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A postposition with ambition: tracking the expansion of *számára*

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*A szavaknak igéző erejük van, egyszerre tudnak a múltba és a jövőbe
világítani.*

— Sándor Márai, *Vendégjáték Bolzanóban* (1940)

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ABBREVIATIONS

Below, a legend is provided for the reader, listing the abbreviations included in the Leipzig Glossing Rules used throughout the text. In this regard, it should also be noted that several considerations have been adopted, which the reader should keep in mind:

- In the absence of an explicit temporal marking, the verbal form is to be interpreted as present.
- When mood is not overtly marked, the default interpretation is the indicative.
- Since in Hungarian the third-person singular present indicative is the verb's unmarked form, it functions as the default base from which other inflected forms are derived. Accordingly, the third-person singular present indicative is rendered as .3SG rather than -3SG, maintaining transparency while at the same time signalling its unmarked status within the subjective conjugation (for the conjugation definition and its distinction from the objective conjugation see Section 3.1).
- When *számára* bears person and number morphology that identifies its pronoun complement (the pronoun itself is usually *pro*-dropped) it is glossed using the dotted postposition followed by person and number. In all other cases, namely, when *számára* governs a noun phrase in the nominative, the corresponding prepositional phrase is highlighted in the original text to facilitate reading and transparency. In these instances, the *számára* phrase is marked as [...*számára*]_{PP}.

1	First person	ADJ	Adjective
2	Second person	ADV	Adverb(ial)
3	Third person	ALL	Allative case
ABL	Ablative case	ART	Article
ACC	Accusative case	CAUS	Causative

CMP	Comparative	SBJV	Subjunctive
COND	Conditional	SG	Singular
DAT	Dative case	SUP	Superlative case
DEL	Delative case	SUPESS	Superessive case
DET	Determiner	TEMP	Temporal case
ESS	Essive case	TRANSL	Translative case
GEN	Genitive case		
IMP	Imperative		
INE	Inessive case		
INF	Infinitive		
INS	Instrumental case		
NMZ	Nominalizer		
PASS	Passive		
PAST	Past		
PL	Plural		
POSS	Possessive		
POST	Postposition		
POT	Potential suffix		
PRO	Pronominal		
PTCP	Participle		
PV	Pre-verb		

1. INTRODUCTION

Languages change. They do so gradually, often imperceptibly from one generation to the next, and the changes that prove most theoretically revealing are rarely the dramatic ones (the loss of a case paradigm, the collapse of a conjugational system) but rather the quiet, incremental shifts in the distribution of competing forms, the slow erosion of a boundary that was never absolute. This thesis takes as its starting point one such shift, currently underway in contemporary Hungarian: the progressive expansion of the postposition *számára* into syntactic environments that were, until recently, the exclusive preserve of the morphological dative case. The phenomenon is not in itself unattested, previous scholarship, (Rákosi 2006, 2021), has already identified the functional overlap between the two forms and drawn the first theoretical boundaries around it. Most notably Rákosi (2025a) has also taken initial steps toward examining it through corpus data. Yet a comprehensive, corpus-based study focusing on a defined set of verbal predicates has not been attempted so far. This thesis proposes to take a first step in that direction, expanding the empirical base and sketching out possible developments for future research, including perspectives that reach beyond corpus-based methodologies.

The interest of the phenomenon extends well beyond Hungarian. The competition between synthetic case marking and analytic postpositional encoding of goal-oriented and experiencer participants is a recurrent structural dynamic in the history and synchrony of natural languages, attested in the diachronic record of post-Classical Greek (Stolk 2017), in the functional range of the Latin *dativus iudicantis* (Luraghi 2010), and also in the synchronic grammars of typologically unrelated languages (Luraghi 2016) which display structurally comparable coexistence patterns between a morphological dative and a formally distinct postpositional construction for beneficiary and evaluative perspective functions¹. Situating the Hungarian data within this cross-linguistic context is not merely a rhetorical move: it provides independent theoretical motivation for treating the expansion of *számára* not as an anomaly internal to the Uralic family but as an instance

¹ This topic will be extensively addressed and further discussed in Section 2.4, with suitable examples illustrating the relevant points.

of a cross-linguistically stable and structurally well-motivated grammaticalization trajectory — one in which a postpositional construction of nominal origin progressively loses its original lexical restrictions and develops into an increasingly abstract marker of participant-oriented perspective. The historical and typological background against which this trajectory is mapped constitutes the substance of Chapter 2.

The empirical investigation at the heart of the thesis is a corpus-based study organized around a sample of six verbs selected to span a theoretically structured range of semantic and argument-structural configurations: *segít* ‘help’, *kedvez* ‘be favourable to’, *megjelenik* ‘appear’, *feltűnik* ‘become noticeable’, *fáj* ‘hurt’, and *hiányzik* ‘miss/ to be missing’. These verbs differ along analytically relevant dimensions: the position/state of their dative argument on the continuum between obligatory experiencer and optional adjunct and the semantic type of the participant that *számára* introduces in each construction. The heterogeneity of the sample is not incidental but constitutive of the research design: only by comparing the distribution of *számára* across predicates that differ in precisely these respects can the analysis identify which factors drive the postposition’s expansion and which constrain it. The data were extracted from two complementary corpora:

- the Hungarian Gigaword Corpus (HGC), a synchronic resource of approximately 1.5 billion tokens organized across six registers, which provides the quantitative baseline for the analysis;
- the Hungarian Historical Corpus (HHC), a diachronic resource of approximately 30 million tokens spanning the period from 1772 to 2010, which makes it possible to situate the synchronic findings within a longer historical trajectory.

The methodological choices underlying this corpus-based approach, and the multi-stage data extraction and filtering procedure developed for the study, are described in detail in Chapter 3.

The results of the corpus-based investigation are presented and discussed in Chapter 4 through a substantial collection of glossed and translated examples drawn from both corpora, which together constitute the empirical backbone of the analysis. The data confirm that *számára* constitutes an active and expanding presence in the argument-encoding repertoire of contemporary Hungarian, but also that its expansion is neither

uniform nor unconditioned. The factors conditioning this variation are examined in detail and possible motivating principles are identified and discussed.

The fifth and concluding chapter draws together the main findings of the investigation and situates them within the framework developed in the preceding chapters, outlining a set of directions for future research.

2. THE HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

This chapter provides the theoretical and historical background for the empirical investigation conducted in the following chapters. Section 2.1 introduces the typological and grammatical properties of Hungarian most relevant to the present analysis: its agglutinative morphology, the difference between case markers and postpositions and the discourse-configurational structure, which can be considered intricately related to word order and argument realization. Section 2.2 turns to *számára* itself, tracing its development from a possessive nominal construction to its current status as a productive marker of beneficiary, experiencer, and evaluative roles, and establishing its position at the boundary between the core and non-core argument domains. Section 2.3. reviews the relevant theoretical literature on the grammaticalization of Hungarian postpositions and on the core/non-core argument distinction, integrating these insights into an account of the competition between *számára* and the morphological dative, two formally distinct means competing for the expression of the same function. On this basis, the alternation between the two forms is characterized as a difference in the formal encoding of a participant role. Section 2.4 situates these claims within a broader cross-linguistic and diachronic perspective, examining parallel cases of competition between synthetic case marking and analytic prepositional encoding in post-Classical Greek, Latin, and several contemporary non-Indo-European languages.

2.1. A non-Indo-European voice at the centre of Europe

The purpose of this section is to outline the basic sentence structure and the relevant morphological, and partly morphosyntactic, properties of specific Hungarian case markers and postpositions, so as to offer the reader the contextual foundations required for the subsequent analytical sections.

Hungarian is a Uralic language belonging to the Ugric branch, and as such it is genetically unrelated to the Indo-European languages spoken in its surrounding area. It is an agglutinative language: grammatical information is conveyed through suffixes that

attach to the stem in a largely transparent and regular fashion, each suffix contributing a distinct grammatical meaning. It should be borne in mind, however, that in Hungarian, morphology is predominantly suffixal, although there are a few exceptions involving inflectional prefixes, as in the case of the superlative (e.g. *leg-nagy-obb* ‘the biggest’ where the superlative prefix *leg-* combines with the adjective root and the comparative suffix *-Vbb*). Being mainly suffixal, from a typological perspective, means that the verbal form can become morphologically complex, encoding within a single word information about tense, mood, aspect, person, number, and the definiteness of the object (Kenesei & Szécsényi 2022).

A further morphological property of the Hungarian adpositional system that bears directly on the present study concerns the paradigmatic behaviour of case markers and postpositions when their complement is a personal pronoun. In such cases, the pronoun complement is regularly *pro*-dropped, and its person and number features are instead spelled out through agreement morphology on the case marker or postposition itself, yielding what may be called overt pronominal forms of the adposition. The dative marker, for instance, surfaces as *nek-em* (DAT-1SG, ‘to me’), *nek-ed* (DAT-2SG, ‘to you’), and *nek-i* (DAT-3SG, ‘to him/her’), while inflecting postpositions, such as *felett* ‘above’, display analogous paradigms: *felett-em* ‘above me’, *felett-ed* ‘above you’, *felett-e* ‘above him/her/it’. This pattern, however, does not extend to the adpositional inventory as a whole, but characterizes specifically the class of *case-like* postpositions², namely those combining with an unmarked, caseless complement and displaying a full person-agreement paradigm. In this respect, *számára* patterns with a narrower subclass that Dékány & Hegedűs (2021: §2.4.2) term possessive postpositions. Canonical case-like Ps show the order P-agreement in their pronominal paradigm (e.g. *felett-em*), *számára*³ instead follows the order found in ordinary possessed nouns, where possessive agreement precedes the case suffix (on the model of canonical possessive constructions such as *kez-em-ben* ‘in my hand’), i.e. agreement and then case rather than P and then agreement.

² On the other hand, *case-assigning* postpositions behave differently. For example, in *hídon át* ‘across the bridge’, the postposition *át* combines with a complement already marked for superessive case *híd-on* and does not itself inflect for person; similarly, in *velem együtt* ‘together with me’, *együtt* ‘together’ remains invariant while person-number features surface on the case-marked pronoun *vel-em* ‘with me’ that precedes it. In these constructions person-agreement is external to the postposition, which is not itself pronominal, and instead an overt case-marked complement is structurally present.

³ Together with a small set of postpositions of comparable origin such as *részére* ‘for’ (beneficient).

Dékány & Hegedűs treat such items as transitional or borderline postpositions, precisely because they retain this possessive morphosyntax, unlike postpositions of comparable possessive origin that have since fully grammaticalized and lost it. The theoretical significance for the present study is twofold.

First, it means that, in this specific case study, the morphological dative and postpositional constructions are structurally parallel at the level of pronominal realization: both yield a single phonological word that fuses case or relational content with person-number agreement, with no overt nominal complement. This surface parallelism, however, conceals two different morphological routes. The dative fuses case and agreement directly on a bound stem: *nek-em* segments transparently into the dative stem *nek-* and the agreement suffix *-em*. *Számára*, by contrast, originates as a possessed relational noun, so *számomra* segments into the nominal stem *szám-* (‘count, number’), the possessive agreement marker *-om* — the same paradigm found in ordinary noun possession, e.g. *ház-am* ‘my house’ — and the sublative case suffix *-ra* (see *Table 1*). The two constructions thus converge on the same surface outcome by different structural means: in neither case does the pronoun surface as an independent word standing apart from the case marker or postposition, but rather has its person and number features fused into a single phonological word. This asymmetry is unsurprising, given that what is ultimately being compared is a bound case marker and an adposition of nominal origin (this will be further discussed in Section 2.3).

Table 1: Comparison between *számára* and the dative case overt pronominal form

	<i>Számára</i> pronominal form	Dative pronominal form
1SG	<i>számomra</i>	<i>nekem</i>
2SG	<i>számodra</i>	<i>neked</i>
3SG	<i>számára</i>	<i>neki</i>
1PL	<i>számunkra</i>	<i>nekünk</i>
2PL	<i>számotokra</i>	<i>nektek</i>
3PL	<i>számukra</i>	<i>nekik</i>

Second, and more concretely, the competition between the morphological dative and *számára* examined in Chapter 4 manifests, in pronominal contexts, as a competition

between two paradigmatically complete sets of overt pronominal forms — *nekem* on one side, *számomra* on the other — rather than as a competition between a bound suffix and a free postposition. This structural parallelism between the two competing forms is a prerequisite for understanding how the competition between them can be pervasive across registers and predicate types, since neither construction requires a phonologically heavier or more marked realization than the other in pronominal contexts (the pronoun can be dropped). To make this alternation concrete, consider the following minimal set in examples (1), (2) and (3), (4), in which only the beneficiary argument varies between a full NP and a *pro*-dropped pronoun. It should be recalled here that examples (3) and (4) differ only in the presence of the lexical NP, since the 3SG pronominal form of *számára* is syncretic with its citation form, unlike the dative, where *nek-i* is formally distinct from the suffix *-nak/-nek*:

- 1) *Ez János-nak fontos.*
 this János-DAT important
 ‘This is important for János.’
- 2) *Ez nek-i fontos.*
 this DAT-3SG important
 ‘This is important for him.’
- 3) *Ez [János számára]_{PP} fontos.*
 this János.NOM for important
 ‘This is important for János.’
- 4) *Ez számára fontos.*
 this for.3SG important
 ‘This is important for him.’

Having said that, it is also essential to note that a pervasive morphophonological property of the suffixal system is vowel harmony: the vowels of core case suffixes must harmonize with the stem to which they attach, yielding two or sometimes three allomorphic variants for each suffix. The dative marker, for instance, surfaces as *-nak* after back-vowel stems

(*Flóra-nak* ‘to Flora’) and as *-nek* after front-vowel stems (*Bencé-nek* ‘to Bence’), a pattern that extends systematically across the entire inventory of oblique case markers⁴. For what concerns word order and information structure, this language has a neutral SVO word order, but it is more precisely described as a discourse-configurational language, in which constituents bearing specific discourse features occupy fixed preverbal positions. A Hungarian sentence is structurally divided into a topic domain and a predicate domain. The topic, which is typically a definite noun phrase, establishes the discourse anchor of the utterance. The focus, which occupies the position immediately preceding the verb, carries narrow or contrastive information and is prosodically prominent; its presence obligatorily triggers preverb–verb inversion⁵. The functional content template of a tensed clause is thus Topic(s) > Quantifier(s) > Negation > Focus > Verb > Other (É. Kiss 2002). This template, however, describes the canonical order for sentences with referential, agentive subjects. Non-agentive subjects of unaccusative predicates frequently remain in the postverbal field even in neutral, discourse-independent contexts, and their topicalization is structurally less natural than that of agentive subjects (Rákosi 2021)⁶. Furthermore, Hungarian is considered as a *pro*-drop language, because pronominal subjects are not obligatory, since person and number information is recoverable from the verbal morphology. So, the apparent freedom of Hungarian word order is a strict mapping

⁴ This generalization holds at the level of regular, productive suffixation, but Hungarian vowel harmony is not purely phonological: as Rebrus, Szigetvári & Törkenczy (2023) show, it is also shaped by lexical and paradigmatic factors, a property they term harmonic uncertainty. Monosyllabic stems containing a single neutral vowel (*i, í, é, e*) are lexically idiosyncratic with respect to harmony (so-called antiharmony): *sír* ‘grave’ selects the back dative allomorph (*sír-nak*), while the vocally identical *hír* ‘news’ selects the front allomorph (*hír-nek*), a distinction not predictable from the phonological shape of the stem. Stems containing a back vowel followed by one or more neutral vowels may show comparable unpredictability, vacillating lexically between the two allomorphs — e.g. *szatén* ‘satin’, dative *szatén-nek* or *szatén-nak* — with the choice conditioned by factors such as frequency, register, and etymological origin rather than by harmony as such. It should also be noted that this variability is compounded by a further set of cases: certain oblique suffixes, such as *-kor* ‘at’ and *-ért* ‘for’ or ‘because of’, have become historically frozen and no longer alternate at all, surfacing in an invariant form irrespective of the stem (Kenesei, Vago & Fenyvesi 2006).

⁵ This discourse-configurational property of the language is directly relevant to the distribution of *számára* phrases, which — as the corpus data presented in Chapter 4 will show — display considerable positional mobility and are frequently found in topicalized left-peripheral positions, where they function as perspectival or evaluative anchors for the interpretation of the predicate.

⁶ This property is directly relevant to the present study: four of the six verbal predicates examined in Chapter 4 (*megjelenik*, *feltűnik*, *fáj*, and *hiányzik*) are unaccusative, and the postverbal tendency of their nominative subjects creates a structural environment in which the *számára*-phrase, as a referential and specific nominal expression, is a natural candidate for the topic position. The postverbal tendency of nominative subjects with unaccusative predicates such as *fáj* and *hiányzik* frees the preverbal position for the *számára*-phrase in this scenario.

of structural positions onto discourse-logical functions (topic and focus), rather than onto grammatical functions such as subject or object. Any argument of the verb — subject, direct object, oblique complement — may equally occupy the topic or the focus position, irrespective of its grammatical role, depending solely on its discourse-logical properties. That said, other things being equal, the default topic is the subject. This discourse-configurational architecture has a direct consequence for the analysis developed in this study: the structural mobility of *számára*-phrases documented in Chapter 4, where they appear in topic position, in postverbal argument position, and occasionally in focus position, is not a morphosyntactic anomaly but a natural reflex of the discourse-configurational system, which makes all these positions equally available to any constituent bearing the appropriate discourse properties. The topic position, which precedes the predicate domain, is formally associated with two requirements identified by É. Kiss (2002: 9–10): the topic constituent must be [+referential] and [+specific], meaning that its referent must be identifiable as an individual (or a group of them) already present in the universe of discourse. Quantifiers bearing an operator feature and non-specific indefinites are categorically excluded from the topic position. This constraint has also direct empirical relevance for the present study. Across the six verbs examined in Section 4.1, *számára*-phrases display a strong tendency to occupy the topic position, and their complements are consistently animate, institutionally characterized, or otherwise discourse-anchored referents — precisely the type of nominal expression that satisfies the [+referential] and [+specific] requirements of the topic position. The affinity of *számára* for topic position is therefore not an arbitrary distributional preference but a structural consequence of the semantic properties of its typical complements⁷. The focus position, which is immediately preverbal and triggers the obligatory postverbal displacement of the verb modifier, carries a semantically more precise value than mere prosodic prominence or new information. As É. Kiss (2002: 77–78) demonstrates, the Hungarian preverbal⁸ focus performs exhaustive identification: it asserts that the referent of the focused constituent is the only element of the contextually relevant set for which the

⁷ Moreover, as will be discussed in greater detail in Section 3.2, which deals with the principles underlying the selection of the verb sample, some of these verbs fall into the category of experiencer verbs, which are likely to have preverbal datives.

⁸ Hungarian has also postverbal focus, which does not have this property.

content of the predicate holds. This distinguishes Hungarian focus from presentational or informational focus in other languages, and it has consequences for the interpretation of any constituent that occupies the focus position. When a *számára*-phrase is focused — a configuration attested in the corpus data examined in Chapter 4 — the resulting interpretation is not merely that the participant introduced by the PP is a relevant or new discourse entity, but that it is the unique participant relative to whom the predicate's content holds to the exclusion of all other contextually salient alternatives. This semantic force may be one of the factors that motivate the selection of the analytic postpositional construction over the morphological dative in contexts where the perspectival or evaluative salience of the participant is discourse foregrounded.

2.2. *Számára*

Among the elements that encode benefactive, experiential and perspectival relations in contemporary Hungarian, the postposition *számára* occupies a particularly interesting position from both a historical and a grammatical point of view. Although in present-day Hungarian it is commonly used to express recipient, beneficiary, experiencer or evaluative viewpoint relations, its emergence is relatively late when compared to the dative case, which represents one of the oldest and most productive grammatical categories of the language. According to Rákosi (2025a), up until the end of the Old Hungarian period the dative constituted the principal, and often the only, morphosyntactic device available for the encoding of indirect participants (secondary recipients). The Hungarian dative, marked by the suffix *-nak/-nek*, was already fully grammaticalized in the earliest written attestations of the language and displayed a remarkably wide functional range. In addition to encoding prototypical recipients and addressees, it was employed to mark interlocutors, experiencers, affected participants, dative causers and numerous other syntactic and semantic functions. This versatility explains why the development of a new competing construction constitutes a phenomenon of particular relevance for the historical linguistics of Hungarian.

The origin of *számára* is closely linked to the noun *szám*, a Turkic loanword which in Old Hungarian had a broader meaning than its nowadays sense ‘number’. Medieval

attestations show that the term could denote a ‘group’, a ‘category’, a ‘troop’ or a set of animate beings organized according to a certain order (Benkő 1976: 669, cited in Dékány & Hegedűs 2021: 171). From a possessive construction based on this noun, the postpositional form *számára* gradually developed. Its structure still preserves clear traces of this origin: the nominal stem *szám*, the third-person singular possessive suffix *-a/-e*⁹, and the sublativ suffix *-ra*¹⁰. The possessive origin of *számára* reflects a broader property of the Hungarian adpositional system, rather than an isolated fact about this one postposition. Rákosi & Tóth (2022) show that many Hungarian postpositions can be analysed, both diachronically and to some extent synchronically, as containing an underlying possessive structure built around a (historically) relational noun: a postposition such as *mellett-em* ‘beside me’ can be decomposed as involving a covert relational noun PLACE, with the pronominal complement as its possessor — essentially ‘beside my place’ — a possessive character that is gradually lost in the course of grammaticalization. *Számára* instantiates the same underlying pattern in an overt, non-bleached form: its possessive morphology (the stem *szám*, possessive agreement, and the sublativ case suffix) directly spells out the possessive syntax that other, more grammaticalized postpositions retain only covertly. A possessive nominal structure comes to encode a beneficiary/experiencer relation.

