etc.'*az órás-ék* 'the watchmaker and his/her family/friends/etc.'*(az) apám-ék* 'my father and his friends/family/etc.'2.2.1.1.7. *-né*

This completely productive affix marks the female spouse of the person denoted by the base (it comes from the noun *nő* 'woman', still used in compounds), but has no independent status, which is why grammars treat it as an affix. The two sometimes differentiate, for example, female members of a profession from the wife of a male practitioner, as in *orvosnő* 'female physician' vs. *orvos-né* '(male) doctor's wife', *gróf-nő* 'countess by birth' vs. *gróf-né* 'countess by marriage'. The form can be used in referring to, as well as (in some registers) addressing, people.

(859) *Kovács* 'Kovács (surname)' *Kovács-né* 'Mrs. Kovács'2.2.1.1.8. *-ista*

Although low on the productivity scale, this suffix, which has been "naturalized" from its Latin source, produces names of occupation.

(860)	<i>zongora</i>	'piano'
	<i>gimnázium</i>	'secondary school'
	<i>futball</i>	'football'
	<i>zongor-ista</i>	'pianist'
	<i>gimnaz-ista</i>	'student in secondary school'
	<i>futball-ista</i>	'football player'

2.2.1.2. *Nouns from verbs*2.2.1.2.1. *-as/és*

This is the most productive deverbative affix, forming both process and result nominals of any verb (excepting auxiliaries only). It is this form that is used in action nominalizations, which preserve the argument structure of the verb.

- (861)
- a. *olt* 'extinguish' *olt-ás* 'extinguishing'
  - kér* 'request' *kér-és* 'requesting, request'
  - b. *el-olt* 'PFX-extinguish (perfective)'

- c. *a tűz olt-ás-a*  
the fire extinguish-NML-POSS  
'the extinguishing of the fire' (process)
- d. *a tűz el-olt-ás-a*  
PFX)  
'the extinction of the fire' (result)

Since action nominalization makes use of the possessive construction (see 1.10), in which there is only one slot (viz., for the possessor) open for noninherently case-marked constituents, this position is regularly occupied by subjects of intransitive verbs and objects of transitive verbs. Arguments with inherent cases (including the dative) are preserved usually in a quasi-adjectival or attributive construction formed by means of *való* 'being'.

- (862) a. *a ló fut-ás-a*  
the horse run-NML-POSS  
'the running of the horse'
- b. *a vadász le-löv-és-e*  
the hunter down-shoot-NML-POSS  
'the shooting of *the hunter*'  
(*Patient/\*Agent*)
- (863) a. *a könyv Anná-nak való fel-olvas-ás-a*  
the book Anna-DAT being PFX-read-NML-POSS  
'the reading of the book to Anna'
- b. *Péter London-ból való távoz-ás-a*  
Peter London-ELA being leave-NML-POSS  
'Peter's departure from London'

#### 2.2.1.2.2. -ó/ő

Another highly productive affix. Its form is identical to the one deriving active (present) participles and adjectives from verbs. It marks (a) the agent or (b) the regular location of the action.

- |       |    |               |               |                 |                |
|-------|----|---------------|---------------|-----------------|----------------|
| (864) | a. | <i>olvas</i>  | 'read'        | <i>olvas-ó</i>  | 'reader'       |
|       |    | <i>nyomoz</i> | 'detect'      | <i>nyomoz-ó</i> | 'detective'    |
|       | b. | <i>ebédel</i> | 'have dinner' | <i>ebédl-ő</i>  | 'dining room'  |
|       |    | <i>olvas</i>  | 'read'        | <i>olvas-ó</i>  | 'reading room' |

## 2.2.1.2.3. -at/et

Usually added to transitive verbs, it marks the result of the action. It is no longer productive on intransitive verbs.

- (865) *olvas* 'read' *olvas-at* 'reading, sense'  
*idéz* 'quote' *idéz-et* 'quotation'

## 2.2.1.2.4. -mány/mény

This is another, though less frequently applied, affix producing result nominals from transitive verbs.

- (866) *olvas* 'read' *olvas-mány* 'reading matter'  
*bővít* 'extend' *bővít-mény* 'complement'

## 2.2.1.3. Nouns from adjectives

The affix -ság/ség appears to be the only productive derivational device in this group; here, too, it signifies (a) abstract properties or (b) states.

- (867) a. *hasonló* 'similar' *hasonló-ság* 'similarity'  
*erős* 'strong' *erős-ség* 'strength'  
 b. *beteg* 'ill, sick' *beteg-ség* 'illness, sickness'  
*ijedt* 'frightful' *ijedt-ség* 'fright'

## 2.2.1.4. Nouns from adverbs

Although a few nouns are derived from adverbs—that is, postpositional nouns, such as *dél-után* 'noon-after=afternoon [N]' or postpositions, e.g., *helyett-es* 'instead-AFX=deputy', *felett-es* 'above-AFX=superior', *ellenség* 'against-AFX=enemy', since postpositions are a closed class, and, by all standards, these derivations are idiosyncratic—this group can be said to be unproductive.

## 2.2.1.5. Nouns from numerals

Numerals underlie nouns signifying the number itself or a person or persons in groups characterized by the cardinal or the ordinal numeral.

- (868) a. *négy* 'four' *négy-es* 'the number four'  
*tíz* 'ten' *tíz-es* 'the number ten, tenner (currency unit)'
- b. *hat* 'six' (a) *hat-ok* '(the) six-PL, the six'
- c. *negy-edik* 'four-th' *negy-edik-es* 'fourth-grader'

**2.2.2. Derived verbs****2.2.2.1. Verbs from nouns**

It is important to note that derivation proper applies suffixes exclusively and that the resulting items are process or stative verbs. Momentary or perfective verbs are produced from the latter by prefixing them with one or more of the several verbal prefixes available, as is illustrated below.

Verbs are given in their base form, which is the third person singular, and glosses for verbs are given in the full form of the infinitive wherever forms are not unequivocal.

**2.2.2.1.1. -z**

It carries a sense of (a) 'provide with N', (b) 'use N in some action', (c) 'take N as a means of traveling', (d) 'produce N', (e) 'call someone N', (f) 'deprive of N', (g) 'take part in N'. Intransitive forms often have the *-ik* reflexive or intransitive ending. (Transitive/intransitive verbs are indicated by the corresponding subscripts.)

(869)	a.	<i>keret</i>	'frame'	<i>keret-ezT</i>	'to frame'
	b.	<i>radio</i>	'radio (set)'	<i>rádió-zikl</i>	'listen to the radio'
	c.	<i>autó</i>	'car'	<i>autó-zikl</i>	'drive a car'
	d.	<i>fal</i>	'wall'	<i>fal-azl</i>	'build a wall'
	e.	<i>bácsi</i>	'uncle'	<i>bácsi-zT</i>	'call x "uncle"'
	f.	<i>csont</i>	'bone'	<i>csont-ozT/l</i>	'take bones out'
	g.	<i>ülés</i>	'session'	<i>ülés-ezikl</i>	'have a session'

Note perfective versions, e.g., *be-keretez* 'in-frame=frame' or *ki-csontoz* 'out-bone=take out bones (of meat)'.

**2.2.2.1.2. -l**

It, too, can mean (a) 'provide with N', (b) 'use N', but also (c) 'works as/is an N', among other (less frequent) uses.

(870)	a.	<i>talp</i>	'sole'	<i>talp-alT</i>	'put a sole on'
	b.	<i>kasza</i>	'scythe'	<i>kaszá-IT/l</i>	'to scythe'
	c.	<i>szónok</i>	'orator'	<i>szónok-oll</i>	'give speeches/orations'
	d.	<i>tank</i>	'(fuel) tank'	<i>tank-oll</i>	'put fuel in tank'

2.2.2.1.3. *-sit*

This uniform transitive suffix is a version of the deadjectival affix *-it* (see section 2.2.2.3.1.), and has the sense of 'create an N, make x into N'.

(871)	<i>park</i>	'park'	<i>park-osít</i>	'create parks'
	<i>bála</i>	'bale'	<i>bála-sít</i>	'put x in bales'

2.2.2.1.4. *-(s)kodik/(s)kodik*

The intransitive ending means 'work/behave as/is an N', sometimes adding a disapproving tint, as in the last two derivations in the list below.

(872)	<i>szónok</i>	'orator'	<i>szónok-oskodik</i>	'work as an orator'
	<i>elnök</i>	'chairperson'	<i>elnök-öskodik</i>	'is chairperson'
	<i>tanár</i>	'teacher'	<i>tanár-kodik</i>	'work as a teacher'
	<i>atya</i>	'father'	<i>atyá-skodik</i>	'behave like a father'
	<i>hős</i>	'hero'	<i>hős-kodik</i>	'behave like a hero, brag'

Although it can in principle be claimed that in case of the longer version the base is a denominal adjective ending in *-s* (see section 2.2.3.1.1), the last examples have no adjectival bases, and the alleged adjectival bases of the others do not easily lend themselves to being interpreted as such. It may be the case that phonological conditioning underlies the choice of the allomorphs.

2.2.2.1.5. *-(iz)ál*

When the base is foreign, most often Latin or Latinized, this is the affix used, although purists have long discouraged speakers from applying it. The longer form is in part phonologically conditioned, probably due to the source language: in most cases stems end in liquids, nasals, or alveolar sounds. The mechanism of truncation is not discussed here, but note that several seemingly derived forms have no nominal or any other bases, since in Hungarian all (new) verbs must have verbal morphology, i.e., endings that unequivocally show them to be verbs. Since the suffix is usually transitive, only intransitive verbs are indicated.

- (873) a. *litográfia* 'lithograph' *litograf-ál* 'to lithograph'  
*disszidens* 'emigrant' *disszid-áll* 'emigrate'  
*kodifikáció* 'codification' *kodifik-ál* 'codify'
- b. *atom* 'atom' *atom-izál* 'atomize'  
*bagatell* 'trifle' *bagatell-izál* 'make look like a trifle'  
*modern* 'modern' *modern-izál* 'modernize'  
*humor* 'humor' *humor-izáll* 'to joke'  
*politika* 'politics' *polit-izáll* 'be engaged in politics'

## 2.2.2.2. Verbs from verbs

## 2.2.2.2.1. Possibility/permission

Epistemic and deontic modalities corresponding to English *can* and *may* are expressed by the affixes *-hat/het*, which any verb can take. The preservation of the *-ik* form after the affix is limited to overly purist or literary uses.

(874)	<i>üt</i>	'hit'	<i>üt-het</i>	'can/may hit'
	<i>áll</i>	'stand'	<i>áll-hat</i>	'can/may stand'
	<i>hull</i>	'fall'	<i>hull-hat</i>	'can/may fall'
	<i>történ-ik</i>	'happen'	<i>történ-het(ik)</i>	'can/may happen'

It is generally regarded as a derivational affix, although it can only occur if the verb is finite, as was alluded to in 1.1.2.2.6.1–7. In other words, since in contrast to other deverbial affixes it does not form bases for further derivation (though one apparent exception is noted below in 2.2.3.1), it is an inflectional rather than a derivational ending.

(875)	<i>üt</i>	'hit'
	<i>üt-sz</i>	'hit-2SG=you hit'
	<i>üt-és</i>	'hit-NML=a hit'
	<i>üt-ni</i>	'hit-INF=to hit'
	<i>üt-het-ett</i>	'hit-POSS-PAST—she may have hit'
	<i>üt-het-sz</i>	'hit-POSS-2SG=you can hit'
	* <i>üt-het-és</i>	'hit-POSS-NML'
	* <i>üt-het-ni</i>	'hit-POSS-INF'

## 2.2.2.2.2. Causative

As is expected in an agglutinative language, causative forms are produced by a set of suffixes *-at/et* or *-tat/tet*; most monosyllabic verbs take the former, the rest the latter.

(876)	<i>ír</i>	'write'	<i>ír-at</i>	'have X write/written'
	<i>ül</i>	'sit'	<i>ül-tet</i>	'to seat'
	<i>olvas</i>	'read'	<i>olvas-tat</i>	'have someone read'

As regards the syntax of causatives, the causative of intransitives has the subject of the base form in their objects. The causative of transitive verbs has the subject in instrumental case and preserves the accusative of the object. Of course, if the transitive verb has an intransitive use as well, the pattern is the same as with intransitive verbs.

- a. Péter ül.  
Peter sits  
'Peter is sitting.'
- b. Anna ül-tet-i Péter-t.  
Anna sit-CAUS-3SG Peter-ACC  
'Anna is seating Peter.'
- c. Péter könyv-et olvas.  
Peter book-ACC reads  
'Peter is reading a book.'
- d. Anna könyv-et olvas-tat Péter-rel  
Anna book-ACC read-CAUS Peter-INS  
'Anna has Peter read a book.'

#### 2.2.2.2.3. Frequentative

There used to be several frequentative derivational affixes, most of which were built around the morpheme *-g-*; but only *-gat/get* has remained fully productive today.

- (878) *olvas* 'read' *olvas-gat* 'read from time to time'  
*főz* 'cook' *főz-öget* 'cook from time to time'  
*üt* 'hit' *üt-öget* 'hit repeatedly'  
*lép* 'step' *lép-eget* 'step repeatedly'

Note that wherever the verb takes the earlier, and no longer productive, form(s) of the frequentative affix, lexical blocking prevents it from being affixed by the productive morpheme.

- (879) *szalad* 'run' *szalad-gál* 'run around' \**szalad-gat*  
*hull* 'fall' *hull-dogál* 'be falling' \**hull-ogat*  
*hajl-ik* 'bend' *hajl-adozik* 'bend repeatedly' \**hajl-ogat*

One peculiar device to express repeated actions, though one that does not make use of derivational affixes, is the reduplication of the preverbal prefix (see 2.2.6.3.5).

- (880) *meg-áll* 'PFX-stop, come to a halt'  
*ki-megy* 'out-go, go out, leave'  
*meg-meg-áll* 'stop repeatedly'  
*ki-ki-megy* 'go out repeatedly'

#### 2.2.2.2.4. Reflexive

It is possible to have lexically produced reflexive forms of verbs, which are often middle or intransitive, rather than reflexive verbs proper,

especially if the base is transitive. The productivity of the suffix is questionable: *-ódik/ődik* is often found, but its interpretation as a reflexive is doubtful, while *-kozik/kezik/közik* and *-kodik/kedik/ködik*, which are certainly reflexive affixes, are hardly productive.

(881)	<i>ismétel</i>	'repeat'	<i>ismétl-ódik</i>	'repeat itself, be repeated'
	<i>üt</i>	'hit'	<i>üt-ődik</i>	'hit against something (nonagentive)'
	<i>érez</i>	'feel'	<i>érez-ődik</i>	'be felt'
	<i>törül</i>	'wipe'	<i>törül-közik</i>	'wipe/dry self'
	<i>mos</i>	'wash'	<i>mosa-kodik</i>	'wash self'

#### 2.2.2.2.5. Passive

Interestingly, although morphological passive as such is all but obsolete in current Hungarian, the affixes themselves are not unproductive, that is, it is possible to derive new forms, even if they appear to be stilted and largely impossible in other than the third person. The affixes are the *-ik* suffixed forms of the causative, i.e., *-atik/etik* or *-tatik/tetik*, with the same distribution of use as above. Naturally, only transitive verbs undergo the process. This passive is again suspect of being an inflectional, rather than a derivational ending; but, due to its very limited productivity, tests are difficult to execute.

(882)	<i>ír</i>	'write'	<i>ír-atik</i>	'be written'
	<i>gépel</i>	'type'	<i>gépel-tetik</i>	'be typed'

#### 2.2.2.3. Verbs from adjectives

##### 2.2.2.3.1. *-ít*

Related to the affix *-sít* in 2.2.2.1.3, this one produces transitive verbs meaning 'make something ADJ'.

(883)	<i>szép</i>	'beautiful'	<i>szép-ít</i>	'beautify'
	<i>kemény</i>	'hard'	<i>kemény-ít</i>	'make hard'
	<i>bolond</i>	'crazy'	<i>bolond-ít</i>	'make crazy'
	<i>erős</i>	'strong'	<i>erős-ít</i>	'strengthen'

##### 2.2.2.3.2. *-odik/edik/ödik*

The intransitive counterpart of the above ending means 'become ADJ'. In contrast with *-ít*, it is not the only one in use in this sense, as seen further below. Most adjectives derived by *-s*, such as *erős* 'strength-AFX', take this affix.

(884)	<i>kemény</i>	'hard'	<i>kemény-edik</i>	'become hard'
	<i>erős</i>	'strong'	<i>erős-ödik</i>	'become strong'
	<i>lapos</i>	'flat'	<i>lapos-odik</i>	'become flat'

2.2.2.3.4. -*kodik/kedik/kodik*

This suffix is clearly related to its denominal counterpart, and has the meaning 'behave as if s/he was ADJ/behave in an ADJ way'.

(885)	<i>kemény</i>	'tough'	<i>kemény-kedik</i>	'behave as if s/he was tough'
	<i>erős</i>	'strong'	<i>erős-ködik</i>	'behave as if s/he was strong'
	<i>udvarias</i>	'polite'	<i>udvarias-kodik</i>	'behave in a polite way'

2.2.2.3.5. -*ul/ül*

The other, less productive, version of the above intransitive suffix can no longer be added to derived adjectives.

(886)	<i>szép</i>	'beautiful'	<i>szép-ül</i>	'become beautiful'
	<i>bolond</i>	'crazy'	<i>bolond-ul</i>	'become crazy'
	<i>béna</i>	'lame'	<i>ben-ul</i>	'become lame'

**2.2.3. Derived adjectives**2.2.3.1. *Adjectives from nouns*2.2.3.1.1. -*s*

This is one of the most frequent simple affixes, meaning 'provided with N', 'like N'. It is the same as the one deriving nouns from nouns in 2.2.1.1.1.

- (887) a. *szerecsse* 'luck' *szerecsse-s* 'lucky'  
*erő* 'strength' *erő-s* 'strong'  
*hatalom* 'power' *hatalm-as* 'powerful'  
*függöny* 'curtain' *függöny-ös* 'having curtains'  
*kazetta* 'cassette' *kazetta-s* 'having cassettes'
- b. *ezüst* 'silver' *ezüst-ös* 'silvery'  
*üveg* 'glass' *üveg-és* 'glassy'

This suffix allows its nominal base optionally to consist of an adjective/ numeral+noun construction.

- (888) *rövid függöny* 'short curtain'  
*két kazetta* 'two cassettes'  
*rövid függöny-ös* 'with short curtains'  
*két kazetta-s* 'with two cassettes'

In another use, -s is added to expressions of time and converts them into prenominal attributes.

- (889)
- a. három óra-kor  
three hour-at  
'at three o'clock'
  - b. a három órá-s (előadás)  
the three hour-AFX show  
'the three o'clock show'  
'the three-hour-long show'
  - c. a harminc-öt év-es háború  
the thirty-five year-AFX war  
'the thirty-five-year war'

#### 2.2.3.1.2. -(j)ű/ű

This affix is much like English -ed in that it requires adjective/ numeral+noun constructions as its base, giving rise to a core case of bracketing paradoxes. In the simple instances, the suffix is added to inalienable possessions, such as parts of the body, in contrast to the suffix -s above, which can be used only on alienable possessions.

- (890)
- láb* 'leg' *hosszú láb-ú* 'long-legged'  
*fej* 'head' *három fej-ű* 'three-headed'  
*haj* 'hair' *rövid haj-ú* 'short-haired'

What makes this affix even more problematic is the fact that the adjective can be a full adjectival phrase including intensifiers or comparative phrases. Since the affix -s is incapable of taking anything more complex than a single adjective, in such phrasal constructions this affix can be used with alienable possessions as well.

- (891)
- a. *nagyon rövid haj* 'very short hair'
  - b. *nagyon rövid haj-ú* 'with very short hair'
  - c. *Anná-é-nál rövid-ebb haj*  
Anna-POSS-ADE short-CMP hair  
'hair shorter than Anna's'
  - d. *Anná-é-nál rövid-ebb haj-ú*  
'with hair shorter than Anna's'
- (892)
- a. *három-nál keves-ebb lámpa*  
three-ADE few-CMP light  
'lights fewer than three'

- b. három-nál kevesebb lámpa-jú  
'with lights fewer than three'

## 2.2.3.1.3. -i

This is another affix of high frequency, generally meaning 'belonging to/ from/in/...N', and in particular attaches to (a) placenames, (b) names of institutions or locations, (c) nouns expressing professions, (d) personal relations, (e) time or (f) abstract notions.

(893)	a.	<i>Budapest</i>	'Budapest'	<i>budapest-i</i>	'from/in/...Budapest'
		<i>Anglia</i>	'England'	<i>anglia-i</i>	'of England'
	b.	<i>egyetem</i>	'university'	<i>egyetem-i</i>	'of (a/the) university'
		<i>bank</i>	'bank'	<i>bank-i</i>	'of (a/the) bank(ing)'
		<i>mező</i>	'field'	<i>meze-i</i>	'of (a/the) field'
	c.	<i>orvos</i>	'doctor'	<i>orvos-i</i>	'medical'
		<i>katona</i>	'soldier'	<i>katona-i</i>	'military'
	d.	<i>anya</i>	'mother'	<i>anya-i</i>	'motherly'
		<i>barát</i>	'friend'	<i>barát-i</i>	'friendly'
	e.	<i>tegnap</i>	'yesterday'	<i>tegnap-i</i>	'yesterday's'
		<i>május</i>	'May'	<i>május-i</i>	'of May'
	f.	<i>gazdaság</i>	'economy'	<i>gazdaság-i</i>	'economic'
		<i>zene</i>	'music'	<i>zene-i</i>	'musical'

This suffix, too, has an additional use when applied to complex expressions of time, in part similar to -s above in 2.2.3.1.1, but in part different, as seen below.

- (894)
- a. három óra-kor  
three clock-at  
'at three o'clock'
  - b. a három óra-i (előadás)  
the three clock-AFX show  
'the three o'clock show'
  - c. harminc-öt év-i távollét  
thirty-five year-AFX absence  
'thirty-five-year absence'

2.2.3.1.4. *-t(a)lan/t(e)len* (privative)

The same fully productive suffix is used to form denominal and deadjectival privative adjectives. See also the similar deverbative suffix in 2.2.3.2.3.

(895)	<i>könyv</i>	'book'	<i>könyv-telen</i>	'bookless'
	<i>toll</i>	'feather'	<i>toll-atlan</i>	'featherless'
	<i>óra</i>	'watch'	<i>óra-tlan</i>	'without watches'
	<i>komoly</i>	'serious'	<i>komoly-talan</i>	'lacking seriousness'

2.2.3.1.5. *-nyi*

This invariable suffix forms adjectives of measure out of any noun that can be understood as a unit of measure, whether permanent or occasional. Numerals can be used as counters, and in spite of the glosses the construction can be used predicatively as well as attributively.

(896)	<i>marok</i>	'hand'	<i>(egy) marok-nyi</i>	'(a) handful'
	<i>láda</i>	'crate'	<i>(három) láda-nyi</i>	'(three) crates of...'
	<i>polc</i>	'shelf'	<i>(négy) polc-nyi</i>	'four shelves of...'

2.2.3.1.6. *-szerű* and *-szerű-tlen*

This affix comes from a full word *szer* 'tool' affixed as in 2.2.3.1.1 above, meaning 'like N'. The additional ending *-tlen* provides the occasional negative counterpart. This is the only such affix listed here, because other possible candidates do not behave as adjectives in every respect, i.e., they cannot have intensifiers, a comparative degree form and/or are used only attributively.

(897)	<i>könyv</i> 'book'	<i>könyv-szerű(tlen)</i>	'(un)like a book'
	<i>rádió</i> 'radio'	<i>rádió-szerű</i>	'characteristic of radios'
		<i>rádió-szerű-tlen</i>	'not characteristic of radios'

2.2.3.2. *Adjectives from verbs*

Here we will disregard the participial affixes *-ó/ő* (active) and *-t(t)* (passive), since wherever they are productive, they derive nonfinite verbs rather than adjectives, since all true adjectives derived by means of this affix are lexicalized. As before, tests to be used here examine whether or not they can occur in the predicate or can undergo further morphological processes, since the participial forms are restricted to prenominal positions and have no comparative forms, among others. For more, see 1.1.2.3.9.

2.2.3.2.1. *-ható/hető*

As one of the two most frequent deverbative affixes, it is equivalent to the English *-able*, and thus it can be attached to any transitive verb, in effect promoting their objects to subjects of the adjective derived. Some lexicalized *-ható* adjectives come from intransitive bases. The affix is clearly related to the permission/possibility affix *-hat/het*, cf. 2.2.2.2.1, but it is best regarded as an independent and simple affix, rather than one combining *-hat/het* and *-ó/ő*, in part for reasons given there, but also because, while both the possibility and the participial affixes can be attached to any verb (whether transitive or intransitive), *-ható/hető* is in general restricted to transitive verbs. Exceptions to this generalization are few and far between and, what is more significant, they are not productive.

(898)	a.	<i>olvas</i>	'read'	<i>olvas-ható</i>	'readable'
		<i>nyit</i>	'open'	<i>nyit-ható</i>	'openable'
		<i>említ</i>	'mention'	<i>említ-hető</i>	'mentionable'
	b.	<i>megbíz NP-ben</i>	'trust in NP'	<i>megbíz-ható</i>	'trustworthy'
		<i>hozzáfér NP-hez</i>	'access (to) NP'	<i>hozzáfér-hető</i>	'accessible'

2.2.3.2.2. *-hatalan/hetetlen*

The opposite of the above, i.e., the negation of possibility or capability, is expressed with similar restrictions as before by this complex affix, apparently composed of the potential/possibility infix *-hat/het* and the privative affix *-atlan/etlen*. Note that there are a number of idiosyncratic derivations without positive counterparts.

(899)	a.	<i>olvas</i>	'read'	<i>olvas-hatalan</i>	'unreadable'
		<i>említ</i>	'mention'	<i>említ-hetetlen</i>	'unmentionable'
	b.	<i>megbíz</i>	'trust'	<i>megbíz-hatalan</i>	'untrustworthy'
		<i>hozzáfér</i>	'access'	<i>hozzáfér-hetetlen</i>	'inaccessible'
	c.	<i>*él-hető</i>	'live-AFX'	<i>él-hetetlen</i>	'helpless (person)'
		<i>*nyug-ható</i>	'rest-AFX'	<i>nyug-hatalan</i>	'restless'

2.2.3.2.3. *-atlan/etlen*

This is the negative form of the passive (or past) participle, but, unlike the participle, which cannot be used with intensifiers or predicatively, it is a true adjective. Although lexicalized forms coming from intransitive bases exist, its productive form takes only transitive verbs as bases.

(900)	<i>olvas</i>	'read'	<i>olvas-atlan</i>	'unread'
	<i>megír</i>	'write'	<i>megír-atlan</i>	'unwritten'
	<i>kipróbál</i>	'test'	<i>kipróbál-atlan</i>	'untested'
	<i>élez</i>	'sharpen'	<i>élez-etlen</i>	'unsharpened'

2.2.3.2.4. -*ós/ős*

The adjectives in this group have the meaning 'usually V-ing'.

(901)	<i>viszket</i> 'itch'	<i>viszket-ős</i> 'itchy'
	<i>kacsint</i> 'wink'	<i>kacsint-ós</i> 'winking'

2.2.3.2.5. -*andó/endő*

This is a completely productive suffix, though it has an official or literary flavour. Its meaning is 'to be V-ed', thus it can be attached to transitive achievement verbs.

(902)	<i>elvégez</i> 'carry out'	<i>elvégez-endő</i> 'to be carried out'
	<i>kinyit</i> 'open'	<i>kinyit-andó</i> 'to be opened'

## 2.2.3.3. Adjectives from adjectives

## 2.2.3.3.1. -s

This affix reoccurs here meaning (a) 'more or less ADJ' when attached to root adjectives, especially those marking colors, and 'like ADJ' when added to -i-suffixed ones.

(903)	a.	<i>ősz</i>	'grey (of hair)'	<i>ősz-és</i>	'greyish'
		<i>türkiz</i>	'turquoise (ADJ)'	<i>türkiz-és</i>	'turquoise-ish'
		<i>öreg</i>	'old'	<i>öreg-és</i>	'oldish'
	b.	<i>városi</i>	'of town'	<i>városi-as</i>	'like townspeople'
		<i>családi</i>	'familial'	<i>családi-as</i>	'as in a family'
		<i>költői</i>	'poetic'	<i>költői-és</i>	'like poets'
		<i>üzleti</i>	'of business'	<i>üzleti-es</i>	'businesslike'

2.2.3.3.2. -*tlan/tlen* (privative)

In addition to its occurrence on adjectives derived by -*szerű* (see above), this negative affix can be attached to the second group of adjectives immediately above, giving the opposite sense of the base.

(904)	<i>költői</i> 'poetic'	<i>költői-etlen</i> 'unpoetic'
	<i>üzleti</i> 'of business'	<i>üzleti-etlen</i> 'unbusinesslike'

## 2.2.3.3.3. Negated adjectives

One subtype of adjectival derivation makes use of what appears to be the equivalent of a syntactic negation, since the negation word *nem* 'not' occurs in it. However, the process must be regarded as derivational, especially because it is restricted to adjectives, and it fills (a) the gap between the positive sense of the base form of the adjective and its privative-affixed counterpart or (b) the one created by adjectives without privative forms. (Spelling rules require spaces between the negative and the stem. Tests to show that derived adjectives are involved make use of postverbal syntactic positions, inaccessible to phrases containing syntactic negation, see 1.4.)

(905)	a.	<i>érdekes</i>	'interesting'	<i>nem érdekes</i>	'not interesting'
				<i>érdek-telen</i>	'uninteresting'
		<i>erős</i>	'strong, hot (=spicy)'	<i>nem erős</i>	'non-hot'
				<i>erő-tlen</i>	'lacking strength'
	b.	<i>félelmes</i>	'frightening'	<i>nem félelmes</i>	'not frightening'
				<i>*félelem-etlen</i>	
	c.	<i>vonzó</i>	'attractive'	<i>nem vonzó</i>	'unattractive'
				<i>*vonzatlan</i>	

Adjectives that have the form of participles (active or passive) are indistinguishable from nonfinite clauses. Note that the preverbal prefix can be separated from the verb stem.

(906)	a.	<i>észlel-t</i> 'perceive-PPRT'	<i>nem észlelt</i> 'unperceived'
		<i>ír-ott</i> 'write-PPRT'	<i>nem írott</i> 'not read'
	b.	<i>le-ír-t</i> 'PFX-write-PPRT'	<i>nem le-írt</i> 'not written down'
		<i>le nem írt</i> 'not written down'	

It is here that mention must be made of apparently nominal derivations which in fact go back to similar negated adjectives (or attributes) converted into nouns. Nouns as such cannot undergo the process (pace É.Kiss 1994:35).

(907)	a.	(a) <i>nem külföld-i-ek</i> = <i>a nem külföldi személy-ek</i> the not abroad-AFX-PL the not foreign person-PL 'the non-foreigners' 'non-foreign persons'
		b. <i>a nem egyetem-ista (diáko)-k</i> the not university-AFX student-PL 'non-university students'

- (908) \**nem asztal(-ok)* 'non-table(s)'  
 \**nem agresszió* 'nonaggression'  
 \**nem komponista(-k)* 'non-composers'

## 2.2.3.4. Adjectives from adverbs

## 2.2.3.4.1. -i

This versatile adjectival affix can be freely attached to various (a) place and (b) time adverbs, recalling its locational and temporal senses, and (c) to postpositions, forming attributive (i.e., prenominal) adverbial phrases, cf. 1.2.5.2.7. Note that -i cannot attach to postpositions expressing direction toward some object.

- (909) a. *ott(an)* 'there' *ottan-i* 'of there'  
*bent* 'inside' *bent-i* 'of inside'  
*közel* 'near' *közel-i* 'near, proximate'
- b. *most(an)* 'now' *mostan-i* 'of now'  
*ma* 'today' *ma-i* 'of today'  
*mikor* 'when?' *mikor-i* 'of when?'
- c. *idé-n* 'this year' *ide-i* 'of this year'
- c. *mögött* 'behind' *mögött-i* 'behind (ATTR)'  
*által* 'by' *által-i* 'by (ATTR)'  
*mögül* 'from behind' *mögül-i* 'from behind (ATTR)'  
*mögé* 'to behind' \**mögé-i*
- (910) a. a \*(Péter) *mögött-i ház*  
 the Peter behind-AFX house  
 'the house behind Peter'
- b. a ház \*(Anna) *által-i felépítés-e*  
 the house Anna by-AFX construction-POSS  
 'the construction of the house by Anna'

## 2.2.3.4.2. -beli

This is probably an exclusively locative version of -i, attached to (a) common nouns, (b) noun phrases having locative senses, and (c) complex placenames, which cannot take the shorter -i affix. Its literal use is more restricted than that of -i, since it comes from the word *bel* meaning 'inside'.

- (911) a. *ház* 'house' *ház-beli* 'in house'  
*ízlés* 'taste' *ízlés-beli* 'of taste'
- b. *ház-unk* 'house-POSS.1PL' *ház-unk-beli* 'in/from our house'

- c. *Egyesült Királyság* 'United Kingdom'  
*Egyesült Királyság-beli* 'from/in the United Kingdom'

## 2.2.3.4.3. -s

Postpositions can take the suffix -s to make adjectives, but it is suspect of not being productive, not only because postpositions are a closed class, but also because it cannot be attached to every one of them.

- (912) *helyett* 'instead' *helyett-es* 'substitute'  
*mögött* 'behind' *mögött-és* 'latent'  
*mellett* 'beside' \**mellett-es*

## 2.2.3.5. Adjectives from numerals

Although numerals are a closed class in a grammatical, though not in a lexical, sense, they can be freely affixed by a few endings.

## 2.2.3.5.1. -s

Another use of this adjectival suffix helps numerals occur in prenominal attributive positions, whether independently or in compounds.

- (913) a. *hat* 'six' *hat-os (láda)* '(crate) for six'  
*száz* 'hundred' *száz-as (köteg)* '(bundle) of one hundred'  
 b. *három* 'three' *hárm-as-verseny* 'triple concerto'  
*négy* 'four' *négy-és-ikrek* 'quadruplets'

## 2.2.3.5.2. -szor/szer/ször-i and -szor-os/szer-es/ször-ös

These complex affixes help express numerical frequency of occurrences in a prenominal attribute.

- (914) a. *hat* 'six' *hat-szori (kísérlet)* 'a sixth-time (attempt)'  
 b. *öt* 'five' *öt-szörös (elnök)* 'five-time (president)'

## 2.2.4. Derived adverbs

## 2.2.4.1. Adverbs from nouns

No adverbs are productively derived from nouns, although a few affixes generally classified in the Hungarian literature as case suffixes may be regarded as adverbial derivative endings. Examples are the non-harmonizing *-ként* 'as' and *-kor* 'at (the hour)'. Note that both can undergo

further derivation, notably by the adjectivalizer *-i*, corroborating the view of regarding them as derivative affixes. The true derivative affix *-lag/leg* is also added in a few lexicalized cases.

- (915)
- a. *orvos-ként (dolgozott)*.  
'doctor as (he-worked)'  
'(He worked) as a doctor.'
  - b. *négy-kor/négy óra-kor (érkezett)*  
four-at/four clock-at arrived.3SG  
'he arrived at four/at four o'clock'
  - c. *név-leg* 'name-AFX=nominally'  
*tett-leg* 'action-AFX=physically'

#### 2.2.4.2. Adverbs from verbs

As mentioned in 1.1.2.4.3, in connection with nonfinite adverbial clauses, the affix *-va/ve* serves to form so-called adverbial participles or converbs from verbs, which are usually rendered as present or past participles in English, but a number of them behave as true adverbs, although they are highly suspect of being lexicalized.

- (916)
- a. *áll-va* 'stand-ing'  
*meglep-ve* 'surpris-ed'
  - b. *fordít-va* 'turn-SCVB=conversely'  
*kivé-ve* 'out.take-SCVB=excepting'

#### 2.2.4.3. Adverbs from adjectives

The only undoubtedly productive derivation of adverbs is from adjectives.

##### 2.2.4.3.1. -an/en

This suffix (and its lexically restricted allomorph *-ul/ül*) can be added to almost all adjectives, whether root or derived, including even comparative and superlative forms. The only exceptions are adjectives ending in *-i*, but relational and abstract adjectives in *-i* can take the adverbial suffix. The privative affix *-tlan/tlen* (and its allomorphs) can only take *-ul/ül*, which is why the latter is listed as a productive affix.

- (917)
- |    |                |             |                  |               |
|----|----------------|-------------|------------------|---------------|
| a. | <i>szép</i>    | 'beautiful' | <i>szép-en</i>   | 'beautifully' |
|    | <i>alap-os</i> | 'thorough'  | <i>alapos-an</i> | 'thoroughly'  |

b.	<i>gyors-abb</i>	'quick-er'	<i>gyors-abb-an</i>	'quicker (ADV)'
	<i>alapos-abb</i>	'more thorough'	<i>alapos-abb-an</i>	'more thoroughly'
c.	<i>anya-i</i>	'motherly'	<i>anyai-an</i>	'in a motherly way'
	<i>zene-i</i>	'musical'	<i>zenei-en</i>	'musically'
d.	<i>rossz</i>	'bad'	<i>rossz-ul</i>	'badly'
	<i>rút</i>	'ugly'	<i>rút-ul</i>	'in an ugly way'
e.	<i>alap-talan</i>	'unfounded'	<i>alap-talan-ul</i>	'without reason'
	<i>olvas-atlan</i>	'unread'	<i>olvas-atlan-ul</i>	'without reading'

## 2.2.4.3.2. -ul/ül

When added to adjectives denoting languages, *-ul/ül* derives adverbs meaning '(speaking, understanding, etc.) in that language'. Here even adjectives ending in *-i* can serve as bases.

(918) *angol* 'English' *angol-ul* 'in English'  
*málta-i* 'Maltese' *málta-i-ul* 'in Maltese'

## 2.2.4.3.3. -lag/leg

This suffix, whose meaning is basically the same as that of *-an/en*, is spreading in its use, and is attached to the same adjectives ending in *-i* that can have adverbial forms or to those suffixed by *-ú/ű*, and also to bases in *-ó/ő*, originally the suffix of the active/present participle.

(919) *egyhang-ú-lag* 'unanim-ous-ly'  
*kép-i-leg* 'picture-ATTR-AFX=pictorially'  
*gazdaság-i-lag* 'econom-ical-ly'  
*visszamen-ő-leg* 'return-APRT-AFX=retroactively'

Sometimes some difference is maintained or claimed to exist between the *-an/en* and the *-lag/leg* forms of the adverb, cf. *egyhangú-an* 'monotonously'.

**2.2.6. Complex and derived postpositions**2.2.6.1–2. *The formation of complex and derived postpositions*

Since Hungarian does not apply conversion in its derivational processes, simple derived postpositions cannot be a productive class. Moreover, since in contrast to simple or "real" postpositions (cf. 1.2.4), the postpositions discussed here always govern oblique cases, the types that are found are given below in a uniform group.

**2.2.6.1–2.1. Postpositional formations**

There are no complex postpositions constructed of two or more postpositions in present-day Hungarian, although a number of postpositions and case suffixes derive from such constructions. The highest degree of complexity a postpositional phrase can exhibit is an (oblique) case suffix on a phrase headed by a “real” postposition, cf. 1.2.4.4.

- (920) a ház-on túl-ról  
the house-SUP beyond-DEL  
'from beyond the house'

Another group of complex postpositions goes back to a possessive-marked postposition ending in an oblique case suffix, which thus is reclassified as, or converted into, a noun.

- (921) a felfedezés ellen-é-re  
the discovery against-POSS-SUB  
'in spite of the discovery'

**2.2.6.1–2.2. Nominal formations**

The majority of simple postpositions derive from (originally possessive and) locative-marked nouns, cf. *kör-ül* 'circle-AFX=around', *mell-ett* 'breast-AFX=beside'. It is therefore not surprising to see that most new or transitional postpositions arise from possessive constructions. The first group below illustrates items “higher” on the postposition scale, with their literal meanings practically lost, while the second group contains items regarded as more nominal or construction-like, since they can be interpreted in their literal senses. Note that the “longer” dative possessive construction is possible all through.

- (922) a. Anna rész-é-re  
Anna part-POSS-SUP  
lit. 'onto Anna's part=for Anna'  
b. a felfedezés(-nek a) rév-é-n  
the discovery-DAT the ferry-POSS-SUP  
'through/owing to the discovery'
- (923) a. hajó segítség-é-vel  
ship help-POSS-INS  
lit. 'with the help of a ship=by means of a ship'  
b. Szeged irány-a-ban/ba  
Szeged direction-POSS-INE/ILL  
'in the direction of Szeged/toward Szeged'

- c. az eredmények(-nek a) fény-é-ben  
the results-DAT the light-POSS-INE  
'in the light of the results'

### 2.2.6.1–2.3. Verbal formations

The postpositional constructions in this class come from participles, in particular converbs in -va/ve.

- (924) a. e pillanat-tól kezd-ve/fog-va  
this moment-ABL begin-SCVB/begin-SCVB  
'from this moment'  
b. három or a múl-va  
three hour pass-SCVB  
'after/in three hours'  
c. az ügy-re néz-ve  
the matter-SUP look-SCVB  
'as regards the matter'

### 2.2.6.1–2.4. Adjectival formations

Since adjectives can be suffixed for manner adverbial functions, postposition-like derivatives are not impossible to find. A frequent source of such postposition-forming processes is by suffixing an active participle, as in the (c) example below.

- (925) a. Péter-hez hasonló-an  
Peter-ALL similar-ADV  
'similarly/like Peter'  
b. Anná-hoz méltó-(a)n  
Anna-ALL worthy-ADV  
'(as) worthy of Anna'  
c. az igények-nek megfelel-ő-en  
the demands-DAT correspond-APRT-ADV  
'corresponding to the demands'

#### 2.2.6.3. Compound morphology

As is to be expected, compounds come in two types: exocentric and endocentric. The former are unpredictable, idiosyncratic, and in general unproductive (but see also 2.2.6.3.5), while the latter are as a rule right-headed. Note that short compounds are written as single words without

hyphens or spaces between constituents according to current Hungarian orthography. Long compounds or exocentric compounds that have inflection on both constituents are spelled with a hyphen.

- (926) a. *nyak-ig-láb* 'neck-TER-leg=longlegs'  
*kék-szakáll* 'blue-beard'  
*hír-név* 'news-name=fame'  
*fúr-farag* 'drill-carve=engaged in related manual work'
- b. *hó-fehér* 'snow-white=white as snow'  
*hó-kotró* 'snow-plower'  
*kis-madár* 'little-bird'

In this section, we will follow Kiefer's (1992b, 1993) analyses.

#### 2.2.6.3.1. Compound nouns

**2.2.6.3.1.1. Noun+noun** The two subtypes in this subgroup are distinguished according to whether (a) the head is derived from a verb, inheriting and satisfying one of its arguments in the compound, or (b) it is a noun with no (apparent) argument structure.

- (927) a. *levél-[ír-ás]* 'letter-writ-ing'  
*gyerek-[ellát-ás]* 'child-car-ing=child-care'  
*darázs-[csíp-és]* 'wasp-bit-ing=wasp sting'  
*hamu-[tart-ó]* 'ash-hold-er=ashtray'  
*újság-[ír-ó]* 'news-writ-er=journalist'  
*arckép-[fest-ő]* 'portrait-paint-er'
- b. *tök-mag* 'pumpkin-seed'  
*szén-bánya* 'coal-mine'  
*arc-kép* 'face-image=portrait'

Whereas objects (as in *levél-ír-ás* above) regularly occur in compounds formed of deverbal nominals, subject arguments (as in *darázs-[csíp-és]*) are generally not allowed in a number of languages. In Hungarian both intransitive and transitive verbs may underlie compounds containing the subject of the corresponding verb in the nonhead position (or "subject compounds" for short). In the examples below, we will show (a) compounds formed of the transitive counterparts of intransitive verbs, as well as (b) an alternative compound formed with the object-argument in the nonhead position, wherever available.

a.	<i>ár-emelkedés</i>	'price-rising'
	<i>ár-emelés</i>	'price-raising'
	<i>ár-drágulás</i>	'price-upgoing'
	<i>ár-drágítás</i>	'price-lifting'
	<i>motor-működés</i>	'engine-working'
	<i>motor-működtetés</i>	'engine-running'
	<i>hó-esés</i>	'snow-falling'
	<i>gyermek-sírás</i>	'child-crying'
	<i>fej-fájás</i>	'head-aching'
b.	<i>kutya-harapás</i>	'dog-bite'
	<i>hús-harapás</i>	'meat-biting'
	<i>disznó-túrás</i>	'pig-digging'
	<i>föld-túrás</i>	'soil-digging'

In Kiefer's analysis, it is not subjects, or Agents in general, but intentional "Actors" that are forbidden to fill the nonhead positions of these subject compounds. Moreover, in addition to objects (whether Theme or Patient), as in the first column below, instruments are also possible in nonhead positions. The following illustrate.

- (929) a. *fal-festés* 'wall-painting' *olaj-festés* 'oil-painting'  
*haj-festés* 'hair-dyeing' *zománc-festés* 'enamel-painting'
- b. *gyomor-mérgezés* 'stomach-poisoning'  
*gomba-mérgezés* 'mushroom-poisoning'  
*patkány-mérgezés* 'rat-poisoning'  
*patkány-mérgezés* 'rat-poisoning'  
*gáz-mérgezés* 'gas-poisoning'

As regards the compounds corresponding to English '-er' nominals, they can contain the Theme/Patient but never the Agent or the Instrument argument of the verb in the nonhead position, as is illustrated below.

- (930) a. *gyomor-mérgezõ* 'stomach-poisoner'  
*\*gomba-mérgezõ* 'mushroom-poisoner'
- b. *atkány-mérgezõ* 'rat-poisoner'  
*\*gáz-mérgezõ* 'gas-poisoner'

**2.2.6.3.1.2. Verb+noun** Apart from fossilized compounds like *lát-cső* 'see-tube=field glasses', *lép-cső* 'step-tube=staircase', verbs cannot occur in the nonhead position of compounds.

**2.2.6.3.1.3. Adjective+noun** This is a fully productive type of compounding. One subtype contains a lexical adjective in the nonhead position, whether (a) root or (b) derived.

- (931)
- a. *zöld-hályog* 'green-cataract; glaucoma'
  - kék-festés* 'blue-dyeing'
  - magas-ház* 'tall-house=high-rise'
  - gyors-vonat* 'fast-train'
  - b. *[kép-es]-könyv* 'picture-book'
  - [erő-s]-paprika* 'hot-pepper'
  - [ég-i]-test* 'heaven-ly-body=planet'
  - [ház-i]-asszony* 'house-AFX-wife'

In the other subtype the adjective is in fact an active participle (ending in *-ó/ő*), modifying the head noun much as it does in a prenominal nonfinite clause (cf. 1.1.2.3.9), with a variety of semantic relations, such as agent, instrument, location.

- (932)
- a. *takarító-nő* 'cleaning-woman=charwoman'
  - hűtő-szekrény* 'cooling-box=refrigerator'
  - b. *evező-lapát* 'rowing-shovel=oar'
  - belépő-jegy* 'entering-ticket=ticket for admission'
  - c. *háló-terem* 'sleeping-room=bedroom'
  - dolgozó-szoba* 'studying-room=study'

**2.2.6.3.1.4. Adverb+noun** All apparent examples for adverb+noun compounds are actually derived from complex adverb+verb compounds, such as illustrated below.

- (933)
- a. *ház-hoz szállít*  
house-ALL deliver  
'deliver (to houses)'
  - b. *[ház-hoz]-szállít-ás*  
house-ALL-deliver-NML  
'house delivery'

2.2.6.3.2. Compound verbs

**2.2.6.3.2.1. Noun+verb** Nouns unmarked for cases do not productively combine with verbs, thus no compounds are possible of this kind. However, case-marked "bare" nouns (but not noun phrases) occur in an immediately preverbal position, which, together with a number of semantic considerations, has led some researchers, most notably Kiefer (1991, 1992b), to suppose that accusative-marked nouns form compounds with their verbs.

*level-et ír*  
*viz-et iszik*  
*könyv-et olvas*

'letter-ACC write'  
'water-ACC drink'  
'book-ACC read'

Since, however, accusative is a truly syntactic (or "structural") case, it is difficult to see how it could be assigned in the lexical process of compound formation. Others, in particular É.Kiss (1987, 1994), argue that the constructions in question arise through a syntactic operation of object incorporation, which is corroborated by the absence of nominal compounds containing accusative-marked nonheads (cf. 2.2.6.3.1.1).

**2.2.6.3.2.2. Verb+verb** Unproductive, exocentric compounds are the only possible examples, e.g., *súg-búg* 'whisper-murmur=talk in a low voice incessantly'. Note that both verbs are inflected and that the hyphen between them is required by spelling rules.

**2.2.6.3.2.4. Adverb+verb** This is a fully productive type of compounding, where verbs take postpositions/adverbs or (oblique) case-marked nouns (whether in literal or idiomatic senses) as nonheads and form complex forms referred to in this Grammar as "prefixed verbs". The adverb is thus a preverbal prefix.

- (935) a. *ki-megy* 'out-go'  
*el-repül* 'away-fly'  
*be-sétál* 'in-walk'  
*előre szalad* 'forward run'  
b. *fel-mond* 'up-say=recite, dismiss'  
*ki-fecseg* 'out-chat=disclose (secret)'  
*be-lát* 'in-see=understand'
- (936) a. *ház-hoz szállít* 'house-ALL deliver'  
*város-ba utazik* 'town-ILL travel'  
b. *tönk-re megy* 'trunk-SUB go=go bankrupt'  
*fej-ben tart* 'head-INE keep=keep in mind'  
*út-at nyit* 'road-ACC open=initiate'

Verbal prefixes formed of postpositional or case-marked personal pronouns form a separate class in this group. Since these prefixed verbs can take full NP complements, in spite of the person-marking, they are lexically derived, and only if the person-marking suffix is in its referential sense can they be claimed to emerge through some syntactic operation.

(937) *után-a néz* 'after-3SG look=look after NP, see to it that...'  
*nek-i támad* 'DAT-3SG attack=attack NP'

Finally, some verbs take oblique case-marked adjectives as object-complements in a resultative or stative sense.

(938) *apró-ra tör* 'tiny-SUB break=break to pieces'  
*okos-nak tart* 'smart-DAT hold=consider smart'

Note that all the compounds reviewed here undergo nominalization, i.e., further lexical processes, unlike the case of object incorporation discussed above in 2.2.6.3.2.1.

#### 2.2.6.3.3. Compound adjectives

**2.2.6.3.3.1. Noun+adjective** This is another highly productive construction-type. In the first subtype, the noun stands for the standard of the quality denoted by the root adjective.

(939) *kő-kemény* 'stone-hard'  
*vak-sötét* 'blind-dark=pitch dark'  
*méreg-drága* 'poison-expensive=extremely expensive'

In the other subtype the adjective is an active participle derived from a transitive verb, and the nonhead is usually the theme or patient argument of the verb. Note that these compounds are formally identical to those discussed under the noun+noun compounds in 2.2.6.3.1.1.

(940) *hajó-tisztító (folyadék)* 'ship-cleaning (liquid)'  
*óra-javító (kísiparos)* 'watch-repairing (artisan)'

Another possible, though not fully productive, subtype is formed of oblique case-marked adjectival complement constructions, which have their arguments in the nonhead position. Passive participial heads with argument noun nonheads are probably related to the subgroup containing root adjectives in the head.

(941) a. *munka-képes* 'work-capable=able to work'  
*munká-ra képes* 'work-SUB able=able to work'  
*hiba-mentes* 'error-free'  
*hibá-tól mentes* 'error-ABL free=free from error'  
*\*tudás-büszké* 'knowledge-proud'  
*tudás-ra büszke* 'proud of knowledge'

- b. *jog-foszt-ott* 'right-depriv-ed=deprived of one's rights'  
*jog-tól foszt* 'right-ABL deprive=deprive of rights'  
*cél-téveszt-ett* 'mark-miss-ed=missing marks (ADJ)'  
*cél-t téveszt* 'mark-ACC miss'  
*por-lepett* 'dust-cover-ed'

**2.2.6.3.3.3. Adjective+adjective** This is another fairly productive type, although within a limited class, since the constituent adjectives express colour.

- (942) *kék-és-zöld* 'blue-AFX-green=bluish green'  
*zöld-és-kék* 'green-AFX-blue=greenish blue'  
*sötét-barna* 'dark-brown'  
*világos-piros* 'light-red'

When, however, two colour adjectives are placed side by side without the first being derived, the resulting construction is exocentric meaning 'ADJ and ADJ'. Note that when used adverbially both constituents have to be suffixed, unlike endocentric compounds. (Note that here and below dashes indicate hyphens required by orthography wherever short hyphens are necessary to illustrate morphological structure.)

- (943) a. *fekete-fehér* 'black-white=black-and-white'  
*kék-zöld* 'blue-green=blue-and-green'  
 b. *feketé-n-fehér-en* 'black-ADV-white-ADV=clearly (said)'  
*kék-re-zöld-re* 'blue-SUB-green-SUB=(beat) black and blue'

#### 2.2.6.3.4. Compound adverbs

In general no productive formations are found, since examples like *minden-ár-on* 'every-price-SUP=at any price' are idiosyncratic.

**2.2.6.3.4.1. Noun+adverb** There is, however, one exception: when the adverb is a (simple) converb or adverbial participle derived from an active transitive or an unagentive intransitive verb, it can take the object or the subject, respectively (i.e., the theme argument), as its nonhead constituent.

- (944) a. *szem-lesüt-ve* 'eye-cast.down-SPRT=with eyes cast down'  
*kéz-tördel-ve* 'hand-wring-SPRT=with one's hands wrung'  
 b. *arc-pirul-va* 'face-blush-SPRT=with one's face blushed'  
*szív-dobog-va* 'heart-throb-SPRT=with one's heart throbbing'

Note that in both subtypes the argument has to be a body part and that the second subgroup is somewhat more limited in its scope than the first, which is fully productive.

## 2.2.6.3.5. Other possibilities

One type of exocentric compound is quite productive. It is based on a reduplication process and is in force with verbal prefixes, where it expresses repetition or durative/incomplete actions, cf. 2.2.2.2.3. Note that accomplishment verbs cannot undergo the process. (*Meg* is a perfectivizer prefix.)

(945)	<i>meg-áll</i>	'PFX-stop=come to a halt'
	<i>meg-meg-áll</i>	'stop repeatedly'
	<i>ki-megy</i>	'out-go=go out, leave'
	<i>ki-ki-megy</i>	'go out repeatedly'
	<i>meg-ért</i>	'PFX-understand'
	<i>*meg-meg-ért</i>	
	<i>meg-jön</i>	'PFX-come=arrive'
	<i>*meg-meg-jön</i>	

## 2.2.6.3.6. Multiple compounding

A number of types of compounds can undergo further compounding, in particular nominal ones. Examples abound in length and complexity.

- (946)
- a. [rend-őr]- [fő-[törzs-[őr-mester]]]  
order-guard- main-major-guard-master  
'police sergeant-major'
  - b. négy-hengeres-autó-vezető  
four-cylinder car-driver
  - c. arany-műves alap-képzés  
gold-smith basic-instruction  
'basic course for goldsmiths'
  - d. ház-tartás-i-gép -javít-ás  
house-hold-ATTR-machine- repair-NML  
'home equipment repair'

**Chapter 3****Phonology**

Information on the phonological structure of Hungarian can be found in the seminal works of Tompa (1961), Vago (1980), and Kiefer (1994), respectively representing the major theoretical assumptions of traditional phonology, classical generative phonology, and nonlinear phonology. The contributions in Kiefer (1994) are especially noteworthy in their richness of depth, breadth, and bibliography: Nádasy and Siptár on vowels, Siptár on consonants, Törkenczy on syllables, Kálmán and Nádasy on stress, Varga on intonation, and Kassai on phonetics.

**3.1. PHONOLOGICAL UNITS (SEGMENTAL)****3.1.1. Distinctive segments**

The distinctive phonological units of Hungarian will be listed in terms of their principal place and manner of articulation. With respect to voicing, obstruents contrast fully voiced and voiceless unaspirated elements, while sonorants (nasals, glides, liquids, vowels) are predictably voiced. The airstream mechanism is uniformly pulmonic egressive; distinctive secondary articulations are not found.

**3.1.2.1. Nonsyllabics****3.1.2.1.1. Plosives and affricates**

/p/ voiceless unaspirated labio-labial plosive.

/t/ voiceless unaspirated lamino-dental plosive.

/c/ voiceless unaspirated dorso-palatal plosive. However, according to some, e.g., Kassai (1994), the manner of articulation of /c/ and its voiced counterpart /t͡/ (see below) is more characteristic of affricates than plosives.

/k/ voiceless unaspirated dorso-velar plosive.

/ts/ voiceless unaspirated lamino-alveolar affricate. On the view that the affricate [dz] is predictable from the plosive-fricative sequence /d/+/z/ (cf. below), /ts/ has the allophone [dz] before voiced obstruents as a consequence of a general voicing assimilation process (cf. 3.4.1.1): e.g., *tánc-ban* [ta:ndzɒn] 'dance-INE'='in dance'.

/č/ voiceless unaspirated lamino-postalveolar affricate.

/b/ voiced labio-labial plosive.

/d/ voiced lamino-dental plosive.

/ɹ/ voiced dorso-palatal plosive. See /c/ above.

/g/ voiced dorso-velar plosive.

/dz/ voiced lamino-alveolar affricate (occurs rarely). The phonemic status of /dz/ is controversial. The traditional view assumes /dz/ to be a phoneme. Siptár (1994), on the other hand, gives excellent reasons for deriving this affricate from a sequence of /d/+/z/; see further 3.3.1.7.

/j/ voiced lamino-postalveolar affricate (occurs rarely).

#### 3.1.2.1.2. Fricatives

/f/ voiceless labio-dental fricative.

/s/ voiceless lamino-alveolar fricative.

/š/ voiceless lamino-postalveolar fricative.

/h/ voiceless glottal fricative. Kassai (1994) mentions the possibility that, contrary to the conventional view, it might be more appropriate to consider /h/ to have basic radico-pharyngeal articulation. Traditionally, the phoneme /h/ is described as having three allophonic variants: voiced glottal fricative [ɦ] between sonorant segments and vowels (cf. *irha* [irɦɒ] 'pelt', *konyha* [koňɦɒ] 'kitchen', *tehén* [tɛɦe:n] 'cow'), voiceless dorso-velar fricative [x] after back vowels in the coda of a syllable, that is either wordfinally or before consonants (cf. *doh* [dox] 'mustiness', *jacht* [jɒxt] 'yacht'), and voiceless dorso-palatal fricative [ç] after front vowels in coda positions (cf. *ihlet* [içlɛt] 'inspire', *pech* [pɛçç] 'bad luck'). Nádasdy and Siptár (1994), however, claim that in the coda of syllables /h/ is realized uniformly as [x].

/v/ voiced labio-dental fricative.

/z/ voiced lamino-alveolar fricative.

/ž/ voiced lamino-postalveolar fricative.

#### 3.1.2.1.3. Nasals

/m/ voiced labio-labial nasal, changing to labio-dental articulation before the labio-dental fricatives /f/ and /v/, as in words like *hamv-as* 'bloom-ADJDER'='bloomy' and *baromfi* 'poultry'.