The earliest attestations of *számára* as a postpositional element date back to the sixteenth century. In this initial phase, this new construction appears exclusively as a marker of indirect recipients in contexts of concrete transfer. Historical data show that the postposition was primarily used to indicate the final recipient of a transferred object, without necessarily coinciding with the participant directly involved in the event expressed by the verb. In other words, the construction originally served to encode what Rákosi terms an ‘intended recipient’, that is, a designated or expected recipient who is not necessarily present in the transfer event itself.

⁹ The surface form *-á-* found in *számára* is not itself the possessive suffix, but the phonological realization of the third-person singular possessive suffix *-a* when followed by another suffix. Compare the ordinary possessive form in *Mi a száma?* ‘What is his/her number?’, where *száma* consists of the nominal stem *szám* and the same 3SG possessive suffix *-a*. The postposition *számára* historically continues this possessive form with the addition of the sublativ suffix *-ra*.

¹⁰ The current meaning of *szám* ‘number’ is thus a secondary development, and the compositional semantics of the original possessive construction has been progressively bleached in the course of grammaticalization.

This early developmental stage presents interesting parallels with what is observed in the Romance languages, and for this reason a short explanatory aside is needed here. Drawing on the work of Fedriani and Prandi (2014), Rákosi interprets the emergence of *számára* as part of a broader typological phenomenon known as the *dative cycle*, in which adpositional constructions gradually take over some of the functions originally fulfilled by the dative. In Latin, for instance, the preposition *ad* was used to express indirect recipients not immediately involved in the event, while the dative continued to encode more tightly integrated recipients. By Late Latin, *ad* had extended even into contexts involving verbs of speech, where Classical Latin required the dative: the Vulgate's recurrent formula *locutus est Dominus ad Moysen* 'the Lord spoke to Moses' (Exodus 6) uses for example *ad* where Classical Latin would have had the dative *Moysi*. In the modern Romance languages, the cycle reaches completion: in Italian for example, with the loss of the Latin dative case, the prepositional strategy becomes the sole means of encoding recipients across the board, regardless of the original nucleus/periphery distinction, as in *Ho dato il libro a Maria* 'I gave the book to Maria'. According to Rákosi, the context in which *számára* emerges in the sixteenth century appears quite similar to this model. The structural logic underlying this development finds cross-linguistic grounding in a typological observation developed by Luraghi (2010) in her analysis of adverbial constructions in Latin. Luraghi notes that in languages with a dative case, Beneficiary is frequently encoded through the same case form as Recipient, but that this functional overlap creates systemic pressure toward differentiation: when a Beneficiary and a Recipient co-occur within the same clause, as in the English *Mary gave me a present for my sister*, the two participant roles need to be kept formally distinct, and languages regularly develop additional morphological or syntactic strategies to signal this contrast. In Latin, this differentiation was achieved through the preposition *pro* with the ablative, which came to encode prototypical beneficiary alongside, and in contrast, to the plain dative, which encoded the more core, syntactically integrated recipient¹¹. This typological pattern provides a principled structural motivation for the development of *számára* in

¹¹ This *pro*-based differentiation of Beneficiary from Recipient is a separate development from the later *ad*-based erosion of the dative's Recipient function discussed above (see the Vulgate example): the two prepositions target distinct sides of the Latin dative complex — *pro* keeps Beneficiary formally apart from Recipient already in Classical Latin, while *ad* progressively absorbs the Recipient function itself in Late Latin.

Hungarian. If the dative is the canonical form for encoding recipients and core experiencers as arguments, then the emergence of a distinct postpositional construction to handle the more peripheral, external, or evaluatively framed participant — the beneficiary in the broad sense, and by extension the perspectival reference point — follows a path that is cross-linguistically well-attested. The Hungarian situation can therefore be understood not as an anomaly but as an instance of a widespread structural dynamic in which languages with dative case systems develop additional analytic resources to handle participants that are semantically central but structurally less integrated than core arguments.

Returning to the historical development of *számára*, from the seventeenth century onwards, the construction begins a long process of semantic and syntactic expansion. One of the earliest changes concerns the restrictions on the type of referent admitted. Initially, the postposition selected almost exclusively human referents or entities interpretable metonymically as groups of people, such as cities, villages or communities. During the eighteenth century, the construction gradually extends to higher animals, while the first attestations with fully inanimate referents appear in the first half of the nineteenth century. This development reflects a classic process of *semantic bleaching*, through which the original meaning of the construction becomes progressively weakened and generalized. Parallel to this, an expansion of the semantic roles expressed by the postposition can be observed. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, *számára* appears almost exclusively in contexts of material transfer associated with verbs such as *ad* ‘give’, *küld* ‘send’, *vesz* ‘buy’ or *szerez* ‘procure’. Over time, however, it is increasingly employed in more abstract situations in which no concrete transfer is involved. Already between the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the construction appears with predicates expressing perception, interpretation or subjective evaluation. Particularly significant is the extension to experiencer roles. According to Rákosi (2006), one of the major developments of the twentieth century consists precisely in the use of *számára* to introduce participants functioning as cognitive or emotional reference points with respect to a given state of affairs. As the examples (5) and (6) show, the postposition in these cases no longer identifies the recipient of a transfer but the subject relative to whom a situation is interpreted or evaluated.

5) *A világ marionettszínház-nak tűnik számára.*
 the world puppet theatre-DAT seem.3SG for.3SG
 ‘The world appears to him/her as a puppet theatre.’

6) *Nem jelent számára semmi-t.*
 not mean.3SG for.3SG nothing-ACC
 ‘It means nothing to him/her.’

A further stage of expansion concerns the syntactic environments that may host the construction. While *számára* was initially restricted to specific verbal classes, during the twentieth century it spreads to adjectival and nominal predicates and even to the level of the entire clause. In such contexts, the postposition increasingly functions as a marker of the viewpoint from which a situation is assessed. The expression no longer simply identifies a participant in the event but introduces an external interpretive perspective that serves as a cognitive or evaluative anchor.

From a morphosyntactic perspective, the evolution of *számára* is accompanied by a gradual process of grammaticalization. Although the construction formally preserves the structure of a possessive phrase, many of its original properties have progressively weakened. Rákosi shows that the possibility of interpreting *számára* as a genuine possessive construction is now severely limited compared to earlier stages of the language.

The morphosyntactic status of *számára* within the Hungarian postpositional system has been described in precise formal terms also by Dékány and Hegedűs (2021), who classify it as a possessive postposition — a category of transitional elements that have not yet fully grammaticalized into postpositions proper and continue to display residual properties of the possessive constructions from which they originate. In their taxonomy of Hungarian postpositions, possessive postpositions are listed alongside elements such as *részére* ‘for (beneficient)’, *ellenére* ‘despite’, *révén* ‘by means of’, and *nyomán* ‘based on’, all of which share the same morphological template: a nominal stem, followed by a possessive suffix, followed by a spatial case suffix. In the case of *számára*, this structure is transparently recoverable, as already mentioned before. Crucially, Dékány and Hegedűs also document a systematic semantic distinction between *számára* and its occasional synonym, *részére* ‘for’ (beneficient). While the two postpositions are largely

interchangeable in prototypical benefactive contexts (as in *viszonteladók részére/száma-
kedvezményt biztosítunk* ‘we offer a discount for distributors’) *számára* is strongly preferred, and in many cases obligatory, when the complement refers to an abstract concept or when the participant functions as an experiencer rather than a beneficiary proper, as shown by the contrast in *ez kellemetlen volt Pál számára / *részére* ‘this was inconvenient for Pál’ (Dékány & Hegedűs 2021: 171–172). This distributional asymmetry provides direct synchronic evidence for the semantic specialization of *számára* toward experiencer and evaluative perspective functions — a specialization that, as the present study aims to show, is still actively expanding in contemporary Hungarian.

Conversely, the formal syntactic status of *számára* within the Hungarian argument structure system has been outlined in detail also by Rákosi (2021), whose analysis provides an important theoretical complement to the grammaticalization perspective developed in the preceding paragraphs. Within the framework elaborated in that study, a systematic distinction is drawn between core and non-core PP arguments of verbal and adjectival predicates. Core arguments are both selected and subcategorized for by the head: the predicate entails their existence, and their morphosyntactic form is lexically determined and admits no variation. Non-core arguments, by contrast, are optional in the strong sense — they are not included in the core argument list of the predicate — and their morphological realization is variable, since no single adposition is imposed by the verb’s subcategorization frame. It is precisely within this second domain that *számára* operates. As Rákosi (2021: 307) explicitly states, the postposition «is only found outside of the core argument domain» and «can often be replaced by a dative PP without changing the propositional meaning of the clause». The diagnostic evidence for this restriction is particularly clear with prototypical core dative experiencer predicates. The verb *tetszik* ‘appeal to, be liked by’, for example, takes a dative experiencer as a core argument — an argument that is always entailed and whose morphological realization is categorically fixed as dative. In this construction, the substitution of *számára* for the dative is entirely ungrammatical: while *nagyon tetszett nekem a film* ‘I very much liked the film’ is fully acceptable, **nagyon tetszett számomra a film* is not (Rákosi 2021: 305, ex. 41c). This categorical exclusion from the core argument domain is a crucial datum for the present study, because it establishes the theoretical baseline against which the expansion of *számára* documented in Chapter 4 acquires its full significance. The verbs examined in

this thesis are in fact not instances of the core experiencer class exemplified by *tetszik*. As Rákosi (2006) had already noted, predicates such as *hiányzik* ‘miss’ admit fully grammatical monadic uses without any overt experiencer (*hiányzik a könyv* ‘the book is missing’), which demonstrates that their dative argument occupies a structurally less integrated position than the dative of *tetszik*. The verbs selected for this study therefore sit at or near the boundary between the core and non-core argument domains. It is precisely at this boundary, and not at the categorical core, that *számára* is documented here to be advancing — a finding that confirms rather than contradicts Rákosi’s theoretical generalization, while at the same time revealing that the boundary itself is subject to ongoing renegotiation.

The history of *számára* can therefore be interpreted as the shift from a lexical possessive construction to an increasingly abstract marker of perspectival orientation. The progressive loss of its original restrictions, the extension to new semantic roles and the widening of its syntactic environments all testify to a grammaticalization process still underway. The postposition thus occupies an intermediate position between lexical possessive structures and fully grammaticalized postpositions, confirming the observations of Hegedűs (2014) and Dékány & Hegedűs (2021).

Számára continues to expand its domain of use, standing alongside the dative without fully replacing it and carving out a specific functional niche in the expression of perspective, experience and subjective evaluation. Freed from the limiting definition of a mere stylistic variant of the dative, this postposition is therefore understood here as an increasingly autonomous marker of beneficiary, experiencer and, above all, evaluative perspective, occupying an intermediate position between lexical possessive structure and fully grammaticalized postposition. This historical trajectory constitutes the essential background for understanding the contemporary distribution of *számára* and its relationship with the dative (topics that will be examined in the following chapters) as well as the theoretical basis on which the hypothesis of this thesis is grounded.

2.3. Grammaticalization and the synthetic-analytic divide

The starting point for the present investigation is the observation that the Hungarian case system does not constitute a fixed and closed inventory, but rather a system in flux, shaped by ongoing processes of grammaticalization. This general property of the Hungarian postpositional system (its openness to the ongoing grammaticalization of new members from nominal and possessive structures) is explicitly documented in Hegedűs (2021), who observes that the class of postpositions in Hungarian, while relatively closed, is, indeed, not fixed: new postpositions grammaticalize from time to time, primarily from relational nouns marked as heads of possessive constructions and bearing a spatial case suffix, and from adverbial participles (Hegedűs 2021: 3). The class thus constitutes a gradient rather than a discrete category, with elements at various stages of the grammaticalization cline ranging from transparent possessive phrases at one end to fully lexicalized and morphologically opaque case markers at the other. This architectural feature of the system is directly relevant to the present study: *számára* does not grammaticalize into a postposition within a static and closed inventory, but within a system that is structurally oriented toward this type of development and that regularly produces new instances. Its trajectory is therefore not anomalous but representative of a productive grammatical mechanism in Hungarian. This observation converges with the earlier analysis of Spencer and Stump (2013), who argued in their study of Hungarian pronominal case that, virtually, all case markers in the language are grammaticalized postpositions, themselves overwhelmingly derived from nouns¹². Crucially, the authors stress that this grammaticalization process is still in mid-course, so that the synchronic system retains a significant degree of overlap between the behaviour of existing postpositions and that of morphological case markers. This overlap is a structural property of the system as a whole rather than a peripheral or marginal feature of the language. It is precisely within this theoretical context that the present study situates itself: the postposition *számára* and the dative case suffix *-nak/-nek* can be situated along the same grammaticalization cline, with *-nak/-nek* representing a more advanced stage of the very process that *számára* is

¹² As for the timing of the process, it should be borne in mind that case markers were already very close to their present form by the end of the Old Hungarian period.

currently undergoing; the functional encroachment of the former onto the domain of the latter can accordingly be understood as the manifestation of an active and historically motivated process rather than as a mere stylistic coincidence. Within the framework developed by Spencer and Stump, Hungarian case markers and postpositions are not categorically distinct objects but differ primarily in the degree to which they have become bound to the noun stem, lost their free word-form status, and been integrated into the morphological paradigm of the nominal lexeme. True postpositions retain a free, uninflected form (e.g. *János mellett* ‘next to János’) and show pronominal complement agreement (e.g. *mellettem* ‘next to me’, with the agreement suffix *-em*); case markers, by contrast, lack a free uninflected form and are compounded with the noun stem (e.g. the dative case with the suffix *-nak/-nek* as in *Jánosnak* ‘to János’). *Számára*, as a pseudo-postposition in the sense defined by Creissels (2006) and discussed by Spencer and Stump, occupies an intermediate position in this taxonomy: it governs a nominative noun phrase and does not show the postpositional complement agreement characteristic of true postpositions such as *mögött* ‘behind’. At the same time, it has not undergone the degree of phonological reduction and morphological fusion that characterizes the dative suffix. This structural position, intermediate between free postposition and bound case marker, is central to understanding why *számára* can compete with the dative in argument-licensing contexts while retaining semantic and discourse properties that the morphological case cannot straightforwardly replicate. A further theoretical distinction developed by Spencer and Stump that bears directly on the present analysis is that between content paradigms and form paradigms. In their model, the content paradigm of a lexeme is determined by its syntax: it specifies the set of morphosyntactic properties with which the lexeme may be associated at a terminal node in syntactic structure. The form paradigm, by contrast, is determined by morphology and specifies how those properties are realized. Under this architecture, the same content cell — the same participant role, the same syntactic argument position — may in principle be realized by different form cells, through what the authors call rules of paradigm linkage. This theoretical separation of content from form provides a principled basis for the central empirical observation of the present study: that the alternation between the dative and the *számára*-construction may not involve any change in argument structure. Across the six verbs examined in the study here, the same semantic participant — beneficiary,

experiencer, evaluative target — may be expressed either through the synthetic dative suffix or through the analytic postpositional construction, without modification of the predicate's valency or of the thematic role assigned to the participant. What changes between the two constructions is therefore not the content of the participant's role but the form through which that role is encoded, and specifically the degree of syntactic integration and discursive prominence associated with each encoding strategy. This distinction between content and form, and the possibility of their non-default alignment, also allows a precise characterization of the functional difference between the two constructions. The morphological dative encodes the participant as a core grammatical argument: it is morphologically compact, syntactically integrated (and, in the case of experiencer dative, it is also semantically motivated). *Számára*, by contrast, retains a semantic contribution of its own. It encodes the participant not simply as an internal argument of the predicate but as a perspectival or evaluative reference point relative to whom the situation described by the predicate is interpreted as relevant, beneficial, or experientially salient. This semantic residue — the component of perspective-orientation that the postposition carries independently of the predicate — is what makes it irreducible to a mere stylistic variant of the dative, and what motivates its expansion beyond prototypical benefactive contexts into the domains of stative evaluation, emotional experience, perceptual access.

The already cited core/non-core distinction developed by Rákosi (2021) maps directly onto the content/form architecture proposed by Spencer and Stump (2013) and provides it with a structurally grounded syntactic correlate. In Spencer and Stump's model, the content paradigm specifies which morphosyntactic properties a lexeme may be associated with at a terminal node in syntactic structure, while the form paradigm specifies how those properties are morphologically realized. In the core argument domain, as Rákosi's analysis makes clear, the two are effectively fused: the predicate's subcategorization frame simultaneously determines the content of the participant role and the form through which it must be expressed. With a core dative experiencer verb such as *tetszik*, the content cell — experiencer of a dispositional state — can only be realized by one form cell, the dative suffix, and no alternative is admitted. The postposition *számára* is categorically excluded. In the non-core argument domain, however, the link between content and form becomes decoupled in precisely the way that Spencer and Stump's

architecture predicts. Here, the same content, the same participant role (whether beneficiary, evaluative target, or perspectival experiencer) may be realized through alternative form cells, either the dative suffix or the postpositional construction, through what Spencer and Stump call rules of paradigm linkage. This decoupling is not an accident but a structural consequence of the fact that non-core arguments are not lexically specified by the predicate: their form is not imposed from within the subcategorization frame but is available for selection on the basis of semantic and discourse criteria. It is therefore in the non-core domain, and only there, that the competition between dative and *számára* can arise and develop. What the corpus data examined in this thesis document is precisely the progressive expansion of *számára* across this non-core domain — an expansion that, as the following chapters show, extends from prototypical benefactive contexts toward the experiencer and perspectival functions that sit closest to the core/non-core boundary. The theoretical significance of this expansion lies less in its scope than in its directionality: *számára* goes beyond simply filling a pre-existing functional gap left by the dative, actively encroaching on semantic territories in which the dative remains a grammatically viable and frequently attested alternative. Within Rákosi's framework, this process can be understood as a gradual displacement of the dative from the non-core domain. How far this encroachment extends — whether it reaches, even partially, into what has traditionally been treated as the dative's categorical core — is a question this study traces empirically in what follows rather than settling in advance. At the very least, though, it is systematically narrowing the space in which the dative operates as the default choice for encoding perspectivally construed participants.

Considering this background, the hypothesis driving the present investigation is thus that *számára* is undergoing a process of functional generalization that extends its distributional range systematically beyond its original benefactive core, increasingly encroaching on contexts canonically associated with the dative. This expansion, rather than proceeding uniformly across predicates, is conditioned by a set of interacting factors: the degree of event abstraction, the animacy and institutional character of the participant, the syntactic type of the complement selected by the predicate, the register and genre of the text, and the degree to which the participant is construed as an internally integrated argument versus an external evaluative anchor. The empirical investigation reported in the following chapters aims to document this expansion across a representative sample of

predicates, to identify the environmental factors that favour or restrict the use of *számára* in argument-licensing contexts, and to determine the extent to which this process can be characterized as a coherent and directional development within the contemporary Hungarian grammatical system.

2.4. A glance at the past and an eye on the present

The theoretical framework developed in the preceding sections situates the competition between *számára* and the morphological dative within a set of analytical categories — grammaticalization, inherent case, the content/form distinction, and the core/non-core argument boundary — that derive their force partly from cross-linguistic and diachronic evidence. The present section provides that evidence in three steps. Section 2.4.1 examines the diachronic competition between the Greek morphological dative and prepositional constructions as documented in the post-Classical papyri, a case that offers both conceptual parallels and methodological precedents for the analysis conducted here. Section 2.4.2 turns to the Latin *dativus iudicantis*, a construction whose functional profile anticipates several of the perspectival and evaluative properties that the corpus data in Chapter 4 will associate with *számára*. Section 2.4.3 surveys a set of synchronic parallels in typologically and genetically unrelated non-Indo-European languages, where structurally comparable coexistence patterns between morphological dative and postpositional beneficiary marking can be observed in present-day grammars, confirming that the Hungarian configuration is an instance of a cross-linguistically stable structural type rather than an anomaly internal to the Uralic family.

2.4.1. Greek

The phenomenon examined in the present study — the functional expansion of a postpositional construction into domains traditionally associated with a morphological dative case — is not without precedent in the history of natural languages. Cross-linguistic and diachronic evidence suggests that competition between synthetic case marking and analytic prepositional encoding of goal-oriented and experiencer-type participants is a recurrent and structurally well-motivated process, attested at different

stages of grammaticalization across typologically distinct language families. Situating the Hungarian data within this broader typological context serves a double purpose: it provides an empirical basis for the theoretical claims formulated in the preceding section, and it establishes that the variation documented here is neither a marginal phenomenon nor a system-internal accident, but a trajectory of change with recognizable and well-described parallels in the historical record.