/n/voiced lamino-dental nasal. The place of articulation of /n/ adjusts as follows: labio-dental before the labio-dental fricatives /f/ and /v/ (as in *szenvéd* 'suffer' and *ellenfél* 'adversary'), laminopost-alveolar before the lamino-postalveolar affricates *cs* [č] and *dzs* [j] (as in *nincs* 'is not' and *findzsa* 'cup'), and dorso-velar before the dorso-velar plosives /k/ and /g/ (as in *szánkó* 'sled' and *ing* 'shirt').

/ɲ/voiced dorso-palatal nasal.

#### 3.1.2.1.4. Liquids

/l/ voiced lamino-dental lateral.

/r/ voiced lamino-dental trill.

#### 3.1.2.1.5. Glides

/j/voiced dorso-palatal glide. Two allophones are associated with /j/: voiceless dorso-palatal fricative [ç] in wordfinal position following a voiceless consonant, and voiced dorso-palatal fricative [j] in wordfinal position following a voiced consonant, e.g.,

- (1) a. *j*=[ç]  
*kap-j* 'receive-IMP.INDEF.2SG'  
*döf-j* 'stab-IMP.INDEF.2SG'  
*lök-j* 'shove-IMP.INDEF.2SG'
- (1) b. *j*=[j]  
*szomj* 'thirst'  
*fürj* 'quail'  
*ég-j* 'burn-IMP.INDEF.2SG'

#### 3.1.2.2. Syllabics

##### 3.1.2.2.1. Vowels

Hungarian contrasts seven short and seven long vowels; see 3.3.1.1. Of the possible secondary articulations, slight degrees of nasalization are found before nasal consonants.

/i/ short high front unrounded.

/i:/ long high front unrounded.

/y/ short high front rounded.

/y:/ long high front rounded.

/u/ short high back rounded.

/u:/ long high back rounded.

/ɛ/ short low front unrounded. (Some dialects distinguish two short front unrounded vowels: low /ɛ/ and mid /e/.)  
 /e:/ long mid front unrounded. The qualitative (height) difference notwithstanding, /e:/ is customarily paired as the long counterpart of /ɛ/. The phonological classifications generally respect the phonetics, i.e., /ɛ/ is set up as low, /e:/ as mid; see however Nádasy and Siptár (1994), who classify /e:/ as low phonologically.

/ø/ short mid front rounded.

/ / long mid front rounded.

ø:/

/o/ short mid back rounded.

/o:/ long mid back rounded.

/ɔ/ short low back (slightly) rounded.

/a:/ long low central unrounded.

#### 3.1.2.2.2. Consonants

As a rule, consonants are nonsyllabic. Exceptions do occur in marginal categories of the vocabulary; cf. 3.1.2.4.

#### 3.1.2.3. Loanwords

The voiced labio-velar glide [w] occurs only in loanwords as a constituent of the falling diphthong [ɔw]. Nádasy and Siptár (1994) suggest that [w] is not phonemic, but rather is derived from /u/ following a stressed /ɔ/. The apparently exhaustive list of entries containing [ɔw], represented orthographically as *au*, is as follows (Nádasy and Siptár 1994):

(2)	<i>autó</i>	'auto(mobile)'
	<i>augusztus</i>	'August'
	<i>bauxit</i>	'bauxite'
	<i>kaucsuk</i>	'caoutchouc'
	<i>mauzóleum</i>	'mausoleum'
	<i>tautológia</i>	'tautology'
	<i>trauma</i>	'trauma'
	<i>auto-</i> , e.g., <i>automatizálás</i>	'automatization'

#### 3.1.2.4. Wordclass restrictions

Syllabic consonants are found in the interjections *hm* 'ahem', *pszt* 'psst' and the reduced conjunction *s* 'and', where *m* [m], *sz* [s], and *s* [š], respectively, are syllable peaks.

**3.2. PHONOTACTICS****3.2.1.1. Wordfinal consonants**

All consonants are admissible wordfinally, save /h/: with few exceptions, /h/ is deleted at the end of syllables (see 3.4.4.1). In the exceptional cases where /h/ resists deletion, it has the regular allophonic realizations as described in 3.1.2.1.2.

**3.2.1.2. Wordinitial consonants**

All consonants may occur in wordinitial position, freely, with three noteworthy exceptions:

(a) Wordinitial *ty*=/c/ appears only in the noun *tyúk* 'hen' and the interjection *tyüh* 'pew'.

(b) Wordinitial *dz*=/dz/ does not occur. This observation is relevant only under the traditional view which holds /dz/ to be monophonemic (see 3.1.2.1.1).

(c) Wordinitial *dzs*=/ʃ/ is found only in some twenty or so loanwords.

**3.2.2.2. Consonant clusters**

Consonant clusters are admitted wordinitially, wordfinally, and wordmedially. On the whole, the descriptions below rely on the classifications and use the data of Törkenczy's (1994) thorough analysis.

**3.2.2.2.1. Wordinitial consonant clusters**

Words with initial consonant clusters are of foreign origin, basically all across the board. Two distinct classes can be distinguished: those that begin with two consonants (CC-initial), and those that begin with three consonants (CCC-initial). It should be noted that geminates are prohibited wordinitially.

**3.2.2.2.1.1. CC-initial clusters** The possible wordinitial clusters are sub-categorized below for major classes.

These may be construed as regular, even though some of the clusters are found only in a very small number of words: speakers exhibit no discernible tendency to simplify them.

(3)

/tv/	tviszt	Obstruent+obstruent	'twist'
/kv/	kvarc		'quartz'
/gv/	gvárdián		'guardian'
/tʃv/	cvekedli		'lozenge-dough'
/sp/	szpíker		'announcer'
/st/	sztár		'star'
/sc/	sztyeppe		'steppe'
/sk/	szkíta		'Scythian'
/sf/	szféra		'sphere'
/sv/	szvit		'suite'
/šp/	spanyol		'Spanish'
/št/	steril		'sterile'
/šk/	skála		'scale'
/šv/	svéd		'Swedish'

(4)

/pl/	plakát	Obstruent+liquid	'poster'
/bl/	blúz		'blouse'
/kl/	klór		'chlorine'
/gl/	gladiator		'gladiator'
/fl/	flotta		'fleet'
/vl/	vlach		'Wallachian'
/zl/	zlotyi		'zloty'
/sl/	szláv		'Slav'
/šl/	slukk		'nip'
/pr/	prém		'fur'
/br/	bronz		'bronze'
/tr/	tréfa		'joke'
/dr/	drága		'dear'
/kr/	krém		'cream'
/gr/	gróf		'count'
/fr/	francia		'French'
/zr/	zrí		'chaos'
/šr/	sróf		'screw'

(5)

/sm/	szmoking	Obstruent+nasal	'tuxedo'
/šm/	smaragd		'emerald'
/sn/	sznob		'snob'
/šn/	snapsz		'brandy'

(6)

/fj/	fjord	Obstruent+glide	'fjord'
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Marginal cases of wordinitial CC-clusters are of two kinds. The following clusters are found only in interjections:

(7)	/pf/	<i>pfúj</i>	'phooey'
	/ph/	<i>phú</i>	'pew'
	/hj/	<i>hja!</i>	'well!'

In addition, the following wordinitial CC-clusters may be classified as exceptional in that they are susceptible to cluster simplification (through eliding the initial consonant) in substandard dialects and in fast speech styles:

(8)	/pt/	<i>ptózis</i>	'ptosis'
	/ps/	<i>pszichológia</i>	'psychology'
	/pn/	<i>pneumatikus</i>	'pneumatic'
	/ks/	<i>xilofon</i>	'xylophone'
	/kn/	<i>knédli</i>	'dumpling'
	/gn/	<i>gnóm</i>	'gnome'
	/ft/	<i>ftálsav</i>	'phthalic acid'
	/mn/	<i>mnemotechnika</i>	'mnemonic technique'
	/ng/	<i>nganaszán</i>	'Nganasan'
	/hr/	<i>Hradzsin</i>	'Hradzsin' (proper name, castle in Prague)
	/stʃ/	<i>szcéna</i>	'scene'
	/šč/	<i>scsí</i>	'Russian cabbage soup'

**3.2.2.2.1.2. CCC-initial clusters** The following wordinitial CCC-clusters are countenanced:

(9)	/str/	<i>sztrájk</i>	'strike'
	/skl/	<i>szklerózis</i>	'sclerosis'
	/špr/	<i>spriccer</i>	'wine and soda'
	/štr/	<i>strand</i>	'beach'
	/škr/	<i>skrupulus</i>	'scruple'

3.2.2.2.2. Wordfinal consonant clusters

Hungarian admits both CC-clusters and CCC-clusters in wordfinal position; more than three consonants are disallowed. Some of these clusters are exclusive to monomorphemic (underived) words, others are exclusive to polymorphemic (derived) words, while others occur in both types of words.

**3.2.2.2.2.1. CC-final clusters** The clusters listed below occur either only in monomorphemic words (single example) or both in monomorphemic and polymorphemic words (two examples). Polymorphemic words may

have undergone morphophonological changes that are not reflected in the orthography; in these cases the relevant phonetic values are indicated.

(10)	<i>Geminates</i>		
	/pp/	<i>csepp</i>	'drop'
	/tt/	<i>ott</i>	'there'
		<i>olvad-t (dt=[tt])</i>	'melt-PAST.3SG'
	/cc/	<i>pötty</i>	'spot'
	/kk/	<i>sakk</i>	'chess'
	/bb/	<i>több</i>	'more'
	/dd/	<i>kedd</i>	'Tuesday'
		<i>ad-d</i>	'give-IMP.DEF.2SG'
	/ʦʦ/	<i>meggy</i>	'sour cherry'
		<i>ad-j (dj=[ʦʦ])</i>	'give-IMP.INDEF.2SG'
	/gg/	<i>agg</i>	'aged'
	/tsts/	<i>vicc</i>	'joke'
		<i>lát-sz</i>	'see-INDEF.2SG'
	/čč/	<i>giccs</i>	'trash'
		<i>fűt-s (ts=[čč])</i>	'heat-IMP.INDEF.2SG'
	/dzdz/	<i>edz</i>	'strengthen'
	/jĵ/	<i>bridzs</i>	'bridge'
	/ff/	<i>treff</i>	'club (card)'
	/ss/	<i>klassz</i>	'classy'
		<i>ússz (=úsz-sz)</i>	'swim.IMP.INDEF.2SG'
	/šš/	<i>friss</i>	'fresh'
		<i>mos-s</i>	'wash-IMP.INDEF.2SG'
	/mm/	<i>stramm</i>	'strapping'
	/nn/	<i>kinn</i>	'outside'
	/ññ/	<i>könny</i>	'tear'
		<i>men-j (nj=[ññ])</i>	'go-IMP.INDEF.2SG'
	/rr/	<i>orr</i>	'nose'
	/ll/	<i>hall</i>	'hear'
	/jj/	<i>ujj</i>	'finger'
		<i>ül-j (nj=[jj])</i>	'sit-IMP.INDEF.2SG'

It should be appended that /zz/ is also a possible wordfinal cluster, but in derived context only; see (19).

(11)	<i>Obstruent+obstruent</i>		
	/ps/	<i>bicepsz</i>	'biceps'
		<i>kap-sz</i>	'receive-INDEF.2SG'
	/ks/	<i>szex</i>	'sex'
		<i>rak-sz</i>	'put-INDEF.2SG'
	/st/	<i>paraszt</i>	'peasant'
		<i>tavaszt</i>	'spring-ACC'

/št/	<i>est</i>	'evening'
	<i>kos-t</i>	'ram-ACC'
/dv/	<i>nedv</i>	'moisture'
/gd/	<i>smaragd</i>	'emerald'
	<i>fog-d</i>	'hold-IMP.DEF.2SG'
/zd/	<i>gerezd</i>	'slice'
	<i>néz-d</i>	'see-IMP.DEF.2SG'
/žd/	<i>pünkösöd (sd=[žd])</i>	'Whitsun'
	<i>vés-d (sd=[žd])</i>	'chisel-IMP.DEF.2SG'

Other wordfinal obstruent+obstruent clusters occur exclusively in polymorphemic words; see (20) and (22).

(12)	<i>Nasal+obstruent</i>		
	/mp/	<i>kolomp</i>	'cattle bell'
	/mb/	<i>lomb</i>	'foliage'
	/mv/	<i>hamv</i>	'ashes'
	/mz/	<i>nemz</i>	'beget'
	/nt/	<i>ront</i>	'spoil'
		<i>sün-t</i>	'hedgehog-ACC'
	/nd/	<i>rend</i>	'orderliness'
		<i>bán-d</i>	'regret-IMP.DEF.2SG'
	/nk/	<i>fánk</i>	'doughnut'
	/ng/	<i>ing</i>	'shirt'
	/nt̩/	<i>labanc</i>	'pro-Habsburg'
	/ns/	<i>fajánsz</i>	'faience'
		<i>ken-sz</i>	'smear-INDEF.2SG'
	/nš/	<i>pátens</i>	'patent'
	/nč/	<i>kincs</i>	'treasure'
		<i>bánt-s (ts=[č])</i>	'hurt-IMP.INDEF.2SG'
	/nc/ or /ñc/	<i>konty</i>	'knot of hair'
	/nɹ/ or /ñɹ/	<i>rongy</i>	'rag'
		<i>mond-j (dj=[ɹ])</i>	'say-IMP.INDEF.2SG'
	/nv/	<i>rokonszenv</i>	'sympathy'
	/nz/	<i>vonz</i>	'attract'
	/ñv/	<i>könyv</i>	'book'

For wordfinal /md/ and /ñd/, see (20); for wordfinal /ms/ and /ñs/, see (22); and for wordfinal /ñt/, see (21).

(13)	<i>Liquid+obstruent</i>		
	/lp/	<i>talp</i>	'sole'
	/lt/	<i>falt</i>	'patch'
		<i>él-t</i>	'live-PAST'
	/ld/	<i>küld</i>	'send'
		<i>öl-d</i>	'kill-IMP.DEF.2SG'

/lɫ/	<i>hölgy</i>	'lady'
	<i>áld-j (ldj=[lɫ])</i>	'bless-IMP.INDEF.2SG'
/lk/	<i>halk</i>	'soft voice'
/lq/	<i>rivalg</i>	'yell'
/lʃ/	<i>polc</i>	'ledge'
/lč/	<i>kulcs</i>	'key'
	<i>olt-s (Its=[lč])</i>	'extinguish-IMP.INDEF.2SG'
/lf/	<i>golf</i>	'golf'
/lv/	<i>nyelv</i>	'tongue'
/lš/	<i>fals</i>	'false'
/rp/	<i>szörp</i>	'syrup'
/rb/	<i>szerb</i>	'Serb'
/rt/	<i>tart</i>	'hold'
	<i>vár-t</i>	'wait-PAST'
/rd/	<i>kard</i>	'sword'
	<i>vár-d</i>	'wait-IMP.DEF.2SG'
/rc/	<i>korty</i>	'sip'
/rɫ/	<i>tárgy</i>	'subject'
	<i>hord-j (rdj=[rɫ])</i>	'wear-IMP.DEF.2SG'
/rk/	<i>park</i>	'park'
/rg/	<i>dramaturg</i>	'dramaturge'
/rts/	<i>harc</i>	'fight'
/rč/	<i>korcs</i>	'half-breed'
	<i>tart-s (rts=[rč])</i>	'hold-IMP.INDEF.2SG'
/rf/	<i>turf</i>	'turf'
/rv/	<i>érv</i>	'reason'
/rs/	<i>kommersz</i>	'commerce'
	<i>ver-sz</i>	'hit-INDEF.2SG'
/rz/	<i>borz</i>	'badger'
/rš/	<i>sors</i>	'fate'
/rž/	<i>törzs</i>	'trunk'

The cluster /ls/ occurs in polymorphemic words only; see (22).

(14)	<i>Liquid+nasal</i>		
	/lm/	<i>film</i>	'film'
	/rm/	<i>reform</i>	'reform'
	/rn/	<i>konzern</i>	'concern'
	/rñ/	<i>árny</i>	'shade'
(15)	<i>Glide+obstruent</i>		
	/jt/	<i>ejt</i>	'drop'
		<i>fúj-t</i>	'blow-PAST'
	/jd/	<i>majd</i>	'then'
		<i>fúj-d</i>	'blow-IMP.DEF.2SG'

	/jt/	Svájc		'Switzerland'
	/jč/	nefelejcs felejt-s (jts=[jč])		'forget-me-not' 'forget-IMP.INDEF.2SG'
	/jv/	ölyv		'hawk'
	/js/	fédervejsz búj-sz		'talcum powder' 'hide-INDEF.2SG'
	/jz/	rajz		'drawing'
	/jž/	pajzs		'shield'
(16)		<i>Glide+nasal</i>		
	/jm/		slejm	'phlegm'
	/jn/		kombájn	'combine'
(17)		<i>Nasal+glide</i>		
	/mj/	szomj nyom-j		'thirst' 'press-IMP.INDEF.2SG'
(18)		<i>Liquid+glide</i>		
	/rj/	fürj vár-j		'quail' 'wait-IMP.INDEF.2SG'
Other wordfinal clusters occur only in polymorphemic words. These are formed by the four inflectional suffixes listed below (also responsible for the derived contexts in the clusters given above):				
(19)		<i>Imperative indefinite</i>		
	/pj/	lop-j		'steal-IMP.INDEF.2SG'
	/bj/	dob-j		'throw-IMP.INDEF.2SG'
	/kj/	rak-j		'put-IMP.INDEF.2SG'
	/gj/	fog-j		'grasp-IMP.INDEF.2SG'
	/fj/	döf-j		'stab-IMP.INDEF.2SG'
	/vj/	hív-j		'call-IMP.INDEF.2SG'
	/zɹ/	kúzd-j (zɹj=[zɹ])		'fight-IMP.INDEF.2SG'
	/žɹ/	esd-j (sɹj=[žɹ])		'beseech-IMP.INDEF.2SG'
	/zz/	néz-z		'look-IMP.INDEF.2SG'
(20)		<i>Imperative definite</i>		
	/bd/	dob-d		'throw-IMP.DEF.2SG'
	/ɹd/	hagy-d		'allow-IMP.DEF.2SG'
	/ĩd/	táts-d (tsd=[ĩd])		'open wide-IMP.DEF.2SG'
	/vd/	hív-d		'call-IMP.DEF.2SG'
	/md/	nyom-d		'press-IMP.DEF.2SG'
	/ñd/	hány-d		'vomit-IMP.DEF.2SG'

(21)		<i>Accusative</i>	
		/ñt/	<i>leány-t</i> 'girl-ACC'
(22)	<i>2sg indefinite</i>		
	/cs/	<i>vágy-sz</i> ( <i>gysz</i> =[cs])	'desire-INDEF.2SG'
	/fs/	<i>dőf-sz</i>	'stab-INDEF.2SG'
	/ms/	<i>nyom-sz</i>	'press-INDEF.2SG'
	/ñs/	<i>hány-sz</i>	'vomit-INDEF.2SG'
	/ls/	<i>él-sz</i>	'live-INDEF.2SG'

As with wordinitial clusters, there exists a set of wordfinal clusters whose occurrence may properly be considered to be irregular or exceptional. These clusters are marginal in that they are found only in a limited number of words (including borrowed words, placenames, and acronyms). For all intents and purposes, the following list should be exhaustive:

(23)	/pt/	<i>recept</i>	'recipe'
		<i>korrup</i>	'corrupt'
		<i>kopt</i>	'Coptic'
	/pf/	<i>copf</i>	'braid'
	/pš/	<i>taps</i>	'clap'
		<i>arabs</i> ( <i>bs</i> =[pš])	'Arabian'
	/tk/	<i>Detk</i>	(placename)
	/ck/	<i>Batyk</i>	(placename)
	/kt/	<i>defekt</i>	'defect' (plus ca. 9 others)
	/kč/	<i>Szakcs</i>	(placename)
	/kš/	<i>voks</i>	'vote'
	/tʃk/	<i>barack</i>	'apricot' (plus 2 others)
	/čk/	<i>Recsk</i>	(placename)
	/ftʃ/	<i>MAFC</i>	(acronym)
	/ft/	<i>lift</i>	'elevator' (plus 4 others)
	/sf/	<i>NOSZF</i>	(acronym)
	/sk/	<i>burleszk</i>	'burlesque' (plus ca. 9 others)
	/mt/	<i>teremt</i>	'create'
	/mf/	<i>tromf</i>	'trump'
	/mž/	<i>tömzs</i>	'lode'
	/ñh/	<i>enyh</i>	'abatement'
	/ht/	<i>jacht</i> ( <i>ch</i> =/h/[x])	'yacht'
	/hh/	<i>pech</i> ( <i>ch</i> =/hh/ =[çç] or [xx])	'bad luck'
	/jp/	<i>selyp</i>	'lispings'
	/jk/	<i>sztrájk</i>	'strike' (plus 3 others)
	/jg/	<i>cajg</i>	'stuff'

/jf/	dölyf	arrogance
/jh/	bolyh	'nap (of cloth)'
/jš/	Majs	(placename)
/jl/	fájl	'file'
/rl/	görl	'chorus girl'

Two additional wordfinal clusters are created through suffixation: /žb/, occurring only in the unproductive, archaic expressions *idős-b* 'old-CMP' and *keves-b* 'few-CMP' (*sb*=[žb]), and /mč/, occurring only in *teremt-s* (*mts*=[mč]) 'create-IMP'.

**3.2.2.2.2. CCC-final clusters** The set of monomorphemic words in which three consonants occur finally is very small and is limited to obvious loans. The following list is reasonably exhaustive:

(24)	/kst/	<i>szext</i>	'sixth (interval)'
	/nks/	<i>szfinx</i>	'skunk'
		<i>szkunksz</i>	'sphinx'
	/nst/	<i>dunszt</i>	'notion'
		<i>kunszt</i>	'wizardry'
	/mps/	<i>mumpsz</i>	'mumps'
	/rst/	<i>karszt</i>	'karst'
		<i>verszt</i>	'Russian measure of length'
	/ršt/	<i>vurst</i>	'wurst'
	/ršč/	<i>borscs</i>	'borscht'
	/jst/	<i>lejszt</i>	'hard work'
	/jšt/	<i>mihelyst</i>	'as soon as'

CCC-final clusters in polymorphemic words derive from three sources:

(25)	Accusative		
	/rlt/	<i>görl-t</i>	'chorus girl-ACC'
	/rnt/	<i>konzern-t</i>	'concern-ACC'
	/jšt/	<i>pajzs-t</i> ( <i>jzst</i> =[jšt])	'shield-ACC'
	/jnt/	<i>kombájn-t</i>	'combine-ACC'
	/nst/ or	<i>pénz-t</i> ( <i>nzt</i> =[nst] or [ntst])	'money-ACC'
	/ntłt/		
	/nšt/	<i>brilliáns-t</i>	'brilliant-ACC'
	/jst/	<i>fédervejsz-t</i>	'talcum powder-ACC'
(26)	2SG indefinite		
	/nks/	<i>leng-sz</i> ( <i>ngs</i> =[ŋks])	'swing-INDEF.2SG'

(27)	<i>Imperative definite</i>		
	/dʒd/	edz-d	'train-IMP.DEF.2SG' (if /dz/= /d/+ /z/)
	/mɛ̃d/	teremts-d (mtds=[mɛ̃d])	'create-IMP.DEF.2SG'
	/nɛ̃d/	bonts-d (ntsd=[nɛ̃d])	'take apart-IMP.DEF.2SG'
	/ngd/	zeng-d	'sing-IMP.DEF.2SG'
	/lɛ̃d/	tölts-d (ltsd=[lɛ̃d])	'fill-IMP.DEF.2SG'
	/rɛ̃d/	tarts-d (rtsd=[rɛ̃d])	'hold-IMP.DEF.2SG'
	/jɛ̃d/	hajts-d (jtsd=[jɛ̃d])	'drive-IMP.DEF.2SG'

### 3.2.2.3. Wordmedial consonant clusters

This section lays out the possible wordmedial clusters in terms of taxonomic phonemes. The lists, in particular, are not to be construed as statements about underlying structure, nor do they take into account the allophonic variations of the individual contrastive segments. Compounds are excluded from consideration, since their internal structures often fly in the face of otherwise valid wordinternal phonotactic constraints. For a detailed discussion of wordmedial consonant clusters in Hungarian, cf. Törkenczy (1994).

In the vast majority, unlisted clusters are ruled out by morphophonological constraints/processes; see 3.4 for details. For now, the following overview will suffice:

- (28) a. Obstruent clusters agree in voicing (except before /v/).
- (00) b. Dental plosives and nasals become palatal before palatal plosives and nasals.
- (00) c. Dental plosives plus (post)alveolar affricates and fricatives become geminate affricates.
- (00) d. Dental and palatal plosives/nasals plus /j/ become geminate palatal plosives/nasals.
- (00) e. Adjacent nonlabial strident consonants have the same place of articulation.
- (00) f. /j/ fully assimilates to a preceding nonlabial strident consonant.
- (00) g. /l/ fully assimilates to a following /r/ or /j/.
- (28) h. /n/ becomes labio-labial before labio-labials.

#### 3.2.2.3.1. CC-medial clusters

Nearly all wordmedial consonant clusters consisting of two members occur tautomorphemically as well as heteromorphemically (at morpheme junctures). For this reason, whenever possible, each occurring cluster will be instantiated with two examples: one in intramorphemic position, and

the other across morpheme junctures (disregarding unproductive affixation).

(29)	<i>Geminates</i>		
	/pp/	<i>szappan</i>	'soap'
		<i>kép-pel</i>	'picture-INS'
	/tt/	<i>suttog</i>	'whisper'
		<i>kút-tól</i>	'well-ABL'
	/cc/	<i>hattyú</i>	'swan'
		<i>báty-ja</i> (tyj=[cc])	'elder brother-POSS.3SG'
	/kk/	<i>csökken</i>	'decrease'
		<i>sok-kal</i>	'many-INS'
	/bb/	<i>zsibbad</i>	'become numb'
		<i>dob-ban</i>	'drum-INE'
	/dd/	<i>meddő</i>	'infertile'
		<i>rúd-dal</i>	'bar-INS'
	ɟɟ	<i>poggyász</i>	'luggage'
		<i>ad-ja</i> (dj=ɟɟ)	'give-DEF.3SG'
	/gg/	<i>aggat</i>	'hang up'
		<i>ég-gel</i>	'sky-INS'
	/tsts/	<i>icce</i>	'0.88 liter (measure)'
		<i>léc-cel</i>	'slat-INS'
	/čč/	<i>gleccser</i>	'glacier'
		<i>rác-sal</i> (=rács-csal)	'grid.INS'
	/dzdz/	<i>madzag</i> (dz=[dzdz])	'twine'
		<i>sarjad-z-ás</i> (dz=[dzdz])	'sprout-VBL-NML'
	/j̥j̥/	<i>hodzsa</i> (dzs=[j̥j̥])	'Muslim teacher of religion'
	/ff/	<i>affér</i>	'affair'
		<i>sróf-fal</i>	'screw-INS'
	/ss/	<i>asszony</i>	'woman'
		<i>hússzor</i> (=húsz-szor)	'twenty.MUL'
	/šš/	<i>tessék</i>	'(would you) please'
		<i>vas-sal</i>	'iron-INS'
	/vv/	<i>szív-vel</i>	'heart-INS'
	/zz/	<i>bezzeg</i>	'to be sure'
		<i>méz-zel</i>	'honey-INS'
	/žž/	<i>rizzsel</i> (=rizs-zsel)	'rice.INS'
	/mm/	<i>cammog</i>	'trudge along'
		<i>szám-mal</i>	'number-INS'
	/nn/	<i>kanna</i>	'can'
		<i>szín-nek</i>	'color-DAT'
	/ññ/	<i>dinnye</i>	'melon'
		<i>bán-ja</i> (nj=[ññ])	'regret-DEF.3SG'

/ll/	<i>csillag</i> <i>tál-lal</i>	'star' 'dish-INS'
/rr/	<i>berreg</i> <i>kar-ról</i>	'buzz' 'arm-DEL'
/jj/	<i>zsöllye</i> <i>fej-jel</i>	'armchair' 'head-INS'

Note that the geminates /vv/ and /žž/ are not found tautomorphemically. The geminate /hh/ also occurs, but it requires comment. It occurs finally in the stem *pech* 'bad luck' and wordmedially, though still tautomorphemically, in derived words like *pech-es* 'unlucky' ('bad luck-ADJDER'), where *ch*=/hh/ shows up predictably as [xx] or [çç] (see 3.1.2.1.2). For heteromorphemic /hh/, cf. *doh-hal* 'mustiness-INS', where *hh*=[xx], the automatic reflex of /hh/.