One particularly instructive parallel is offered by the history of the Greek dative case in the post-Classical period, as documented in the corpus of Greek documentary papyri studied by Stolk (2017). Greek lost the morphological marking of the dative case between the Classical and Modern period, a process whose completion is generally placed around the ninth to tenth century AD. The functions of the morphological dative were progressively taken over by the genitive and accusative cases and, crucially, by prepositional phrases with accusative, most notably the prepositions *prós* and *eis*. The documentary papyri, covering the period from approximately the third century BC to the eighth century AD provide an exceptionally rich source for observing this process of case competition at intermediate stages, before the final resolution of the system.

Stolk’s analysis is particularly relevant here because it demonstrates that the competition between the dative case and prepositional constructions was amounted to a phase of semantically differentiated coexistence rather than a process of direct functional substitution. Specifically, Stolk shows that the preposition *prós* with the accusative and the morphological dative case encode the same participant — the animate goal of motion and transfer events — but from different conceptual perspectives. The dative case profiles the endpoint of the event, as can be seen in example (7), construing the arrival of an entity into the personal sphere of the goal as the salient aspect of the situation. The preposition *prós*, by contrast, profiles the trajectory or direction of movement, construing the goal not as a locus of arrival but as the directional anchor of a motion or transfer event, like in example (8).

7) εὐθέως ἄν σοι ἔλθῃ ἡ ἐπιστολή, εὐθέως παραγίνου.
 Eutheōs an soi elthēi hē epistolē, eutheōs parageinou
 immediately if you-DAT comes the letter directly be near

‘As soon as the letter reaches you, come immediately.’ (SB VI 9121, 2–3; Arsinoites, ca. 31–64 CE in Stolk 2017: 221)

8) διὰ τὸ μὴ εὕρίσκειν μηδένα πρὸς σὲ ἐρχόμενον.
 dia to mē heuriskein mēdena pros se erchomenon
 through the not find no.one to you-ACC coming

‘Because I find no one going to you.’ (SB XIV 11584, 8–9; Philadelphia, late II CE in Stolk 2017: 222)

This distinction, formulated in terms of endpoint versus trajectory, closely mirrors the functional difference identified in the present study between the morphological dative and the postpositional construction *számára*. As the corpus data examined here consistently show, the dative tends to encode the participant as an internally integrated argument, directly affected by the predicate’s event structure, whereas *számára* introduces the participant as an external evaluative or perspectival reference point, the entity relative to whom the event is interpreted as relevant, advantageous, or experientially salient. In both cases, the analytic construction carries a semantic contribution that the morphological case does not straightforwardly replicate, and it is this semantic residue that explains why the two forms are not in free variation but remain functionally distinct throughout the period of their coexistence.

A second point of contact between Stolk’s findings and the present analysis concerns methodology. Stolk demonstrates that the distribution of alternative argument realizations cannot be described uniformly across all verbs but is sensitive to the lexical-semantic class of the predicate. Verbs of sending with an animate theme systematically favour the prepositional construction, while verbs of giving with an inanimate theme retain the dative¹³; verbs of communication display intermediate behaviour conditioned by the specific semantic properties of each predicate. This verb-sensitive approach is precisely the analytical strategy adopted in the present study: the distribution of *számára* relative to the dative varies significantly across the six verbs examined, in ways that are conditioned by the semantic class of each predicate — whether it encodes a dynamic helping event, a stative evaluative relation, a perceptual appearance, or an emotional experiential state. The convergence between the methodological frameworks of the two studies lends additional support to the analytical choices made here and confirms that

¹³As further evidence, this is exactly the same kind of divide between dative and *számára*-verbs that happened in 16th-17th century Hungarian.

predicate class is a robust conditioning factor in the competition between synthetic and analytic argument encoding cross-linguistically.

Perhaps the most theoretically consequential parallel concerns the interpretation of the variation itself. Drawing on Barðdal and Kulikov (2009), Stolk emphasizes that case syncretism is typically preceded by a sustained period of variation and alternation, during which the competing forms are used interchangeably in some contexts while retaining minor functional distinctions in others. This period of variation should not be interpreted as systematic error or communicative failure, but as a structurally stable intermediate phase of the change process, in which the two competing strategies coexist in a relationship of functional complementarity that may persist for generations before one form displaces the other. This observation is directly applicable to the Hungarian data examined here. The corpus evidence presented in this study documents a phase of active variation in which *számára* and the dative case co-occur in semantically overlapping contexts without producing communicative confusion, as demonstrated most clearly by examples in which both constructions appear within the same syntactic domain encoding the same participant role. Rather than treating such co-occurrences as anomalies, the typological perspective offered by the Greek parallel suggests that they are precisely the evidence to be expected at this stage of the change trajectory. Related to this is the concept of variational markedness, introduced into the analysis of dative alternation by Norgard-Sørensen, Heltoft and Schøsler (2011) and applied by Stolk to the Greek data. In a system of variational markedness, one form functions as the unmarked default —used in the absence of specific contextual or semantic reasons to choose otherwise— while the competing form is marked, selected when the speaker wishes to encode a specific semantic or pragmatic nuance unavailable in the default form. In post-Classical Greek, the dative was the unmarked strategy for encoding the animate goal of transfer events, while *prós* was the marked option associated with specific conceptualizations of the event as directional or trajectory-oriented. Over the course of the Byzantine period, this markedness relation was progressively reversed: the preposition became the unmarked default, and the dative case was retained as a stylistically elevated or conservative choice. On the basis of the corpus data examined in the present study, it can be proposed that *számára* currently occupies the position of the marked construction in Hungarian: it is not the default strategy for encoding benefactive or experiencer participants, but it is

systematically selected when the speaker construes the participant as a perspectival reference point rather than as a directly integrated argument. The process documented here may, therefore, represent the initial stages of a potential reversal of markedness, comparable to what the Greek papyri make visible in the middle phases of the dative's long decline. It should be stressed that no claim is made here that the Hungarian dative is undergoing a process of loss parallel to the Greek one: the structural and typological differences between the two languages make any such extrapolation unwarranted. What the Greek parallel does provide, however, is a theoretically grounded framework for interpreting the observed variation as a directional and functionally motivated process rather than a random fluctuation. Moreover, Stolk's findings on the role of animacy as a conditioning factor in argument realization are also pertinent to the Hungarian data, though the relationship is not one of direct correspondence. In Greek, animacy conditions the choice between dative and *prós* at the level of the transferred theme: when the entity being sent or transferred is itself animate, the caused-motion schema is activated and *prós* is preferred, whereas inanimate themes favour the dative encoding of a caused-possession event. In Hungarian, animacy operates differently, conditioning the selection of *számára*¹⁴ at the level of the postposition's own complement rather than of the predicate's internal argument. As the corpus data show, *számára* strongly favours animate and institutionally characterized referents across all six verbs examined, while genuinely inanimate complements remain comparatively rare and tend to be reinterpretable as human-collective or organizationally grounded. The underlying principle, however, is the same in both languages: the semantic properties of the participants involved systematically condition the choice between synthetic case marking and analytic prepositional encoding, in ways that are traceable to the conceptual structure of the event rather than to purely morphological convention.

Building on these considerations, it is important to acknowledge the structural differences between the Greek and Hungarian phenomena alongside the parallels. In Greek, the competition documented by Stolk involves two strategies for encoding an argument that is in most contexts syntactically obligatory —the goal of a transfer or

¹⁴ This seems to be peculiar to Hungarian. The reason might be idiosyncratic: the *szám* stem was used to refer to groups of animate things in the Middle Ages (as already mentioned in Section 2.2). So this original semantic restriction has persisted for quite long.

motion event is a core participant whose realization is required by the event structure. In Hungarian, by contrast, the competition between *számára* and the dative begins at the margins of the argument structure, in contexts where the postpositional phrase is semantically central but syntactically less than fully obligatory, before extending progressively into domains where the dative encodes a core experiencer or benefactive argument. This means that the Hungarian process begins from a position of greater structural peripherality than the Greek one, which lends an additional dimension of complexity to the analysis. Nevertheless, the functional dynamics — coexistence with semantic differentiation, sensitivity to predicate class, phase of stable variation before potential markedness reversal — are sufficiently parallel between the two cases to justify treating the Greek evidence as a significant typological point of reference for the interpretation of the Hungarian data presented in the following chapters.

2.4.2. Latin

The typological relevance of the Latin data extends beyond the structural parallel with Greek documented by Stolk. A particularly significant point of comparison emerges from the Latin *dativus iudicantis*, a construction analysed in detail by Luraghi (2010) in her description of adverbial categories in Latin syntax. The *dativus iudicantis*, or dative of reference, designates the semantic role taken by the human entity from whose vantage point a given statement is held to be true. Luraghi defines it as encoding an external experiencer — a participant not directly involved in the event but relative to whom the event receives its evaluative or epistemic import. In classical examples such as *mihi videtur* ‘it seems to me’ or *numquam tibi senectutem gravem esse senserim* ‘I never felt that old age was a burden to you’, the dative participant does not perceive or feel in a strictly internal sense but rather constitutes the perspectival anchor from which the state of affairs is interpreted. Crucially, this construction is syntactically adverbial in Luraghi’s framework: the *dativus iudicantis* is not required by the valency of the predicate and is not a core argument, yet it is semantically indispensable for establishing the interpretive perspective within which the predicate’s meaning is anchored.

This Latin construction is directly relevant to the present study because the semantic role it encodes — external experiencer, perspectival reference point, evaluative anchor — is precisely the function that the corpus evidence examined in the following chapters shows *számára* to be increasingly performing in Hungarian. The comparison is, however,

illuminating not only for the parallels it reveals but equally for the structural asymmetry it highlights. In Latin, the function of external perspectival experiencer was absorbed into the dative case itself, in its adverbial, non-argumental use. The dative thus covered both the core recipient and beneficiary arguments and the more peripheral evaluative reference point through a single morphological form, relying on contextual interpretation to maintain the distinction. In Hungarian, by contrast, the dative suffix encodes the core argument, while *számára* is developing as a dedicated, formally distinct construction for the more peripheral, perspectively construed participant. From this angle, Hungarian and Latin can be seen as instantiating complementary solutions to the same structural problem: the need to encode a participant that is semantically central to the interpretation of the predicate while remaining syntactically external to its core argument structure. Latin subsumed this function within the dative’s adverbial range, Hungarian is instead carving out a distinct postpositional construction for it. This contrast further supports the theoretical claim, developed in section 2.3 on the basis of Spencer and Stump’s framework, that what changes between the dative and *számára* is not the content of the participant’s role but the form through which it is realized — and specifically the degree of syntactic integration and the mode of conceptualizing the participant’s relationship to the event. The Latin parallel shows that the functional domain now being entered by *számára* has a robust cross-linguistic precedent, and that the choice between an internally integrated and an externally framed participant is a semantic distinction that languages across different families and periods have consistently found it necessary to make formally explicit.

2.4.3. Synchronic parallels in non-IE languages

The cross-linguistic evidence examined in the preceding sections has drawn primarily on diachronic data from ancient languages. It is worth observing, however, that the structural configuration described for Hungarian — namely, the coexistence of a morphological dative with a formally distinct postpositional construction that encodes Beneficiary and evaluative perspective without extending to prototypical Recipient contexts — extends beyond historically attested systems, constituting a living grammatical pattern in several contemporary non-Indo-European languages. The evidence reviewed here is drawn from Luraghi (2016), who surveys Beneficiary markers across typologically and genetically

unrelated languages and identifies a recurrent class of morphemes that share precisely this profile.

A particularly instructive parallel is offered by the Georgian postposition-ending *-tvis*. In contemporary Georgian, *-tvis* encodes Beneficiary and Purpose but cannot indicate Recipient, a function that is reserved for the dative case, as illustrated by the contrast between example (9) and example (10), where the latter requires the dative and the former the *-tvis* construction.

- 9) *es bavšv-is-tvis viq'ide*
 this child-GEN-for I.bought
 ‘I bought it for the child.’ (Luraghi 2016: 354).

- 10) *Gelam ačuka axali šarvali Ias.*
 Gela:ERG he.gave.her.it new trousers:NOM Ia:DAT
 ‘Gela gave new trousers to Ia.’ (Luraghi 2016: 354).

The structural logic of this distribution is directly comparable to the Hungarian situation: the dative encodes the Recipient as a core, syntactically integrated argument, while the postpositional construction introduces the Beneficiary as a participant whose relation to the event is external and evaluatively framed. Crucially, the etymological origin of *-tvis* further reinforces the parallel: the morpheme derives from the ancient genitive of the noun *tavi* ‘head’¹⁵, a nominal source that has undergone grammaticalization while losing its original lexical transparency — a process strikingly similar to the development of *számára* from the possessive construction based on *szám*, as described in Section 2.2. As Luraghi notes, this loss of the original spatial or nominal meaning in the course of grammaticalization is in fact a defining property of non-Recipient Beneficiary markers cross-linguistically: unlike allative morphemes, which tend to preserve their directional meaning as they extend to Beneficiary and Recipient functions, markers of the type instantiated by *-tvis* and *számára* progressively shed their lexical source meaning as they develop toward more abstract grammatical functions (Luraghi 2016: 361).

¹⁵And also the source for the Georgian reflexive.

A second contemporary parallel is provided by Basque *-entzat* and its allomorph *-rentzat*. In present-day Basque, this ending encodes Beneficiary, as in (11), and Purpose, as in (12), but it does not encode Recipient, which is expressed by the dative case *-i*, as in (13). Notably, Basque also displays an alternation between *-entzat* and the dative in Beneficiary contexts, since the dative can independently encode Beneficiary in addition to its core Recipient function, as shown by example (14).

11) *Opari hau Mikel-entzat erosi dut.*

present this Mikel-BEN buy AUX

‘I have bought this present for Mikel.’ (Luraghi 2016: 354).

12) *Jaki hori ez da ona nire osasuna-rentzat.*

food that no COP good my health-BEN

‘That food is not good for my health.’ (Luraghi 2016: 354).

13) *liburu-a Miren-i eman nion*

book-DET Mary-DAT give AUX

‘I gave Mary the book.’ (Luraghi 2016: 355).

14) *Opari hau Mikel-i erosi diot.*

present this Mikel-DAT buy AUX

‘I have bought this present for Mikel.’ (B. Ariztimuño p.c. in Luraghi 2016: 355).

This alternation — in which a morphological case and a dedicated postpositional construction compete in Beneficiary contexts while remaining distinct in Recipient contexts — is structurally identical to the competition between *-nak/-nek* and *számára* documented in the present study. The Basque data thus confirm that the functional configuration observed in Hungarian reflects a cross-linguistically stable pattern rather than a local or language-specific anomaly: a morphological case with broad argument-licensing capacity coexists with a more semantically specialized postpositional construction that occupies a distinct, though partially overlapping, functional niche. A further, more concise, parallel is offered by the Turkish postposition *için*, which in contemporary Turkish encodes Beneficiary (15), Purpose (16), and Cause (17), but does not encode Recipient (Luraghi 2016: 356). The etymology of *için* points toward an

original locative meaning, based on the noun *iç* ‘interior’, a spatial source that, as in the cases of Georgian *-tvis* and Hungarian *számára*, has been progressively lost in the course of grammaticalization.

15) *sizin için bir kitap getirdim.*

2PL.GEN for one book bring:PAST.1SG

‘I took a book for you.’ (Luraghi 2016: 356).

16) *Söylemek için geldim.*

say:INF for come:PAST.1SG

‘I came in order to say...’ (Luraghi 2016: 356).

17) *Bayram olduğu için toplar atıldı*

holiday be:PAST.3SG for cannon:PL employ:PAST.3SG

‘Because of the holiday, cannons were shot.’ (V. Tören, p.c. in Luraghi 2016: 356).

While Turkish is genetically distinct from Hungarian, both languages are agglutinative and share a typological profile that makes the structural analogy particularly transparent: in both cases, a postpositional construction of nominal origin has developed into a grammatical marker of participant-oriented relevance that operates alongside, rather than in place of, the morphological case system. Taken together, the synchronic data from Georgian, Basque, and Turkish converge on a typological generalization that is directly relevant to the analysis of *számára* developed in this thesis. Across genetically and areally distinct languages, a recurrent structural type emerges in which a non-Recipient Beneficiary marker — typically of nominal or locative origin — coexists with a dative case, encodes the Beneficiary and evaluative perspective functions that the dative does not straightforwardly cover, and gradually loses its original spatial or lexical meaning in the course of grammaticalization. This cross-linguistic pattern provides independent confirmation that the development of *számára* in Hungarian is not an anomaly but an instance of a well-attested and structurally coherent grammaticalization trajectory, one that is still actively unfolding in several contemporary grammatical systems.

3. MATERIALS AND METHODS

This chapter presents the materials and methods underlying the empirical investigation conducted in Chapter 4. Section 3.1 provides an overview of the Hungarian verbal system, with particular attention to the features most directly relevant to the analysis: the conjugational paradigms, the aspectual role of preverbs, and the class of dative experiencer predicates. Section 3.2 introduces the six verbal predicates selected for the study — *segít* ‘help’, *kedvez* ‘be favourable to’, *megjelenik* ‘appear’, *feltűnik* ‘become noticeable’, *fáj* ‘hurt’, and *hiányzik* ‘miss/to be missing’ — and sets out the theoretical criteria governing their selection, organized according to whether the predicate licenses an obligatory experiencer argument (3.2.1) or not (3.2.2). Section 3.3 turns to the corpus-based methodology adopted in the study, motivating the choice of a corpus-based approach and describing the two corpora employed as empirical resources (3.3.1), before detailing the data extraction and analysis procedures applied to each (3.3.2).

3.1. Overview of the Hungarian verbal system

Hungarian verbs inflect for three persons and two numbers (singular and plural), across all tenses and moods. One of the most typologically salient features of the verbal system is the existence of two distinct conjugational paradigms for transitive verbs. The first is the general conjugation, also referred to as the subjective or indefinite conjugation, which applies to intransitive verbs and to transitive verbs when the object is indefinite, absent, or a first or second person pronoun. The second is the definite conjugation, also called the objective conjugation, which is used when the direct object is a definite noun phrase¹⁶. This means that the verbal morphology directly reflects the definiteness of the object, which in Hungarian is overtly marked through the opposition between the definite article *a/az* and the indefinite article *egy* (É. Kiss, 2017). The two paradigms differ systematically in their person and number suffixes. To give a representative example, in

¹⁶ For further discussion see É. Kiss 2017.

the first person singular present the general conjugation yields *tanítok* ‘I teach’, while the definite conjugation yields *tanítom* ‘I teach’ like in *tanítom őket* ‘I teach them’. A special case is the first person singular with a second-person singular or plural object, which requires the unique suffix *-lak/-lek*, as in *tanítalak* ‘I teach you’. Morphologically, it is possible to distinguish two tenses: the present and the past. The present is the unmarked tense and in the general conjugation the third person singular carries a zero suffix (*tanít* ‘he/she teach’). The past is formed by the suffix *-(V)t/tt*, inserted between the stem and the person-number suffixes, with distinct forms in the general and definite paradigms. Crucially, Hungarian has no morphologically expressed future tense. Future reference is conveyed through several strategies: the use of the present tense with perfectivizing preverbs, the periphrastic construction with the auxiliary *fog* followed by the infinitive of the main verb, or the use of the temporal adverb *majd* with the present tense. Historically attested simple or analytical past tenses beyond the current *-(V)t/tt* form are now considered archaic and occur only in literary registers. The mood system comprises three moods: the indicative, the subjunctive/imperative, and the conditional. The indicative is the unmarked mood. The subjunctive/imperative is expressed by the suffix *-j*, which undergoes systematic assimilation processes depending on the stem-final consonant of the verb. This mood has a full paradigm across all persons and numbers¹⁷. The conditional is expressed by the suffix *-na/-ne* in the general conjugation and *-ná/-né* in the definite conjugation while the past conditional is formed analytically from the past-tense form of the verb plus the invariable conditional clitic *volna*, derived from the suppletive past-tense form of the copula *van* ‘to be’. In addition to these three proper moods there is a potential suffix *-hat/-het*, which expresses modal possibility and combines freely with any tense and mood combination, as in *taníthat* ‘may teach/it is possible or allowed to teach’, *taníthatott* ‘may have taught’, *taníthatna* ‘might teach’. It is also important to remember that Hungarian possesses a rich repertoire of non-finite verbal forms. The infinitive is formed with the invariable non-harmonizing suffix *-ni*, preceded by an epenthetic vowel when required by the phonological context (*tanítani* ‘to teach). In

¹⁷ The same *-j*-marked forms also occur systematically in complement clauses selected by a broad class of predicates (permission, goal, evaluative, epistemic and desiderative predicates, among others), where much of the literature analyses them as instantiating a distinct subjunctive proper (*kötőmód*), morphologically identical to but syntactically and semantically distinguishable from the imperative (Tóth, 2014).

certain syntactic configurations the infinitive can bear personal suffixes that are paradigmatically identical to the possessive suffixes (*tanítania* ‘that he/she should help’, *tanítanunk* ‘that we should teach’). In this case the subject of the infinitive is morphologically encoded on the infinitive itself rather than on the finite verb. Present participles are formed with the suffix *-ó/-ő* (*tanító* ‘teaching’) and function as prenominal modifiers. Past participles bear the suffix *-(V)t/tt*, historically identical to the past-tense marker (*tanított* ‘taught, having taught’). Adverbial participles are formed with *-va/-ve* and occur both predicatively and as adverbial modifiers which represent one means of expressing passive meanings in the absence of a morphological passive voice. Present and past participle clauses precede the noun they modify and function as the systematic equivalent of postnominal relative clauses in Hungarian (Kenesei, Vago & Fenyvesi, 2006; Kenesei & Szécsényi, 2022).