(30)	<i>Obstruent+obstruent</i>	
/pt/	<i>kaptafa</i> <i>nap-tól</i>	'shoemaker's last' 'day-ABL'
/pk/	<i>csipke</i> <i>csap-kod</i>	'lace' 'flap-VBL'
/ptʃ/	<i>kapca</i>	'foot clout'
/pč/	<i>kapcs-ol</i> <i>lép-cső</i>	'connect' ('link-VBL') 'stairway' ('step-NML')
/pf/	<i>copf-os</i>	'braided' ('braid-ADJDER')
/ps/	<i>apszis</i> <i>több-ször</i> ( <i>bbsz</i> =[ps])	'apsis' 'several times' ('more-MUL')
/ph/	<i>abház</i> ( <i>bh</i> =[ph]) <i>kap-hat</i>	'Abkhazian' 'receive-POT'
/pš/	<i>hapsi</i> <i>szép-ség</i>	'guy' 'beauty' ('beautiful-NML')
/pv/	<i>képvisel</i> <i>lop-va</i>	'represent' 'furtively' ('steal-ADV')
/tk/	<i>patkó</i> <i>hat-kor</i>	'horseshoe' 'six-TEM'
/tf/	<i>hétfő</i>	'Monday'
/th/	<i>nátha</i> <i>kabát-hoz</i>	'(common) cold' 'coat-ALL'
/tv/	<i>ótvar</i> <i>lát-vány</i>	'eczema' 'spectacle' ('see-NML')
/cp/	<i>pitypang</i>	'dandelion'
/ct/	<i>fütty-től</i> ( <i>ttyt</i> =[ct])	'whisper-ABL'
/ck/	<i>pletyka</i> <i>egy-képpen</i>	'gossip' 'alike' ('one-FOR')
/cf/	<i>fityfene</i>	'heck'
/cs/	<i>egy-szer</i> ( <i>gysz</i> =[cs])	'once' ('one-MUL')

/cš/	nagy-ság (gys=[cs])	'largeness' ('large-NML')
/ch/	petyhüdt hagy-hat (gyh=[ch])	'flaccid' 'can allow' ('allow-POT')
/cv/	kotyvaszt	'concoct'
/kt/	bakter szék-től	'watchman' 'chair-ABL'
/ktʃ/	akció	'action'
/kč/	bakcsó	'heron'
/kf/	bakfis	'young miss'
/ks/	buksza sok-szor	'purse' 'many-MUL'
/kš/	taksa	'charge'
/kh/	pék-ség nyikhaj szék-hez	'bakery' ('baker-NML') 'scamp' 'chair-ALL'
/kv/	frekvencia szok-vány	'frequency' 'usage' ('get used to-NML')
/bd/	labda köp-dös (pd=[bd])	'ball' 'spit about' ('spit-VBL')
/bv/	szubvenció szab-vány	'subvention' 'standard' ('set conditions-NML')
/bz/	tobzód-ik hab-z-ás	'live in luxury-INDEF.3SG' 'foaming' ('foam-VBL-NML')
/bž/	habzsol	'devour'
/db/	csőd-be	'bankruptcy-ILL'
/dg/	szalad-gál	'run around' ('run-VBL')
/dv/	dudva szalad-va	'weed' 'running' ('run-SCVB')
/ɹb/	ágy-ba	'bed-ILL'
/ɹv/	fegyver hagy-va	'weapon' 'left' ('leave-SCVB')
/ɹz/	jegy-z-és	'marking' ('mark-VBL-NML')
/gb/	ég-be	'sky-ILL'
/gd/	Magdolna vag-dal	'Magdalene' 'cutup' ('cut-VBL')
/gv/	dug-va	'secretly' ('hide-SCVB')
/gz/	lagzi vég-z-és	'wedding party' 'finishing' ('end-VBL-NML')
/tst/	ketrec-től	'cage-ABL'
/tsk/	mackó ketrec-ke	'bear' 'little cage' ('cage-DIM')
/tss/	ketrec-szerű	'cage-like' ('cage-ADJDER')
/tsš/	malac-ság	'smut' ('pig-NML')
/čt/	rács-tól	'grid-ABL'

/čk/	bicska	'carpenter-FOR'
	ács-ként	'pocket knife'
/čh/	ács-hoz	'carpenter-ALL'
/ĭb/	bridzs-ben	'bridge-INE'
/ft/	naftalin	'naphthalene'
	gróf-tól	'count-ABL'
/fk/	cafka	'strumpet'
	sróf-ként	'screw-FOR'
/fs/	ofszájd	'offside'
	öv-szerű (vsz=[fs])	'belt-like' ('belt-ADJDER')
/fš/	gróf-ság	'countship' ('count-NML')
/fh/	gróf-hoz	'count-ALL'
/sp/	aszpik	'aspic'
/st/	asztal	'table'
	mész-től	'lime-ABL'
/sk/	deszka	'board'
	húsz-ként	'twenty-FOR'
/stɰ/	diszciplina	'discipline'
/sf/	aszfalt	'asphalt'
/sš/	egész-ség	'health' ('whole-NML')
/sh/	rész-hez	'part-ALL'
/sv/	köszvény	'gout'
	mász-va	'climbing' ('climb-SCVB')
/šp/	ispán	'bailiff'
/št/	kastély	'manor'
	más-tól	'other-ABL'
/šc/	ostya	'wafer'
/šk/	iskola	'school'
	más-kor	'other-TEM'
/šs/	kis-szerű	'on a small scale' (('small-ADJDER'))
/šh/	kushad	'lie low'
	kés-hez	'knife-ALL'
/šv/	fösvény	'miser'
	ás-va	'digging' ('dig-SCVB')
/ht/	potroh-tól (ht=[xt])	'insect's abdomen-ABL'
/hk/	sah-ként(hk=[xk])	'shah-FOR'
/hb/	potroh-ban (hb=[xb])	'insect's abdomen-INE'
/hs/	sah-szerű (hs=[xs])	'shah-like' ('shah-ADJDER')
/vb/	szív-ben	'heart-INE'
/vg/	afgán (fg=[vg])	'Afghan'
/zb/	üzbég	'Uzbek'
	ház-ban	'house-INE'

/zd/	<i>gazdag</i>	'rich'
	<i>néz-degél</i>	'scrutinize' ('see-VBL')
/zg/	<i>izgága</i>	'rambunctious'
	<i>evez-get</i>	'row repeatedly' ('row-VBL')
/zv/	<i>özvegy</i>	'widowed'
	<i>bíz-va</i>	'entrusted' ('trust-SCVB')
/žb/	<i>garázs-ban</i>	'garage-INE'
/žd/	<i>rozsdá</i>	'rust'
/žg/	<i>vizsga</i>	'examination'
	<i>édes-get (sg=[žg])</i>	'allure' ('sweet-VBL')
(31)	<i>Obstruent+liquid</i>	
/pl/	<i>gyeplő</i>	'rein'
	<i>táp-lál</i>	'nourish' ('food-VBL')
/pr/	<i>apró</i>	'tiny'
	<i>csap-ra</i>	'faucet-SUB'
/tl/	<i>ötlet</i>	'idea'
	<i>lát-lak</i>	'see-1SG.2OBJ'
/tr/	<i>ketrec</i>	'cage'
	<i>lapát-ról</i>	'shovel-DEL'
/cl/	<i>fátyl-a</i>	'veil-POSS.3SG'
/cr/	<i>petty-re (ttyr=[cr])</i>	'spot-SUB'
/kl/	<i>cékla</i>	'red beet'
	<i>lök-lek</i>	'shove-1SG.2OBJ'
/kr/	<i>bokréta</i>	'bouquet'
	<i>szék-re</i>	'chair-SUB'
/bl/	<i>ablak</i>	'window'
	<i>dob-lak</i>	'throw-1SG.2OBJ'
/br/	<i>ábra</i>	'illustration'
	<i>láb-ról</i>	'foot-DEL'
/dl/	<i>nudli</i>	'noodles'
	<i>ad-lak</i>	'give-1SG.2OBJ'
/dr/	<i>nadrág</i>	'trousers'
	<i>család-ról</i>	'family-DEL'
/ɬl/	<i>kagyló</i>	'shell'
	<i>hagy-lak</i>	'allow-1SG.2OBJ'
/ɬr/	<i>ágy-ra</i>	'bed-SUB'
/gl/	<i>nyegle</i>	'arrogant'
	<i>vág-lak</i>	'cut-1SG.2OBJ'
/gr/	<i>bögre</i>	'mug'
	<i>ég-re</i>	'sky-SUB'
/tsl/	<i>spicli</i>	'informer'
/tsr/	<i>léc-ről</i>	'slat-DEL'
/čr/	<i>rács-ra</i>	'grid-SUB'

/řr/	<i>bridzs-ról</i>	'bridge-DEL'
/fl/	<i>kifli</i>	'croissant'
	<i>döf-lek</i>	'stab-1SG.2OBJ'
/fr/	<i>cifra</i>	'adorned'
	<i>sróf-ról</i>	'screw-DEL'
/sl/	<i>zászló</i>	'flag'
	<i>basz-lak</i>	'fuck-1SG.2OBJ'
/sr/	<i>észrevesz</i>	'perceive'
	<i>ősz-re</i>	'autumn-SUB'
/šl/	<i>pislog</i>	'blink'
	<i>keres-lek</i>	'search-1SG.2OBJ'
/šr/	<i>más-ra</i>	'other-SUB'
/hl/	<i>ihlet (hl=[çl])</i>	'inspiration'
/hr/	<i>potroh-ra (hr=[xr])</i>	'insect's abdomen-SUB'
/vl/	<i>bóvli</i>	'junk'
	<i>hív-lak</i>	'call-1SG.2OBJ'
/vr/	<i>sevró</i>	'kidskin'
	<i>ov-re</i>	'belt-SUB'
/zl/	<i>üzlet</i>	'shop'
	<i>váz-lát</i>	'design' ('outline-NML')
/zr/	<i>ezer-ed</i>	'thousand-ORD'
	<i>víz-re</i>	'water-SUB'
/žl/	<i>vizsla</i>	'hound'
	<i>varázs-lat</i>	'witchcraft' ('magic-NML')
/žr/	<i>parázs-ról</i>	'embers-DEL'
(32)	<i>Obstruent+nasal</i>	
/pn/	<i>hipnózis</i>	'hypnosis'
	<i>lop-ni</i>	'cheat-INF'
/tm/	<i>atmoszféra</i>	'atmosphere'
	<i>alkot-many</i>	'constitution' ('create-NML')
/tn/	<i>etnológia</i>	'ethnology'
	<i>üt-ni</i>	'hit-INF'
/cm/	<i>pitymall-at</i>	'dawn' ('dawn-NML')
/cn/	<i>petty-nek (ttyn=[cn])</i>	'spot-DAT'
/cñ/	<i>satnya (tny=[cñ])</i>	'stunted'
	<i>pillanat-nyi (tny=[cñ])</i>	'momentary'
		('moment-ADJDER')
/km/	<i>lakmusz</i>	'litmus'
	<i>ok-many</i>	'document' ('reason-NML')
/kn/	<i>teknő</i>	'trough'
	<i>lak-nak</i>	'inhabit-INDEF.3PL'

/kñ/	szoknya marok-nyi	'skirt' 'handful' ('hollow of the hand-ADJDER')
/bn/	abnormális láb-nak	'abnormal' 'foot-DAT'
/dm/	admirális ered-mény	'admiral' 'result' ('originate-NML')
/dn/	bodnár ad-nak	'cooper' 'give-INDEF.3PL'
/ɹm/	hagyma	'onion'
/ɹn/	egy-nek	'one-DAT'
/ɹñ/	narodnyik (dny=[ɹñ]) hegy-nyi	'Narodnik' 'tip-sized' ('tip-ADJDER')
/gm/	dogma	'dogma'
/gn/	bognár ég-ni	'cartwright' 'burn-INF'
/tsm/	kecmereg	'crouch'
/tsn/	fecni ketrec-nek	'scrap of paper' 'cage-DAT'
/čm/	ocsmázny	'ugly'
/čn/	plecsni ács-nál	'stain' 'carpenter-ADE'
/ĵn/	bridzs-nél	'bridge-ADE'
/fn/	sufni gróf-nál	'lean-to' 'count-ADE'
/fñ/	rőf-nyi	'ell-sized' ('ell-ADJDER')
/sm/	pöszméte	'gooseberry'
/sn/	dísznó úsz-ni	'Pig' 'swim-INF'
/sñ/	tarisznya arasz-nyi	'satchel' 'hand-span-sized' ('hand-span-ADJDER')
/šm/	ismer keres-mény	'be acquainted with' 'earnings' ('earn-NML')
/šn/	masni mos-nak	'bow of ribbon' 'wash-INDEF.3PL'
/šñ/	harisnya rés-nyi	'sock' 'hole-sized' ('hole-ADJDER')
/hn/	technika (chn=[çn]) sah-nak (hn=[xn])	'technology' 'shah-DAT'
/vn/	hív-ni	'call-INF'
/zm/	kozma	'burn'

/zn/	<i>parázna</i>		'lecherous'
	<i>húz-nak</i>		'pull-INDEF.3PL'
/žm/	<i>zsolozsma</i>		'chant'
/žn/	<i>alamizsna</i>		'alms'
	<i>darázs-nak</i>		'wasp-DAT'
(33)	Obstruent+glide		
/pj/	<i>kopia</i>		'headstone'
	<i>lop-juk</i>		'steal-DEF.1PL'
/kj/	<i>csuklya</i>		'cowl'
	<i>rak-ják</i>		'place-DEF.3PL'
/bj/	<i>gereblye</i>		'rake'
	<i>dob-játok</i>		'throw-DEF.2PL'
/gj/	<i>máglya</i>		'bonfire'
	<i>mag-la</i>		'seed-POSS.3SG'
/fj/	<i>ifjú</i>		'youngster'
	<i>döf-jük 's</i>		'stab-DEF.1PL'
/vj/	<i>szovjet</i>		'Soviet'
	<i>hív-játok</i>		'call-DEF.2PL'
(34)	Nasal+obstruent		
/mp/	<i>sorompó</i>		'rail barrier'
/mt/	<i>tamtam</i>		'tom-tom'
	<i>szám-tól</i>		'number-ABL'
/mk/	<i>tömkeleg</i>		'abundance'
	<i>három-kor</i>		'three-TEM'
/mb/	<i>szombat</i>		'Saturday'
	<i>szám-ból</i>		'number-ELA'
/md/	<i>dumdum</i>		'dum-dum'
	<i>nyom-da</i>		'printing works' ('print-NML')
/mč/	<i>csámcsog</i>		'champ'
	<i>Tom-csi</i>		'Tommy' (diminutive of <i>Tamás</i> 'Thomas')
/mf/	<i>kámfor</i>		'camphor'
/ms/	<i>szomszéd</i>		'neighbor'
	<i>három-szor</i>		'three-MUL'
/mš/	<i>emse</i>		'sow'
	<i>három-ság</i>		'trinity' ('three-NML')
/mh/	<i>lomha</i>		'sluggish'
	<i>három-hoz</i>		'three-ALL'
/mv/	<i>hamv-az</i>		'sprinkle with ashes' ('ashes-VBL')
	<i>nyom-va</i>		'pressed' ('press-SCVB')
/mz/	<i>nemz-és</i>		'begetting' ('beget-NML')
	<i>elem-z-és</i>		'analysis' ('element-VBL-NML')
/mž/	<i>tömzsi</i>		'stocky'

/nt/	<i>tinta</i>	'ink'
	<i>ken-t-e</i>	'smear-PAST-DEF.3SG'
/nk/	<i>mankó</i>	'crutches'
	<i>Irén-ke</i>	'Irene-DIM'
/nd/	<i>kendő</i>	'kerchief'
	<i>szán-dék</i>	'intention' ('intend-NML')
/ng/	<i>tenger</i>	'sea'
	<i>rohan-gál</i>	'run back and forth' ('run-VBL')
/ntʃ/	<i>kanca</i>	'mare'
	<i>Jen-ci</i>	'Gene' (diminutive of Jenő 'Eugene')
/nč/	<i>kancsó</i>	'jug'
	<i>Jan-csi</i>	'Johnny' (diminutive of János 'John')
/nĭ/	<i>findzsa</i>	'teacup'
/nf/	<i>fanfár</i>	'fanfare'
/ns/	<i>vánszorog</i>	'trudge'
	<i>öt-ven-szer</i>	'fifty times' ('five-ten.times-MUL')
/nš/	<i>mensevik</i>	'Menshevik'
	<i>jelen-ség</i>	'occurrence' ('actual-NML')
/nh/	<i>inhalál</i>	'inhale'
	<i>szén-hez</i>	'coal-ALL'
/nv/	<i>szenved</i>	'suffer'
	<i>szán-va</i>	'intended' ('intend-SCVB')
/nz/	<i>panzió</i>	'boarding-house'
	<i>von-z-ás</i>	'attraction' ('draw-VBL-NML')
/nž/	<i>avanzsál</i>	'advance'
/ñt/	<i>leány-tól</i>	'girl-ABL'
/ñc/	<i>pinty-ek</i> (nty=[ñc])	'finch-PL'
/ñk/	<i>leány-ka</i>	'girl-DIM'
/ñb/	<i>arany-ban</i>	'gold-INE'
/ñ†/	<i>angyal</i> (ngy=[ñ†])	'angel'
/ñs/	<i>kényszer</i>	'compulsion'
	<i>hány-szor</i>	'how many-MUL'
/ñš/	<i>manysi</i>	'Vogul'
	<i>ocsmány-ság</i>	'ugliness' ('ugly-NML')
/ñh/	<i>konyha</i>	'kitchen'
	<i>arany-hoz</i>	'gold-ALL'
(35)	Nasal+nasal	
/mn/	<i>amnesztia</i>	'amnesty'
	<i>cím-nél</i>	'address-ADE'
/mñ/	<i>nyimnyám</i>	'milksop'
	<i>ökl-öm-nyi</i>	'fist-sized' ('fist-POSS.1SG-ADJDER')
/ñn/	<i>meny-nek</i>	'daughter-in-law-DAT'

(36)	<i>Nasal+liquid</i>		
	/ml/	komló	'hop'
		nyom-lak	'press-1SG.2OBJ'
	/mr/	kamra	'pantry'
		szem-re	'eye-SUB'
	/nl/	ajánl-as	'recommendation' ('recommend-NML')
		ken-lek	'smear-1SG.2OBJ'
	/nr/	szén-re	'coal-SUB'
	/ñl/	arany-lag	'proportionately' ('proportion-ADV')
	/ñr/	arany-ra	'gold-SUB'
(37)	<i>Nasal+glide</i>		
	/mj/	tömjén	'incense'
		nyom-juk	'press-DEF.1PL'
(38)	<i>Liquid+obstruent</i>		
	/lp/	alpinista	'mountaineer'
	/lt/	balta	'hatchet'
		fal-tól	'wall-ABL'
	/lc/	kopoltyú	'gill'
	/lk/	alkalom	'opportunity'
		Adél-ka	'Adela-DIM'
	/lb/	kolbász	'sausage'
		szél-be	'wind-ILL'
	/ld/	példa	'example'
		ül-dögél	'sit about' ('sit-VBL')
	/lɫ/	Algyő	(placename)
		küld-jük (ldj=[lɫ])	'send-DEF.1PL'
	/lg/	szolga	'servant'
		töröl-get	'dry (dishes)' ('wipe-VBL')
	/ltʃ/	délceg	'splendid'
	/lč/	olcsó	'cheap'
	/lf/	csalfa	'false'
	/ls/	alsz-ol	'sleep-INDEF.2SG'
		fél-szer	'half-MUL'
	/lš/	fals-ok	'false-PL'
		fel-só	'upper' ('up-ADJDER')
	/lh/	bolha	'flea'
		fal-hoz	'wall-ALL'
	/lv/	olvas	'read'
		ül-ve	'sitting' ('sit-SCVB')
	/lz/	pulzus	'pulse'
		jel-z-és	'signal' ('sign-VBL-NML')
	/lž/	balzsam	'balsam'
	/rp/	korpa	'bran'

/rt/	körte	'pear'	
	madár-tól	'bird-ABL'	
/rc/	gyertya	'candle'	
	árt-ja(rtj=[rc])	'harm-DEF.3SG'	
/rk/	márka	'trademark'	
	madár-ka	'bird-DIM'	
/rb/	csorba	'defective'	
	sár-ban	'mud-INE'	
/rd/	csárda	'country tavern'	
	jár-da	'sidewalk' ('walk-NML')	
/rɹ/	bárgyú	'imbecile'	
	kard-ja (rdj=[rɹ])	'sword-POSS.3SG'	
/rg/	spárga	'asparagus'	
	kavar-gat	'stir repeatedly' ('stir-VBL')	
/rtʃ/	herceg	'prince'	
	Mar-ci	'Marty' (diminutive of Márton 'Martin')	
/rč/	harcsa	'catfish'	
	Kar-csi	'Charlie' (diminutive of Károly 'Charles')	
/rf/	karfiol	'cauliflower'	
/rs/	ország	'country'	
	kor-szerű	'modern' ('era-ADJDER')	
/rš/	borsó	'pea'	
	tér-ség	'open area' ('area-NML')	
/rh/	marha	'cattle'	
	bor-hoz	'wine-ALL'	
/rv/	márvány	'marble'	
	kér-ve	'asking' ('ask-SCVB')	
/rz/	kurzus	'course'	
	vér-z-és	'bleeding' ('blood-VBL-NML')	
/rʒ/	perzsa	'Persian'	
(39)	Liquid+nasal		
	/lm/ alma	'apple'	
		talál-mány	'invention' ('discover-NML')
	/ln/ bálna	'whale'	
		él-ni	'live-INF'
	/rm/ érme	'coin'	
		takar-many	'fodder' ('harvest-NML')
	/rn/ barna	'brown'	
		ír-nak	'write-INDEF.3PL'
	/rñ/ ernyő	'umbrella'	
		kar-nyi	'arm's length' ('arm-ADJDER')

(40)	<i>Liquid+liquid</i> /rl/	korlát vár-lak	'limit' 'await-1SG.2OBJ'
(41)	<i>Liquid+glide</i> /rj/	borjú mér-jük	'calf' 'weigh-DEF.1PL'
(42)	<i>Glide+obstruent</i>		
	/jp/	selypít	'lisp'
	/jt/	ajtó	'door'
		száj-tól	'mouth-ABL'
	/jk/	dajka	'nursemaid'
		buj-kál	'lie in hiding' ('hide-VBL')
	/jb/	lajbi	'vest with metal button'
		tej-ben	'milk-INE'
	/jd/	hajdina	'buckwheat'
		fáj-dalom	'pain' ('hurt-NML')
	/jg/	tajga	'taiga'
		jaj-gat	'moan' ('ouch-VBL')
	/jtʃ/	krajcár	'farthing'
	/jč/	hajcsár	'slave-driver'
		buj-csi	'hide-and-seeK-DIM'
	/jf/	tájfún	'typhoon'
	/js/	hajsza	'pursuit'
	/jš/	hajsókál	'swing'
		mély-ség	'depth' ('deep-NML')
	/jh/	kályha	'stove'
		tej-hez	'milk-ALL'
	/jv/	golyva	'goiter'
		fúj-va	'blown' ('blow-SCVB')
	/jz/	gejzír	'geyser'
		hely-z-et	'position' ('place-VBL-NML')
(43)	<i>Glide+nasal</i>		
	/jm/	majm-ol	'imitate' ('ape-VBL')
	/jn/	ajnároz	'fondle'
		fúj-ni	'blow-INF'
	/jñ/	ejnye	'damn it!'
		ujj-nyi (jjny=[jñ])	'finger-sized' ('finger-ADJDER')

*Glide+liquid*

/j/	<i>kajla</i>
	<i>fej-lek</i>
/jr/	<i>szajré</i>
	<i>fej-re</i>

'bent'
'milk-1SG.2OBJ'
'stolen goods'
'head-SUB'

3.2.2.3.2. CCC-medial clusters

The majority of three-member intervocalic (wordmedial) consonant clusters arise as a result of suffixation. The most productive contexts involve nominal stems that end in two consonants followed by a CV-initial case suffix; as a rule, at such junctures the resultant CCC-clusters are not broken up by vowel epenthesis or consonant deletion. One further proviso is that the CCC-cluster cannot contain geminates; that is, the stem cannot end in a geminate and the suffix-initial consonant cannot be identical to the stem-final consonant. The reason for this is that geminates generally undergo degemination next to another consonant; see 3.4.4.1.

Derived wordmedial CCC-clusters, therefore, are not hard to find. One needs only to append a CV-initial case suffix to one of the CC-final nominal stems listed in 3.2.2.2.1 (avoiding geminates); *paraszt-nak* 'peasant-DAT' is as good an example as any.

Monomorphemic wordmedial CCC-clusters, on the other hand, are relatively restricted; just about all of them occur in loanwords (though, obviously, this information is not necessarily psychologically real to all speakers). The individual phoneme combinations are instantiated generally only by one or two examples. Only the following clusters seem to occur in ten or more monomorphemic words (Törkenczy 1994):

(45)	/str/	<i>osztrák</i>	'Austrian' (ca. 27)
	/ntr/	<i>antropológia</i>	'anthropology' (ca. 19)
	/mpl/	<i>szimpla</i>	'simple' (ca. 15)
	/ksp/	<i>expedíció</i>	'expedition' (ca. 10)
	/mpr/	<i>kompresszor</i>	'compressor' (ca. 10)
	/nšt/	<i>konstelláció</i>	'constellation' (ca. 10)
	/štr/	<i>alabástrom</i>	'alabaster' (ca. 10)

3.2.2.3.3. CCCC-medial clusters

As might be expected, wordmedial four-member consonant clusters are even rarer than three-member ones. There are two sources for such sequences. The first case is when one of the few CCC-final nominal stems is followed by a CV-initial (case) suffix (disregarding derived geminates). A list of such stems is found in 3.2.2.2.2; a relevant example is *borscs-nak* 'borscht-DAT'. Second, there occur a handful of monomorphemic words

that contain four consecutive consonants intervocalically: e.g., *gengszter* 'gangster', *menstrual* 'menstruate'.

#### 3.2.2.3.4. CCCCC-medial clusters

In Hungarian words the maximum number of consecutive consonants is five. Only one case is countenanced:

(46) /nkštr/ *angström* 'angstrom'

#### 3.2.3.1. Wordfinal vowels

Of the fourteen distinctive vowels, twelve can occur in wordfinal position. E.g:

(47)	/i/	<i>bicikli</i>	'bicycle'
	/i:/	<i>sí</i>	'ski'
	/y/	<i>eskü</i>	'oath'
	/y:/	<i>fű</i>	'grass'
	/u/	<i>falu</i>	'village'
	/u:/	<i>szú</i>	'deathwatch beetle'
	/ɛ/	<i>fekete</i>	'black'
	/e:/	<i>lé</i>	'liquid'
	/ø:/	<i>nő</i>	'woman'
	/o:/	<i>hajó</i>	'ship'
	/ɔ/	<i>katona</i>	'soldier'
	/a:/	<i>hoz-ná</i>	'bring-CON.DEF.3SG'

The vowels /o/ and /ø/ are systematically excluded from wordfinal position; see 3.2.3.1.1.

##### 3.2.3.1.1. Restrictions on wordfinal vowels

There are three generalizations to be made concerning the occurrence of wordfinal vowels (Nádasdy and Siptár 1994, Törkenczy 1994).

First, in underived root morphemes wordfinal /a:/ is prohibited, save for a very small number of cases (e.g., *burzsoá* 'bourgeois', *hajrá* 'final spurt'). In nonmajor lexical categories wordfinal /a:/ is allowed; see 3.2.6.7.

Second, in polysyllabic words the length of wordfinal high vowels is constrained as follows: unrounded /i/ is uniformly short, while rounded /u/ and /y/ tend to be short, even if spelled long. The short pronunciation of /u/ and /y/ is especially true in standard varieties; of course, in spelling pronunciations wordfinal *ú* and *ű* may retain their length. Thus for instance, *szomorú* 'sad' and *gyűrű* 'ring' have stylistically conditioned variable pronunciations as regards the length of the final vowels.

And thirdly, in monosyllabic major lexical categories wordfinal short vowels are disallowed, except for the nouns *fa* 'wood' and *ma* 'today'. Other wordclasses are not subject to this constraint; see 3.2.6.7.

The mid rounded short vowels /o/ and /ø/ obey a more general constraint: they are prohibited, without exception (save one minor case mentioned in 3.2.6.7), from occurring at the end of any morpheme.

### 3.2.3.2. Wordinitial vowels

All vowels are allowed in wordinitial position, without restriction. Note the following (near) minimal pairs for each of the seven short/long oppositions:

(48)	/i/	<i>irt</i>	'exterminate'
	/i:/	<i>ír-t</i>	'Irish-ACC'
	/y/	<i>üröm</i>	'wormwood'
	/y:/	<i>úr-öm</i>	'vacuum-POSS.1SG'
	/u/	<i>uszt</i>	'instigate'
	/u:/	<i>úsz-ik</i>	'swim-INDEF.3SG'
	/ɛ/	<i>elem</i>	'element'
	/e:/	<i>él-em</i>	'live-DEF.1SG'
	/ø/	<i>örül-t</i>	'be glad-PAST'
	/ø:/	<i>őrül-t</i>	'mad' ('become mad-PCVB')
	/o/	<i>olló-m</i>	'scissors-POSS.1SG'
	/o:/	<i>ólom</i>	'lead'
	/ɔ/	<i>ara</i>	'fiancée'
	/a:/	<i>ar-a</i>	'price-POSS.3SG'

### 3.2.3.3. Sequences of vowels

Vowels may be adjacent to each other both as a result of morpheme concatenation (derivation, inflection, compounding) and as a consequence of lexical representation (basic root morphemes). Some morphophonological processes operate to eliminate vowel sequences; see 3.4.4. The cases that are not subject to morphophonologically motivated deletion are either broken up phonetically by an intrusive /j/ (see 3.2.3.3.1) or else have hiatus on the surface (discussed in this section).

Morphophonologically derived vowel sequences are found mostly at the internal juncture of compounds if the first component ends and the second one begins with a vowel, between a vowel-final preverbal prefix and a vowel-initial verbal root, and in postvocalic occurrences of the following suffixes: plural possessive *-ai/ei/i* (e.g., *ház-ai-m* 'house-POSS.PL-POSS.1SG'='my houses', *szőlő-i-m* 'grape-POSS.PL-POSS.1SG'='my grapes'), *-a/e* 'POSS.3SG' and *-uk/ük* 'POSS.3PL' following infinitival *-ni*

(e.g., *tanul-ni-a/uk kell* 'study-INF-POSS.3SG/POSS.3PL must'='he/they must study'), attributive adjectival *-i* (e.g., *buda-i* 'Buda-ADJDER'='of Buda'), causal-final *-ért* (e.g., *mi-ért* 'what-CAU'='what for, why'), terminative-ig (e.g., *öt órá-ig* 'five hour-TER'='until five o'clock'), essive *-ul/ül* (e.g., *hajó-ul* 'ship-ESS'='as ship'), and, following vowel-final adjectives, adverbial *-an/en* (e.g., *szomorú-an* 'sad-ADV'='sadly'), adjectival *-as/és* (e.g., *üzlet-i-es* 'business-ATTR-ADJDER'='businesslike'), and plural *-ak/ek* (e.g., *szomorú-ak* 'sad-PL').