A particularly important feature of the Hungarian verbal system — and one that is especially relevant and influential for the analysis conducted in this study — is the role of preverbs, also referred to as verbal prefixes or verbal particles. These elements combine with the verb and primarily perform an aspectual function. When a preverb immediately precedes the verb in a neutral sentence, it confers a perfective interpretation on the event, so the action is understood as completed, bounded, and temporally delimited, denoting telicity. In the absence of the preverb, the verb typically receives an imperfective or progressive reading, denoting atelicity. The most productive preverbs include *meg-* (a general perfectivizer), *el-* ‘away’, *be-* ‘in’, *ki-* ‘out’, *fel-* ‘up’, *le-* ‘down’, *vissza-* ‘back’, and *elő-* ‘forward, forth’. Many of these retain a residual spatial meaning, but their use as pure perfectivizers is grammaticalized and highly productive. The position of the preverb relative to the verb is syntactically conditioned and closely tied to the information structure of the sentence. In neutral sentences, the preverb immediately precedes the verb and is written as a single orthographic unit with it. However, in the presence of a focused constituent, a *wh*-word, or the negative particle *nem*, the preverb is obligatorily displaced to the postverbal domain, and the verb moves into the preverbal focus position. This inversion also affects the aspectual interpretation of the sentence: a sentence with a postposed preverb receives an imperfective or non-resultative reading. The preverb–verb system thus constitutes the primary interface between morphology, syntax, and lexical aspect in Hungarian, and is directly relevant to the analysis of the verbs examined in the

present study, several of which — such as *megjelenik* ‘appear’, *feltűnik* ‘become noticeable’, *elősegít* ‘facilitate’, ‘promote’ — involve preverbs whose presence systematically affects argument structure and the selection of participant markers. From the perspective of argument structure, verbs may be intransitive or transitive¹⁸. Transitive verbs select a direct object in the accusative case. An important subclass of verbs selects an argument in the dative case (*-nak/-nek*). This group includes verbs of transfer and communication, which assign the dative to the recipient or goal argument (*ad* ‘give’, *mond* ‘say’, *küld* ‘send’), and a semantically diverse class of experiencer predicates, in which the dative marks the experiencer while the nominative subject encodes the theme or stimulus. Verbs such as *tetszik* ‘be pleasing’, *hiányzik* ‘be missing’, *fáj* ‘hurt’, *sikerül* ‘succeed’, and *kedvez* ‘be favourable to’ all belong to this latter group (Rákosi 2006). In these constructions the dative experiencer is an oblique argument that remains syntactically less integrated than a nominative subject or accusative object, yet is almost always semantically obligatory for the interpretation of the predicate. It is important to note, however, that the apparent unity of this group conceals a theoretically significant internal subdivision that will prove directly relevant to the selection and organization of the verbal sample examined in the present study. Rákosi (2006) demonstrates on empirical grounds that Hungarian dative experiencer predicates divide into two structurally distinct subclasses. The first comprises predicates whose dative argument is both obligatory and necessarily interpreted as an experiencer — a class that Rákosi terms predicates with experiencer arguments, and which includes the core *piacere*-type verbs (*tetszik*, *derogál*, *sikerül*) and a set of verbs of mental appearance (*megjelenik* ‘appear’, *feltűnik* ‘become noticeable’, and others). In these constructions, the dative can never be omitted without ungrammaticality or a fundamental change in predicate type, and the participant it introduces invariably receives an experiencer interpretation. The second subclass comprises predicates whose dative is optional and whose dative participant, when present, is not obligatorily interpreted as an experiencer — a class Rákosi terms predicates licensing optional datives, which includes evaluative predicates (*fontos* ‘important’, *jó* ‘good’), modal predicates (*lehetséges* ‘possible’, *kell* ‘need’), and, crucially for the present study, the verbs *fáj* ‘hurt’ and *hiányzik* ‘be missing’ (Rákosi 2006:

¹⁸ Hungarian does not have ditransitives in the strict sense of double object constructions.

§3.3). The latter two verbs are notably attested in grammatical monadic constructions without any dative participant — *Az injekció fáj* ‘The injection is painful’, *Hiányzik a párbeszéd* ‘The dialogue is missing’ — which confirms that their dative argument occupies a structurally less integrated position than that of core dative experiencer predicates such as *tetszik*. The reference in the preceding sentence to a uniform dative experiencer class should therefore be read as covering both subclasses with the understanding that they differ in the obligatoriness and the obligatory experiencer status of their dative argument — a difference that has direct consequences for where the boundary between the core and non-core argument domain lies with each predicate, and accordingly for how permeable that boundary is to the encroachment of *számára* documented in Chapter 4.

A further construction type of particular relevance involves a set of modal and evaluative predicates: verbal (*lehet* ‘be possible’, *sikerül* ‘succeed’), particle-like (*muszáj* ‘have to’), and adjectival (*fontos* ‘be important’), which select a dative subject in combination with an infinitive complement. In this pattern the finite verb shows only tense agreement without person and number marking; when the infinitive is inflected for person and number, the overt dative subject may be dropped. This construction demonstrates that the dative in Hungarian does not function exclusively as a marker of internal core arguments but can encode participants with varying degrees of syntactic integration, a property that is directly relevant to understand the competition between the morphological dative and the postposition *számára* examined in the present study.

Moreover, it is also worth noting in this connection, that *számára* is not the only postpositional construction that may compete with the dative in benefactive contexts. Dékány and Hegedűs (2021: 166–172) identify a small paradigm of possessive postpositions with overlapping functions, among which *részére* ‘for (beneficient)’ is the closest competitor of *számára*. In most benefactive contexts with concrete human referents, both constructions are acceptable and either may substitute for the dative. However, as the corpus data examined in the following chapters will confirm, *számára* systematically diverges from *részére* in two respects: its compatibility with abstract and inanimate complements, and its extension to experiencer and evaluative perspective contexts, where *részére* is unavailable. The competition between *számára* and the dative documented in the present study must therefore be understood against this broader

background, in which *számára* occupies a semantically more specialized and functionally expanding position within the network of constructions available for the encoding of benefactive, experiencer, and perspectival participants in Hungarian.

3.2. Verbs selected for the study

The selection of the six verbal predicates examined in this study — *segít* ‘help’, *kedvez* ‘be favourable to’, *megjelenik* ‘appear, become visible’, *feltűnik* ‘become noticeable, stand out’, *fáj* ‘hurt, be painful’, and *hiányzik* ‘be missing, lack’ — was not arbitrary but responds to precise theoretical motivations. One of these is grounded in the core/non-core distinction discussed in Section 2.2. Since non-core arguments are not subcategorized by the predicate and their formal realization is not imposed by the verb’s argument structure, their occurrence should not depend on whether the verb independently selects a direct object. If *számára* is indeed operating within the non-core domain, it should therefore be attested not only with predicates that select a direct object but also with predicates that do not. Conversely, if its distribution were confined to transitive contexts, this would suggest a tighter dependency on the verb’s argument structure than the non-core analysis predicts. The sample of six verbs was therefore constructed so as to include predicates belonging to both categories, with the explicit aim of testing this prediction across a range of semantic types and argument configurations.

A further theoretical consideration guiding the selection concerns the thematic structure of the predicates, and specifically the presence or absence of what may broadly be described as an experiencer argument. Within the Hungarian verbal system, as discussed in Section 3.1, a semantically significant class of predicates selects a dative-marked participant which functions not as a recipient of a concrete transfer but as a psychological or perceptual subject — an entity for whom a given state of affairs is evaluatively or experientially relevant. This class of dative experiencer predicates is directly relevant to the present study, since the competition between the dative and *számára* is particularly informative when it occurs precisely in the domain where the dative encodes an experiencer relation: if *számára* is attested in such contexts, its functional encroachment on the dative's domain is not peripheral but central. For this

reason, the sample includes predicates in which an experiencer argument is semantically characteristic, as well as predicates in which the dative argument, while sometimes interpretable as an experiencer, is not obligatorily so. The interaction between these two parameters — transitivity and experiencer status — yields a sample that is at once semantically diverse and theoretically coherent, allowing the analysis to trace the distributional boundaries of *számára* across a structured range of predicate types rather than within a single semantic domain.

A third parameter informing the selection of the sample concerns the aspectual class of the verbal predicates — specifically, the opposition between telic and atelic predicates. This distinction is relevant to the present study for two reasons. First, it interacts with the distribution of *számára* in ways that are not directly predictable from transitivity or experiencer status alone: as the corpus data examined will show, the rate of *számára* relative to the dative varies across the six verbs in ways that correlate, at least partially, with their aspectual profile. Second, the telic/atelic distinction bears on the semantic type of the participant that *számára* introduces. With telic predicates such as *megjelenik* and *feltűnik*, which denote achievement events with a clearly delimited onset point, the *számára*-phrase introduces a participant defined by its perceptual or cognitive access to the event at the moment of its culmination — a perspectival experiencer rather than a beneficiary. With atelic stative predicates such as *fáj*, *hiányzik*, and *kedvez*, the *számára*-phrase introduces a participant defined by its sustained evaluative or experiential relation to the described state. With *segít*, which is the only predicate in the sample that alternates between telic and atelic readings depending on the presence or absence of a verbal particle, the *számára*-phrase is primarily benefactive in character but shows sensitivity to the degree of event boundedness in its discourse distribution. The aspectual profile of each predicate therefore constitutes an independent conditioning factor for the type and productivity of the *számára*-construction, and its systematic variation across the sample provides an additional analytical dimension that complements the transitivity and experiencer parameters discussed above.

Taken together, the six verbs selected for this study constitute a theoretically structured sample that is deliberately heterogeneous with respect to the parameters described above, and this heterogeneity is itself an integral part of the research design. The sample can be characterized along three intersecting dimensions. The first is the structural position of

the dative argument on the continuum between obligatory experiencer argument and optional dative thematic adjunct, as defined by Rákosi's (2006) classification. *Megjelenik* and *feltűnik*, as verbs of mental appearance, occupy one pole of this continuum: their dative is obligatory in the dyadic construction and exclusively experiential in interpretation. *Fáj* and *hiányzik*, by contrast, occupy the opposite pole: their dative is optional, need not be interpreted as an experiencer, and is in Rákosi's terms a dative thematic adjunct, not a lexically selected argument. *Segít* stands apart from these in that its dative encodes not an experiencer but a Recipient Helpee (a participant defined by its direct structural relation to the helping event, without evaluative or psychological orientation). *Kedvez*, as discussed above, occupies a position that resists neat assignment to either pole: its dative is semantically motivated but structurally optional, and the participant it introduces is an evaluative target more than a psychological experiencer, making it the most structurally ambiguous item in the sample and accordingly the most informative about the outer boundaries of the *számára*-construction's domain. The second dimension is transitivity: *segít*, for example, may in principle co-occur with an accusative complement, while *megjelenik*, *feltűnik*, *fáj*, and *hiányzik* are categorically intransitive without any direct object, which provides the crucial empirical basis for testing the distributional profile of *számára* is independent of a verb's argument structure, as predicted by its non-core status (Section 2.2). The third dimension concerns the semantic type of the participant that *számára* introduces in each construction: with *segít*, it marks an external beneficiary whose involvement in the event is non-integral and construed at a remove from the core action; with *kedvez*, an evaluative target for whom a state of affairs is assessed as favourable or unfavourable; with *megjelenik* and *feltűnik*, a perspectival experiencer relative to whom an entity becomes accessible or salient; and with *fáj* and *hiányzik*, a psychological or evaluative participant for whom a state of pain or absence is experienced or attributed. This progression — from external beneficiary through evaluative target to perceptual and emotional experiencer — maps a semantic continuum that provides the empirical basis for assessing whether *számára* is developing a unified functional profile across structurally and semantically diverse environments, or whether its expansion is conditioned by specific semantic and argument-structural properties of individual predicates. In this sense, the heterogeneity of the sample is a design choice and not a limitation: it is precisely because the six verbs occupy different

positions on these three dimensions that the corpus data can be asked to yield principled generalizations rather than observations restricted to a single semantic or structural class.

Lastly, a special note is warranted for the verb in the sample *kedvez* ('be favourable to, to favour'), whose structural profile does not align unambiguously with either of the two subclasses described above and which is therefore discussed here separately, at the close of the section, rather than assigned to either subsection. *Kedvez* is a stative intransitive predicate that encodes a relation of favourability or disadvantageousness between a nominative subject — typically a situation, structural condition, or abstract entity — and a dative-marked participant that functions as the evaluative target: the entity relative to whom the situation is assessed as advantageous or otherwise. The difficulty in classifying this verb arises from the fact that, while its dative participant is semantically characteristic of the dyadic construction — favourability necessarily presupposes a reference point — the dative is not syntactically obligatory in the way that the dative of *megjelenik* or *feltűnik* is, and its participant cannot be characterized as a psychological experiencer in the strict sense. The entity introduced by *kedvez*'s dative does not undergo any internal emotional or perceptual state: it functions instead as an evaluative locus, the reference point from whose perspective a state of affairs is construed as favourable, unfavourable or indifferent. This interpretation is confirmed by the verb's compatibility with genuinely inanimate and abstract complements — a distribution that would be severely restricted with a true experiencer predicate — and by the absence of any monovalent use in which the dative can be entirely dropped without a fundamental shift in predicate semantics. As Rákosi (2006: §3.3) demonstrates, verbs with structurally comparable profiles (i.e. optional datives encoding evaluative rather than experiential relations) belong to his class of predicates licensing optional dative thematic adjuncts (and not to the core experiencer-argument class). Although *kedvez* is not discussed individually by Rákosi, its profile is most naturally aligned with this second class: a verb whose dative is semantically motivated in the dyadic construction but not lexically imposed by the predicate's argument frame. Its inclusion in the present sample reflects precisely its borderline status. As a predicate that is neither a canonical experiencer verb nor a purely agentive or benefactive one, but occupies the evaluative middle ground between the two, *kedvez* provides a uniquely informative test case for the distribution of *számára*: if the postposition extends its reach into the domain of stative evaluative predicates with non-

experiential datives, this constitutes evidence that its expansion reflects a broader functional orientation toward perspectival and evaluative participant encoding, rather than experiencer semantics alone.

3.2.1. Verbs with an experiencer argument

The first verb that may be classified as belonging to this group is *megjelenik* ('to appear, to become visible, to be published'). It is a prefixed unaccusative verb formed by the perfectivizing preverb *meg-* and the intransitive base *jelenik*. In its canonical argument structure, it takes a nominative subject denoting the entity that comes into existence, visibility, or availability, and a dative-marked participant that functions as the experiential locus — the entity for or within whose perceptual or cognitive domain the appearance occurs. Rákosi (2006: §3.2.2) classifies *megjelenik* among the verbs of mental appearance, a subclass of predicates with obligatory experiencer arguments: the dative participant of these verbs is obligatory in the dyadic construction and can only be interpreted as an experiencer. Crucially, however, *megjelenik* also has a non-psych reading, in which the same phonological form functions as a simple appearance or publication verb without selecting a dative experiencer; in this latter reading, the entity simply comes into existence without being characterized as appearing for or to anyone. Rákosi treats these two readings as distinct lexical entries. Considering that, only the psych version — the one selecting a dative experiencer — is examined in the present study. Further, unlike most other members of its class, *megjelenik* is not restricted to informal registers, which makes it suitable for corpus investigation across a broad range of text types. Its inclusion in the sample is motivated by the fact that, interestingly, data show it is the verb in the dataset with the highest absolute frequency of *számára* constructions in the synchronic corpus, making it particularly informative about the conditions under which the postposition enters the obligatory-experiencer domain.

Likewise classified by Rákosi (2006: §3.2.2) as a verb of mental appearance there is *feltűnik* ('stand out', 'become noticeable', 'attract attention'). It shares the same fundamental structural profile as *megjelenik*: it is a prefixed unaccusative verb whose dative argument is both obligatory in the dyadic construction and necessarily interpreted as an experiencer. Like *megjelenik*, it has a non-psych reading involving simple spatial appearance or salience without any experiential participant. Also in this case the two readings can be considered as distinct lexical entries and only the psych version is being

relevant here. It is also important to remember, alongside *megjelenik*, that *feltűnik* is not restricted to informal registers, distinguishing it from the other, colloquially-marked members of its class. Its inclusion in the sample alongside *megjelenik* is theoretically motivated by a systematic semantic contrast between the two verbs that bears directly on the type of experiencer each selects: whereas *megjelenik* encodes the coming into existence or availability of an entity within a perceptual or cognitive domain, construing the relation as one of accessibility, *feltűnik* encodes a process of attentional detection, in which the stimulus becomes salient or prominent for an observer who actively registers it as such. Pairing the two verbs within the same argument-structural class therefore allows the analysis to test whether this semantic difference — accessibility versus attentional salience — conditions the productivity and distribution of the *számára* construction in systematically different ways, providing a more fine-grained picture of how predicate semantics interacts with the postpositional encoding strategy within the experiencer argument domain.

3.2.2. Verbs with an optional experiencer argument

The verb *segít* ‘help’ is the most structurally complex predicate in the sample, and the one for which the competition between *számára* and the morphological dative is both most frequent and most directly observable in the corpus. Unlike the other five verbs examined here, *segít* is the only one that alternates between telic and atelic readings depending on the presence or absence of a verbal particle: without a preverb, *segít* denotes an ongoing, unbounded helping activity (*segít valakinek* ‘is helping someone’); with a perfectivizing preverb, it denotes a bounded event with a clearly defined outcome (*elősegít* ‘facilitate, promote’). This aspectual flexibility is directly relevant to the distribution of *számára*, since, it will be demonstrated, the construction tends to occur more frequently in contexts where the helping relation is abstract, institutionally framed, or construed as a general facilitation rather than as a direct interpersonal event. From the perspective of argument structure, *segít* displays a typologically three-way flagging alternation for its internal participant, documented by Rákosi (2025) on the basis of frequency data from the Hungarian National Corpus. The participant corresponding to the Helpee role may be encoded through three distinct case markers, each associated with a distinct semantic subtype. Accusative case marks what Rákosi calls the *Affected Helpee*: an animate participant that is directly and causally involved in the helping event and

undergoes an observable change of state, as in *fel-segítette a földről* ‘he helped her up from the ground’, where the helpee changes physical position as a result of the agent’s intervention. Dative case marks the *Recipient Helpee*: a participant in a less direct helping relation, who may not even be aware of being helped, as in *segítek neki* ‘I will help him’. Superessive case (*-Vn*) marks the *Beneficiary Helpee*: the participant least directly involved in the core event, subject to no animacy restriction, and construed as the entity that will benefit from an act performed on their behalf, as in *ezen segíthetünk* ‘we can fix this’ (literally: ‘we can help on this’). As Rákosi notes, this variation follows the Proto-Patient hierarchy identified by Dowty (1991): accusative-marked participants display the highest degree of affectedness and involvement, while non-accusative participants progressively lack these properties. Frequency data from Sass et al. (2010: 153) confirm that all three patterns are productive, with no single coding frame statistically dominant to the point of being uniquely canonical. This three-way alternation is directly relevant to the present study. The competition between *számára* and the dative documented in Chapter 4 concerns specifically the recipient helpee and, to a lesser extent, the beneficiary helpee domains — never the affected helpee, which is categorically marked by the accusative. *Számára* thus can be considered as a fourth encoding strategy for the helpee participant, one that maximizes the perspectival externality of the relation: the participant introduced by *számára* is not only non-affected and not directly involved in the event, but is construed as the external reference point relative to whom the helping event is evaluated as relevant or beneficial. This characterization is consistent with its perspectival status: *számára* introduces a participant related to the event as a whole rather than to any internal argument, and its preferred contexts — abstract, institutional, or collective beneficiaries — are precisely those in which direct causal involvement of the participant in the event is minimally construed.

Continuing with the categorization, there is *fáj* (‘hurt, be painful’), which belongs to a cross-linguistically documented class of predicates that, as Rákosi (2006: §3.3.4.4) notes following Pijnenburg (1991) and Cuervo (2003), licenses a so-called possessive dative in many languages including German, French, and Spanish. In Hungarian, however, unlike in Spanish, the dative argument of *fáj* is not obligatory: the predicate is grammatical in monadic constructions — *A pofon fáj* ‘The slap hurts’. — which establishes that the experiencer occupies a structurally less integrated position than with

core dative experiencer predicates such as *tetszik*. When a dative participant is present, it admits two structurally distinct sources: it may be a genuine experiencer dative, receiving either a reading of direct physical pain (*A pofon fáj-t nek-em* ‘The slap was painful to me’) or of more abstract psychological suffering (*A elválás fáj-t nek-em* ‘The separation was painful for me’); or it may be a possessor dative extracted from a possessive noun phrase, structurally equivalent to the monadic construction with an extracted possessor, in which case the dative participant is a possessor rather than an experiencer. Crucially, the two dative types are not in complementary distribution and can co-occur within the same clause. Its inclusion in the sample is motivated by its status as the predicate among those examined in which competition between *számára* and the dative occurs in the most semantically canonical experiencer domain — namely, direct emotional and physical experience — providing evidence on whether the postpositional construction can penetrate territory most closely associated with the core dative. At the same time — and likely for this very reason — it is also the most problematic verb from which to derive broader generalizations. As will become clear, the scarcity of attestations inevitably forces to treat the resulting data as highly tentative and to interpret them with appropriate caution.

Finally, the last member of this group is *hiányzik* ‘be missing, ‘be absent’, which is an unaccusative intransitive predicate whose nominative subject denotes the absent entity and whose optional dative participant encodes the entity for whom the absence is relevant — whether as a psychological experiencer, an evaluative target, or a discourse-anchored reference point. Like *fáj*, it belongs to the cross-linguistically attested class of predicates licensing possessive datives discussed by Rákosi (2006: §3.3.4.4), and its dative is unambiguously optional: monadic constructions such as *hiányzik a megértés* ‘understanding is missing’ are fully grammatical without any dative participant, confirming the structural peripherality of the experiencer argument. When a dative is present, the construction displays a semantic ambiguity that can be explicitly connected to the English contrast between *miss* and *lack*, as analyzed by Arad (1998) in terms of internal versus external viewpoint: the dative may introduce a psychological experiencer who subjectively feels the absence (e.g. *hiányzik nek-i a győzelem* ‘he is missing a victory’), or it may introduce an evaluative target from whose perspective the absence constitutes an attributed deficiency without necessarily involving internal experience (‘he

could do with a victory’). Additionally, *hiányzik* licenses a structurally distinct locative construction with an ablative-marked participant, like in the sentence *hiányzik egy bélyeg a gyűjteményből* ‘a stamp is missing from the collection’, which involves no dative at all. Its inclusion in the sample is motivated both by the structural optionality of its dative and by the breadth of its semantic range, which together make it one of the most informative test cases for establishing the extent to which *számára* can advance into contexts canonically associated with dative experiencer marking in Hungarian.

3.3. A corpus-based study

The empirical approach adopted in this study is grounded in corpus-based methodology, understood in the sense established by McEnery and Hardie (2012) as the use of attested, naturally occurring language data to explore, validate or refine theoretical hypotheses rather than to generate those hypotheses from the corpus alone. The distinction is not merely terminological. A corpus-based approach, as opposed to a corpus-driven one, presupposes a theoretical framework that motivates the selection of data, the formulation of research questions, and the interpretation of distributional patterns: in the present case, that framework has been developed in detail in Chapter 2. What the corpora supply is evidence, not theory. Evidence that is in principle unavailable to the alternative method of relying on speaker intuitions and constructed grammaticality judgments. The inadequacy of introspective data for investigating a phenomenon such as the *számára*-dative alternation is a structural limitation, not a contingent one. Grammaticality judgments, as Bresnan et al. (2007: 3) demonstrate in their influential corpus study of the English dative alternation, systematically underestimate the space of grammatical possibility: constructions that are routinely dismissed as ungrammatical on the basis of constructed examples are found, upon examination of large corpora of authentic usage, to be both frequent and communicatively unproblematic. More critically for the present study, introspection is in principle incapable of revealing the multiple interacting variables — animacy, discourse accessibility, register, predicate class, degree of event abstraction — that jointly condition the selection of one encoding strategy over another. These variables do not operate in isolation, and their interaction can only be made visible

through the systematic analysis of a large and varied body of authentic data. As Bresnan et al. (2007: 11–12) show for the dative alternation in English, even when any one of these factors is controlled for individually, the others retain independent explanatory force; a purely introspective approach, which controls for none of them simultaneously, cannot in principle distinguish between what is grammatically possible, what is contextually preferred, and what is pragmatically marked. This argument for authentic language data acquires particular force in the specific context of a competition between a productive postpositional construction and a morphological case that are each perfectly grammatical across a wide range of predicates. Where no absolute ungrammaticality is at stake, introspection yields only the weakest of results: a native speaker asked to evaluate *fáj számára* versus *fáj neki* will, in the best of cases, produce a preference judgment that reflects their individual exposure and register habits rather than the systematic distributional patterns of the language at large. A corpus, by contrast, makes those patterns explicit and quantifiable, and the variation in the ratio of *számára* to dative occurrences across the six verbs examined in Chapter 4 — ranging from near-zero for *fáj* to over 5% for *megjelenik* — is precisely the kind of result that no plausible introspective methodology could have produced. The theoretical motivation for a corpus-based approach is reinforced by the usage-based perspective on grammar that informs this study at a more fundamental level. As Bybee (2010: 9) argues, grammar is best understood as the cognitive organization of one’s experience with language, a system that is constitutively shaped by the recurrent processes operating across multiple instances of language use. Under this view, frequency of use constitutes a primary dimension of grammatical structure rather than an epiphenomenon to be abstracted away from in the search for underlying competence: it reflects the degree to which a particular form–meaning pairing has been entrenched in the cognitive representations of speakers through repeated activation. The expansion of *számára* into domains previously associated with the dative is, from this perspective, not merely a descriptive curiosity but a change-in-progress that can only be tracked through data that preserves the temporal and register distribution of the competing forms. Bybee (2010: 10–11) further notes that the empirical sources best suited to a usage-based investigation are precisely large corpora of spoken and written language, since these provide access to the quantitative dimensions of experience that bear most directly on questions of entrenchment, productivity, and the

gradual extension of constructions to new semantic environments. The two corpora employed in this study have been selected considering these requirements.

3.3.1. Corpora selected

The *Magyar Nemzeti Szövegtár 2 (MNSZ2)*, whose English designation is the ‘Hungarian Gigaword Corpus’ (HGC), constitutes the synchronic reference corpus of the present study. It represents the updated and substantially expanded successor to the *Magyar Nemzeti Szövegtár (MNSZ)*, the Hungarian National Corpus (HNC), which had been developed between 1998 and 2001 as the first major annotated corpus of Hungarian and had served for over a decade as the principal empirical resource for both theoretical linguistic research and language technology applications, with approximately 187 million words and a register composition designed to reflect the language use of the second half of the 1990s (Oravecz, Váradi & Sass 2014). The decision to develop a new, substantially larger resource was motivated by three interconnected requirements identified by the corpus designers: the need to increase size in response to the growing demands of data-oriented methods; the need to improve the quality and granularity of linguistic annotation in line with advances in natural language processing tools; and the need to extend the register coverage of the corpus so as to capture language use that was either unattested or underrepresented in the original HNC (Oravecz, Váradi & Sass 2014). The HGC addresses all three requirements, providing a resource of approximately 1.5 billion tokens with a redesigned and enriched annotation architecture. In terms of composition, the HGC is organized into six registers, whose relative proportions reflect both a continuation of the HNC’s design criteria and a significant extension of its scope. Journalism, sourced from daily and weekly newspapers, constitutes the largest component, accounting for approximately 42% of the total corpus (around 643 million tokens). Literature, drawn from the Digital Literary Academy, represents 14.5% of the corpus (approximately 221 million tokens). Popular and specialist scientific writing, sourced from the Hungarian Electronic Library, contributes approximately 7.2% (around 111 million tokens). The official register, comprising documents from public administration, accounts for approximately 8.8% of the total (around 135 million tokens). Personal language use, represented by social media content gathered through targeted web crawling, constitutes approximately 22.1% (around 338 million tokens). Finally, transcribed spoken language, sourced from radio programmes and entirely absent from the original HNC, makes up

approximately 5.4% of the corpus (around 83 million tokens). The corpus designers explicitly acknowledge that the notion of strict representativity, in its theoretically ideal sense, has proved unattainable at this scale and has been replaced by the more operationally tractable notion of balancedness, whereby the corpus aims to reflect the proportional distribution of major register types rather than to constitute a statistically representative sample of the language as a whole (Oravecz, Váradi & Sass 2014). In addition to texts produced within Hungary, the HGC also incorporates language data from Hungarian-speaking communities in neighbouring countries, so that the minority language component documented in the original HNC is preserved and extended.

The linguistic annotation of the HGC is produced through a processing pipeline that includes tokenization and sentence segmentation, morphological analysis using the Humor analyzer, part-of-speech disambiguation, NP chunking, and named entity recognition, with the disambiguation component trained on a manually tagged corpus of one million words and achieving a precision of approximately 98% (Oravecz, Váradi & Sass 2014). For the purposes of the present study, this level of morphological annotation is particularly relevant, since the identification of dative case suffixes and postpositional constructions in the search queries relies on the accuracy of the morphosyntactic tagging. The corpus is accessible through a web-based search interface built on the Manatee/Bonito corpus management system, which allows for complex queries on all layers of annotation, including morphological, syntactic, and lexical information. Full-text access to certain sections of the corpus is restricted due to copyright considerations, but the search interface provides sufficient access to concordance data and frequency information for the type of corpus-based investigation conducted in this study.

The second corpus used in the investigation, by contrast, is diachronic in nature and is the *Magyar történeti szövegtár (MTSz)*, also known as the ‘Hungarian Historical Corpus’ (HHC), is a large electronic corpus developed by the Hungarian Academy of Sciences (MTA) to support the compilation of the *Magyar Nyelv Nagyszótára*, the comprehensive historical dictionary of Hungarian coordinated by the MTA. It contains printed Hungarian-language texts produced between 1772 and 2010 (the latest update dates back to 2020) and amounts to over 30 million tokens collected from approximately 22,000 different texts. Work began in the mid-1980s with the digitisation of pre-existing lexicographic materials (around 6 million paper slips) and with the targeted selection of

both early and modern printed texts. The official description emphasises that the composition of the corpus followed philological criteria: modern-era texts (from 1772 onwards)¹⁹ belonging to a wide variety of genres were included — narrative prose, poetry, newspapers, scientific texts, religious works, manuals, legal transcriptions, and epistolary collections — prioritising sources capable of illustrating historical language change. Translations of works by foreign authors were also incorporated in order to document imported neologisms, and efforts were made to include works that had not previously been digitised. Attention was likewise paid to loanwords, translations, and dialectal material, when available in printed form. It should be taken into consideration that the HHC is a historical research corpus, not an automatic big-data resource, and therefore has intrinsic limitations. The first of these is that the corpus is unparsed, meaning that it lacks morphological annotation. Being not lemmatized, there are no grammatical categories, or lexical tags, and the texts are thus represented as sequences of word forms, with punctuation separated (punctuation marks are treated as distinct tokens).

The metadata include detailed bibliographic information for each text. From a technical perspective, the original files (in WordPerfect) were converted into XML format (using XMetaL), with ad hoc encoding for Hungarian accented characters (*Prószék* codes). Access to the HHC is provided through the Clara interface, the *Nemzeti Korpuszportál*, which offers simple search by word form/lemma (case-insensitive), morphological filters, selection by historical period, and extraction of co-occurrences and contexts. No liberal licence has been made available: the corpus is protected by the MTA and may be consulted free of charge for research and educational purposes, but no freely downloadable data packages currently exist. Used primarily in studies of historical linguistics, lexicography, and applied linguistic analysis, this corpus as a whole represents a fundamental resource for the study of the historical Hungarian language.

The rationale for combining a synchronic and a diachronic corpus in a single investigation deserves brief explanation. As McEnery and Hardie (2012: 97–99) observe, corpus-based studies of language change exploit a principled complementarity between synchronic and diachronic datasets: where a large synchronic corpus supplies the quantitative evidence for current distributional patterns and register conditioning, a

¹⁹ The 2015 update added contemporary texts (from the 2000s) to extend chronological continuity.

diachronic corpus makes it possible to locate those patterns within a longer trajectory of change and to assess whether an observed innovation represents an extension of a historically established tendency or a genuinely recent development. In the case of *számára*, the synchronic data from the HGC document the current state of the competition with the dative across a wide range of genres and predicate types; the diachronic data from the HHC allow these findings to be situated against the background of the postposition's historical expansion from its original benefactive domain toward the experiencer and evaluative perspective functions that the HGC data show to be its most productive contemporary contexts. The two resources are thus theoretically necessary to each other (and not merely complementary): without the synchronic corpus, the diachronic evidence would lack the quantitative baseline needed to assess the direction and extent of the change; without the diachronic corpus, the synchronic evidence would remain disconnected from the grammaticalization process that motivates it.

3.3.2. Methodological strategies

The data collection procedure adopted in this study involved querying both corpora described in the preceding section according to a multi-stage protocol designed to maximise the precision of the results while preserving the transparency and replicability of the analytical process at each step. The search strings employed for all queries on both the HGC and the HHC are documented in full in Appendix A.

For the Hungarian Gigaword Corpus, separate queries were run for each of the six verbal predicates selected for the study, targeting two distinct configurations: occurrences of each verb accompanied by a dative-case argument, and occurrences accompanied by the postposition *számára*. The former set of results was used to establish the baseline frequency of dative encoding for each predicate; the latter constitutes the primary empirical object of the analysis. Since the HGC is a morphologically annotated corpus, queries could be formulated directly in terms of part-of-speech and morphological categories, enabling the system to identify relevant instances with a precision that would not have been available through lemma- or string-based search alone. The raw results for the *számára* occurrences were subsequently exported and manually transferred to structured Excel spreadsheets, which are available in their entirety via the Drive link provided in Appendix B. Each spreadsheet was organised so as to support a second, analytical phase: alongside the original sentence extracted from the corpus, a cell was

generated containing its Italian translation, produced by the author of this thesis. A further cell records the document identification number assigned to the source text within the corpus, ensuring that any individual example can be traced back to its original document. Sentences subsequently selected as glossed examples in Chapter 4 are marked in pink within the spreadsheets, so that the correspondence between the Drive data and the thesis text is immediately recoverable by the reader. In line with this, immediately following each gloss in Chapter 4 an indication in brackets specifies the corpus of origin and the genre to which the source text belongs, rather than the document ID, which remains accessible in the Drive. This choice reflects a deliberate balance between readability and transparency: while document-level traceability is preserved in the supplementary materials, the in-text reference system privileges the information most immediately interpretively relevant, namely the register and genre context in which each instance occurs. The filtering of the raw results obtained from the HGC followed a binary evaluation procedure. For each extracted sentence, a judgement was made as to whether the attested use of *számára* genuinely instantiated the syntactic configuration under investigation — that is, whether the postposition functioned as the encoding of the participant role that would canonically be expressed by the dative in that predicate's argument structure — or whether it was present in a different functional capacity not directly pertinent to the research question. Occurrences failing this criterion were excluded from the dataset. The remaining valid occurrences were then subjected to a more fine-grained documentation phase, in which evaluative grids were compiled recording the presence or absence of a set of syntactic and morphological features associated with each instance of *számára*: the animacy status of the postposition's complement, the presence of an infinitival complement licensed by the verbal predicate, the embedding of *számára* within or adjacent to a *that*-clause, and the pronominal function of the postposition in contexts where person and number features are morphologically incorporated into the postpositional form itself rather than being expressed through an overt nominal complement. These parameters, documented systematically across all valid occurrences for each verb, constitute the quantitative basis for the descriptive statistics and genre comparisons presented in Section 4.1 and its subsections.

The methodological situation with respect to the Hungarian Historical Corpus differs substantially from that described above for the synchronic corpus, and the differences

have direct consequences for the scope and interpretation of the diachronic data presented in this study. The HHC, unlike the HGC, does not carry morphological or part-of-speech annotation; queries must therefore rely on string-based patterns rather than on grammatical categories, which inevitably reduces retrieval precision. In practice, this meant that the search strategy for the diachronic data was organized around the stem *szám-*, which captures the postpositional forms of *számára* along with a range of formally similar but semantically unrelated occurrences that had to be manually screened out. The extraction process was consequently not automated but predominantly manual: each sentence returned by the query was individually examined to determine whether the relevant string genuinely instantiated *számára* as a postposition governing an argument of one of the six verbal predicates under study. Given the noise inherent in a string-based search on an unannotated corpus of this scale, attempting to extract dative occurrences for the HHC by comparable means would have introduced an unacceptably high error rate and a degree of data distortion incompatible with meaningful quantitative comparison. It was therefore decided to restrict the diachronic investigation to attestations of *számára* alone, without attempting to establish a parallel dative baseline for the HHC data. The diachronic evidence is thus used in this study in a qualitatively different way from the synchronic evidence: rather than supporting frequency-based comparisons between the two constructions, it serves to document the temporal depth of the attested uses of *számára* across register types and to situate the synchronic distributional patterns within a broader historical trajectory.

A further set of limitations inherent to the HHC itself should be noted, as they bear on the interpretation of the diachronic evidence throughout Chapter 4. The corpus's text selection, while broad in chronological scope, was governed primarily by lexicographic criteria oriented toward the documentation of the Hungarian vocabulary for the *Magyar nyelv nagyszótára*: this means that coverage across registers is not uniform and that certain specialist domains, particularly those with a smaller readership in earlier periods, were initially underrepresented and have been only partially integrated through subsequent expansions. The corpus also comprises exclusively printed material, leaving oral language use, unedited manuscripts, and non-published contemporary writing outside its scope. At the level of textual quality, digitized sources — especially those spanning the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries — may retain residual errors introduced

by optical character recognition or transcription processes, which in some instances affect the reliability of individual tokens. These factors do not invalidate the diachronic evidence, but they do require that it be interpreted with appropriate caution and that generalizations based on it be qualified accordingly. These limitations notwithstanding, the inclusion of a diachronic corpus in the research design remains theoretically motivated, for the reasons set out in Section 3.3.1. The HHC represents an available resource for tracing the historical distribution of *számára* across an extended time span, and where attestations are present, they allow the synchronic patterns documented in the HGC to be situated within a longer developmental trajectory. It must be acknowledged, however, that the diachronic evidence gathered in the present study is quantitatively limited: for several of the verbs examined, the HHC yields very few valid occurrences, and for some it yields none at all. These outcomes are reported transparently in the relevant subsections of Chapter 4 and are treated as data in their own right — the near-absence of attestations for a given predicate being as informative, in its way, as their presence. No broader generalizations are drawn from the diachronic results than the data themselves support. A more exhaustive diachronic investigation — one drawing on a broader range of historical corpora or digitized text databases, and potentially extending the search to additional verbal predicates — remains an open direction for future research and for continuing what has already been done.

4. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

In this chapter all the data obtained from a multi-stage overlayed research process are presented, analysed, and discussed. Section 4.1 introduces and discusses the data emerging from corpora-based investigation. After a preliminary overview outlining the main general features and the descriptive statistics derived from the research, the discussion continues with a verb-by-verb structure in Sections 3.1.1–3.1.6. Each subsection begins with a preliminary outline, followed by a selection of samples associated with the verb under examination that are particularly relevant to the initial research question. These are accompanied by a description of the most significant morpho-syntactic contexts in which *számára* occurs, as well as information on the genres in which it is most frequent (journalism, literature, science, private, formal-official, spoken).

4.1. Corpora results

Before turning to the detailed analysis of each verb, an overview of the results is provided. The corpora employed as reference resources are a synchronic one — the Hungarian Gigaword Corpus (HGC) — and a diachronic one — the Hungarian Historical Corpus (HHC) —. For the rationale underlying the choice of these corpora as the empirical basis of the analysis, as well as for the criteria adopted in selecting the examples and the methodologies used for data extraction and processing, reference should be made to Section 3.3.

The first point to be addressed can be exemplified by *Figure 1*, which reports the total number of occurrences of *számára* and of the dative for the six verbs analyzed. Particular attention is devoted to the relative percentages of *számára* with respect to the dative. To this end, a logarithmic scale was used on the y-axis in order to facilitate and improve the readability of the results. As can be seen, the overall trend is fairly consistent: for four of the six verbs in the sample, the incidence of *számára* ranges between 1.5% and 1.8% relative to the total number of the occurrences of what otherwise is the dative argument.

There are, however, two exceptions: *megjelenik* ‘appear’ and *fáj* ‘hurt’. The former shows a clear positive deviation from the general trend, a striking 5.5% of *számára* uses, while the latter displays a below-trend deviation, with an incidence that is effectively close to zero²⁰. This indicates that, even among verbs that are similar in terms of aktionsart or semantic-syntactic properties, the distribution of the postposition follows different trajectories and paths shaped by several factors, which will be examined and discussed later in the chapter.

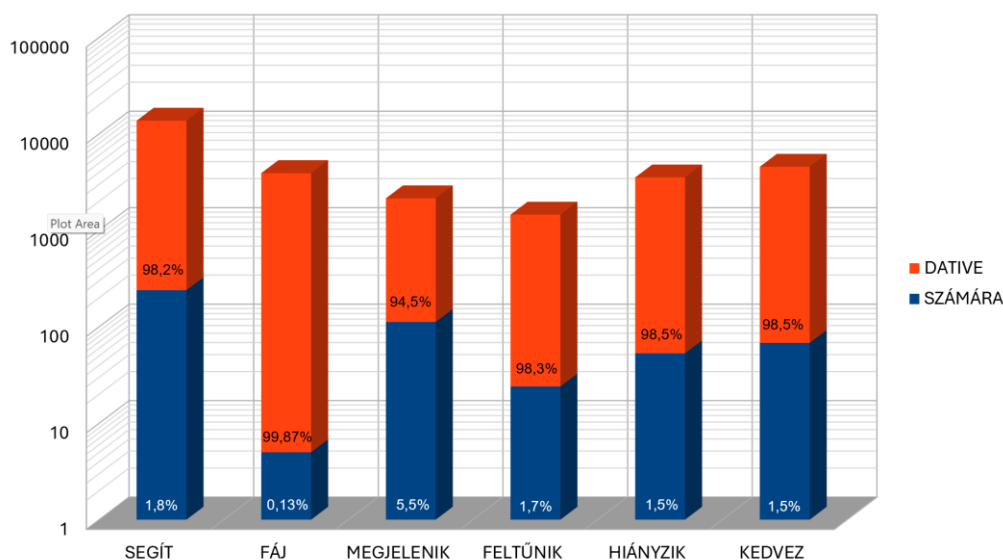


Figure 1: ratio of *számára* to dative occurrences for each verb in HGC corpus. The y-axis reports the absolute values of the occurrences. Since the numerical differences between the occurrences with the morphological dative and those with *számára* are substantial in absolute terms, a logarithmic scale was adopted in order to improve the readability of the chart. The percentages displayed on the bars appear disproportionate relative to one another because of the use of the logarithmic scale itself²¹.