Whether a basic or derived vowel sequence is pronounced with an intrusive /j/ or with hiatus is phonologically conditioned; in particular, it is a function of vowel quality. According to Nádasy and Siptár (1994), the following combinations are true vowel sequences:

- (49) *Low vowel+low vowel*
- |          |                  |   |
|----------|------------------|---|
| Root     | <i>ideális</i>   | 'ideal'   |
| Compound | <i>hazaenged</i> | 'let go home' ( <i>haza</i> 'home'+ <i>enged</i> 'let') |
| Prefix   | <i>be-ad</i>     | 'give in' ( <i>be</i> 'in'+ <i>ad</i> 'give')           |
| Suffix   | —                |   |
- (50) *Low vowel+rounded vowel*
- |          |                 |  |
|----------|-----------------|--|
| Root     | <i>fáraó</i>    | 'pharaoh'  |
| Compound | <i>kutyaól</i>  | 'dog-kennel' ( <i>kutya</i> 'dog'+ <i>ól</i> 'kennel') |
| Prefix   | <i>oda-ül</i>   | 'sit there' ( <i>oda</i> 'there'+ <i>ül</i> 'sit')     |
| Suffix   | <i>mintá-ul</i> | 'sample-ESS'   |
- (51) *Rounded vowel+low vowel*
- |          |                |  |
|----------|----------------|--|
| Root     | <i>oázis</i>   | 'oasis'  |
| Compound | <i>kapualj</i> | 'doorway' ( <i>kapu</i> 'door'+ <i>alj</i> 'bottom')       |
| Prefix   | <i>elő-áll</i> | 'step forward' ( <i>elő</i> 'forward'+ <i>áll</i> 'stand') |
| Suffix   | <i>hű-ek</i>   | 'loyal-PL'   |
- (52) *Rounded vowel+rounded vowel*
- |          |                   |  |
|----------|-------------------|--|
| Root     | <i>fluor</i>      | 'fluorine'   |
| Compound | <i>műút</i>       | 'highway' ( <i>mű</i> 'artificial'+ <i>út</i> 'road')                  |
| Prefix   | <i>elő-igr-ik</i> | 'jump forward' ( <i>elő</i> 'forward'+ <i>igr-ik</i> 'jump-INDEF.3SG') |
| Suffix   | <i>nő-ül</i>      | 'woman-ESS'  |

In addition, hiatus obtains between two identical vowels, with the exception of /i/ and /e:/ (see 3.2.3.3.1), e.g.,

- (53) *Identical vowels*
- |          |                 |  |
|----------|-----------------|--|
| Root     | <i>vákuum</i>   | 'vacuum'   |
| Compound | <i>faarc</i>    | 'wooden face' ( <i>fa</i> 'wood'+ <i>arc</i> 'face') |
| Prefix   | <i>alá-as</i>   | 'undermine' ( <i>alá</i> 'under'+ <i>as</i> 'dig')   |
| Suffix   | <i>hindu-ul</i> | 'Hindi-ESS'  |

## 3.2.3.3.1. Restrictions on sequences of vowels

Depending on the nature of the vowels involved, the hiatus between two vowels may be filled with the glide /j/, a somewhat weaker and shorter version of phonemic /j/. In the following contexts it is customary, though not mandatory, to have an intrusive /j/ (symbolized as '-[j]-') between adjacent vowels (Nádasdy and Siptár 1994):

(54)	i, í+ <i>mid vowel</i>	
Root	<i>di-[j]-éta</i>	'diet'
Compound	<i>éjjeli-[j]-őr</i>	'night-watchman' ( <i>éjjel-i</i> 'night-ATTR' + <i>őr</i> 'watchman')
Prefix	<i>ki-[j]-önt</i>	'pour out' ( <i>ki</i> 'out' + <i>önt</i> 'pour')
Suffix	<i>sí-[j]-ért</i>	'ski-CAU'
(55)	i, í+ <i>low vowel</i>	
Root	<i>pi-[j]-ac</i>	'market'
Compound	<i>napi[j]ár</i>	'market price' ( <i>nap-i</i> 'day-ATTR' + <i>ár</i> 'price')
Prefix	<i>ki-[j]-áll</i>	'stand out' ( <i>ki</i> 'out' + <i>áll</i> 'stand')
Suffix	<i>sí-[j]-el</i>	'ski-VBL'
(56)	<i>Mid vowel+i, í</i>	
Root	<i>ko-[j]-itusz</i>	'coitus'
Compound	<i>kutató-[j]-intézet</i>	'research institute' ( <i>kutat-ó</i> 'investigate-ADJDER' + <i>intéz-et</i> 'manage-NML')
Prefix	<i>elő-[j]-ír</i>	'prescribe' ( <i>elő-</i> 'pre' + <i>ír</i> 'write')
Suffix	<i>tető-[j]-i-m</i>	'roof-POSS.PL-POSS.1SG'
(57)	<i>Low vowel+i, í</i>	
Root	<i>la-[j]-ikus</i>	'layman'
Compound	<i>munka-[j]-idő</i>	'working hours' ( <i>munka</i> 'work' + <i>idő</i> 'time')
Prefix	<i>le-[j]-ír</i>	'write down' ( <i>le</i> 'down' + <i>ír</i> 'write')
Suffix	<i>iskola-[j]-i</i>	'school-ATTR'
(58)	<i>Rounded high vowel+unrounded high vowel</i>	
Root	<i>altru-[j]-izmus</i>	'altruism'
Compound	<i>mű-[j]-ipar</i>	'applied art' ( <i>mű</i> 'work' + <i>ipar</i> 'craft')
Prefix	–	
Suffix	<i>fű-[j]-ig</i>	'grass-TER'

(59) *Unrounded high vowel+rounded high vowel*

Root	<i>fi-[j]-ú</i>	'boy'
Compound	<i>sí-[j]-ugrás</i>	'skijump' ( <i>sí</i> 'ski'+ <i>ugr-ás</i> 'jump-NML')
Prefix	<i>ki-[j]-üt</i>	'hit out' ( <i>ki</i> 'out'+ <i>üt</i> 'hit')
Suffix	<i>rohanni-[j]-uk kell</i>	'they must hurry' ( <i>rohan-ni-uk</i> 'hurry-INF-POSS.3PL' + <i>kell</i> 'must')

In general, [j] appears between /i/ or /i:/ sequences and between /e:/ sequences: cf. for example *bicikli-[j]-ig* 'bicycle-TER', *ki-[j]-ír* 'transcribe' (*ki* 'out'+ *ír* 'write'), *feketé-[j]-ért* 'black-CAU', *elé-[j]-ér* 'reach in front' (*elé* 'in front'+ *ér* 'reach'). Also, mention should be made of the fact that sequences containing /e:/ and vowels other than /i/, /i:/, or /e:/ show a good deal of instability and variation as to whether they are broken up with [j] or are pronounced with hiatus.

### 3.2.4. Lexical structure vs. word structure

Since root morphemes occur independently as words, the allowed structures at the lexical level also hold at the word level. The converse, however, is not true: some structures are possible at the word level but not at the lexical level. For instance, at the word level affixation can bring about adjacent consonants that differ from the lexical level in terms of number and/or phonemic composition. Such differences are established in 3.2.2.2 for wordfinal clusters and in 3.2.2.3 for wordmedial clusters.

Other generalizations are valid for lexical structure but not for wordstructure. A case in point is the fact that, while lexical items do not end in /a:/, function words and affixes do; cf. 3.2.6.7. Likewise, in monosyllabic lexical categories, but not necessarily in derived words, only /e:/ and /a:/ can precede two consonants; cf. 3.2.6.2.

#### 3.2.5.1. Medial syllabification

In Hungarian, the syllabification of vowels as well as consonants at word edge positions is relatively straightforward. Each vowel constitutes a separate syllable peak (*nucleus*), except for the marginal cases of /əu/ sequences that are pronounced as the diphthong [əw] (see 3.1.2.3). As regards consonants, clusters at the beginning of words are syllable-initial (*onset*), those at the end of words are syllable-final (*coda*), disregarding theory-dependent analyses in which some consonant types and clusters may be appendices to syllables (Törkenczy 1994, among others). However, the syllabification of intervocalic consonants deserves closer scrutiny.

## 3.2.5.1.1. VCV syllabification

Following the universal pattern, in word-internal positions a single intervocalic consonant is gathered into the onset of the following syllable, rather than into the coda of the preceding syllable: VCV is syllabified as VC.V, where . symbolizes syllable boundary. This generalization holds true also across word-internal (suffix) boundaries. Thus for instance, in *nő-höz* 'woman-ALL' the suffix initial /h/ is not syllabified into coda position, while in *cseh-ek* 'Czech-PL' the stem final /h/ is syllabified into onset position: /nő:.höz/ but /čɛ.hɛk/.

In contrast, the syllabification of a single intervocalic consonant respects higher-level morphological junctures. In particular, onset syllabification is blocked both by internal word boundaries that separate compound constituents and prefixes, and by external word boundaries that mark word edges. Accordingly, in the compound *Csehszág* 'Czech Republic' (*cseh* 'Czech' + *ország* 'country') and the phrase *cseh anya* 'Czech mother' stem-final /h/ does not receive onset syllabification across compound and word boundaries; rather, it stays in coda position and undergoes deletion (see 3.4.4.1).

## 3.2.5.1.2. VCCV syllabification

Intervocalic consonant clusters are broken up under syllabification: VC.CV. In the case of geminate consonants, ambisyllabicity results: e.g., *tonna* 'ton' is syllabified as /ton.nɔ/. In fact, the second timing component of a prevocalic geminate always occupies the onset position of the following syllable. This holds true both word-internally and across word boundaries, as seen in the following examples:

(60)	/ɔs.soñ/	<i>asszony</i>	'woman'
	/mɛɫ.ɫɛk/	<i>meggy-ek</i>	'sour cherry-PL'
	/kɔr.rɔ/	<i>kar-ra</i>	'arm-SUB'
	/šɔk.ko:rɔ/	<i>sakkóra</i>	'chess clock' ( <i>sakk</i> 'chess' + <i>óra</i> 'clock')
	/kɛd.do:tɔ/	<i>kedd óta</i>	'since Tuesday' ( <i>kedd</i> 'Tuesday', <i>óta</i> 'since')

In nongeminate clusters, VC.CV is the only possible syllabification in case the cluster is illicit syllable-initially: e.g., /sa:n.ko:/ *szánkó* 'sled' (*nk* is a possible coda and an impossible onset), /sok.ñɔ/ *szoknya* 'skirt' (*kny* is impossible in both coda and onset positions). The same is observed across morpheme boundaries:

(61)	<i>Morphology</i>	<i>Syllabification</i>	<i>Example</i>	
	VCC+V	VC.CV	<i>könyv-ek</i>	'book-PL'
	VC+CV	VC.CV	<i>ház-ban</i>	'house-INE'
	V+CCV	VC.CV	<i>idő-nként</i>	'time-DIS'

Clusters are not resyllabified above the word level. Thus, in the compound *könyvüzlet* 'bookshop' (*könyv* 'book' + *üzlet* 'shop') and in the sentence *A könyv izgalmas* 'The book (is) exciting' the stem-final *nyv* cluster stays entirely within coda position. Similarly, in *blúz* 'blouse' the initial cluster stays in onset position even if a vowel-final word precedes: e.g., *fekete blúz* 'black blouse'.

On the other hand, for intramorphemic VCCV sequences V.CCV syllabification is possible as an alternative to VC.CV in case the cluster is admissible syllable-initially: e.g., /ɔ.pro:/ or /ɔp.ro:/ *apró* 'tiny', where /pr/ is a possible onset cluster (cf. *próba* 'test'). But, significantly, V.CCV syllabification is not possible in derived contexts, including suffixation. Thus for instance, *nap-ról* 'day-DEL' can only be syllabified as /nɔp.ro:l/.

### 3.2.5.1.3. VCCC(C)(C)V syllabification

The syllabification of intramorphemic VCCCV sequences follows four different paths. First, VCC.CV is the only solution in case CC is not a permissible onset: /pɔrt.nɛr/ *partner* 'partner' (no /tn/ onsets) is a relevant example. Second, VC.CCV is the only possibility if CC is not a permissible coda: e.g., /kon.flik.tuʃ/ *konfliktus* 'conflict' (no /nf/ codas). Third, VCC.CV alternates with VC.CCV in case the first CC-cluster is a possible coda and the second CC-cluster is a possible onset: e.g., /simp.lɔ/ or /sim.plɔ/ *szimpla* 'simple' (cf. *komp* 'ferry' and *pléh* 'tin'). And fourth, three possibilities exist if all three consonants are allowed in the onset: e.g., /oʃt.rom/, /oʃ.trom/, or /o.ʃtrom/ *ostrom* 'siege'. As with VCCV sequences, heteromorphemic VCCCV sequences can only yield a single consonant in onset position, even when a given cluster is permissible syllable-initially. Accordingly, *Budapest-re* 'Budapest-SUB' can only be syllabified as /bu.dɔ.pɛʃt.rɛ/, even though both /tr/ and /ʃtr/ are licit syllable-initial clusters (cf. *trombita* 'trumpet', *strand* 'beach').

The above patterns are valid as well for intervocalic clusters containing four or five consonants. Hence, while the stem *extrém* 'extreme' can be syllabified as /ɛkst.re:m/, as /ɛks.tre:m/, or as /ɛk.stre:m/, the suffixed form *szfinx-tól* 'sphinx-ABL' cannot have /st/ in the onset of the final syllable. Similarly, the final syllable of *angström* 'angstrom' can begin with /str/, /tr/, or just /r/.

The generalizations concerning intervocalic consonant syllabification may be summed up as follows.

- (i) At least one consonant must be in onset position,
- (ii) Onset clusters are allowed only intramorphemically and only if they are independently attested,
- (iii) Syllabification across morpheme boundaries is blocked, save that of a single consonant.
- (iv) Syllabification across word boundaries is blocked, except that of geminates.

## 3.2.5.2. Canonical syllables

Leaving aside theory-dependent analyses, Hungarian syllables may contain either a short vowel or a long vowel, zero to three consonants in syllable-initial position, and zero to three consonants in syllable-final position:

(C)(C)(C)V(V)(C)(C)(C). Of these, two types have restricted distribution. First, a syllable ending in a short vowel generally does not constitute an independent word. Exceptions to this generalization are limited to two nouns and to function words, grammatical categories, and interjections (cf. 3.2.3.1 and 3.2.6.7). Secondly, syllables ending in three consonants are either derived through suffixation or else occur in a small number of (historically foreign) words. Only the following types seem to occur:

## (62) CCC-final syllables

VCCC	<i>ejts-d</i> ( <i>jtsd</i> =[jɛ̃d])	'drop-IMP.DEF.2SG'
VVCCC	<i>érts-d</i> ( <i>rtsd</i> =[rɛ̃d])	'understand-IMP.DEF.2SG'
CVCCC	<i>kunsz</i>	'wizardry'
CVVCCC	<i>pénz-t</i>	'money-ACC'
CCVCCC	<i>szfinx</i>	'sphinx'

Syllables ending in more than three consonants are practically non-existent. The following two are likely to exhaust the list: *szfinx-t* 'sphinx-ACC', *angst.röm* 'angstrom'. Below, the remaining canonical syllable types are identified individually and instantiated in word-initial position.

## (63) V(V)-final syllables

V	<i>a</i>	'the'
VV	<i>ó</i>	'old'
CV	<i>ma</i>	'today'
CVV	<i>no</i>	'woman'
CCV	<i>pla.fon</i>	'ceiling'
CCVV	<i>zrí</i>	'chaos'
CCCV	<i>stra.pa</i>	'drudgery'
CCCVV	<i>strá.zsa</i>	'guard'

## (64) C-final syllables

VC	<i>öt</i>	'five'
VVC	<i>ég</i>	'burn'
CVC	<i>fal</i>	'wall'
CVVC	<i>rim</i>	'rhyme'
CCVC	<i>plety.ka</i>	'gossip'
CCVVC	<i>sróf</i>	'screw'
CCCVC	<i>struk.tú.ra</i>	'structure'
CCCVVC	<i>stráf</i>	'stripe'

*CC-find syllables*

VCC	<i>olt</i>	'extinguish'
VVCC	<i>ért</i>	'understand'
CVCC	<i>cseng</i>	'ring'
CVVCC	<i>ránt</i>	'yank'
CCVCC	<i>bronz</i>	'bronze'
CCVVCC	<i>spájz</i>	'pantry'
CCCVCC	<i>strand</i>	'beach'
CCCVVCC	<i>sztrájk</i>	'strike'

It should be borne in mind that syllable-initial and syllable-final consonant clusters are not restricted to word edge positions. Wordmedially, clusters occur in both monomorphemic words (cf. for example the variant syllabifications in *oszt.rák*, *osz.trák*, *o.sztrák* 'Austrian') and in polymorphemic words, in particular when a CV-initial syllable (in a suffix or series of suffixes) follows a cluster final morpheme (e.g., *bolt-ban* 'shop-INE', *csüng-t-ünk* 'hang-PAST-INDEF.1PL').

It may be pertinent at this point to establish that Hungarian places no restrictions on vocalic quality in canonical syllables. That is, all vowel phonemes occur in the allowed major syllable types, at least as far as the structure of the rhyme is concerned, as seen in the following wordinitial syllables (disregarding trilateral codas and variations in onset structure):

(66)

*CV syllables*

<i>bi.ka</i>	'bull'
<i>hü.lye</i>	'stupid'
<i>gye.rek</i>	'child'
<i>szo.veg</i>	'text'
<i>ku.tya</i>	'dog'
<i>szo.ba</i>	'room'
<i>ma.gyar</i>	'Hungarian'

(67)

*CVV syllables*

<i>sí</i>	'ski'
<i>tű</i>	'needle'
<i>lé</i>	'liquid'
<i>kő</i>	'stone'
<i>bú</i>	'sorrow'
<i>tó</i>	'lake'
<i>há.rom</i>	'three'

		<i>CVC syllables</i>	
		<i>hit</i>	'belief'
		<i>fül</i>	'ear'
		<i>megy</i>	'go'
		<i>köt</i>	'bind'
		<i>fut</i>	'run'
		<i>hoz</i>	'bring'
		<i>kap</i>	'receive'
(69)		<i>CVVC syllables</i>	
		<i>szín</i>	'color'
		<i>bűn</i>	'sin'
		<i>kép</i>	'picture'
		<i>tőr</i>	'dagger'
		<i>kút</i>	'well'
		<i>szól</i>	'say'
		<i>szám</i>	'number'
(70)		<i>CVCC syllables</i>	
		<i>tilt</i>	'forbid'
		<i>küld</i>	'send'
		<i>rend</i>	'order'
		<i>tölt</i>	'fill'
		<i>pult</i>	'counter'
		<i>rongy</i>	'rag'
		<i>rang</i>	'rank'
(71)		<i>CVVCC syllables</i>	
	<i>szín-t</i>	'color-ACC'	
	<i>hűl-t</i>	'cool-INDEF.PAST.3SG'	
	<i>férj</i>	'husband'	
	<i>szőr-t</i>	'hair-ACC'	
	<i>fúr-t</i>	'drill-INDEF.PAST.3SG'	
	<i>szór-t</i>	'sprinkle-INDEF.PAST.3SG'	
	<i>ránt</i>	'yank'	

The items chosen above reflect the phonotactic restrictions that monosyllabic lexical root morphemes do not end in a short vowel (cf. 3.2.6.7), that lexical roots do not end in /a:/ (cf. 3.2.3.1.1), and that monosyllabic root morphemes ending in VVCC contain only /e:/ or /a:/ (cf. 3.2.6.2).

#### 3.2.6.1. Onset-nucleus restrictions

Hungarian lacks any significant restrictions that hold exclusively between syllable-initial or word-initial units and following vowels.

3.2.6.2. *Nucleus-coda restrictions*

In syllable-final position, the clusters /mp/ and /mb/ can only be preceded by rounded vowels: e.g., *gomb* 'button', *komp* 'ferry', *tömb* 'block', *lump* 'carouser', *galamb* 'pigeon'. This is a tautosyllabic restriction: if the final consonant of /mp/ and /mb/ is gathered into the following syllable, then unrounded vowels can precede as well (cf. *em.ber* 'man', *lám.pa* 'lamp').

Another rhyme internal constraint applies to monosyllabic root morphemes that end in a long vowel followed by two consonants:

*In underived monosyllables ending in VVCC*

- (72) a. VV can only be /e:/ or /a:/  
b. CC cannot be geminate.

For example, *márt* 'dip', *péncz* 'money'. Five exceptions occur: *áll* 'stand', *váll* 'shoulder', *száll* 'fly', *épp* 'just', and *tósz* 'toast', although final /ll/ in these words is often pronounced as short (nongeminate). The above stated restrictions on VVCC-final monosyllabic root morphemes do not hold at the word level, in particular if the word contains affixes: in derived contexts /e:/ and /a:/ can be followed by geminate codas (e.g., *ás-s* 'dig-IMP.INDEF.2SG'), and the long vowel can be other than /e:/ or /a:/ (e.g., *nő-tt* 'grow-PAST.INDEF.3SG').

3.2.6.3. *Onset-coda and onset-onset restrictions*

Hungarian places no restrictions on either tautosyllabic onset-coda combinations or on the initial consonants of successive syllables.

3.2.6.4. *Nucleus-nucleus restrictions: Vowel harmony*

Undoubtedly, the best studied, most well-known and central aspect of Hungarian phonology is the process of vowel harmony, which places restrictions on the vowels of successive syllables. Detailed descriptions within various theoretical frameworks can be found in the works of Vago (1976, 1980), van der Hulst (1985), Kornai (1990), and Nádasy and Siptár (1994), among many others dealing with selected aspects of the system (see the references in the cited studies). To be sure, and more specifically, the term "vowel harmony" refers to a widespread, word level prohibition on the cooccurrence of back vowels and front vowels, affecting root vowels, affix vowels, and epenthetic vowels (3.2.6.4.1); there is, in addition, a much less general system that governs the rounding of short mid vowels (3.2.6.4.2).

## 3.2.6.4.1. Backness harmony

Within the domain of a simplex word, the generalities of backness harmony dictate that back vowels and rounded front vowels do not mix. Unrounded front vowels are neutral in the sense that they may freely cooccur with either back vowels or rounded front vowels. Accordingly, the vowel system of Hungarian may be classified into the following three sets:

*Vowel harmony sets*

- (73) a. Back harmonic vowels *u ú o ó a á* (back vowels)  
 b. Front harmonic vowels *ü ű ö ő* (front rounded vowels)  
 c. Neutral vowels *i í e é* (front unrounded vowels)

The cooccurrence restrictions of vowel harmony are evident in lexical (root) morphemes and are reinforced for suffixes in the form of active vowel alternations: suffixes containing harmonic vowels have both front vowel and back vowel variants. The choice is governed by the harmonic constitution of the root, as discussed below.

The basic phonotactic restrictions of vowel harmony are systematically violated by complex words, i.e., compounds and words containing preverbal elements: the constituents of these constructions define their own individual harmonic domains. Therefore, the fact that back vowels and front rounded vowels cooccur in cases like *könyvtár* 'library' (*könyv* 'book' + *tár* 'storage'), *százöt* 'one hundred and five' (*száz* 'one hundred' + *öt* 'five'), *átüt* 'hit over' (*át* 'over' + *üt* 'hit'), and *föláll* 'stand up' (*föl* 'up' + *áll* 'stand') is perfectly expected. So is the fact that suffixes harmonize to the last morphological component: cf. *könyvtár-ban* 'library-INE', *százöt-ben* 'one hundred and five-INE', *átüt-ök* 'hit over-INDEF.1SG', *föláll-ok* 'stand up-INDEF.1SG'.

**3.2.6.4.1.1. Front vowel roots** Front vowel roots contain either only front harmonic vowels or front harmonic vowels together with neutral vowels, in any order. Such roots govern front harmony in suffixes: e.g., *tükör-nek* 'mirror-DAT', *kövér-nek* 'fat-DAT', *fenyő-nek* 'fir tree-DAT'.

**3.2.6.4.1.2. Back vowel roots** Back vowel roots contain back vowels exclusively and select back harmonic suffixes: e.g., *szamár-nak* 'donkey-DAT'.

**3.2.6.4.1.3. Mixed vowel roots** Mixed vowel roots contain back vowels and neutral vowels, in any order. If the last syllable contains a back vowel, then the root determines back harmony for suffixes: e.g., *csinos-nak* 'pretty-DAT', *stílus-nak* 'style-DAT', *betyár-nak* 'scamp-DAT', *béká-nak* 'frog-DAT'.

If the last syllable contains a neutral vowel, then three different harmonizing patterns can be identified: back harmonic, front harmonic, and vacillating.

Back harmonic mixed vowel roots take back vowel suffixes: e.g., *forintnak* 'forint-DAT (Hungarian currency)', *radírnak* 'eraser-DAT', *haver-nak* 'pal-DAT', *tányér-nak* 'plate-DAT'. These roots illustrate the transparency of neutral vowels: they do not undergo alternation, yet allow the backness value of a preceding vowel to pass through to a following harmonic vowel. It should be mentioned that very few mixed vowel roots ending in *e* are back harmonic. Front harmonic mixed vowel roots take front vowel suffixes. They either contain an *e* in the final syllable, or else they contain any neutral vowel in the penultimate syllable and *e* or *é* in the final syllable: e.g., *Józsefnek* 'Joseph-DAT', *operett-nek* 'operetta-DAT', *oxigén-nek* 'oxygen-DAT'.

Vacillating mixed vowel roots allow both back harmonic and front harmonic suffixes, which are in free variation. Most roots with a back vowel in the penultimate syllable and *e* in the final syllable exhibit this behavior: e.g., *Ágnes-nek/Ágnes-nak* 'Ágnes-DAT'. Other roots that pattern similarly contain a back vowel in the penultimate syllable and *é* in the final syllable, or contain any neutral vowel in the penultimate syllable and *i* or *í* in the final syllable: e.g., *affér-nek/affér-nak* 'affair-DAT', *analízis-nek/analízis-nak* 'analysis-DAT', *progresszív-nek/progresszív-nak* 'progressive-DAT'.

The harmonizing behavior of mixed vowel roots ending in a neutral vowel is unquestionably the most complicated aspect of the entire vowel harmony system. The above descriptions lay out the most general patterns, but it should be understood that individual lexical items are subject to a fair amount of variation as concerns suffix harmony. This is not unexpected, in the light of the fact that factors other than pure phonological conditioning are at play. In other words, it is not possible to explain by phonological means alone why, for instance, *haver* 'pal' should be back harmonic, *kódex* 'codex' front harmonic, and *hotel* 'hotel' vacillating.

**3.2.6.4.1.4. Neutral vowel roots** Neutral vowel roots contain only neutral vowels. In the great majority of the cases, suffixes are front harmonic, as expected (neutral vowels are front): e.g., *kicsi-nek* 'small-DAT', *víz-nek* 'water-DAT', *tenger-nek* 'sea-DAT', *férj-nek* 'husband'. Exceptionally, some sixty or so neutral vowel roots are back harmonic; cf. Vago (1980:8–12) for discussion. On the whole, this is a closed, historically old, unproductive set, nearly all containing monosyllabic roots with *i* or *í*, a few with *é*: e.g., *függöny-nek* 'curtain-DAT', *híd-nek* 'bridge-DAT', *cél-nek* 'aim-DAT'.

**3.2.6.4.1.5. Disharmonic roots** In exceptional cases, mostly in unassimilated loanwords, back vowels and front rounded vowels are

found tautomorphemically. Although these words do not follow the general patterns of root harmony, they are regular with respect to suffix harmony in that it is the last harmonic vowel that determines the harmony of suffixes: e.g., *kosztüm-nek* 'costume-DAT', *büro-nak* 'bureau-DAT'.

**3.2.6.4.1.6. Suffix harmony** The complete set of suffix vowel alternations are as follows:

*Suffix vowel alternations*

(74)	a.	u/ü	<i>bolt-unk</i> <i>könyv-ünk</i>	'shop-POSS.1PL' 'book-POSS.1PL'
	b.	ú/ű	<i>láb-ú</i> <i>fej-ű</i>	'leg-ADJDER' 'head-ADJDER'
	c.	o/ö/e	<i>bolt-hoz</i> <i>könyv-höz</i> <i>fej-hez</i>	'shop-ALL' 'book-ALL' 'head-ALL'
	d.	ó/ő	<i>bolt-tól</i> <i>könyv-től</i>	'shop-ABL' 'book-ABL'
	e.	a/e	<i>bolt-nak</i> <i>könyv-nek</i>	'shop-DAT' 'book-DAT'
	f.	á/é	<i>bolt-nál</i> <i>könyv-nél</i>	'shop-ADE' 'book-ADE'

The three-way alternation of *o/ö/e* shows the effects of both backness harmony (*o* vs. *ö/e*) and roundness harmony (*ö* vs. *e*).

Suffix harmony is iterative and unbounded, in that backness propagates from the root outward to the end of words, through any number of suffixes containing harmonic vowels: cf. *ad-omány-om-nak* 'to my gift' ('give-NML-POSS.1SG-DAT') vs. *nyer-emény-em-nek* 'to my prize' ('win-NML-POSS.1SG-DAT') by the way of example. Some suffixes are invariable: they have the same harmonic shapes in both front harmonic and back harmonic domains. Nonalternating suffixes fall into four categories—cf. Vago (1980:15–18) and Nádasy and Siptár (1994:97–98) for details and discussion:

*Invariable suffixes*

- (75) a. Suffixes containing *i* or *í* (e.g., infinitive *-ni*: *üt-ni* 'to hit', *hoz-ni* 'to bring')
- b. Suffixes containing *é* (e.g., causal *-ért*: *mi-ért* 'for what', *az-ért* 'for that')

- c. Suffixes containing back vowels (e.g., temporal *-kor*: *nyolc-kor* 'at eight (o'clock)', *öt-kor* 'at five (o'clock)')
- d. Suffixes containing *i* or *í* followed by a back vowel (e.g., agentive *-ista*: *csell-ista* 'cellist', *szlav-ista* 'Slavicist').