Moving to a more fine-grained level with Figure 2, we can observe the occurrences of *számára* given in percentages according to several parameters: cases of inanimacy (i.e. instances in which *számára* governs an element belonging to the inanimate category), cases in which the verb that licensed *számára* takes an infinitival complement/introduces an infinitival clause, cases in which the postposition appears within or introduces a

²⁰ The verb *fáj* must be treated with caution in all quantitative considerations. Unlike the other five verbs examined, it yields only five occurrences with *számára* in the HNC and none in the HHC. Such extremely low frequency prevents any statistically meaningful generalization and tends to distort proportional comparisons, making *fáj* unsuitable as a representative data point within the broader quantitative analysis.

²¹ This does not mean that the percentages are plotted on a logarithmic scale: the percentage shown in the chart is an additional piece of information that is not directly tied to the graphical representation of the bars, and can in any case be derived from the absolute values reported on the logarithmic scale.

that-clause, and cases in which it also functions pronominally (labelled here as ‘overt pronominal form’, referring to the fact that the element governed by *számára* is encoded as a morpheme within *számára* itself. In fact, as the data illustrate, spelling the actual pronoun out is barely an option like in *ő számára* instead of *számára* (both meaning ‘for him’). It is immediately apparent that the sum of the occurrences exceeds the expected value of 100, since different types of occurrences may co-occur within the same sentence. This aspect is particularly relevant for the verb *fáj*, although its very low frequency makes interpretation problematic. Another noteworthy point is that infinitive clauses occur only with the verb *segít*, which, unlike all the other verbs examined, also shows a low number of occurrences with *that*-clauses. The latter, by contrast, represent the most frequent pattern for *feltűnik*, *hiányzik*, and *kedvez*. With the exception of *feltűnik* (which shows a lower-than-average presence) and *kedvez* (which displays a higher-than-average frequency), inanimacy yields percentages that are almost constant across all verbs. These values likely reflect the extent to which each verb tends to direct the event towards a human versus a non-human participant. The two verbs with the highest percentage of inanimacy (*megjelenik* and *kedvez*) are also those with the lowest percentage of cases in which *számára* fulfils a pronominal function. By contrast, this function is always attested in the case of *fáj*; however, once again, this result must be treated with caution, given the very limited number of occurrences for this verb, as already mentioned.

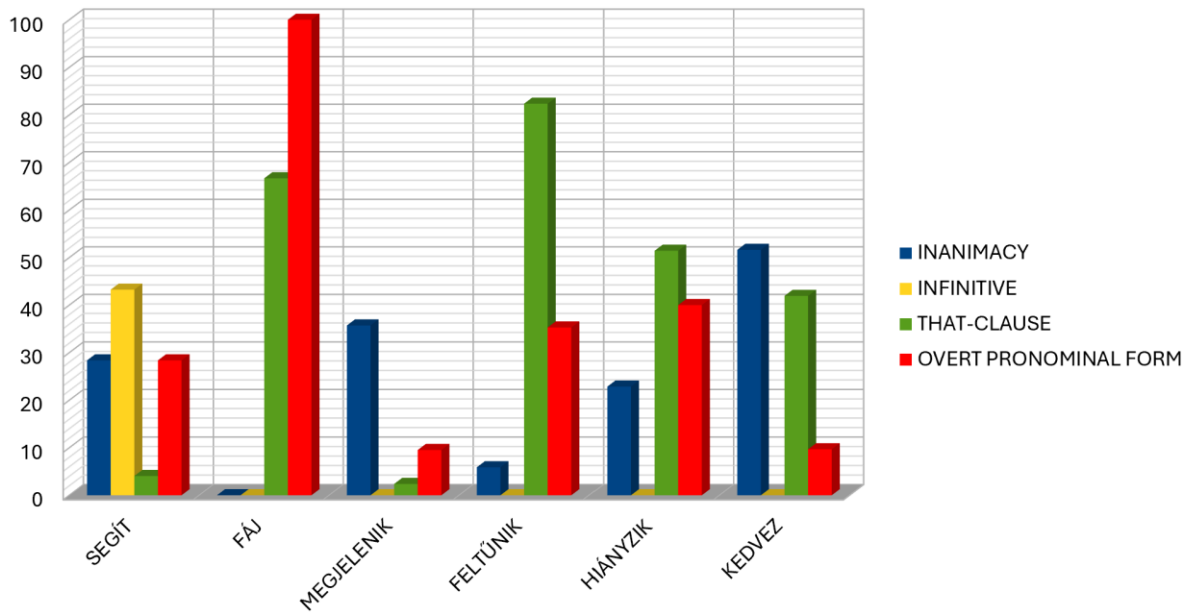


Figure 2: percentage of *számára* occurrences according to four main parameters: the animacy spectrum of the elements governed by *számára*, the presence of an infinitival clause, the presence of a *that*-clause, and the pronominal function of *számára* in HGC corpus.

By further examining the cases in which *számára* also fulfils a pronominal function, we can observe how person values are distributed in pronominal *számára* PPs. As shown in *Figure 3*, the pattern varies considerably from verb to verb and does not lend itself to an immediately straightforward interpretation, with different persons emerging as dominant for different verbs. For instance, one can note that for *feltűnik* and *hiányzik*, the proportion of first-person plural forms is more or less the same, and this person value is entirely absent in the remaining verbs. In the case of *segít*, first-person plural forms are only marginally attested, whereas for *megjelenik* and *kedvez* they are consistently represented, and so on. Nonetheless, third-person singular and third-person plural—unsurprisingly—are the most frequent, despite the complete absence of the latter in the data for *hiányzik* and *fáj*. Likewise, the total absence of second-person singular and second-person plural forms is largely predictable, given the types of texts in which *számára* appears most frequently. As will be shown shortly, the genre distribution of the corpus makes this absence entirely consistent.

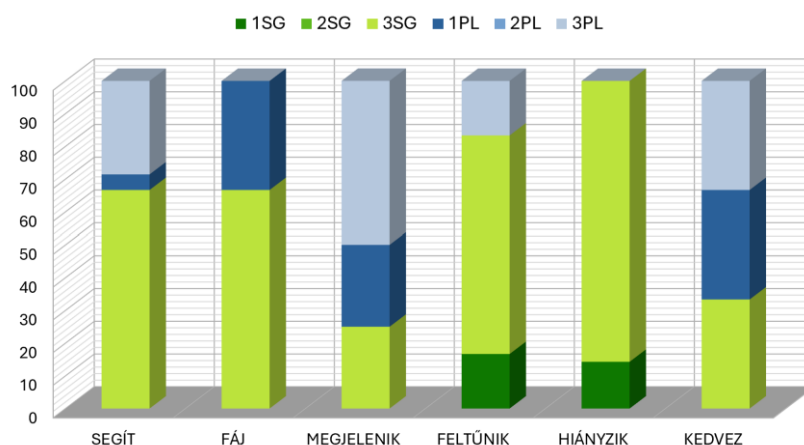


Figure 3: percentage of the person values expressed by *számára* when it fulfils a pronominal function for each verb in HCG corpus.

Turning to the distribution of genres—and in particular to the comparison shown in *Figure 4*, where the domains in which the verbs occur with *számára* are contrasted with the overall genre distribution of the corpus—several noteworthy patterns emerge indeed. With regard to spoken language, *segít* shows a markedly higher presence than in the corpus as a whole, while *fáj* must again be treated separately, given the scarcity of its attestations, which tend to distort the proportions. The other genres, by contrast, remain broadly aligned with their overall incidence in the corpus. The data become particularly

interesting when we consider the genre of formal speech: here, all verbs included in the study display a higher-than-average presence relative to the proportion of tokens belonging to this category in the corpus as a whole (*fáj*, once again, deviates from the general pattern for the reasons already discussed).

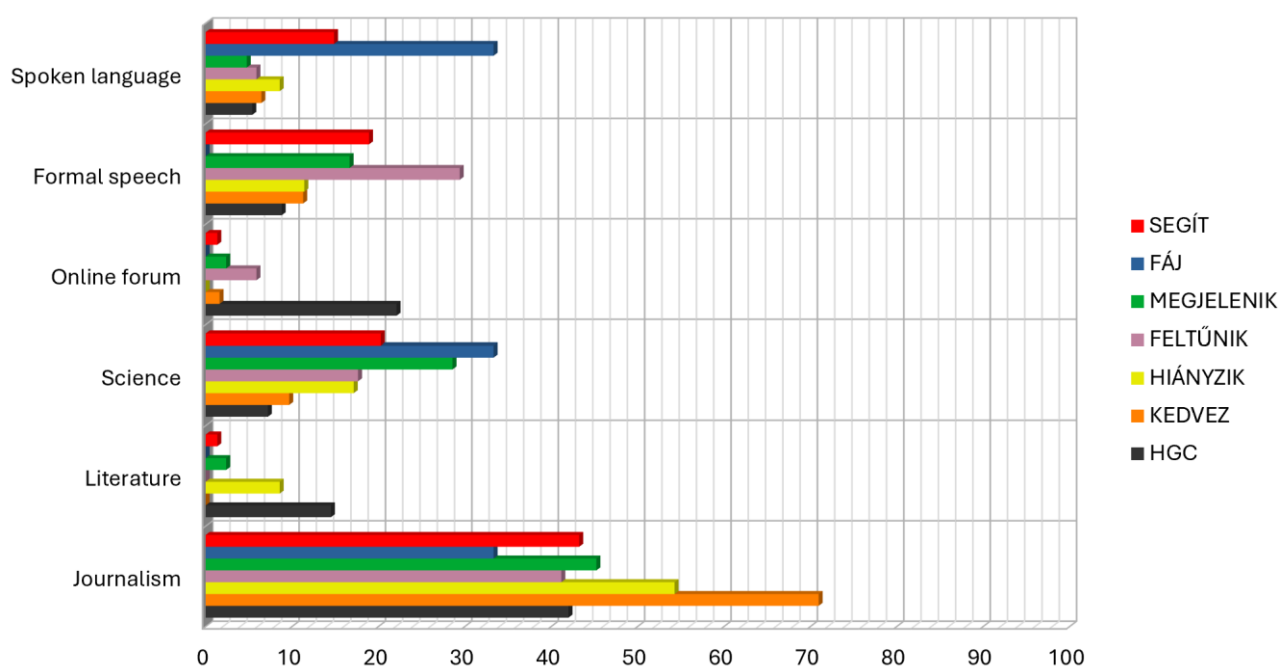


Figure 4: percentages of the corpus genres found in the *számára* occurrences for each verb, compared with the overall genre proportions in the HGC corpus.

Conversely, in the online-forum genre, the occurrences under examination are visibly much fewer than the genre's overall incidence in the corpus, indicating that the use of this postposition is also not part of more casual/informal registers (at least in this domain) and suggesting that verb plus dative-argument constructions realised through *számára* are characteristic of technical-professional and scientific registers. The scientific genre reinforces this interpretation: in this domain, the incidence of *számára* with the sampled verbs far exceeds the overall proportion of scientific texts in the corpus, with a particularly pronounced peak for *megjelenik* (again excluding *fáj* for the reasons mentioned above). A similar trend is found in the journalism genre — both newspapers and daily news — where, with the exception of the problematic *fáj*, nearly all verbs show higher-than-average values, with *kedvez* standing out especially. Overall, the data indicate that the use of *számára* with the verbs analysed is strongly associated with highly formal spoken contexts, bearing in mind that the formal-speech category also includes

documents from public administration and related domains, and with technical and scientific written registers²². This tendency does not extend to purely literary texts, which instead display a more conservative preference for the canonical dative argument. This confirms that *számára* is predominantly associated with elevated but technical language, rather than poetic-literary style. The reasons for this may be varied, but it is plausible that the intrinsic characteristics of narrative and literary genres — more prone to the crystallisation of established forms and slower to adopt changes in grammatical or lexical conventions — play a significant role in shaping this distribution.

4.1.1. *Segít*

The data examined from the HHC and HGC corpora show that, considering the six verbs selected for this study, the postpositional construction *számára* functions as a highly productive marker of a benefactive or experiencer participant in Hungarian. In particular, in combination with the verb *segít* ‘help’ and its variants with verbal particles (*elősegít*, *besegít*, etc.), it represents one of the clearest cases in which it appears to compete functionally with the canonical dative. Crucially, its distribution seems to be largely independent of the syntactic realization of the internal argument of the verb. From a theoretical perspective, this pattern can be situated within broader discussions of argument structure and non-core participants (Grimshaw 1990; Jackendoff 1990), as well as dative/benefactive constructions cross-linguistically (Haspelmath 2003; Malchukov et al. 2010). While Hungarian has a canonical dative case (*-nak/-nek*), the construction *számára* represents an alternative strategy that is not straightforwardly reducible to case marking, behaving instead more like a postpositional encoding of an applied or peripheral argument.

Looking first at the evidence provided by the diachronic corpus the HHC yields 11 raw occurrences. However, after a careful case-by-case evaluation, none of them proved to be suitable for the search criteria. In most cases, despite an initial impression, *számára* does not in fact depend on the verb *segít*, but on other elements—often nominalized verbs.

²² This factor—the tendency of *számára* to appear in formal and highly specialized technical texts—may therefore help explain the previously observed lack of second-person singular and plural forms in its pronominal function.

The finding is indeed somewhat unexpected, considering that *segít* is the most productive verb in the synchronic corpus. Yet this may suggest that the emergence and diffusion of the postposition proceed at different rates across the verbs under investigation (and not only these), with the spread of specific forms being conditioned by genre and register, and possibly also by more complex sociocultural factors that may shape linguistic behavior. On the other hand, extracting the raw data from the HGC, the raw occurrences of *segít* with the dative case amount to 13.441, while we have 239 occurrences with the postposition *számára* in substitution of the dative. A closer examination of the distribution across the genres represented in the synchronic corpus in *Figure 5* reveals a marked concentration in spoken language a tendency that, once again, seems to be unique to *segít* (and to *fáj*, but with the problematic situation already mentioned in the general overview). Substantial proportions are also attested in formal speech and in scientific publications, particularly when contrasted with the overall frequency of these genres in the corpus. The construction is almost entirely absent from online forums and from literary texts, a pattern shared by nearly all the verbs investigated. In journalism, by contrast, the values are essentially in line with the corpus average.

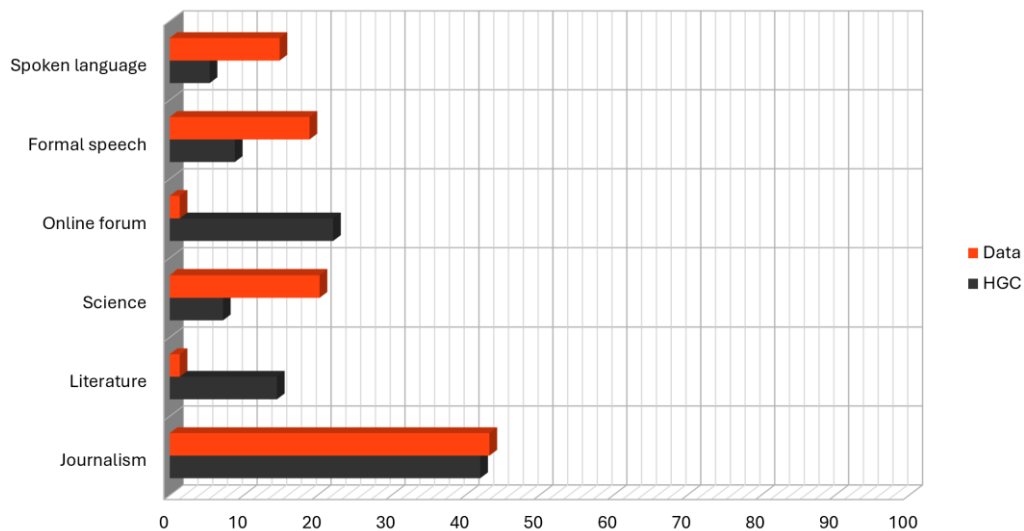


Figure 5: percentage distribution of the HGC genres for the occurrences of *számára* with the verb *segít*, compared with the overall percentage of each genre within the corpus.

As for the diffusion of the pronominal form of *számára*, the data fall within the mid-range when compared with the other verbs, with a marked preference for third-person singular forms. Within the animacy hierarchy, one can observe a marked attachment to human-related characterization: even among the nouns governed by *számára* that are

formally inanimate, references invariably point back to human collectives, such as names of nations, commercial associations like companies, enterprises or banks, and institutions—whether more or less formal or legal—such as prosecutors’ offices, courts, or even criminal organizations, and even anatomical parts or components of the human body. After these general observations, a more fine-grained analysis of the data extracted from the HGC reveals that *számára* is undergoing an expansion from a marginal benefactive marker toward a more general strategy for encoding participant-oriented relevance. A first important observation concerns verbal valency. Across the examples collected from the corpus, the alternation between dative and *számára* does not appear to involve a genuine change in the semantic structure of the predicate. In both constructions, the same participant role is expressed: the individual, group, or entity for whose benefit the helping event takes place. Thus, the distinction between the dative and the postpositional construction lies primarily in their syntactic realization and discourse construal, rather than in argument structure. The dative tends to encode a more tightly integrated participant, while *számára* introduces the beneficiary as a more external, perspectival, or evaluative reference point. This becomes particularly evident in contexts where the helping event is construed in abstract rather than interpersonal terms. In example (18), for instance, the beneficiary is the institutional entity *Magyarország* ‘Hungary’, not an individual human participant. Here, the helping relation is not direct or agentive in a prototypical sense; instead, the predicate denotes the facilitation of a socio-economic process. In such contexts, *számára* appears especially natural, as the beneficiary is construed not as an immediate recipient of help but as the entity relative to which the process is evaluated as advantageous. A canonical dative (e.g. *Magyarországnak*) would arguably yield a more concrete and direct interpretation. The infinitival structure that follows further reinforces this abstract construal. A similar tendency emerges in institutional and political discourse, where *számára* frequently occurs with collective beneficiaries and abstract infinitival complements. In example (19) the beneficiary phrase is quantified (*minél több ember számára* ‘for as many people as possible’), showing that *számára* is fully compatible with quantification and generalized participant reference. The beneficiary is construed collectively and institutionally rather than as a directly affected individual. This again contrasts with the more interpersonal

nuance typically associated with the dative and it is not surprising that we find an infinitival structure also here.

- 18) *És van néhány olyan kérdés, amely segít-ene*
 and be.3SG some such issue which help-COND.3SG
[Magyarország számára]PP visszatér-ni a fenntartható
 Hungary.NOM for back.return-INF the sustainable
növekedés út-já-ra.
 growth.NOM path-POSS.3SG-SUBL

‘And there are some issues that would help Hungary return to the path of sustainable growth.’ (HGC: spoken language, radio program)

- 19) *...és a következő tíz év-ben [minél több*
 and the following ten year-INESS as.many more
ember számára]PP segít-s-ük meg-teremt-eni a tisztes
 person.NOM for help-SBJV-1PL PV-create-INF the decent
polgári jólét lehetőség-é-t.
 civic well.being.NOM possibility-POSS.3SG-ACC

‘...and in the next ten years let us help create, for as many people as possible, the possibility of a decent civic well-being.’ (HGC: journalism, daily news)

The corpus further demonstrates that *számára* co-occurs with a wide variety of complement types, suggesting that its distribution reflects the broader event structure more than the verb itself. The postposition is anchored in its semantic role, not in a specific syntactic configuration. One particularly frequent pattern involves infinitival complements, as already shown in the two previous examples, and as further evidenced in (20), (21) and (22). In these constructions, *számára* introduces the participant relative to whom the infinitival event is beneficial, manageable, or psychologically processable. Particularly in (22), the interpretation approaches an experiencer reading: the psychiatrist does not simply help someone in an external sense, but facilitates an internal psychological process for that individual. This suggests that *számára* is capable of

extending beyond straightforward benefactive semantics toward more abstract participant-oriented interpretations.