The vowels *i*, *í*, *e*, and *é* are characterized as neutral from the point of view of root harmony: they cooccur with both front harmonic and back harmonic vowels. In invariable suffixes, *i*, *í*, and *é* exhibit transparency effects in that they allow harmony to pass through to a following harmonic vowel: cf. for example *kutyá-i-val* 'with his dogs' ('dog-POSS.PL-INS'), *cipő-i-vel* 'with his shoes' ('shoe-POSS.PL-INS'). In fact, in suffixes the vowels *i* and *í* never alternate harmonically, since Hungarian lacks back counterparts to these phonetically front vowels. In contrast, *e* always alternates (with *a* or *o/ö*) in suffixes. As regards *é*, it may occur in suffixes as invariable or as the front harmonic variant of *á*.

To be sure, the neutral/transparent classification of *e* is not as well-established as that of *i*, *í*, and *é*. On the one hand, *e* cooccurs with back vowels and exhibits transparency effects in roots, on a par with the other three unrounded front vowels. But mitigating factors that set *e* apart are the following:

- (a) There are no invariant suffixes with *e*.
- (b) There are no back harmonic neutral vowel roots with *e*.
- (c) Mixed vowel roots containing *e* in the final syllable are especially unstable with respect to selecting the harmonic classes of suffixes.

The back vowels which fail to undergo harmonic alternations in suffixes may be considered exceptional. These vowels display the effects of opacity: they arrest the rightward iteration of backness harmony and define their own harmonic domains instead. Accordingly, a following harmonic vowel is invariably back: cf. for example the shape of dative *-nak/nek* in *csell-istá-nak* 'to (the) cellist'.

#### 3.2.6.4.2. Roundness harmony

Suffixes with short mid vowels have three shapes, as seen with the allative case suffix:

##### *Short mid vowel harmony*

- (76) a. *o* in back harmony contexts:  
*kulcs-hoz* 'key-ALL', *út-hoz* 'road-ALL', *bor-hoz* 'wine-ALL', *góc*  
*hoz* 'focus-ALL', *fal-hoz* 'wall-ALL', *szám-hoz* 'number-ALL';  
*híd-hoz* 'bridge-ALL', *tányér-hoz* 'plate-ALL'

- b. *ö* in front harmony contexts, after rounded vowels:  
*föld-höz* 'earth-ALL', *bőr-höz* 'skin-ALL', *füst-höz* 'smoke-ALL',  
*tűz-höz* 'fire-ALL'
- c. *e* in front harmony contexts, after unrounded vowels:  
*ing-hez* 'shirt-ALL', *víz-hez* 'water-ALL', *szem-hez* 'eye-ALL',  
*kés-hez* 'knife-ALL'

The choice between *o* and *ö/e* is determined under backness harmony; the difference between *ö* and *e* is due to roundness harmony. The latter, in effect, prohibits the vowel *ö* from immediately following an unrounded front vowel. (The vowel *e* can follow front rounded vowels as the front counterpart of low /ɔ/: e.g., *könyv-ünk-et* 'book-POSS.1PL-ACC', *arc-unkat* 'face-POSS.1PL-ACC'.) Both root and suffix morphemes obey this restriction, save for the agentive suffix *-nok/nök*, which lacks the expected third variant:

- (77) a. *-nok*  
*gond* 'care' *gond-nok* 'caretaker'  
*parancs* 'command' *parancs-nok* 'commander'
- b. *-nök*  
*ügy* 'matter' *ügy-nök* 'agent'  
*fő* 'head' *fő-nök* 'boss'  
*hír* 'message' *hír-nök* 'messenger'  
*mér* 'measure' *mér-nök* 'engineer'

As in the case of backness harmony, roundness harmony is inapplicable across the constituents of complex words. Hence, words like *bejön* 'come in' (*be* 'in'+*jön* 'come') and *szívgörcs* 'heart attack' (*szív* 'heart'+*görcs* 'spasm') are well-formed.

Roundness harmony operates between strictly adjacent syllables, with no transparencies allowed: cf. *szem-ünk-höz* 'eye-POSS.1PL-ALL', *fül-em-hez* 'ear-POSS.1SG-ALL'. It is also unbounded: e.g., *kar-od-hoz* 'arm-POSS.2SG-ALL', *bőr-öd-höz* 'skin-POSS.2SG-ALL', *szem-ed-hez* 'eye-POSS.2SG-ALL'.

#### 3.2.6.6. Other restrictions

Monosyllabic root morphemes that begin with more than one consonant and contain a short vowel obey the following constraints on syllable-final consonants:

- (78) a. *In monosyllabic (C)CCVC(C) root morphemes*  
 a final single consonant can only be a voiced obstruent  
 b. a final geminate consonant cannot be a voiced obstruent.

The above constraints hold only for monosyllables that both begin with more than one consonant and contain a short vowel; hence, roots such as *bot* 'stick', *meggy* 'sour cherry' (CV-initial), and *drót* 'wire' (CCVV-initial) are well-formed. The following (historically foreign) roots are exceptions: *kvasz* 'kvas', *prof* 'prof(essor)', and *klub* [klubb] (variant of standard [klu:b]) 'club'.

### 3.2.6.7. Wordclass restrictions

With very few exceptions, in monosyllabic underived major lexical categories wordfinal vowels cannot be short. Function words, closed grammatical categories, interjections, and letters of the alphabet constitute exceptions. The following is a reliably exhaustive list, disregarding names of letters (Nádasdy and Siptár 1994, Törkenczy 1994):

- (79) *Wordfinal short vowels in monosyllabic nonmajor categories*  
 /i/ *ki* 'who', *ki* 'out', *mi* 'we', *mi* 'what', *ti* 'you.PL', *ni* 'lo'  
 /o/ *no(no)* 'well (well)'  
 /ɛ/ *be* 'into', *de* 'but', *he* 'huh', *le* 'down', *ne* 'not', *se* 'neither',  
*te* 'you.SG'  
 /ɔ/ *ha* 'if', *ja* 'oh', *na* 'well?'

Similarly, in 3.2.3.1.1 mention was made of the fact that, with hardly any exceptions, underived major lexical categories do not end in /a:/. However, wordfinal /a:/ is found freely in interjections, function words, names of letters, and affixes (e.g., *hurrá* 'hooray', *ad-ná* 'give-CON.DEF.3SG').

## 3.3. SUPRASEGMENTALS

### 3.3.1. Length

Length is distinctive for both vowels and consonants. The fourteen vowel phonemes listed in 3.1.2.2.1 split into two sets of seven short and seven long, each short vowel having a long opposition. All of the consonant phonemes occur both short and geminate, save /dz/ and /j/ (see 3.3.1.7), nearly all in basic as well as in derived contexts. For these, minimal or near minimal pairs will be listed using underived contexts whenever possible, keeping in mind that exact minimal pairs are not that common. In this way the distinctiveness of consonantal length will be established.

## 3.3.1.1. Vowels

The distinctive nature of vowel length can be established by minimal pairs such as the following:

(80)	Short		Long	
	/i/ irt	'exterminate'	/i:/ ír-t	'write-PAST'
	/y/ üröm	'wormwood'	/y:/ úr-öm	'vacuum-POSS.1SG'
	/u/ szur-ok	'tar'	/u:/ szúr-ok	'stab-INDEF.1SG'
	/ɛ/ vesz	'take'	/e:/ vész	'plague'
	/ø/ tör	'break'	/ø:/ tőr	'dagger'
	/o/ kor	'age'	/o:/ kór	'disease'
	/ɨ/ hat	'six'	/a:/ hát	'back'

In the case of the high vowels /i i: y y: u u:/, the durational differences are accompanied by negligible qualitative differences; the long vowels have slightly higher articulations than their short counterparts. The same is true for the rounded mid vowels /ø ø: o o:/, although here the height difference is somewhat greater. With respect to the /ɛ e:/ pair, /ɛ/ is low while /e:/ is mid. The low vowels /ɔ/ and /a / are the least alike: /ɔ/ is rounded, back, and is less open (i.e., higher) than the unrounded, central /a:/. Notwithstanding the qualitative differences, if any, the seven short/ long vowel pairs pattern exactly the same way with respect to morphophonological alternations in length; see 3.4.1.3. Finally, mention should be made of the fact that in low level (postlexical) lengthening processes /ɛ/ and /ɔ/ have the nondistinctive long reflexes [ɛ:] and [ɔ:], respectively; see 3.4.4.1.

## 3.3.1.3. Glides

(81)	/j/	lebuj	'dive (place)'	ujj	'finger'
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## 3.3.1.4. Liquids

(82)	/l/	hal	'die'	hall	'hear'
	/r/	bor	'wine'	orr	'nose'

## 3.3.1.5. Nasals

(83)	/m/	program	'program'	gramm	'gram'
	/n/	len	'flax'	lenn	'below'
	/ɲ/	meny	'daughter-in-law'	menny	'heaven'

## 3.3.1.6. Fricatives

(84)	/f/	<i>döf</i>	'stab'	<i>blöff</i>	'bluff'
	/s/	<i>kasza</i>	'scythe'	<i>kassza</i>	'cash register'
	/š/	<i>mókus</i>	'squirrel'	<i>kuss</i>	'shut up!'
	/z/	<i>rezeg</i>	'vibrate'	<i>bezzeg</i>	'to be sure'

Geminate /v/ and /ž/ occur only in derived contexts. For example:

(85)	/v/	<i>szaval</i>	'recite'	<i>av-val</i>	'that-INS'
	/ž/	<i>mázsa</i>	'weighing machine'	<i>varázssal</i>	'magic.INS'

Short and geminate /h/ also contrast with each other, although not in a straightforward manner. Stem-final /h/ is deleted if it is gathered into the coda of a syllable (see 3.4.4.1). Thus, even though the stem *cseh* 'Czech' is pronounced without /h/ as [čɛ], phonologically it has a final /h/ since this consonant shows up in the onset of a following syllable: e.g., *cseh-ünk* [čɛhɯŋk] 'Czech-POSS.1PL'. Short /h/ as in /čɛh/ contrasts with geminate /h/ in *pech*=/pɛhh/= [pɛçç] 'bad luck', where /h/ exceptionally resists deletion and survives as [ç]; for the [ç] allophone of /h/, see 3.1.2.1.2.

## 3.3.1.7. Stops and affricates

(86)	/p/	<i>ép</i>	'intact'	<i>épp</i>	'just'
	/t/	<i>bot</i>	'stick'	<i>ott</i>	'there'
	/c/	<i>kátyú</i>	'pothole'	<i>hattyú</i>	'swan'
	/k/	<i>sok</i>	'many'	<i>sokk</i>	'shock'
	/ts/	<i>lazac</i>	'salmon'	<i>zacc</i>	'coffee grounds'
	/č/	<i>papucs</i>	'slipper'	<i>puccs</i>	'putsch'
	/b/	<i>köb</i>	'cube'	<i>több</i>	'more'
	/d/	<i>reked</i>	'get stuck'	<i>kedd</i>	'Tuesday'
	/ʌ/	<i>megy</i>	'go'	<i>meggy</i>	'sour cherry'
	/g/	<i>mag</i>	'seed'	<i>agg</i>	'aged'

Length is not contrastive for the affricates /dz/ and /ʃ/. In underived words, phonemic /dz/ (that is, when it does not arise as a result of morphophonemic alternation) has the following distribution: it does not occur wordinitially and adjacent to consonants, while wordfinally and intervocalically it is always long. This skewed distribution, among other things, leads Siptár (1994) to suggest that /dz/ has no phonemic status; rather, it is derived from the sequence /d+/z/ via an independently justified affrication process (see 3.4.3).

As far as /ʃ/ is concerned, its length is predictable: wordinitially and adjacent to consonants it is short; intervocalically and wordfinally it is long. Examples are provided below.

- (87) dzs=[j] dzs=[j̃]  
 dzsem 'jam' menedzser 'manager'  
 findzsa 'teacup' bridzs 'bridge (game)'

### 3.3.2.1. Stress

Stress does not play a significant role in the word level phonology of Hungarian. For one thing, its occurrence within words is predictable (see 3.3.2.4). For another, it does not interact with the segmental phonology of the language in any important way (see, however, Vogel and Kenesei 1987). For the role of stress at the phrasal and higher levels of structure, see sections 1.11–1.14, Fónagy and Magdics (1967), Szende (1976), Hetzron (1992), and Kálmán and Nádasdy (1994), among others. The present description of word internal stress is based on and examples are taken from Kálmán and Nádasdy (1994). Primary stressed vowels are boldfaced.

### 3.3.2.2. Phonetic correlates of stress

Increased levels of intensity and/or pitch are the two most significant factors in the phonetic realization of stress. In general, stressed syllables exhibit the effects of both. For example:

- (88) szombat-on  
 Saturday-SUP  
 'on Saturday'  
 (o=stressed, raised pitch, raised intensity)

Under certain circumstances, as in the case of the interrogative construction below, stress is interpreted in terms of an increase in loudness, but not in pitch:

- (89) szombat-on?  
 'on Saturday?'  
 (o=stressed, raised intensity; a=unstressed raised pitch)

In other situations, the stressed syllables of words may exhibit an increase in pitch level, but not in intensity.

### 3.3.2.3. Levels of stress

Hungarian words normally contain one primary stressed vowel; other vowels, if any, are unstressed. This basic generalization is violated under two well-defined conditions. The first one concerns function words, which are systematic exceptions—they lack stress. Observe for example the article *az* 'the' and the conjunction *vagy* 'or' in the following phrases:

- (90) a. az **úr**  
 the gentleman  
 'the gentleman'  
 b. **Május** vagy **június** **elsejé-n** **nyit-unk**.  
 May or June first-SUP open-INDEF.1PL  
 'We (will) open on May 1st or June 1st.'

The second condition actually is comprised of a number of distinct processes, but they all have in common the fact that they are syntactic constructions where higher level stress rules operate to override the otherwise straightforward patterns of lexical stress. Most importantly, a slew of syntactic structures define a prosodic domain within which the first (primary) stressed word causes destressing in the following words; see Kálmán and Nádasy (1994) for detailed descriptions. Emphatic stress (see 3.3.4.3) and contrastive stress (see 3.3.4.4) exhibit this pattern.

Instead of complete destressing, a primary stress may optionally be reduced to secondary stress (indicated with italics).

- (91) a. Az **úr** *jö*-tt.  
 the gentleman come-PAST  
 'The gentleman came.'  
 b. *Jö*-tt az **úr**/*Jö*-tt az **úr**.  
 'The gentleman came.'

In the first case, the NP VP sequence evidences the expected stress pattern. In the second case, the VP requires destressing in the following NP; an acceptable alternative is weakening the primary stress to secondary stress. The phonetic correlates of secondary stress are the same as those of primary stress (see 3.3.2.2); the difference is relative degree. It should be emphasized that secondary stress is derived by stress rules that operate above the word level; in particular, secondary stress does not cooccur with primary stress within words.

Still other constructions allow free variation with respect to the presence vs. absence of primary stress—cf. the stress pattern of *előtt* in the following sentence:

- (92) A ház **előtt** talál-t-am/A ház *előtt* talál-t-am.  
 the house in front find-PAST-DEF.1SG  
 'I found (him/her/it/them) in front of the house.'

Mention should also be made of the fact that in the context of sentences, the relative pitch levels of successive primary stresses (each of which defines its own tone group domain) may be subject to downdrift or updrift; see Varga (1985, 1994) and Hetzron 1992).

3.3.2.4. *Position of stress*

Stress predictably falls on the first syllable; see the examples in 3.3.2.3 above. There are only two exceptional circumstances when stress may be placed on a noninitial syllable. One is the case of rhythmic stress, whereby (under strong emotive content) primary stress falls on every odd syllable in the sentence. Thus, in the following case of rhythmic stress two of the words have stress on the second syllable:

- (93) **Jaj** **is**ten-em, **mi**-t csin**ál**-j-ak?  
 oh God-POSS.1SG what-ACC do-IMP-INDEF.1SG  
 'Oh my God, what should I do?'

The other context for noninitial primary stress is provided by contrastive stress. One such case is when noninitial morphemes are contrasted, as in the following example (Szende 1976, Varga 1985).

- (94) Nem London-**ból**, London-**ba**  
 not London-ABL London-ILL  
 'Not **from** London, (but) **to** London'

Another situation when noninitial syllables may receive primary stress obtains when the contrasted item is not expressed explicitly. By way of example, consider the following question:

- (95) Az öccs-e katona volt?  
 the younger brother-POSS.3SG soldier was  
 'Was his younger brother a soldier?'

Now, if the respondent wishes to convey the message that the younger brother not only was, but still is, a soldier, the present tense copula *van* 'is' would be expected to be expressed, with contrastive stress, in comparison to the past tense copula *volt* 'was'. However, the syntax of Hungarian precludes *van* from occurring in the sentence. To compensate, the syllable immediately preceding the missing element receives the contrastive primary stress:

- (96) Nem, katona **van** → Nem, katona  
 no, soldier is no, soldier

'No, he **is** a soldier'

## 3.3.4.1. Major intonation patterns

The present characterization and exemplification of some of the salient aspects of intonation in Hungarian are based on the thorough study of Varga (1994); further details and references can be found in that work.

## 3.3.4.1.1. Steady patterns

Steady intonational patterns have an implicational function: they point to independent phrases whose identity can be inferred from the syntactic or situational context. Broken questions are good cases in point. If someone pays a visit to Aunt Angela's house and someone else answers the door, it is not necessary to ask the question "Is Aunt Angela here?" Rather, the truncated or broken question "Aunt Angela?" suffices to impart an answer that will establish the whereabouts of Aunt Angela. In Hungarian, such questions must have steady intonational melodies. Three classes are distinguished:

(97)	<i>Ascending</i> An	gé	la	né	ni?
				x	x
		x	x		
(98)	<b>x</b> <i>Descending</i> An	gé	la	né	ni?
	<b>x</b>	x	x	x	
					x
(99)	<i>Level (high)</i> An	gé	la	né	ni?
	<b>x</b>	x	x	x	x

Intonational figures like those above contain information about the relative pitch levels of vowels within the intonational tone group; (primary) stressed vowels are represented with boldfaced **x**, unstressed vowels with x. Ascending melodies are associated with high emotive content, such as a sense of excitement or tension; descending melodies with a sense of “business as usual”, i.e., expected, or natural; high melodies are neutral with respect to these meanings. Thus for instance, the truncated question *Angela néni (itt van)?* ‘(Is) Aunt Angela (here)?’ receives an ascending intonational pattern if it is asked upon being greeted at Aunt Angela’s home by a physician, whose presence was not expected (surprise/ excitement). On the other hand, the same question has descending intonational pattern if the physician’s presence is expected or customary (routine). A steadily high level intonational pattern is employed if neither interpretation obtains (neutral).

3.3.4.1.2. Falling-Initial Breaking Patterns

Declarative sentences, imperatives, *wh*-questions (containing interrogative pronouns), and exclamations generally exhibit an intonational pattern in which the high pitch of the stressed initial syllable falls off. Three distinct categories are countenanced:

(100)	<i>Falling-descending</i>				
	An	gé	la	né	ni.
	<b>x</b>	x	x	x	x
(101)	<i>Falling-ascending</i>				
	An	gé	la	né	ni.
	<b>x</b>		x	x	x
		x			

*Falling-level (low)*

An	gé	la	né	ni.
<b>x</b>				
	x	x	x	x

Melodies with initial falling contours signify self-contained, relatively independent semantic units. The falling-descending pattern indicates completion of the message, that no further communication is necessary or expected. Thus, the phrase *Angéla néni* as a simple statement to a question inquiring as to the identity of the babysitter would carry falling-descending intonation. Falling-ascending melodies, on the other hand, convey some kind of conflict with the situational context or previous assumptions. For example, *Angéla néni* with falling-ascending melody as an answer to the question *Ki fog a gyerekekre vigyázni?* 'Who is going to babysit for the children?' would generally be followed by a phrase like *de csak nyolc óráig* 'but only until eight o'clock'. Falling-low level melodies have neither of these characteristics: they allow for possible further comment, though not of a conflicting kind.

#### 3.3.4.1.3. Falling-Final Breaking Patterns

Most types of interrogatives other than *wh*-questions—such as yes-no questions, echo-questions, and repetitive questions—exhibit a sharp drop in pitch between the penultimate and ultimate syllables. Again, three types are differentiated:

(103)

<i>Ascending-falling</i>				
An	gé	la	né	ni?
			x	
	x	x		
<b>x</b>				
				x

*Descending-Falling*  
 An gé la né ni?!  
 x x x x x

(105)

*Level (high)-falling*  
 An gé la né ni?  
 x x x x x

Although grammatically all three falling-final patterns function as questions that require a choice in the response, only the ascending-falling type is used as a true question, i.e., as eliciting information—to be sure, it is the pattern of yes-no questions. The descending-falling contour is used for exclamatory questions in response to information that is in strong contrast to the speaker's expectations or experience. Finally, the level-falling melody has the nuance of mild surprise.

3.3.4.2. *Intonation peak*

Leaving aside intonational patterns that have special characteristics, such as emotive, emphatic, or contrastive intent, the intonational peak in Hungarian falls on either the initial syllable or on the penultimate syllable. The majority of sentence-types, e.g., in declaratives, imperatives, exclamations, *wh*-questions, have intonational peaks localized on the initial syllable of the prosodic domain; cf. the patterns in 3.3.4.1.2. Yes-no questions, on the other hand, have their intonational peaks on the penultimate syllable of the prosodic domain; cf. the ascending-falling pattern in 3.3.4.1.3.

3.3.4.3. *Emphasis*

Emphatic intonational/stress patterns have two major characteristics: (a) the stressed initial syllable of the emphasized element, which must be in focus position, receives high pitch; and (b) primary stress is suppressed for the words that follow within the phrase. There is thus a sharp fall in pitch following emphatic focus. Compare for instance the following two structures:

- (106) a. *Nonemphatic*  
 Kati fel-hoz-t-a a szen-et.  
 Cathy up-bring-PAST-DEF.3SG the coal-ACC  
 'Cathy brought up the coal.'
- (106) b. *Emphatic focus (=verb)*  
 Felhozta Kati a szenet  
 'Cathy brought up the coal.'

#### 3.3.4.4. Contrast

Contrastive stress has the same traits as emphasis/focus: falling intonation is ensured by placing higher pitch on the stressed syllable of the contrasted element, which also has to be in focus position, and stress is eradicated to the right. For example,

- (107) *Contrastive focus (=subject)*  
 Kati hozta fel a szenet.  
 'It is **Cathy** who brought up the coal.'

In both emphatic and Contrastive patterns, the stressed, high-pitched vowel in focus position is not necessarily realized in terms of extra loudness; rather, it is the loss of stress in the following words which signals contrast. Since the contrasted element must be in focus position, and since there is only one such position within a simple sentence, it follows that only one element can be contrastively stressed per simple sentence.

#### 3.3.4.5. Minor variations

Of the major intonational patterns described in 3.3.4.1, three have slightly different alternatives. Each of these variants preserves the basic make-up of the melodies, with no semantic or syntactic relevance.

- (108) *Ascending* (cf. 3.3.4.1.1)
- |       |    |    |    |    |    |     |
|-------|----|----|----|----|----|-----|
| (108) | a. | An | gé | la | né | ni? |
|       |    | x  | x  | x  | x  | x   |

b.	An	gé x	la x	né x	ni? x
(109)	<b>x</b> An <b>x</b>	<i>Falling-ascending</i> (cf. 3.3.4.1.2) gé	la	né	ni? x
(110)		<sup>x</sup> <i>Ascending-falling</i> (cf. 3.3.4.1.3)	x	x	
(110)	a.	An	gé	la	né x
		<b>x</b>	x	x	ni? x
b.	An	gé x	la x	né x	ni? x
	<b>x</b>				x

### 3.4. MORPHOPHONOLOGY(SEGMENTAL)

#### 3.4.1.1. Assimilation

Hungarian has a rich variety of assimilation phenomena affecting contiguous consonants. Some apply to individual sounds only, others to classes of sounds. The major assimilation processes are laid out in that order. Except for /v/-assimilation (see 3.4.1.1.1), /z/-assimilation (see 3.4.1.1.2), and /t/-palatalization (see 3.4.1.1.5), all are productive in the sense that they apply to loanwords and are not restricted to or are conditioned by specific morphemes; rather, their application is governed strictly by phonological information. Not treated here systematically are fast speech phenomena; for discussion, see Ács and Siptár (1994).

## 3.4.1.1.1. /v/-assimilation

The instrumental and translative case suffixes begin with the consonant /v/ if a vowel precedes: e.g., *nő-vel* 'woman-INS', *őn-vé* 'woman-TRA'. However, the initial consonant of these suffixes fully assimilates to a preceding consonant, as the examples below demonstrate.

(111)

		<i>Instrumental</i>	<i>Translative</i>
<i>kalap</i>	'hat'	<i>kalap-pal</i>	<i>kalap-pá</i>
<i>rab</i>	'prisoner'	<i>rab-bal</i>	<i>rab-bá</i>
<i>kert</i>	'garden'	<i>kert-tel</i>	<i>kert-té</i>
<i>család</i>	'family'	<i>család-dal</i>	<i>család-dá</i>
<i>ponty</i>	'carp'	<i>ponty-tyal</i>	<i>ponty-tyá</i> (tyty=[cc])
<i>ágy</i>	'bed'	<i>ágy-gyal</i>	<i>ágy-gyá</i> (gygy=[ɰ])
<i>szűk</i>	'tight'	<i>szűk-ke</i>	<i>szűk-ké</i>
<i>ég</i>	'sky'	<i>ég-gel</i>	<i>ég-gé</i>
<i>gróf</i>	'count'	<i>gróf-fal</i>	<i>gróf-fá</i>
<i>öv</i>	'belt'	<i>öv-vel</i>	<i>öv-vé</i>
<i>orosz</i>	'Russian'	<i>orosz-szal</i>	<i>orosz-szá</i> (szsz=[ss])
<i>gríz</i>	'grits'	<i>gríz-zel</i>	<i>gríz-zé</i>
<i>piros</i>	'red'	<i>piros-sal</i>	<i>piros-sá</i>
<i>darázs</i>	'wasp'	<i>darázs-zsal</i>	<i>darázs-zsá</i> (zszs=[žž])
<i>sah</i>	'shah'	<i>sah-hal</i>	<i>sah-há</i>
<i>ketrec</i>	'cage'	<i>ketrec-cel</i>	<i>ketrec-cé</i>
<i>narancs</i>	'orange'	<i>narancs-csal</i>	<i>narancs-csá</i> (cscs=[čč])
<i>öröm</i>	'joy'	<i>öröm-mel</i>	<i>öröm-mé</i>
<i>szén</i>	'coal'	<i>szén-nel</i>	<i>szén-né</i>
<i>arany</i>	'gold'	<i>arany-nyal</i>	<i>arany-nyá</i> (nyny=[ññ])
<i>fél</i>	'half'	<i>fél-lel</i>	<i>fél-lé</i>
<i>por</i>	'dust'	<i>por-ral</i>	<i>por-rá</i>
<i>baj</i>	'trouble'	<i>baj-jal</i>	<i>baj-já</i>

The instrumental, though not the translative, inflection of the demonstratives *az* 'that' and *ez* 'this' has free variant forms, suggesting that the /v/-assimilation of the instrumental suffix and the /z/-assimilation of the demonstratives (see 3.4.1.1.2) may take place in either order: cf. *az-zal/ av-val* 'that-INS', *ez-zel/ ev-vel* 'this-INS', but *az-zá* (\**av-va*) 'that-TRA', *ez-zé* (\**ev-vé*) 'this-TRA'.

/v/-assimilation is unproductive: it is restricted exclusively to the instrumental and translative suffixes. Note for instance the absence of assimilation in the following /v/-initial suffixes: *kilenc-ven* 'nine-ty', *lát-va* 'see-ing'.

## 3.4.1.1.2. /z/-assimilation

The final consonant /z/ of the demonstrative pronouns *ez* 'this' and *az* 'that' (including compounded versions like *mindez* 'all this' and *mindaz* 'all that'; cf. *mind* 'all') is retained wordfinally, before the accusative suffix *-t* (where /z/ devoices to [s] under a regular process of voicing assimilation; see 3.4.1.1.8), and before vowel-initial suffixes generally. However, before suffixes beginning with an onset consonant, i.e., before CV-initial suffixes, /z/ undergoes full regressive assimilation. This rule is wholly unproductive; no other morpheme is subject to /z/-assimilation. Note the following paradigms:

(112)		'this'		'that'
	NOM	<i>ez</i>		<i>az</i>
	ACC	<i>ez-t</i>		<i>az-t</i> (zt=[st])
	SUP	<i>ez-en</i>		<i>az-on</i>
	DAT	<i>en-nek</i>		<i>an-nak</i>
	INE	<i>eb-ben</i>		<i>ab-ban</i>
	SUB	<i>er-re</i>		<i>ar-ra</i>
	ABL	<i>et-től</i>		<i>at-tól</i>
	TEM	<i>ek-kor</i>		<i>ak-kor</i>
	ALL	<i>eh-hez</i>		<i>ah-hoz</i>

In the allative inflections, the derived geminate /hh/ is reduced to /h/ by a rule which drops syllable-final /h/; see 3.4.4.1.2. The terminative suffix *-ig* is set up as /-dig/ before the demonstratives: cf. *ed-dig* 'until this', *addig* 'until that'. For the facts before /v/-initial inflectional suffixes, cf. 3.4.1.1.1.

## 3.4.1.1.3. /l/-assimilation

The liquid /l/ assimilates to a following /r/ or /j/: e.g., *bal-ról* [bɔrro:l] 'left-DEL', *tél-re* [te:rrɛ] 'winter-SUB'; *ül-j* [yjj] 'sit-IMP.INDEF.2SG', *tol-juk* [tojju:k] 'push-DEF.1PL', *gól-ja* [go:jjɔ] 'goal-POSS.3SG'. In faster speech tempos /l/-assimilation may apply between words, as in *fél rág-ni* 'is afraid to chew' (afraid-INDEF.3SG chew-INF) and *reggel jön* 'comes in the morning' (morning come-INDEF.3SG), where /l/ may be pronounced as /r/ and /j/, respectively.

## 3.4.1.1.4. /n/-assimilation

/n/ becomes labial before the labial consonants /p b m/ within words as well as between words, including compound constituents. Thus, in each of the following cases *n*=[m]: *szín-be* 'color-ILL', *szénpor* 'coal dust' (*szén* 'coal'+*por* 'dust'), *van más* 'there is another' (*van* 'is', *más* 'other'). In slower speech tempos, /n/-assimilation may be suppressed.

## 3.4.1.1.5. /t/-palatalization

Exclusively before the imperative suffix *-j*, a stem-final /t/ undergoes a series of changes:

(i) /t/ deletes if preceded by an obstruent (see 3.4.4.1.1).

(ii) /t/ palatalizes to /š/ if preceded by a short vowel (e.g., *kös-s* 'tie-IMP.INDEF.2SG', where the stem is *köt* 'tie', and, following the palatalization of /t/ to /š/, imperative /j/ assimilates (see 3.4.1.1.6.1)).

(iii) /t/ palatalizes to /č/ if preceded by a sonorant consonant (e.g., *önt-s* 'pour-IMP.INDEF.2SG', *tölt-s* 'fill-IMP.INDEF.2SG', *tart-s* 'hold-IMP.INDEF.2SG', *hajt-s* 'drive-IMP.INDEF.2SG', where the sequence *ts* is realized as [čč], derived from /t/ plus /j/ through /t/-palatalization and /j/-assimilation (for the latter, see 3.4.1.1.6)).

If stem-final /t/ is preceded by a long vowel, then the palatalization of /t/ splits between /š/ and /č/ as follows, /t/ becomes /č/ in stems derived by the transitive suffix *-ít* (see 2.2.2.3.1) and in the underived stems *fűt* 'heat', *hűt* 'cool', *műt* 'operate', *szít* 'stir up', *tát* 'open wide', and *vét* 'err': cf. for example *nagy-ít-s* 'make big-IMP.INDEF.2SG' and *fűt-s* 'heat-IMP.INDEF.2SG' (*ts*=[čč]). These stems pattern together with those whose stem-final /t/ is preceded by a sonorant consonant; see above. In the remaining attested verbal stems that end in a long vowel plus /t/, palatalization results in /š/: cf. the second person singular indefinite imperatives *lás-s* (*lát* 'see'), *bocsás-s* (*bocsát* 'let go'), and *lós-s-fus-s* (*lót-fut* 'run about'). These stems pattern together with those whose stem-final /t/ is preceded by a short vowel; cf. above.

In standard varieties of Hungarian, /t/-palatalization is conditioned by the glide /j/ if and only if it signifies the imperative morpheme; significantly, /t/-palatalization is inapplicable in the context of the glide /j/ which shows up in the present definite declarative paradigms of back harmonic verbal stems (cf. 3.4.4.2.3). Consequently, the respective paradigms contrast, as seen with the representative verb *lát* 'see':

(113)	<i>Imperative</i>		<i>Present declarative</i>	
	<i>lás-s-am</i>	'see-IMP-DEF.1SG'	<i>lát-om</i>	'see-DEF.1SG'
	<i>lás-s-ad</i>	'see-IMP-DEF.2SG'	<i>lát-od</i>	'see-DEF.2SG'
	<i>lás-s-a</i>	'see-IMP-DEF.3SG'	<i>lát-ja</i>	'see-DEF.3SG'
	<i>lás-s-uk</i>	'see-IMP-DEF.1PL'	<i>lát-juk</i>	'see-DEF.1PL'
	<i>lás-s-átok</i>	'see-IMP-DEF.2PL'	<i>lát-játok</i>	'see-DEF.2PL'
	<i>lás-s-ák</i>	'see-IMP-DEF.3PL'	<i>lát-ják</i>	'see-DEF.3PL'

However, in nonstandard varieties /t/-palatalization is generalized to apply in the context of both glides, resulting in cases of homonymy. For example,

*Imperative*

<i>lás-s-am</i>	'see-IMP-DEF.1SG'
<i>lás-s-ad</i>	'see-IMP-DEF.2SG'
<i>lás-s-a</i>	'see-IMP-DEF.3SG'
<i>lás-s-uk</i>	'see-IMP-DEF.1PL'
<i>lás-s-átok</i>	'see-IMP-DEF.2PL'
<i>lás-s-ak</i>	'see-IMP-DEF.3PL'

*Present declarative*

<i>lát-om</i>	'see-DEF.1SG'
<i>lát-od</i>	'see-DEF.2SG'
<i>lás-sa</i>	'see-DEF.3SG'
<i>lás-suk</i>	'see-DEF.1PL'
<i>lás-sátok</i>	'see-DEF.2PL'
<i>lás-sák</i>	'see-DEF.3PL'

## 3.4.1.1.6. /j/-assimilation

The glide /j/ undergoes two distinct progressive assimilation processes.

**3.4.1.1.6.1. Sibilant+/j/-assimilation** In suffixes, /j/ fully assimilates to a preceding sibilant consonant. The suffixes exhibiting this process are as follows: *-j* 'IMP', *-ja* 'DEF.3SG', *-juk/jük* 'DEF.1PL', *-játok* 'DEF.2PL', *-ják* 'DEF.3PL':

(115)	<i>/-j/</i> 'IMP.INDEF.2SG' <i>/-jə/</i> 'DEF.3SG'
	<i>mász(ik)</i> 'climb' <i>mássz</i> <i>mássza</i>
	<i>hoz</i> 'bring' <i>hozz</i> <i>hozza</i>
	<i>mos</i> 'wash' <i>moss</i> <i>mossa</i>

**3.4.1.1.6.2. Palatal+/j/-assimilation** In suffixes, /j/ fully assimilates to a preceding palatal *ty*, *gy*, or *ny*; this assimilation may be suppressed in very slow speech tempos or in spelling pronunciations, /j/-initial suffixes subject to this change are the verbal suffixes listed above in 3.4.1.1.6.1, as well as the nominal suffixes *-ja/je* 'POSS.3SG', *-juk/jük* 'POSS.3PL', and *-jai/jei* 'PL.POSS', e.g., *báty-ja* (*tyj*=[cc]) 'elder brother-POSS.3SG', *hagy-juk* 'allow-DEF.1PL', *hány-játok* (*nyj*=[ññ]) 'throw-DEF.2PL'.

## 3.4.1.1.7. Palatalization

The dental stops /t d n/ become palatal /c ɟ ñ/, respectively, before the palatals /c ɟ ñ j/. Within words, morphophonemic alternations can be adduced with a few derivational suffixes: cf. *pillanat-nyi* (*tny*=[cñ]) 'momentary', *billen-tyű* (*nty*=[ñc]) 'valve' (*billen* 'tip over'). Much stronger evidence comes from inflectional suffixes beginning with /j/. In these cases mutual assimilation obtains: /j/ first induces a preceding /t d n/ to palatalize to /c ɟ ñ/, respectively, then it undergoes the palatal+/j/-assimilation process described in 3.4.1.1.6.2. Note the following examples: *bot-ja* (*tj*=[cc]) 'stick-POSS.3SG', *ad-j* (*dj*=[ɟɟ]) 'give-IMP.INDEF.2SG', *bán-ják* (*nj*=[ññ]) 'regret-DEF.3PL'. Palatalization can also take place between words and compound constituents: e.g., *öt tyűk*

(*tty*=[cc]) 'five hen(s)', *öt-ven tyúk* (*nty*=[ñc]) 'fif-ty hen(s)'; *széngyár* (*ngy*=[ñɫ]) 'coal factory' (*szén* 'coal' + *gyár* 'factory'), *ad gyűrű-t* (*dgy*=[ɫɫ]) 'give.INDEF.3SG ring-ACC'; *hét nyak* (*tny*=[cñ]) 'seven neck(s)', *öt-ven nyolc* (*nny*=[nn]) 'fif-ty eight'; *hat játék* (*tj*=[cj]) 'six game(s)', *enged jön-ni* (*dj*=[ɫj]) 'allow.INDEF.3SG come-INF'.

## 3.4.1.1.8. Voicing assimilation

Adjacent obstruent consonants must have the same values for voicing. This restriction has wide scope: it holds equally for tautomorphemic clusters (initial, medial, and final positions), morpheme concatenations within words, compounds, and word combinations. In the last three contexts, the morphophonemic alternations evidence regressive assimilation: obstruents assimilate in voicing to an immediately following obstruent. Representative examples are cited below.

## (116) Voicing

		<i>Inessive</i>	<i>Phonetics of cluster</i>
<i>kalap</i>	'hat'	<i>kalap-ban</i>	[bb]
<i>kút</i>	'well'	<i>kút-ban</i>	[db]
<i>konty</i>	'bun (hair)'	<i>konty-ban</i>	[ɫb]
<i>zsák</i>	'sack'	<i>zsák-ban</i>	[gb]
<i>sróf</i>	'screw'	<i>sróf-ban</i>	[vb]
<i>rész</i>	'part'	<i>rész-ben</i>	[zb]
<i>mas</i>	'other'	<i>más-ban</i>	[žb]
<i>ketrec</i>	'cage'	<i>ketrec-ben</i>	[dzb]
<i>Bécs</i>	'Vienna'	<i>Bécs-ben</i>	[ɫb]

## (117) Devoicing

		<i>Ablative</i>	<i>Phonetics of cluster</i>
<i>darab</i>	'piece'	<i>darab-tól</i>	[pt]
<i>ebéd</i>	'lunch'	<i>ebéd-től</i>	[tt]
<i>ágy</i>	'bed'	<i>ágy-tól</i>	[ct]
<i>szeg</i>	'nail'	<i>szeg-től</i>	[kt]
<i>szív</i>	'heart'	<i>szív-től</i>	[ft]
<i>rizs</i>	'rice'	<i>rizs-től</i>	[št]
<i>kéz</i>	'hand'	<i>kéz-től</i>	[st]
<i>bridzs</i>	'bridge'	<i>bridzs-től</i>	[čt]

Voicing assimilation applies iteratively to affect more than one obstruent in a cluster: e.g., *test-ben* (*stb*=[ždb]) 'body-INE'. For application between compound constituents, cf. *rabszolga* (*bsz*=[ps]) 'slave' (*rab* 'prisoner' + *szolga* 'servant') and *könyvtár* (*vt*=[ft]) 'library' (*könyv* 'book' + *tár* 'storage'); for application between independent words, cf. *nyolc gyerek* (*cgy*=[dʒɫ]) 'eight child(ren)' and *hoz kenyér-et* (*zk*=[sk]) 'bring'.

INDEF.3SG bread-ACC'. Additional examples of voicing assimilation, both within and between words, can be found in 3.4.1.1.9 and 3.4.1.1.10.

While obstruent consonants generally both induce and undergo voicing assimilation, /v/ and /h/ exhibit a somewhat different pattern: /v/ is a target but not a trigger, whereas /h/ is a trigger but not a target, e.g., *szívtől* (vt=[ft]) 'heart-ABL', *hat-van* (tv=[tv]) 'six-ty'; *ház-hoz* (zh=[sh]) 'house-ALL', *sah-ban* (hb=[xb]) 'shah-INE'; cf. further *szív-hez* (vh=[fh]) 'heart-ALL', /v/ is also exceptional in that it is the only obstruent which may violate the ban on differing voicing values for tautomorphic obstruent clusters. In particular, /v/ may occur following voiceless obstruents: cf. *tviszt* 'twist', *lekvár* 'preserve'.

Sonorant consonants neither undergo nor cause voicing assimilation. Thus, stem-final sonorants remain voiced before voiceless obstruents, as in the following examples: *szem-től* 'eye-ABL', *het-ven forint* 'seven-ty forint(s)', *aranykor* 'golden age', *ezer-szer* 'thousand-MUL', *ül-sz* 'sit-INDEF.2SG', *baj-tól* 'trouble-ABL'. Similarly, stem-final voiceless obstruents remain voiceless preceding sonorant consonants; cf. *kislány* 'little girl' (*kis* 'little'+*lány* 'girl'), *nap-ra* 'sun-SUB', *rak-juk* 'put-DEF.1PL', *népmese* 'folk tale' (*nép* 'people'+*mese* 'tale'), *vesz-nek* 'buy-INDEF.3PL', *két nyelv* 'two language(s)'.

#### 3.4.1.1.9. Affrication

Dental, alveolar, and postalveolar stop, fricative, and affricate sequences are subject to manner of articulation assimilations. The details, taking into account the effects of the regressive voicing assimilation process discussed in 3.4.1.1.8, variability, and word-internal as well as -external contexts, are as follows (Siptár 1994).

Dental stop plus fricative sequences undergo mutual assimilations: they become geminate affricates. This process is obligatory within words; across words, it is invoked only in fast or carefree speech styles. Examples are provided below.

- (118)
- a. *Dental stop+fricative*  
/td/+/s/→[tsts]  
*lát-sz* 'see-INDEF.2SG'  
*két szoba* 'two room(s)'  
*ad-sz* 'give-INDEF.2SG'  
*enged szív-ni* 'allow.INDEF.3SG smoke-INF'
  - b. /td/+/z/→[dzdz]  
*hat zászló* 'six flag(s)'  
*svéd zene* 'Swedish music'

- c. /td/+ /š/ → [čč]  
*süket-ség* 'deaf-ness'  
*hat sátor* 'six tent(s)'  
*rövid-ség* 'short-ness'  
*marad segít-eni* 'stay.INDEF.3SG help-INF'
- d. /td/+ /ž/ → [jž]  
*öt zsemle* 'five roll(s) of bread'  
*ad zsinór-t* 'give.INDEF.3SG string-ACC'

Geminate [dzdz] and [jž] affricates are also found inside words (e.g., *madzag* 'twine', *bridzs* 'bridge'); deriving them from /d/+ /z/ and /d/+ /ž/ sequences, respectively, via affrication is possible, though moot, since morphophonemic evidence is wanting in these cases.

Dental stops undergo affrication before affricates. This process is obligatory between words; word-internal evidence is lacking, due to the absence of clear and productive cases of affricates occurring in suffix initial position, e.g., *hét cipő* 'seven shoe(s)', *öt csomag* 'five package(s)', *vad dzsungel* 'wild jungle', where the relevant clusters are [tsts], [čč], and [jž], respectively.

Fricatives may become affricates following affricates, but only in fast or carefree speech styles, and only if the affricate+fricative cluster agrees in place of articulation. The process of sibilant assimilation (cf. 3.4.1.1.10) may also impact on the cluster: the affricate may assimilate in place of articulation to the following fricative. Accordingly, the cluster *c* [ts]+s[š] (alveolar affricate+postalveolar fricative) in the input representation *bohóc-ság* 'clown-ery' can have the following output possibilities: [tsš] (suppressing sibilant assimilation) in careful speech, [čš] (undergoing sibilant assimilation) in normal, carefree speech, and [čč] (undergoing both sibilant assimilation and affrication) in fast, carefree speech. Note crucially that \*[tsč] is not possible, since the place of articulation of the affricated fricative differs from that of the preceding affricate. Examples involving above-the-word level application of the postaffricate affrication of fricatives, including the adjustment of the place of articulation of the affricate via sibilant assimilation, are given below (for fast, carefree speech), where # indicates compound boundary.

- (119) a. *Affricate+fricative*  
 /tsč/+ /s/ → [tsts]  
*nyolc szoba* 'eight room(s)'  
*kulcs#szám* 'key number'
- b. /tsč/+ /š/ → [čč]  
*arc#seb* 'facial wound'  
*ács#segéd* 'carpenter's aide'

- c. /tsč/+/z/→[dzdz]  
*tánc#zene* 'dance music'  
*csúcs#zaj* 'peak noise'
- d. /tsč/+/ž/→[j̥j̥]  
*tánc#zseni* 'dance genius'  
*gyümölcs#zsák* 'fruit sack'

Palatal stop plus dental or postalveolar fricative sequences have the following realizations: in normal, carefree speech the fricative undergoes affrication; in fast, carefree speech both the stop and fricative are subject to affrication, resulting in a geminate affricate; in careful speech, affrication is suppressed. For the examples listed below, each of the three output possibilities is indicated; it is to be understood that the first output is restricted to careful speech, the second to normal, carefree speech, and the third to fast, carefree speech.

- (120) a. *Palatal stop+fricative*  
 /cɹ/+/s/→[cs], [cts], [tsts]  
*ponty#szem* 'carp(s) eye'  
*egy-szer* 'one-MUL'
- b. /cɹ/+/z/→[ɹz], [ɹdz], [dzdz]  
*fütty#zápor* 'catcall'  
*nagy zászló* 'large flag'
- c. /cɹ/+/š/→[cš], [cč], [čč]  
*korty sör* 'sip (of) beer'  
*nagy-ság* 'large-ness'
- d. /cɹ/+/ž/→[ɹž], [ɹj̥], [j̥j̥]  
*petty zsír* 'spot (of) fat'  
*egy zseni* 'a genius'

Lastly, palatal stops undergo affrication before affricates in fast, carefree speech styles: e.g., *korty cinóbervörös* (*tyc*=[tsts]) 'sip (of) vermilion', *nagy csillag* (*gycs*=[čč]) 'large star', *meggy#dzsem* (*ggydzs*=[j̥j̥]) 'sour cherry jam'.

#### 3.4.1.1.10. Sibilant assimilation

If two sibilant consonants (/s z š ž č ĵ ts/, ignoring the marginal case of /dz/) occur next to each other, whether within words or between words, the first one assimilates to the second one in place of articulation; voicing assimilation takes place as well (cf. 3.4.1.1.8). Examples for dental/ alveolar sibilants becoming postalveolar and postalveolar sibilants becoming dental/alveolar are provided below.

- (121) a. *Fricative+fricative*  
 /šž/+/s/→[ss]  
*más-szor* 'other-MUL'  
*kis szobor* 'small statue'  
*montázs-szerű* 'montage-like'
- b. /šž/+/z/→[zz]  
*okos zené-sz* 'smart music-ian'  
*garázs zár-ás* 'garage clos-ing'
- c. /sz/+/š/→[šš]  
*egész-ség* 'health' ('whole-ness')  
*orosz sajtó* 'Russian press'  
*igaz-ság* 'tru-th'  
*nehéz súly* 'heavy weight'
- d. /sz/+/ž/→[žž]  
*kis zseb* 'small pocket'  
*néz Zsuzsá-ra* 'looks at Susan' ('look-INDEF.3SG Susan-DEL')
- (122) a. *Affricate+fricative*  
 /čř/+/z/→[tss]  
*tanács-szerű* 'council-like'  
*szakács szav-a* 'chef's word' ('chef word-POSS.3SG')  
*bridzs#szoba* 'bridge room'
- b. /čř/+/z/→[dzz]  
*Kovács Zoltán* 'Kovács Zoltán (proper name)'  
*bridzs#zár-ás* 'bridge clos-ing'
- c. /ts/+/š/→[čš]  
*malac-ság* 'obscen-ity'  
*piac#serkent-és* 'market stimulat-ion'
- d. /ts/+/ž/→[řž]  
*lazac#zsír* 'salmon fat'
- (123) a. *Fricative+affricate*  
 /šž/+/ts/→[sts]  
*piros cipő* 'red shoe'  
*varázs ceruza* 'magic pencil'
- b. /sz/+/č/→[šč]  
*egész család* 'whole family'  
*igaz csoda* 'true miracle'

- c. /sz/+/ĩ/→[žĩ]  
*vesz dzsem-et* 'buys jam' ('buy.INDEF.3SG jam-ACC')  
*grúz dzsessz* 'Georgian jazz'
- (124) a. *Affricate+affricate*  
 /čĩ/+/ts/→[tsts]  
*makacs cica* 'stubborn kitten'  
*bridzs cikk* 'bridge article'
- b. /ts/+/č/→[čć]  
*rác család* 'Serbian family'
- c. /ts/+/ĩ/→[jĩ]  
*palóc dzsidá-s* 'Northern Hungarian lanc-er'

If the adjacent sibilants are homorganic but differ in voicing, then the first one undergoes only voicing assimilation (cf. 3.4.1.1.8): e.g., *száz-szor* (zsz=[ss]) 'hundred-MUL'. If the two sibilants agree both in place of articulation and voicing, then the first one does not change: e.g., *makacs-ság* (css=[čš]) 'stubborn-ness'.

The sibilant assimilation processes illustrated above are subject to variability (Siptár 1994). Within words, they tend to be applied in carefree, casual speech styles, but not in careful, formal ones; likewise, between words they are applied only in fast, careless speech styles. For exemplification, see 3.4.1.1.9.

### 3.4.1.3. Other segmental alternations

#### 3.4.1.3.1. Length alternations

**3.4.1.3.1.1. Compensatory lengthening** Dental sonorant consonants may be subject to deletion in coda position, that is wordfinally and pre-consonantly; this deletion process is compensated for by lengthening the preceding vowel.

The most common source for compensatory lengthening is the lateral /l/: cf. *tol-t-ad* [to:təd] 'push-PAST-INDEF.2SG', where the /l/ of *tol* 'push' is syllabified into coda position and consequently can delete and cause lengthening, vs. *tol-ás* 'push-ing', where /l/ is syllabified in onset position and consequently cannot delete.

Compensatory lengthening is possible in doubly closed syllables as well, as in *kulcs* [ku:č] 'key'. If the preceding vowel is long, as in *fél-t-él* [fe:te:(l)] 'be afraid-PAST-INDEF.2SG', deletion does not lead to extra lengthening. /r/, /n/, and /j/ can also participate in compensatory lengthening: /j/ mainly after front vowels, /n/ before continuant consonants (also causing nasalization in the preceding vowel).

The quality of the lengthened vowel varies somewhat across dialects and speech styles. One interesting consequence is that the lengthened reflexes of the low vowels are the nondistinctive [ɔ:] and [ɛ:], respectively: cf. *nyel-t-ed* [ɲɛ:tɛd] 'swallow-PAST-DEF.2SG', *ar-ra* [ɔ:rɔ] 'that-SUB'. With respect to other length alternations, such as that discussed in 3.4.1.3.1.2, /ɔ/ and /ɛ/ lengthen to their distinctively long counterparts, /a:/ and /e:/, respectively. The above compensatory lengthening processes are productive, not being restricted to particular morphemes. Not so with /v/, whose compensatory lengthening is observed only in a closed set of historically old nominal and verbal roots. Thus, while the root /köv/ undergoes compensatory lengthening to surface as *kó* 'stone' (cf. *köv-ek* 'stone-PL'), /öv/ does not: it is realized as *öv* 'belt' (cf. *öv-ek* 'belt-PL'). For fuller discussion, see Vago (1980).

**3.4.1.3.1.2. Low vowel lengthening** The low vowels /ɔ/ and /ɛ/ lengthen to /a:/ and /e:/, respectively, in morpheme-final position, provided a suffix follows, e.g., *kefe* 'brush', *kefé-je* 'brush-POSS.3SG', *kefé-jé-re* 'brush-POSS.3SG-SUB'; *alma* 'apple', *almá-ja* 'apple-POSS.3SG', *almá-já-ra* 'apple-POSS.3SG-SUB'. As expected, compound boundary functions as word boundary, so that low vowel lengthening is blocked (cf. *kefe#tart-ó* 'brush hold-er'); nonapplication before adjectival *-i* (cf. *Buda-i* 'of Buda') is exceptional.

Low vowel lengthening is productive: for instance, the place-name *Uppsala* undergoes lengthening if inflected, as in illative *Uppsalá-ba*. The alternative view, that low vowels shorten in wordfinal position, is less desirable in view of the fact that many words exist with final /e:/ (and a few with /a:/).

**3.4.1.3.1.3. Root final syllable shortening** In a set of historically old nominal (rarely, verbal) roots consisting of monosyllables or disyllables, the final syllable shortens before vowel initial suffixes (sporadically also before certain consonant initial derivational suffixes). In the overwhelming majority of the cases the shortened vowel is low, less often it is high, rarely is it mid; in all cases, the root contains a single final consonant, e.g., *nyár* 'summer', *nyár-tól* 'summer-ABL', but *nyar-ak* 'summer-PL'. It is not possible to predict shortening on purely phonological grounds: contrast the patterning of *nyár* with *vár* 'castle', *vár-tól* 'castle-ABL', *vár-ak* 'castle-PL'. Nor would lengthening work across the board: cf. *kar* 'arm', *kar-tól* 'arm-ABL'. In brief, root final syllable shortening is an unproductive, in part lexically determined process.

A set of vowel-initial suffixes consistently patterns together with consonant initial suffixes with respect to a number of root alternations, including root final syllable shortening. Thus, the following suffixes fail to

trigger shortening, even though they begin with a vowel: *nyár-ig* 'summer-TER', *nyár-ért* 'summer-CAU', *nyár-ul* 'summer-ESS', *nyár-é* 'summer-POS'. The same holds for /v/-final roots that undergo compensatory lengthening before vowel-initial suffixes, as discussed in 3.4.1.3.1.1: note for instance that compensatory lengthening is triggered in *kő-ért* 'stone-CAU', even though the suffix does not begin with a consonant. Still another case is discussed in 3.4.4.2.1. Since these suffixes behave as if they began with a consonant, we will dub them for ease of reference "C"-initial suffixes.

**3.4.1.3.1.4. Root internal syllable shortening** Another process shortens root vowels before suffixes that have the following properties: they are derivational but not inflectional, they begin with a vowel, they are disyllabic, and they do not harmonize. The affected syllable can be initial (e.g., *kódex* 'codex', *kodifikál* 'codify'), medial (e.g., *história* 'history', *historizmus* 'historicism'), or final (e.g., *aktív* 'active', *aktivitás* 'activity').

Interestingly, both the trigger and target morphemes tend to be recent loans. Nevertheless, the unpredictable nature of the alternation precludes considering it productive.

**3.4.1.3.1.5. Degemination** Geminate consonants are subject to shortening if adjacent to another consonant. The exact conditions are somewhat complex; the following description is based on Siptár's (1994) detailed study. Tautomorphic geminate consonants occur only intervocally or before pause. If another consonant comes to be adjacent through morphological or syntactic means, then these geminates undergo obligatory shortening: e.g., *meggy* [mɛɟɟ] 'sour cherry', *meggy-nek* [mɛɟnek] 'sour cherry-DAT'; *meggyfa* [mɛcfɔ] 'sour cherry tree'; a *meggy piros* [ɔmɛcpiroš] 'the sour cherry (is) red'.

Geminates derived through morpheme concatenation that triggers the application of phonological rules must also undergo degemination next to another consonant. For instance, *csont-tal* [čontɔl] 'bone-INS' is derived from /čont-val/ through /v/-assimilation (see 3.4.1.1.1), yielding /čont-tɔl/; this representation then is subject to degemination. Similarly, *hord-t-a* [hortɔ] 'carry-PAST-DEF.3SG' is obtained from /hord-t-ɔ/ first by voicing assimilation to /hort-t-ɔ/ (cf. 3.4.1.1.8), then by degemination.

If geminates result from morpheme attachment without the application of phonological rules, then degemination is: (a) obligatory next to an obstruent, as in *paraszt-tól* 'peasant-ABL'; (b) optional next to a nasal, as in *comb-ban* 'thigh-INE'; (c) inapplicable next to /l r j/, as in *sztrájk-ként* 'strike-FOR'.

## 3.4.1.3.2. Lowering

In roughly twenty nominal roots final /o:/ and /ø:/ lower (and shorten; the latter unrounds as well) to /ɔ/ and /ɛ/, respectively, before suffixes beginning with /i/ or /j/. Cf. *ajtó* 'door', *ajta-ja* 'door-POSS.3SG', *ajta-juk* 'door-POSS.3PL'; *tető* 'roof', *tete-je* 'roof-POSS.3SG', *tete-jük* 'roof-POSS.3PL'. This process is unproductive: in the vast majority of the cases, lowering does not obtain (cf. for example *hajó-ja* 'ship-POSS.3SG', *felhő-jük* 'cloud-POSS.3PL').

## 3.4.2. Metathesis

Three nominal roots, constituting a closed, unproductive class, undergo metathesis in the final syllable: they end in *hVC* wordfinally and before vowel-initial suffixes, but in *Ch* before consonant-initial suffixes. Taking the nominative inflection to represent wordfinal position for roots, the dative inflection to represent consonant initial suffixes, and the plural inflection to represent vowel-initial suffixes, the metathesis process is illustrated as follows:

(125)		<i>Metathesizing roots</i>
(125)	a	<i>Wordfinally</i>
		<i>teher</i> 'load'
		<i>pehely</i> 'fluff'
		<i>kehely</i> 'chalice'
	b.	<i>Before C</i>
		<i>teher-nek</i> 'load-DAT'
		<i>pehely-nek</i> 'fluff-DAT'
		<i>kehely-nek</i> 'chalice-DAT'
	c.	<i>Before V</i>
		<i>terh-ek</i> 'load-PL'
		<i>pehlyh-ek</i> 'fluff-PL'
		<i>kelyh-ek</i> 'chalice-PL'

As seen, the metathesizing clusters contain /h/ and either /r/ or /j/; the vowel occurring in between is epenthetic (see 3.4.4.2.1). Free variation is found in the accusative: cf. *terh-et/teher-t* 'load-ACC'. The set of exceptional vowel initial suffixes (cf. 3.4.1.3) selects the variants found wordfinally and before consonant initial variants: e.g., *teher-ig* 'load-TER'.