20) ... <i>hogy orosz vagy orosz-nak nevez-ett Bécsi</i>					
that Russian or Russian-DAT call-PTCP.PAST Viennese					
<i>kapcsolat-ok, [maffiacsoport-ok számára]_{PP} segít-ett</i>					
connection-PL.NOM mafia group-PL.NOM. for help-PAST.3SG					
<i>át-játsz-ani a BorsodChem-et...</i>					
PV-play-INF the BorsodChem-ACC					

‘...having helped Russian or so-called Russian Vienna-based connections, mafia groups, to transfer the BorsodChem...’ (HGC: journalism, newspaper)

21) ... <i>kedves-e le-tt a római diktátor-nak,</i>					
beloved-POSS.3SG be-PAST.3SG the Roman dictator-DAT					
<i>aki segít-ett számára vissza-szerez-ni a trón-t.</i>					
who.NOM help-PAST.3SG for.3SG PV-regain-INF the throne-ACC					

‘...she became the beloved of the Roman dictator, who helped her to regain the throne.’ (HGC: science)

22) <i>Ez-t segít-i fel-dolgoz-ni számára egy pszichiáter</i>					
this-ACC help-3SG PV-process-INF for.3SG a psychiatrist.NOM					

‘A psychiatrist helps him to process this’ (HGC: journalism, newspaper)

Another highly frequent property of the data is the strong association between *számára* and nominalized event structures. In many examples, the object of *segít* is a deverbal nominalization (instead of being a finite clause or concrete entity), as in (23), (24), (25) and (26). In such examples, the event is reified as an abstract entity (*felkészülés* ‘preparation’, *csökkentés* ‘reduction’, *ismerkedés* ‘socializing’, *megmaradás* ‘survival’). This abstraction correlates strongly with the use of *számára*. Rather than introducing a participant directly involved in an action, *számára* identifies the participant for whom the nominalized process is relevant, advantageous, or meaningful. This distribution is especially characteristic of scientific, bureaucratic, and political registers, where events

are systematically conceptualized as processes or states instead of concrete actions. The participant introduced by *számára* relates to the event as a whole, not to any specific internal argument. This becomes especially visible in examples where the helping relation is highly abstract or systemic.

- 23) ...*amely-ek ugyan-csak a fertőzés-re való fel-készül-és-t*
 which-PL likewise the infection-SUBL REL PV-prepare-NMZ-ACC
segít-ik elő [szervezet-ünk számára]_{PP}.
 help-3PL PV organism-POSS.1PL for

‘...which also help our body prepare for infection.’²³ (HGC: journal, newspaper)

- 24) ...*nem hisz-em azonban, hogy ez segít-ett-e [az*
 not believe-1SG however that this help-PAST-3SG the
ember-ek számára]_{PP} a terh-ek
 person-PL.NOM for the burden-PL.NOM
csökkent-és-é-t.
 reduce-NMZ-POSS.3SG-ACC

‘However, I do not believe that this helped people reduce the burdens.’ (HGC: official, documents of public administration)

- 25) *Arra is fény-t derít-ett a kérdőív,*
 that.SUBL also light-ACC reveal-PAST.3SG the questionnaire.NOM
hogy [a fiatal-ok számára]_{PP} az alkohol segít-i
 that the young-PL for the alcohol.NOM help-3SG
az ismerked-és-t,...
 the socialize-NMZ-ACC

²³ As can be seen here and in several of the following examples, nominalizations of this type have often been rendered in translation by means of an infinitival construction. In both Italian and English, this solution conveys the intended meaning more naturally, whereas a literal rendering of the Hungarian structure would produce formulations such as ‘which also help our body the preparation for infection’, which are not idiomatic.

‘The questionnaire also revealed that alcohol helps young people to socialize...’
(HGC: journalism, daily news)

26) ...*hogy egy olyan lehetőség amely számunkra a*
 that a such possibility.NOM which for.1PL the
 meg-marad-ás-t segít-ené elő.
 PV-remain-NMZ-ACC help-COND.3SG PV

‘...that (there is) a possibility which would help us survive.’ (HGC: spoken language, radio program)

Moreover, in the aforementioned example (26), in addition to the presence of a nominalized object rather than an infinitival or finite subordinate clause, we also observe the separation of the preverbal particle *elő*. This occurs because the verb appears in a finite form and in a non-neutral position within the information structure of the subordinate clause. The particle contributes a telic, resultative connotation, reinforcing the idea of bringing the event to completion. This yields a causative-like interpretation that is characteristic of more formal registers. The same pattern had already emerged in example (23) so it is worth taking a moment to examine this aspect more closely. Here, the helping event is no longer construed as a direct action performed for an immediate recipient. Rather, the predicate denotes the facilitation of a biological process beneficial to the organism. The participant introduced by *számára* is therefore not an internal recipient of the action but the conceptual endpoint relative to which the process acquires positive value. In the Hungarian verbal system, the predicates *segít* and *elősegít* (or its other possible form *segít elő*), can be analysed as distinct points along a continuum of semantic abstraction and grammaticalization, with systematic effects on their argument structure and on the selection of participant markers, particularly the postposition *számára*. These differences reflect alternative modes of event construal, that is, different ways of conceptualizing the helping event as direct action, process facilitation, or systemic causation. The simplex verb *segít* instantiates a prototypically agentive, low-abstraction predicate denoting direct intervention by an agent (which doesn’t need to be human). Syntactically, it can select a dative-marked participant, which functions as an oblique argument but remains relatively integrated into the verb’s argument structure. In this configuration, the recipient of the event is conceptualized as directly involved in the

action, which accounts for the reduced compatibility with *számára*, that tends instead to encode less immediate and more mediated participant relations. The analytic construction *segít elő* represents an intermediate stage, in which the particle *elő* exhibits an advanced degree of semantic bleaching and contributes to a reinterpretation of the predicate in terms of process facilitation rather than punctual action. This is reflected in its strong preference for nominalized complements, as in *segítik elő a fejlődést*, ‘they facilitate development’ which imply a reification of the event. In this context, *számára* integrates naturally as a marker of a beneficiary who is not directly involved in the action but is instead the functional endpoint of the facilitated process. The combination of nominalization and *számára* appears particularly productive in technical-scientific registers, where events are predominantly represented as abstract entities. The prefixed verb *elősegít* constitutes a further stage in the lexicalization process, in which the prefix *elő-* is fully lexicalized and the predicate acquires a unified, abstract causative meaning ‘to promote’, ‘to foster’. In terms of argument structure, it is a highly abstract predicate that preferentially selects objects denoting processes or states, thereby construing the event as part of a systemic causal configuration rather than as an agent-driven action. Within this framework, *számára* emerges as the preferred marker of a beneficiary whose involvement is not event-internal but conceptual: it identifies the participant relative to whom the promoted situation is relevant. In this sense, *számára* functions as a perspective-holder, signaling the viewpoint or evaluative locus from which the promoted process is interpreted. Overall, a robust correlation can thus be observed between the degree of abstraction of the predicate and the choice of recipient marker: the more concretely and agentively the event is conceptualized, as with *segít*, the more a direct argumental encoding via the dative is favoured. Conversely, the more the event is represented as a process or systemic relation, as with *segít elő* and *elősegít*, the more *számára* emerges as the marker of a non-argumental beneficiary, often functioning as the participant whose perspective or evaluative stance anchors the interpretation of the event²⁴. This distribution seems to be particularly evident, as noted above, in academic, political, and bureaucratic registers,

²⁴ It is important to note that the perspectival component is not obligatory. A sentence such as ‘this doesn’t help him’ may be true even if the beneficiary is not aware of the helping event. The same holds for Hungarian: constructions with *neki* or *számára* identify the beneficiary or target of the event, but do not necessarily encode an experiencer with subjective awareness.

where the preference for nominalized constructions and highly abstract predicates systematically promotes the use of *számára*. This tendency becomes even clearer — and is further confirmed — when considering that, alongside *elő*, the verbal particle *be* is also used in a similar way, producing analogous interpretive effects. In example (27) the particle *elő* contributes a strongly resultative and causative interpretation. The construction no longer denotes simple help, but rather the facilitation or promotion of an outcome. Similarly, in example (28), the particle *be* (in this case the predicate is agentive) signals collaborative contribution within an ongoing activity. Significantly, *számára* remains perfectly acceptable regardless of the presence or absence of verbal particles, indicating that its licensing is semantically stable and not dependent on a particular verbal morphology.

- 27) ...*ez segít-ett-e elő számára a nemzetközi ismertség-et.*
 this help-PAST-3SG PV for.3SG the international recognition-ACC

‘...this helped forward international recognition for him.’ (HGC: journalism)

- 28) ...[*Life Force Trio számára*]_{PP} *segít-ett be csilingel-ő*
 Life Force Trio.NOM for help-PAST.3SG PV jingle-PTCP
hang-já-val.
 voice-POSS.3SG-INST

‘...she helped out the Life Force Trio with her jingling voice.’ (HGC: journalism, daily news)

Another important aspect concerns information structure. The position of the *számára*-phrase varies considerably across the corpus, and the PP positional variability indicates that it is sensitive to information structure (É. Kiss 2002), suggesting that it behaves as a discourse-sensitive constituent rather than a rigidly fixed complement. In such cases, *számára*-phrases may function as topic or frame-setting expressions, reinforcing their status as discourse-prominent, non-core participants. In several examples, the phrase occupies a left-peripheral topicalized position, as in (29) and (30). In these examples, the beneficiary functions as the informational anchor of the utterance. The sentence is organized around the participant relative to whom the event is relevant (indeed, one can

observe the leftward dislocation of the postposition along with its nominal dependents). This strongly supports the interpretation of *számára* as a perspectival marker rather than merely a syntactic alternative to the dative.

- 29) [*A vásárló, a fogyasztó számára*]_{PP} *segít-i az*
 the buyer.NOM the consumer.NOM for help-3SG the
eligazod-ás-t a rendelet,...
 navigate-NMZ-ACC the regulation.NOM

‘The regulation helps the buyer, the consumer, orienting...’ (HGC: spoken language)

- 30) ...[*mindenki számára*]_{PP} *egyformá-n segít-ene az*
 everyone.NOM for equally-ADV help-COND.3SG the
átállás nehézség-e-i-nek csökkent-és-ében.
 transition.NOM difficulty-POSS.3SG-PL-DAT reduce-NMZ-INESS

‘...it would help equally everyone in the reduction of the difficulties of the transition.’ (HGC: science, Hungarian electronic library)

The corpus also provides evidence that *számára* is compatible with both concrete and highly abstract subjects, as already reported at the beginning of the section. The helping entity may be human (*egy pszichiáter* (22) ‘a psychiatrist’), institutional (*a rendelet* (29) ‘the regulation’), abstract (*barátság* (31) ‘friendship’), environmental (*az alcohol* (25) ‘alcohol’), or systemic (*egy lehetőség* (26) ‘a possibility’). In particular, it is worth noting that in example (31) the subject is constituted by an abstract interpersonal relation, rather than an intentional agent. Nevertheless, *számára* still identifies the participant for whom the event is beneficial or relevant. This further demonstrates that the construction is not tied to prototypical agentive transfer events.

- 31) *Sok-at segít-ett eb-ben számára Vaszilij Kandinszkij*
 much-ACC help-PAST.3SG this-INE for.3SG Vaszilij Kandinszkij
barátság-a.
 friendship-POSS.3SG

‘Vasily Kandinsky’s friendship helped him/her a lot in this.’ (HGC: scientific)

The presence of constructions in which the beneficiary is redundantly encoded (e.g. possessive marking within the noun phrase alongside *számára*) further suggests that *számára* occupies a distinct layer in the representation of participant roles, as can be observed in (32). This aligns with proposals that distinguish between internal possession and external possession or affectedness (Payne & Barshi 1999) and supports the view that *számára* encodes a participant external to the core argument structure²⁵.

32) Számos	munká-ja	alkalm-á-val	segít-ett
numerous	work-POSS.3SG	occasion-POSS.3SG-INS	help-PAST.3SG
számára	testvér-e,	Julian Soule,	...
for.3SG	brother-POSS.3SG	Julian Soule.NOM	

‘His brother, Julian Soule, helped (him) with many of his projects,...’ (HGC: scientific)

Taken together, the data suggest a robust correlation between the degree of event abstraction and the preference for *számára*. The more concrete and agentive the helping event is, the more natural the canonical dative construction tends to be. Conversely, the more the event is construed as an abstract process, institutional facilitation, systemic promotion, or perspectively evaluated situation, the more *számára* emerges as the preferred encoding strategy. In this sense, *számára* cannot simply be regarded as a stylistic variant of the dative. Rather, it functions as an increasingly productive marker of

²⁵ In Payne and Barshi’s core definition, an EPC (external possession construction) requires the possessor to be coded as a core grammatical relation of the verb — as subject, direct object, or indirect object/dative — but explicitly not as an oblique. On this strict criterion, *számára*-phrases fall outside the core EPC type, since the postpositional construction is inherently oblique and does not assume a core grammatical relation to the verbal predicate. The relevant parallel is rather with what Aissen (in Payne and Barshi 1999) identifies as the possessor-as-topic EPC type: a broader construction in which the external possessor occupies a structural topic position in the clause without being integrated as a core argument. This type is attested cross-linguistically as a diachronically earlier stage of grammaticalization, from which more integrated core EPCs may develop (Payne and Barshi 1999: 8). The structural profile of *számára* in topic position — referential, specific, animate, and external to the predicate’s argument frame — matches this type closely. Furthermore, Langacker’s (1993) reference-point model, extensively discussed in Payne and Barshi (1999), provides direct theoretical support for understanding why a topicalized possessive or affectively related participant functions as a perspectival anchor: both topichood and possessive relations serve to invoke one entity as a reference point for establishing mental contact with another. The *számára*-construction can therefore be situated within the broader EP typology as an analytic, topic-based instantiation of external possessor encoding — one that shares the functional motivation of core EPCs while differing from them in its degree of syntactic integration.

participant-oriented perspective, introducing the entity relative to whom a process, state, or event is interpreted as relevant, beneficial, or experientially salient.

4.1.2. *Kedvez*

The corpus data associated with the verb *kedvez* (‘favour’, ‘be favourable to’) shows clearly how the postpositional construction *számára* can extend beyond prototypical benefactive marking. Together with *segít*, *kedvez* represents a core domain in which the construction operates; however, unlike *segít*, which encodes a dynamic and agentive event of assistance, *kedvez* expresses a fundamentally stative and evaluative relation. Rather than denoting an action directed toward a beneficiary, it encodes a event/eventuality/situation that is advantageous or favourable to a given participant. This distinction is crucial, as it shows that *számára* functions not only as a marker of beneficiary, but more generally as a marker of the evaluative target or perspectival locus relative to which a situation is assessed. In its canonical usage, *kedvez* selects a participant encoded in the dative case (*valakinek kedvez* ‘be favourable to someone’). The corpus data, however, show that this participant can also be expressed through *számára*, yielding the alternative construction *kedvez valaki számára*. As with *segít*, this alternation does not modify the verb’s valency: the participant remains semantically obligatory, since favourability presupposes a reference point. What changes is the mode of encoding and the degree of syntactic integration, with *számára* increasingly marking a participant construed as an external evaluative target rather than an internally integrated argument.

The HHC extraction for occurrences of *kedvez* with *számára*, with 65 raw occurrences (then polished to 44 after the analytical filtering), covers a heterogeneous set of genres, dominated by specialist non-fiction (political science, economics, sociology, the natural sciences, philosophy, geography). A smaller but still substantial portion belongs to *publicisztika* and general cultural essays, while literary and literary-critical texts appear only marginally. This distribution reflects the composite nature of the diachronic corpus, which integrates specialist, essayistic, and literary materials across a very broad chronological span between 1871 and 2010. A little less than half of the extracted sentences contain the pronominal form of *számára*. Within these, first-person singular and plural forms occur only sporadically (two instances each), while third-person plural forms are the most frequent (nine occurrences), and third-person singular is also well represented (five occurrences). Within the animacy spectrum, on the other hand, a high

degree of heterogeneity emerges. The data include terms still connected to the human sphere—such as bourgeoisie, community, organism, or names of states (which, by extension, refer to their populations)—but also abstract concepts such as literature, ideas, conflict, growth potential, as well as genuinely inanimate entities such as biosphere or cultivation. Taken together, these patterns suggest that *számára* with *kedvez* occupies a particularly prominent position within the diachronic corpus. As a matter of fact *kedvez* is by far the most frequent item in this group, and its distribution reveals a remarkable degree of functional flexibility. This combination of high frequency, broad genre coverage, and semantic versatility indicates that *kedvez* is particularly well integrated into the discursive resources of Hungarian across the entire historical span of the corpus.

Turning to the synchronic corpus data, the HGC search returns 4.487 instances of the verb with a dative-case argument and 68 with *számára*. The postposition sampling additionally revealed attestations from a neighbouring region, specifically two examples from Transylvania. When examining the distribution and incidence of the various genres in the dataset for *számára* with *kedvez*, Figure 6 shows that the proportions for spoken language, formal speech, and scientific writing remain broadly in line with the general tendencies of the corpus—although consistently slightly higher than the corpus baseline.

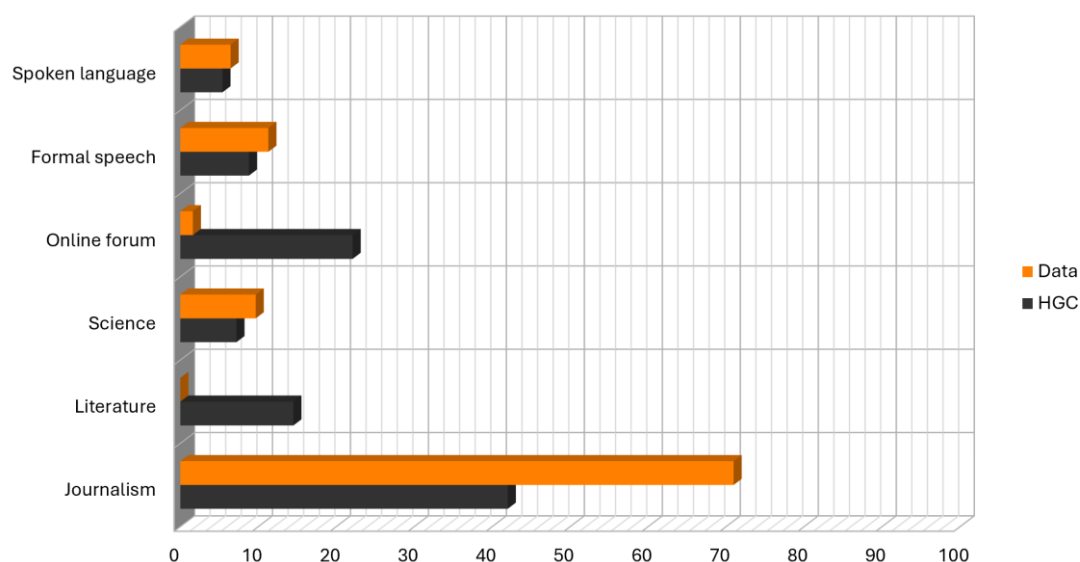


Figure 6: percentage distribution of the HGC genres for the occurrences of *számára* with the verb *kedvez*, compared with the overall percentage of each genre within the corpus.

What stands out most sharply, and in fact runs counter to the overall corpus trend, is the complete absence of literary texts and the extremely limited presence of online-forum

material. In contrast, the proportion of journalistic writing is strikingly high, accounting for slightly more than 70% of all occurrences. Among all the sampled verbs, even though some shared tendencies can be observed, *kedvez* is by far the one with the most substantial concentration of attestations originating from specialist journalistic discourse. Moreover, here too, as in the diachronic corpus, the animacy hierarchy spans a very broad and heterogeneous range. It includes human referents, animate entities, and a wide set of terms denoting human collectives (such as ‘teams, companies, political parties, elites, criminal organizations’, or ‘states’), as well as abstract concepts (for instance ‘Buddhism, idea, hatred’) and fully inanimate concrete entities (such as ‘PC, dollar, buildings’). As observed earlier at the beginning of this chapter, the pronominal form of the postposition is used far less frequently here than with the other sampled verbs, and in the few cases where it does occur there seems to be a clear preference for third-person referents.

Turning to the detailed analysis of the data extracted from the corpora, corpus evidence in HGC shows that *számára* occupies a syntactically flexible but semantically stable position. In particular, it may occur postverbally (*kedvez X számára* ‘favour X’); preverbally in topicalised positions; within relative clauses; in existential constructions; inside nominal predications. Despite this positional variability, its semantic role remains constant: it marks the target of a favourable or unfavourable evaluation, exactly as the dative would do. Importantly, *számára* can co-occur also here with both explicit noun phrases and pronominal forms both explicit and implicit (e.g. *az ő számára, számukra*), confirming its status as a productive postpositional construction capable of combining with internal determiners and possessive morphology. One of the most striking properties of *kedvez* is the overwhelming predominance of inanimate and abstract referents among the subjects licensing the construction. The favourable relation is generally established not through direct intentional action, but through situations, structural conditions, environmental factors, institutional arrangements, or abstract processes. This already differentiates *kedvez* sharply from *segít* and explains why *számára* integrates so naturally with the predicate. A first important group of examples involves institutional, social, or structural configurations, as in (33). Here, the participant introduced by *számára* is clearly not a beneficiary in the ordinary sense. Vehicle crime does not receive assistance from an agent but rather constitutes the semantic target of a favourable situation. The relation is therefore stative and evaluative, not eventive. The same structure appears in (34), where

the favourable relation concerns a socio-economic category instead of an individual participant. Particularly significant here is the formal-administrative register of the sentence. A canonical dative would arguably produce a more colloquial and less institutional interpretation, whereas *számára* contributes to a more detached and objectivized construal of the beneficiary. Importantly, the PP appears preverbally but after the adverb *kifejezetten*, suggesting that it occupies a focalizable but not narrow-focus position. A similar pattern is found in contexts involving natural or environmental causation. Looking at (35), again, one can notice that the relation is entirely non-agentive. The subject (*időjárás*) does not intentionally favour the mildew; rather, the sentence encodes a causal configuration in which a certain condition facilitates the proliferation of another entity. Here *számára* marks the target of environmental favourability, not the recipient of an action. This supports the idea that the postposition is selected not by lexical properties of the verb alone, but by a broader semantic relation of advantageous orientation.