## 3.4.3. Coalescence and split

No process of Hungarian is analyzable unambiguously as involving coalescence or split. In this regard, processes that bring about assimilatory

changes in adjacent segments (cf. 3.4.1.1.7, for example) are treated as cases of mutual assimilation rather than instances of coalescence.

### 3.4.4.1. Deletion

#### 3.4.4.1.1. /t/-deletion

Verbal stems ending in an obstruent plus /t/ lose their final consonant before the imperative suffix *-j*. In point of fact, /s/ and /š/ are the only obstruents which occur before stem-final /t/ in verbs. Following /t/-deletion, the glide of the imperative morpheme undergoes a general process by which it fully assimilates to the preceding sibilant; cf.

3.4.1.1.6.1. Accordingly, /fɛšt-j/ 'paint-IMP.INDEF.2SG' is realized as [fɛšš] (cf. *fest* 'paint.INDEF.3SG'), and /ost-j/ 'divide-IMP.INDEF.2SG' as [oss] (cf. *oszt* 'divide.INDEF.3SG'). If stem-final /t/ follows a vowel or a sonorant consonant, it palatalizes; see 3.4.1.1.5.

/t/-deletion is not productive: it is conditioned only by the imperative morpheme. However, in nonstandard varieties it is generalized to apply also before the /j/-initial suffixes of the present definite conjugation. Thus, for instance, in Standard Literary Hungarian *fes-s-ük* 'paint-IMP-DEF.1PL' contrasts with *fest-jük* 'paint-DEF.1PL'; this distinction is neutralized to *fes-s-ük* in nonstandard varieties. The same is true of /t/-palatalization; see 3.4.1.1.5.

#### 3.4.4.1.2. /h/-deletion

In a small set of nouns stem-final /h/ is deleted in syllable coda position, i.e., wordfinally, including at compound boundary, and before consonant initial suffixes: e.g., *cseh* [čɛ] 'Czech', *Csehország* [čɛorsa:g] 'Czech Republic', *csehnek* [čɛnɛk] 'Czech-DAT'. The following nouns also provide evidence for /h/-deletion: *méh* 'bee', *juh* 'sheep', *düh* 'fury', *céh* 'guild', *pléh* 'tin', *oláh* 'Wallach', *rüh* 'scab', *keh* 'cough'.

Before vowel-initial suffixes /h/ is syllabified into the onset and escapes deletion. As discussed in 3.1.2.1.2, /h/ is voiced to [h] intervocally: e.g., *cseh-ek* [čɛhɛk] 'Czech-PL'. In fast speech tempos [h] can be elided: [čɛɛk].

/h/-deletion is unproductive; it applies only in a select group of nouns. It is inapplicable in nonfinal positions and to geminate /hh/, as in *jacht* [jɔxt] 'yacht' and *krach* [krɔxx] 'crash'. Other nouns which might condition /h/-deletion fail to do so: e.g., *moh* [mox] 'mustiness'. /h/ which survives deletion is pronounced as [x] (for some speakers as [ç] after front vowels); see 3.1.2.1.2.

/h/-deletion prevents the application of /v/-assimilation (cf. 3.4.1.1.1): note that *cseh-vel* /čɛh-vɛl/ 'Czech-INS' is realized as [čɛvɛl] and not as

\*[čɛhɛ]. Also noteworthy is that /h/-deletion applies to the output of /z/-assimilation (cf. 3.4.1.1.2): cf. *ah-hoz* /az-hoz/ → /ah-hoz/ → /a-hoz/ → [čhoz] 'that-ALL'. Further, /h/-deletion is conditioned by "C"-initial suffixes: cf. *cseh-ért* [čɛe:rt] 'Czech-CAU'.

#### 3.4.4.1.3. Suffix vowel deletion

By a productive process, suffixes that begin with a vowel lose their initial segment if another vowel precedes:  
(126)

- |    |                  |                 |
|----|------------------|-----------------|
| a. | <i>öröm-öm</i>   | 'joy-POSS.1SG'  |
|    | <i>hajó-m</i>    | 'ship-POSS.1SG' |
| b. | <i>öröm-öd</i>   | 'joy-POSS.2SG'  |
|    | <i>hajó-d</i>    | 'ship-POSS.2SG' |
| c. | <i>öröm-ünk</i>  | 'joy-POSS.1PL'  |
|    | <i>hajó-nk</i>   | 'ship-POSS.1PL' |
| d. | <i>öröm-ötök</i> | 'joy-POSS.2PL'  |
|    | <i>hajó-tök</i>  | 'ship-POSS.2PL' |

Vowel insertion is not a viable alternative analysis, at least for some of the cases: e.g., the quality of the initial vowel of *-ünk/ünk* 'POSS.1PL' cannot be predicted on the insertion view. "C"-initial suffixes are immune to deletion: cf. *hajó-ért* 'ship-CAU'.

#### 3.4.4.1.4. Root vowel deletion

Underived roots lose their final vowel before vowel-initial derivational suffixes. Since these suffixes are unproductive, so is the whole process, e.g., *barna* 'brown', *barn-ul* 'become brown', *barn-it* 'make brown'; *hülye* 'crazy', *hüly-ül* 'become crazy', *hüly-it* 'make crazy'. Inflectional suffixes do not induce root vowel deletion; rather, they undergo suffix vowel deletion (see 3.4.4.1.3). Cf. for example *barná-nk* /barna-unk/ 'brown-POSS.1PL'.

#### 3.4.4.2. Insertion

##### 3.4.4.2.1. Stem epenthesis

In several hundred verbal and nominal stems, almost all of which are underived roots, a short vowel in the final syllable alternates as follows: wordfinally and before consonant initial suffixes the vowel shows up, before vowel-initial suffixes it does not, e.g., *bokor* 'shrub', *bokor-ban* 'shrub-INE', *bokr-ok* 'shrub-PL'; cf. also *bokor-ért* 'shrub-CAU', where *-ért* is "C"-initial. The nominal derivational suffix *-al(o)m/el(e)m* is of this type:

cf. *véd-elem* 'protect-ion', *védelem-nek* 'protect-ion-DAT', *véd-elm-ek* 'protect-ion-PL'.

Nearly always, the alternating vowel is mid *o/ö/e*, but in a few cases it may be high or low: e.g., *bajusz* 'mustache', *bajusz-ra* 'mustache-SUB', *bajusz-om* 'mustache-POSS.1SG'; *ajak* 'lip', *ajak-hoz* 'lip-ALL', *ajk-a* 'lip-POSS.3SG'. In the majority of the cases, the alternating vowel is flanked by consonants that would create impossible syllable-/wordfinal clusters, had the vowel not appeared in between them. This, clearly, is the case with *bokor* 'shrub', cited above: /kr/ is not permitted syllable-/word-finally. In other cases the alternating vowel separates consonants that in fact are permissible syllable-/wordfinally: e.g., *inog* 'sway.INDEF.3SG', *ing-ás* 'sway-ing', where /ng/ occurs syllable-/wordfinally (cf. *ing* 'shirt').

For the reason that in most cases both the appearance and the quality of the alternating vowel is predictable, it is somewhat preferable, controversial as it is, to consider the alternation process to be a case of insertion rather than deletion. See Vago (1980) and Siptár (1994) for a fuller account of the facts and issues involved.

The stem epenthesis process is not productive; for the most part, it applies to historically old lexical items. Recent loanwords do not undergo it; further, relexicalization is taking place, leveling out the alternation in a number of cases. Thus, some stems have two lexical representations, producing two distinct paradigms: one with stem vowel alternation, the other without, e.g., *szatyor* 'bag', *szatyr-a/szatyor-ja* 'bag-POSS.3SG'. See Vago (1980) for discussion.

#### 3.4.4.2.2. Suffix epenthesis

Verbal suffixes beginning with an obstruent consonant that directly follow the stem receive an initial low vowel if the stem ends in a consonant cluster (cf. Vago 1980). In 3.4.1.1.5 it was shown that some /t/-final verbal stems preceded by a long vowel pattern together with CC-final stems with respect to the palatalization of /t/. These stems exhibit the same behavior with respect to suffix epenthesis:

(127)			INF	INDEF.2SG	INDEF.3PL
	<i>üt</i>	'hit'	<i>üt-ni</i>	<i>üt-sz</i>	<i>üt-nek</i>
	<i>fút</i>	'heat'	<i>fút-eni</i>	<i>fút-esz</i>	<i>fút-enek</i>
	<i>áld</i>	'bless'	<i>áld-ani</i>	<i>áld-asz</i>	<i>áld-anak</i>

Suffix epenthesis appears to be productive in that it is not tied in with specific morphemes, whether stem or suffix. Some stems do not induce suffix epenthesis, others do so optionally.

## 3.4.4.2.3. /j/-epenthesis

The 3SG and 3PL possessive suffixes receive an initial /j/ following a vowel-final nominal stem. If the stem ends in a consonant, then /j/-epenthesis is variable: some stems condition it, others do so optionally (resulting in free variants), while others disallow it. Note the possessive paradigms below.

(128)	<i>Person</i>	'ship'	'kiss'	'degree'	'star'
	1SG	<i>hajó-m</i>	<i>csók-om</i>	<i>fok-om</i>	<i>csillag-om</i>
	2SG	<i>hajó-d</i>	<i>csók-od</i>	<i>fok-od</i>	<i>csillag-od</i>
	3SG	<i>hajó-ja</i>	<i>csók-ja</i>	<i>fok-a</i>	<i>csillag-(j)a</i>
	1PL	<i>hajó-nk</i>	<i>csók-unk</i>	<i>fok-unk</i>	<i>csillag-unk</i>
	2PL	<i>hajó-tok</i>	<i>csók-otok</i>	<i>fok-otok</i>	<i>csillag-otok</i>
	3PL	<i>hajó-juk</i>	<i>csók-juk</i>	<i>fok-uk</i>	<i>csillag-(j)uk</i>

/j/-epenthesis is productive: cf. the loanwords *film-je* 'film-POSS.3SG', *klub-juk* 'club-POSS.3PL'. For further discussion, cf. Tompa (1961) and Vago (1980).

### 3.5. MORPHOPHONOLOGY (SUPRASEGMENTAL)

#### 3.5.1.1. Stress

In 3.3.2.4. it was stated that in Hungarian word-level stress is predictable: the vowel of the initial syllable is stressed, other vowels are not. The morphological processes of the language, including compounding, are stress-neutral: they do not cause changes in stress assignment (cf. Kálmán and Nádasdy 1994). Note for instance the contrast between the noun phrase *hideg konyha* 'cold kitchen', where each word receives initial syllable stress, and the compound *hidegkonyha* '(store for) cold cuts', which is treated phonologically as a single word and consequently receives only one (initial syllable) stress.

**Chapter 4****Ideophones and interjections****4.1. IDEOPHONES****4.1.1. Reduplicative ideophones**

Examples for reduplicative ideophones, sometimes with alternating vowels, are as follows:

<i>tik-tak</i>	sound of a clock
<i>bim-bam</i>	sound of a bell
<i>giling-galang</i>	sound of a bell
<i>puf-puf</i>	sound of a gun
<i>kip-kop</i>	sound of a hammer
<i>csit-csatt</i>	sound of a lock
<i>cini-cini</i>	sound of a string instrument
<i>locs-pocs</i>	sound of splashing
<i>csip-csup</i>	wee
<i>ici-pici</i>	tiny
<i>csireg-csörög</i>	rattle
<i>tesze-tosza</i>	good-for-nothing
<i>izeg-mozog</i>	be restless
<i>pricc-pracc-prucc</i>	final triple chord in musical piece

Ideophones in child language are especially frequent, e.g., in reference to animals.

<i>vau-vau</i>	dog
<i>miau-miau</i>	cat
<i>mú-mú</i>	cow
<i>nyihaha</i>	horse
<i>be-e</i>	sheep
<i>züm-züm</i>	bee
<i>i-á</i>	donkey

#### 4.1.2. Nonreduplicative ideophones

<i>bumm</i>	sound of cannon
<i>katt</i>	sound of lock
<i>ratatam</i>	sound of drum

#### 4.2. INTERJECTIONS

Interjections in general are actual words of the language capable of undergoing further word-formation processes, e.g., *jaj* 'ouch' → *jaj-gat* 'say *ouch* repeatedly'. The few that do not conform to rules of syllable structure include the following.

<i>Ccc!</i>	tut-tut, expression of comfort, disbelief, etc.
<i>Sss!</i>	hush, request for silence
<i>Pszt!</i>	hush, request for silence
<i>Phi!</i>	expression of disgust

## 5.1. STRUCTURED SEMANTIC FIELDS

## 5.1.1. Kinship terminology (See Szépe 1972.)

## 5.1.1.1. By blood

1.family	<i>család</i>
2.parents	<i>szülők</i>
3.father	<i>apa, atya</i> (old use)
4.mother	<i>anya, mama</i>
5.child	<i>gyerek, gyermek</i>
6.baby	<i>csecsemő, (kis)baba</i>
7.son	<i>fiú</i> (= 'boy')
8.daughter	<i>lány, leány</i> (= 'girl', latter old/formal use)
9.sibling	<i>testvér</i> (part of basic vocabulary)
10.elder brother	<i>báty</i> (used as possessed N only)
11.elder sister	<i>néne</i> (rare, used mostly as possessed N), <i>nővér</i>
12.younger brother	<i>öcs</i> (used as possessed N only)
13.younger sister	<i>húg</i> (used as possessed N only)
14.brother	<i>fivér</i> (rare, formal)
15.uncle	<i>(nagy)bácsi</i>
16.aunt	<i>(nagy)néni, ángy</i> (old and dialectal use)
17.nephew	<i>unokaöcs</i> (used mostly as possessed N)
18.niece	<i>unokahúg</i> (used mostly as possessed N)
19.cousin	<i>unokatestvér</i>
20.first cousin	<i>első unokatestvér</i>
21.grandfather	<i>nagyapa, nagypapa</i>
22.grandmother	<i>nagyanya, nagymama</i>
23.grandchild	<i>unoka</i>
24.great-grandfather	<i>dédapa, dédpapa</i>
25.great-grandmother	<i>dédanya, dédmama</i>
26.great-grandchild	<i>dédunoka</i>

27.	great-great-grandfather		szépapa
28.	great-great-grandmother		szépanya
29.	great-great-grandchild		szépunoka
30.	great-great-great-grandfather		ükapa
31.	great-great-great-grandmother		ükanya
32.	great-great-great-grandchild		ükunoka
33.	ancestor		ős, előd
34.	descendant		leszármazott
5.1.1.2. <i>By half-blood/affiliation</i>			
1.	half-sibling		féltestvér
5.1.1.3. <i>By marriage</i>			
1.	husband	<i>férj</i>	
2.	wife	<i>feleség</i>	
3.	spouse	<i>házastárs</i> (formal), <i>pár</i> (informal, used only as possessed N)	
4.	father-in-law	<i>após, ipa</i> (old and dialectal use)	
5.	mother-in-law	<i>anyós, napa</i> (old and dialectal use)	
6.	son-in-law	<i>vő</i> (used only as possessed N)	
7.	child	<i>gyerek, gyermek</i>	
8.	daughter-in-law	<i>meny</i> (used only as possessed N)	
9.	brother-in-law	<i>sógor</i>	
10.	sister-in-law	<i>sógornő</i>	
11.	sister of (elder) sibling	<i>ányg</i> (old and dialectal use)	
12.	widower	<i>özvegyember</i>	
13.	widow	<i>özvegy</i>	
14.	divorcé(e)	<i>elvált</i> (ADJ)	
15.	stepfather	<i>mostohaapa</i>	
16.	stepmother	<i>mostohaanya</i>	
17.	stepchild	<i>mostohagyerek</i>	
18.	stepson	<i>mostohafiú</i> (used only as possessed N)	
19.	stepdaughter	<i>mostohalány</i> (used only as possessed N)	
20.	stepsibling	<i>mostohatestvér</i>	
5.1.1.4. <i>By adoption</i>			
1.	adoptive parent	<i>fogadott szülő</i>	
2.	adoptive father	<i>fogadott apa, gyámatya/apa</i> (old use)	
3.	adoptive mother	<i>fogadott any a, gyámánya</i> (old use)	
4.	adoptive child	<i>fogadott gyermek</i>	

5. adoptive son *fogadott fiú, gyámfiú* (latter old use, both only as possessed N)  
 6. adoptive daughter *fogadott lány, gyámleány* (latter old use, both only as possessed N)  
 7. orphan *árva*

#### 5.1.1.5. Ceremonial relationships

##### 5.1.1.5.1 Marriage

- |                   |                    |
|-------------------|--------------------|
| 1. fiancé, groom  | <i>vőlegény</i>    |
| 2. fiancée, bride | <i>menyasszony</i> |
| 3. engaged couple | <i>jegyespár</i>   |
| 4. relatives      | <i>rokonok</i>     |
| 5. newlyweds      | <i>újházások</i>   |
| 6. married couple | <i>házaspár</i>    |
| 7. bachelor       | <i>agglegény</i>   |
| 8. spinster       | <i>aggszűz</i>     |

##### 5.1.1.5.2. Baptism

- |                                      |   |
|--------------------------------------|---|
| 1. godparent                         | <i>keresztszülő</i>                           |
| 2. godfather                         | <i>keresztapa</i>                             |
| 3. godmother                         | <i>keresztanya</i>                            |
| 4. godson                            | <i>keresztfiú</i> (used only as possessed N)  |
| 5. goddaughter                       | <i>keresztlány</i> (used only as possessed N) |
| 6. child's godfather                 | <i>koma</i>                                   |
| 7. child's godmother                 | <i>komaasszony</i>                            |
| 8. godfather of (Catholic) confirmer | <i>bérmakeresztapa</i>                        |
| 9. godmother of (Catholic) confirmer | <i>bérmakeresztanya</i>                       |

#### 5.1.2. Color terminology

1. white *fehér*  
 2. black *fekete*  
 3. red *piros* (derived from 'scorch'), *vörös* (derived from 'blood');  
 though both cover the semantic field corresponding to 'red', *piros* can be more easily associated with lighter shades  
 4. yellow *sárga*  
 5. green *zöld*  
 6. blue *kék*

7. brown
8. grey
9. violet
10. purple
11. dark purple
12. orange
13. pink
14. dark
15. light
16. variegated
17. blond(e)
18. black(-haired)
19. brown(-haired)
20. red(-haired)
21. white(-haired)

barna  
 szürke  
 lila  
 bíbor(színű)  
 bordó  
 narancs(színű)  
 rózsaszín  
 sötét  
 világos  
 színes  
 szőke  
 fekete  
 barna  
 vörös  
 ősz

### 5.1.3. Body parts/functions/conditions

1. abdomen
2. Adam's apple
3. ankle
4. anus
5. arm
6. armpit
7. back
8. backbone
9. bald
10. beard
11. belly
12. bladder
13. blind
14. blood
15. body
16. bone
17. brain
18. breast
19. breastbone
20. breath
21. bruise
22. buttocks
23. calf
24. cheek
25. chin

has  
 ádámcsutka  
 boka  
 végbélnyílás  
 kar  
 hónalj  
 hát  
 gerinc  
 kopasz  
 szakáll  
 has  
 (húgy)hólyag  
 vak  
 vér  
 test  
 csont  
 agy  
 mell, kebel (old use)  
 mellcsont  
 lélegzet  
 zúzódás  
 fenék  
 lábikra  
 orca  
 áll

26.	collarbone	kulcscsont
27.	cross-eyed	kancsal, bandzsa
28.	dandruff	korpa
29.	deaf	siket, süket
30.	deaf and dumb	süketnéma
31.	dumb, mute	néma
32.	ear	fül
33.	elbow	könyök
34.	eye	szem
35.	eyebrow	szemöldök
36.	eyelash	szempilla
37.	eyelid	szemhéj
38.	face	arc
39.	fart	szél (formal), <i>ding</i> (taboo)
40.	finger	ujj
41.	index finger	mutatóujj
42.	middle finger	nagyujj
43.	ring finger	gyűrűsujj
44.	little finger	kisujj
45.	fingertip	ujjhegy
46.	fist	ököl
47.	flesh	hús
48.	foot	láb(fej)
49.	forehead	homlok
50.	gums	íny
51.	guts	bél (SG), belek (PL)
52.	hair	haj
53.	hand	kéz
54.	head	fej
55.	heart	szív
56.	heel	sarok
57.	hiccough	csuklás
58.	hip	csípő
59.	jaw	állkapocs
60.	kidney	vese
61.	knee	térd
62.	lame	sánta
63.	leg	láb
64.	lip	ajak
65.	liver	máj
66.	lung	tüdő
67.	marrow	(csont)velő
68.	molar	zápfog
69.	mouth	száj

70.	mucus	<i>takony</i>
71.	muscle	<i>izom</i>
72.	mustache	<i>bajusz</i>
73.	navel	<i>köldök</i>
74.	neck	<i>nyak</i>
75.	nipple	<i>mellbimbó</i>
76.	nose	<i>orr</i>
77.	nostril	<i>orrlik, orrlyuk</i>
78.	one-eyed	<i>félszemű</i> (lit. 'half-eyed')
79.	palate	<i>szápadlás</i>
80.	palm	<i>tenyér</i>
81.	penis	<i>hímtag</i> (formal), <i>fasz</i> (taboo)
82.	pupil	<i>pupilla</i>
83.	pus	<i>genny</i>
84.	rib	<i>borda</i>
85.	saliva	<i>nyál</i>
86.	scar	<i>heg, sebhely</i>
87.	shit	<i>széklet</i> (formal), <i>szar</i> (taboo)
88.	shoulder	<i>váll</i>
89.	skin	<i>bőr</i>
90.	sweat (N)	<i>könny</i>
91.	tear	<i>izzadtság, verejték</i> (formal)
92.	temple	<i>halánték</i>
93.	testicle	<i>here</i>
94.	thigh	<i>comb</i>
95.	throat	<i>torok</i>
96.	thumb	<i>hüvelykujj</i>
97.	toe	<i>(láb)ujj</i>
98.	tongue	<i>nyelv</i>
99.	tonsil	<i>mandula</i>
100.	tooth	<i>fog</i>
101.	urine	<i>vizelet, húgy</i> (formal), <i>pisa</i> (taboo), <i>pisi</i> (informal)
102.	vagina	<i>hüvely</i> (formal), <i>pina, picsa</i> (both taboo)
103.	vein	<i>véna</i>
104.	waist	<i>derék</i>
105.	wart	<i>szemölcs</i>
106.	wound	<i>seb</i>
107.	wrist	<i>csukló</i>

**5.1.4. Cooking terminology**

(Verbs are given in their 3SG forms unless irregular, when given in infinitive forms followed by 3SG.)

1.	eat	<i>enni, eszik</i>
2.	drink	<i>inni, iszik</i>
3.	cook	<i>főz</i>
4.	roast	<i>(nyárson/roston) süt</i>
5.	fry	<i>(olajban/zsírban) süt</i>
6.	boil	<i>forral</i>
7.	kitchen	<i>konyha</i>
8.	stove	<i>tűzhely</i>
9.	oven	<i>sütő</i>
10.	microwave oven	<i>mikrohullámú sütő</i>
11.	knife	<i>kés</i>
12.	spoon	<i>kanál</i>
13.	fork	<i>villa</i>
14.	ladle	<i>merőkanál</i>
15.	skillet	<i>serpenyő</i>
16.	pot	<i>fazék, lábos</i>
17.	food	<i>élelem</i>

**5.2. BASIC VOCABULARY**

1.	all	<i>minden</i>
2.	and	<i>és</i>
3.	animal	<i>állat</i>
4.	ashes	<i>hamvak (PL), hamu (SG)</i>
5.	at	<i>-nál/nél (see list of cases on page xxvii)</i>
6.	back (PREP)	<i>vissza, hátra</i>
7.	bad	<i>rossz</i>
8.	bark (of tree)	<i>kéreg</i>
9.	because	<i>mert</i>
10.	belly	<i>has</i>
11.	big	<i>nagy</i>
12.	bird	<i>madár</i>
13.	bite	<i>harap</i>
14.	black	<i>fekete</i>
15.	blood	<i>vér</i>
16.	blow	<i>fúj</i>
17.	bone	<i>csont</i>
18.	breast	<i>mell</i>
19.	breathe	<i>lélegzik</i>

20.	burn	ég (intr.), éget (trans.)
21.	child	gyerek
22.	claw	karom
23.	cloud	felhő
24.	cold	hideg
25.	come	jön
26.	count	számol
27.	cut	vág
28.	day	nap
29.	die	(meg)hal
30.	dig	as
31.	dirty	piszkos
32.	dog	kutya
33.	drink	inni, iszik
34.	dry	száraz
35.	dull	buta
36.	dust	por
37.	ear	fül
38.	earth	föld
39.	eat	enni, eszik
40.	egg	tojás
41.	eye	szem
42.	fall	esik
43.	far	messze
44.	fat/grease	zsír
45.	father	apa
46.	fear	fél
47.	feather	toll
48.	few	kevés
49.	fight	harcol
50.	fire	tűz
51.	fish	hal
52.	five	öt
53.	float	lebeg
54.	flow	folyik
55.	flower	virág
56.	fly	repül
57.	fog	köd
58.	foot	láb(fej)
59.	four	négy
60.	freeze	fagy
61.	fruit	gyümölcs
62.	full	tele
63.	give	ad

64.	good	jó
65.	grass	fű
66.	guts	bél (SG), belek (PL)
67.	hair	haj
68.	hand	kéz
69.	he, she	ő
70.	head	fej
71.	hear	hall
72.	heart	szív
73.	heavy	nehéz
74.	here	itt
75.	hit	üt
76.	hold	tart
77.	horn	szarv
78.	how	hogy(an)
79.	hunt	vadászik
80.	husband	férj
81.	I	én
82.	ice	jég
83.	if	ha
84.	in	-ban/ben (see list of cases on page xxvii)
85.	kill	(meg)öl
86.	knee	térd
87.	know	tud
88.	lake	tó
89.	laugh	nevet
90.	leaf	levél
91.	left side	bal
92.	leg	láb
93.	lie	feküdni, fekszik
94.	live	él
95.	liver	máj
96.	long	hosszú
97.	louse	tetű
98.	man (male/female)	ember
99.	man (male)	férfi
100.	many, much	sok
101.	meat	hús
102.	moon	hold
103.	mother	anya
104.	mountain	hegy
105.	mouth	száj
106.	name	név
107.	narrow	szűk

108.	near	<i>közel</i>
109.	neck	<i>nyak</i>
110.	new	<i>új</i>
111.	night	<i>éjszaka, éjjel</i>
112.	nose	<i>orr</i>
113.	not	<i>nem</i>
114.	old	<i>régi (thing), öreg (person)</i>
115.	one	<i>egy</i>
116.	other	<i>más(ik)</i>
117.	person	<i>személy</i>
118.	play	<i>játszik</i>
119.	pull	<i>húz</i>
120.	push	<i>lök</i>
121.	rain	<i>esik</i>
122.	red	<i>piros, vörös</i>
123.	right, correct	<i>jó, helyes</i>
124.	right side	<i>jobb</i>
125.	river	<i>folyó</i>
126.	road	<i>út</i>
127.	root	<i>gyökér</i>
128.	rope	<i>kötél</i>
129.	rotten	<i>rothadt</i>
130.	round	<i>kerek</i>
131.	rub	<i>dörzsöl</i>
132.	salt	<i>só</i>
133.	sand	<i>homok</i>
134.	say	<i>mond</i>
135.	scratch	<i>vakar</i>
136.	sea	<i>tenger</i>
137.	see	<i>lát</i>
138.	seed	<i>mag</i>
139.	sew	<i>varr</i>
140.	sharp	<i>éles</i>
141.	short	<i>rövid</i>
142.	sing	<i>énekel</i>
143.	sit	<i>ül</i>
144.	skin	<i>bőr</i>
145.	sky	<i>ég</i>
146.	sleep	<i>aludni, alszik</i>
147.	small	<i>kis, kicsi</i>
148.	smell	<i>szagol (trans.), szaglik (intr.)</i>
149.	smoke	<i>füst</i>
150.	smooth	<i>sima</i>
151.	snake	<i>kígyó</i>

152.	snow	hó
153.	some	néhány
154.	spit	köp
155.	split	hasít
156.	squeeze	szorít
157.	stab, pierce	szur
158.	stand	áll
159.	star	csillag
160.	stick	bot
161.	stone	kő
162.	straight	egyenes
163.	suck	szopik
164.	sun	nap
165.	swell	dagad
166.	swim	úszik
167.	tail	farok
168.	that	az
169.	there	ott
170.	they	ők
171.	thick	vastag
172.	thin	vékony
173.	think	gondol
174.	this	ez
175.	thou	te
176.	three	három
177.	throw	dob
178.	tie	köt
179.	tongue	nyelv
180.	tooth	fog
181.	tree	fa
182.	turn	fordul (intr.), fordít (trans.)
183.	two	két, kettő
184.	vomit	hány
185.	walk	sétál
186.	warm	meleg
187.	wash	mos
188.	water	víz
189.	we	mi
190.	wet	nedves
191.	what	mi
192.	when	mikor
193.	where	hol
194.	white	fehér
195.	who	ki

196.	wide	<i>széles</i>
197.	wife	<i>feleség</i>
198.	wind	<i>szél</i>
199.	wing	<i>szárny</i>
200.	wipe	<i>töröl</i>
201.	with	<i>-val/vel</i> (see list of cases on page xxvii)
202.	woman	<i>nő</i>
203.	woods	<i>erdő</i>
204.	worm	<i>féreg</i>
205.	ye	<i>ti</i>
206.	year	<i>év</i>
207.	yellow	<i>sárga</i>

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