- 33) *Ez a rendezet-len-ség ráadásul rend-kívül kedvez [a*
 this the ordered-PRIV-NMZ moreover order-outside favour.3SG the
*gépjármű-bűnözés számára]*_{PP}.
 vehicle-crime.NOM for

‘This disorder, moreover, is extremely favourable to vehicle crime.’ (HGC: journalism, newspaper)

- 34) *A rész-ajánlat tétel-i lehetőség kifejezett-en [a*
 the part-offer itemize-ADJ possibility.NOM explicit-ADV the
*kkv-k*²⁶ *számára]*_{PP} *kedvez,...*
 SME-PL.NOM for favour.3SG

‘The possibility of submitting partial bids is explicitly favourable to SMEs, ...’ (HGC: journalism, newspaper)

²⁶ *Kis- és középvállalkozások* ‘small and medium-sized enterprises’ (SME).

35) *Ugyan-akkor ez az időjárás kedvez-ett [a*
 same-time this the weather.NOM favour-PAST.3SG the
*liszt-harmat számára]*PP *is, ...*
 flower-dew for also

‘At the same time, this weather was also favourable to powdery mildew, ...’ (HGC: spoken language, podcast)

It can be said that, among the corpus attestations, one of the most theoretically relevant examples is (36), inside a relative clause. This example is crucial because it shows the coexistence of canonical dative marking (*nekünk*) and the postpositional construction (*az Apple számára*) within the same syntactic domain. The two constructions are coordinated under the same predicate, demonstrating a substantial degree of functional overlap. At the same time, however, the alternation cannot be reduced to free variation. The contrast strongly suggests a more fine-grained semantic and discourse distinction. The dative referent (*nekünk*) is interpreted as more immediate, internal, and personally involved, while *az Apple számára* appears more externalized, institutional, and evaluative. The difference is therefore not primarily syntactic, but conceptual and informational. Particularly revealing is the fact that the non-favourable interpretation is only indirectly encoded: negation applies to *kapunk* ‘we receive’ rather than directly to *kedvez*, yet the evaluative relation remains fully recoverable.

36) ...*olykor elő-fordul-hat, hogy nem olyan válasz-t*
 sometimes PV-happen-POT.3SG that not such answer-ACC
*kap-unk, ami nek-ünk vagy [az Apple számára]*PP *kedvez.*
 get-1PL that DAT-1PL or the Apple.NOM for favour.3SG

‘...sometimes it may happen that we do not get an answer that is favourable to us or to Apple’ (HGC: journalism, newspaper)

Additional evidence for the productivity of *számára* comes from pronominal constructions. In (37), for example, the presence of the article before *számukra* appears non-standard and may reflect spoken interference or hypercorrection. Nevertheless, the example remains important because it shows that the *számára*-construction can behave

syntactically like a nominal constituent capable of taking determination. This interpretation becomes even clearer in (38), where the article is fully grammatical because it belongs to the larger DP structure (*az ő számukra*). This confirms that *számára* functions as a productive postposition taking an explicit DP complement, rather than merely constituting an alternative case marker.

- 37) ...*ugyan-akkor az időjárás sajnos nem kedvez a*
 same-time the weather.NOM unfortunately not favour.3SG the
szám-uk-ra,...
 for.3PL

‘...at the same time, unfortunately, the weather is not favourable to them ...’ (HGC: journalism, newspaper)

- 38) ...*az egy-es munka-ügyi és szociális törvény-ek*
 the one-ADJ labour-affair and social law-PL.NOM
módosítás-á-ról szól-ó törvény-javaslat nem kedvez
 modification-POSS.3SG-DEL speak-PTCP law-proposal not favour.3SG
az ő szám-uk-ra.
 the they for.3PL

‘...the bill on the amendment of certain labour and social laws is not favourable to them.’ (HGC: official speech, documents from public administration)

Another recurrent pattern in the corpus involves complex clausal structures in which *kedvez* appears embedded within relative or subordinate clauses, as in the *that*-clause in (39). The favourable relation is evaluated relative to an entire environmental configuration. The *számára*-phrase identifies the final target benefiting from the situation created by the higher event. Importantly, the PP is linked semantically to the evaluative predicate *kedvez* rather than to the matrix verb *kialakít* ‘to shape’ This demonstrates once again that *számára* is licensed at the level of semantic interpretation rather than through direct argument selection.

- 39) ...*és zavart helyzet olyan környezet-et*
 and chaotic situation.NOM such environment-ACC

alakít-ott *ki* *mely kedvez* [*a csaló-k* *számára*]_{PP}.
 shape-PAST.3SG PV that favour.3SG the cheater-PL.NOM for

...and the chaotic situation created such an environment that is favourable to scammers.’ (HGC: journalism, newspaper)

The same tendency appears in more agentive contexts, like in another *that*-clause in (40). This example is particularly interesting because the subject is now human and agentive. Consequently, *kedvez* approaches the semantics of verbs like *segít* or even English *support*. Nevertheless, the postposition remains fully acceptable, showing that its distribution is not dependent on the eventive structure alone. The difference lies instead in the conceptualization of the target participant. Even here, the groups are construed less as direct recipients of an action than as the beneficiaries of a broader political orientation or structural preference. The data also show a topicalizing leftward shift of the PP in relation to the verb.

40) *Az is gyakori hogy meg-határoz-ó* [*politika-i*
 that also frequent that PV-determine-PTCP politics-ADJ
 csoport-ok *számára*]_{PP} *kedvez-nek* *a* *döntés-hozó-k*.
 group-PL.NOM for favour-3PL the decision-maker-PL.NOM

‘It is also common that decision-makers favour certain influential political groups.’ (HGC: journalism, newspaper)

A further noteworthy property of *kedvez* is its compatibility with highly abstract referents and propositional domains. In (41), for example, once more inside a *that*-clause the participant introduced by *számára* is itself an abstract NP. The favourable relation therefore operates entirely at the level of ideological or conceptual evaluation. Similarly in (42) where the beneficiary is conceptualized as a category, or in (43) the construction remains fully productive across modal, hypothetical, and conditional environments. This demonstrates that *számára* is independent of tense, mood, and event actuality, functioning instead as a stable marker of evaluative orientation.

41) *Ekkor történ-t* *egy éles* *irány-váltás* *a*
 then happen-PAST.3SG a sharp direction-change.NOM the

francia kül-politika-ban, amely [Beneš ötlet-e számára]PP
 French foreign-policy-INE which Beneš.NOM idea-POSS.3SG for
kedvez-ett.
 favour-PAST.3SG

‘Then happened a sharp shift in French foreign policy, which was favourable to Beneš’s idea.’ (HGC: scientific, Hungarian electronic library)

42) ...*az ilyenkor sok-szor meg-figyel-hető kapkodás és*
 the such.time many-times PV-observe-able haste.NOM and
figyelem-telen-ség különös-en kedvez [a
 attention-less-NMZ.NOM particular-ADV favour.3SG the
támadó-k számára]PP,...
 attacker-PL.NOM for

‘...the haste and carelessness often observable in such situations are particularly favourable to attackers, ...’ (HGC: journalism, newspaper)

43) ...*így az új fel-áll-ás elv-i-ek-ben [a*
 thus the new up-stand-NMZ principle-ADJ-PL-INE the
Fidesz számára]PP kedvez-ne.
 Fidesz.NOM for favour-COND.3SG

‘...thus, the new setup in principle would be favourable to Fidesz.’ (HGC: journalism, newspaper)

The corpus also reveals that *kedvez* frequently occurs in descriptive and marketing-oriented discourse, like in (44). In such contexts, *számára* appears especially natural because the participant is construed as the target demographic relative to whom the product becomes relevant or advantageous, and the instrumental marking further supports this functional interpretation. The dative would likely produce a more concrete interpersonal interpretation, whereas *számára* preserves the impersonal and classificatory tone characteristic of commercial language.

44) *A Motorola C385 ár-á-val inkább [a fiatal*
the Motorola C385 price-POSS.3SG-INST rather the young
kor-osztály számára]pp kedvez, ...
age-group.NOM for favour.3SG

‘With its price, the Motorola C385 rather appeals to / is favourable to the younger age group.’ (HGC: journalism, newspaper)

The diachronic evidence provided by the HHC corpus further confirms the remarkable stability and productivity of the construction across time. Particularly important is the fact that *számára* is not restricted to finite verbal predicates and appears equally with participial and adjectival forms derived from *kedvez*. For instance, in (45) the relation of favourability is encoded through the adjectival predicate *kedvező*. Crucially, however, the semantic structure remains identical: *számára* still marks the target relative to whom the state of affairs is evaluated positively. This strongly suggests that the postposition is selected not by the lexical verb itself, but by a more abstract semantic relation of evaluative advantage. The same applies to scientific discourse, as can be observed in (46) with an adjectival predicate where *számára* occurs in a non-focal final position characteristic of backgrounded scientific exposition. Again, the participant is not a beneficiary in any concrete sense, but the ecological target relative to which the situation is evaluated. Finally, the example (47) demonstrates that the construction remains fully productive even in existential structures. Here *számukra* modifies not an action but an existentially available opportunity. The favourable relation is encoded nominally through *kedvező*, yet the semantic role of the PP remains unchanged.

45) *Az egy-oldal-ú vám-intézkedés-ek [az egyiptomi*
the one-side-ADJ tariff-measure-PL.NOM the Egyptian
burzsoázia számára]pp kedvez-ő-ek.
bourgeoisie.NOM for favour-PTCP-PL

‘The unilateral tariff measures are favourable to the Egyptian bourgeoisie.’ (HHC: Forgács Marcell, 1959, *Közel-keleti látogatás*)

46) *Van-nak közöttük azonban olyan-ok is mely-ek*
 be-3PL among-3PL however such-PL also whose-PL
*jelenlét-e nem kedvez-ő [a bioszféra számára]*_{PP}.
 Presence-POSS.3SG not favour-PTCP the biosphere.NOM for

‘However, there are also some among them whose presence is not favourable to the biosphere.’ (HHC: Szakáll Sándor, 2008, *Barangolás az ásványok világában*)

47) *Ma ismét itt van számukra egy kedvez-ő pillanat*
 but again here be.3SG for.3PL a favour-PTCP moment.NOM

‘But again there is a favourable moment for them.’ (HHC: Jakab Elek, 1871, *A királyföldi viszonyok ismertetése*)

Overall, the data associated with *kedvez* strongly support the conclusion that *sámára* has developed into a highly productive marker of evaluative orientation in Hungarian. Its use extends far beyond canonical benefactive meaning and appears largely independent of grammatical category, occurring with verbs, participles, adjectival predicates, nominal structures, relative clauses, conditional constructions, and existential sentences. Unlike the canonical dative, which typically encodes a more internally integrated participant, *sámára* increasingly functions as the marker of an external evaluative target — the participant relative to whom a situation, process, or state of affairs is construed as advantageous, disadvantageous, or relevant. In this sense, *kedvez* provides evidence in the corpus that *sámára* is evolving into a generalized marker of participant-oriented perspective and evaluative anchoring in contemporary Hungarian.

4.1.3. *Megjelenik*

The analysis shows that, with the verb *megjelenik* ‘appears’, ‘materializes’, ‘becomes perceptible’, the construction with *sámára* does not constitute a simple variant of the dative but rather instantiates a distinct semantic and pragmatic configuration. This finding confirms that *sámára* tends to co-occur with the dative rather than compete with it, that is, not as a replacement for it. What emerges instead is a form of specialization, whereby the postposition is preferentially used in specific semantic contexts. Here in particular, *sámára* does not introduce a recipient in the strict sense; instead, it systematically

encodes an experiential anchor or a domain of accessibility with respect to which the event denoted by the verb becomes perceptible or interpretable. This observation is consistent with analyses of Hungarian argument structure that distinguish between core arguments and less integrated participants, often expressed through lexical postpositions and associated with more complex semantic functions (É. Kiss 1987).

Starting with the data retrieved from the diachronic corpus, the HHC produces 13 raw occurrences. After a careful individual evaluation, only 2 are retained as valid according to the established search parameters. In both cases, *számára* appears in the pronominal form referring to the third-person singular. The source texts are, respectively, Almási Miklós (1977, an essay-type of text in the field of literary studies), and Bacsó Béla (1989, an academic–specialist text in the field of aesthetics, art theory, and the philosophy of art). Thus, these attestations can still be considered relatively recent for a diachronic corpus, and they confirm the tendency of the term to occur within technical–specialized language.

Moving to the synchronic corpus raw data, in the HGC the search string yields 2.034 occurrences of the verb accompanied by a dative-case argument, and 112 occurrences with *számára*, making it the verb with one of the highest absolute frequency of *számára*-constructions in the entire dataset. The sampling of occurrences also yielded attestations from neighbouring or border regions, specifically one from the Carpathian area, three from Slovakian documents, and one from the Vojvodina region.

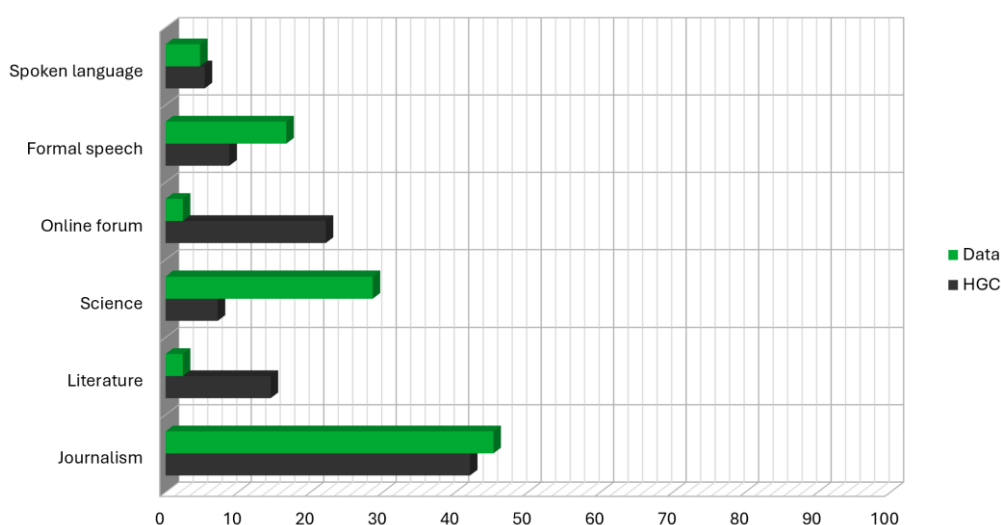


Figure 7: percentage distribution of the HGC genres for the occurrences of *számára* with the verb *megjelenik*, compared with the overall percentage of each genre within the corpus.

In terms of genre distribution, the pattern observed here is consistent with the trend identified for most of the verbs examined in the study: in the domains of formal speech, science, and journalism, contexts typically associated with scientific or technical-professional language, the use of *számára* is particularly prominent, with these genres showing an incidence even higher than their overall proportion in the corpus. In the case of *megjelenik* specifically, the dominance of the scientific domain is the most striking of all, as illustrated in *Figure 7*.

When considered alongside the earlier observation that this verb has the highest number of *számára* tokens in the entire dataset, this pattern once again points to a strong association between the postposition and formal, technical, or otherwise specialized registers.

Turning then to the examination of some examples from the HGC data extracted, a first group of sentences clearly shows that *számára* delimits the set of entities for whom a given content is accessible or visible. In these cases, the postpositional phrase (PP) containing *számára* cannot be interpreted as a proper beneficiary of the event; rather, it functions as a parameter of accessibility. It identifies the group relative to whom a given piece of content becomes available as in (48), (49), (50). The construction therefore expresses a semantic role akin to that of a user frame, a notion particularly common in technical and media-related registers, where information is systematically anchored to the perspective or access rights of a specific audience.

48) [A 3Gs telefonok számára]pp azonnal meg-jelen-nek
the 3G phone-PL.NOM for immediately PV-appear-3PL
az UMTS hálózat-on el-ér-hető tartalm-ak, [2,5 Gs
the UMTS network-SUPERS PV-reach-PTCP content-PL.NOM 2,5G
telefonok számára]pp ez-ek az oldal-ak láthatatlan-ok
phone-PL.NOM for this-PL the page-PL.NOM invisible-PL.NOM
marad-nak...
remain-3PL

‘For 3G phones, the contents available on the UMTS network appear immediately; for 2.5G phones, these pages remain invisible...’ (HGC: journalism, written article)

49) *Más-rész-t* [a *külföldi olvasó-k számára*]_{PP} *az*
 other-part-ACC the foreign reader-PL.NOM for the
oldal-ak-on megjelen-nek hirdetés-ek
 page-PL-SUPRESS PV-appear-3PL advertisement-PL.NOM

‘On the other hand, ads appear on the pages for foreign readers.’ (HCG: journalism, written article)

50) [*A RealPlayer felhasználó-k számára*]_{PP} *le-tölt-és-kor*
 the RealPlayer user-PL.NOM for PV-download-NMZ-TEMP
meg-jelenik egy külön opció,...
 PV-appear.3SG a separate option.NOM

‘For RealPlayer users, a separate option appears at the time of download,...’ (HGC: journalism, written article)

A second group of sentences involves referents that are not individual but institutional or conceptual in nature, and which function as what may be described as experiencers in a cognitive sense. Among the examples selected, here there are three. The first one is (51), in which *számára* is in a modal subordinate clause. The second one corresponds to (52) where *számára* is embedded within a conditional clause, and where we can observe two distinct uses of the postposition. In the subordinate clause, *a határon túli magyarság* ‘the Hungarians beyond the border’ functions as a cognitive experiencer/recipient associated with *megjelenik*, whereas in the main clause *kormány* ‘the government’ serves as a decisional/pragmatic recipient linked to *kinálkozik*. The third one (53) features the PP inside a *that*-clause. In these cases, the postposition introduces a participant that does not necessarily perceive in a direct, sensory manner, but rather functions as an interpretive system (e.g., institutions, collectives, biological systems). The use of the postposition is therefore associated with a higher degree of abstraction, in which the experiencer is conceptualized as the locus of cognitive processing, or, in the case of (51), a sort of physiological processing.

51) ...*ahogyan ez-ek a fehérjék* [az *immun-rendszer*
 how this-PL the protein-PL.NOM the immune-system.NOM
számára]_{PP} *meg-jelen-nek, nem teszi lehető-vé a hatékony*

for PV-appear-3PL not make.3SG possible-TRANS the efficient
immun-válasz ki-alakul-ás-át...
 immune-response PV-develop-NMZ-ACC

‘...the way these proteins appear to the immune system does not allow the development of an effective immune response...’ (HGC: journalism, newspaper)

52) ...*már-pedig ha a közösség-i autonómia [a határ-on*
 now-EMP if the community-ADJ autonomy the border-SUPRESS
*túl-i magyarság számára]*_{PP} *igény-ként meg-jelenik*
 beyond-ADJ Hungarianess.NOM for demand-ESS PV-appear.3SG
*akkor [a kormány számára]*_{PP} *egyetlen-egy lehetőség*
 then the government for single-one possibility.NOM
kínálkozik...
 offer.itself.3SG

‘...Now, if community autonomy appears as a demand for Hungarians beyond the border, then only one option presents itself to the government...’ (HGC: official, formal speech)

53) ...*hogy ami [a néző-k számára]*_{PP} *a galéria-tér-ben,*
 that what the viewer-PL.NOM for the gallery-space-INE
meg-jelenik, az már egy ki-finomít-ott anyag...
 PV-appear.3SG that already a PV-refine-PTCP.PAST material.NOM

‘...that what appears to viewers in the gallery space is already a refined material...’ (HGC: scientific literature)

A notably significant phenomenon is the interaction between *megjelenik*, *számára*, and essive (*-ként*) secondary predicates. In such constructions, the PP containing *számára* does not merely introduce an experiencer, but functions as an interpretive focal point relative to which the categorization expressed by the essive is valid. In other words, the overall structure can be interpreted as ‘X appears as Y for Z’, where Z expressed by *számára* represents the viewpoint that licenses the attribution of Y to X. This reinforces the idea that *számára* operates at a semantic-discursive level rather than at a strictly

argumental one. In the selected examples, this pattern can be observed in the aforementioned (52) and in (54), where *számára* introduces neither a concrete addressee nor a beneficiary, but rather what is best described as a cognitive experiencer, which, moreover, is encoded implicitly in the postposition itself.

- 54) ...s új háttér-történet-i tényező-ként meg-jelen-ik számára
 and new background-story-ADJ factor-ESS PV-appear.3SG for.3SG
lelk-é-nek el-veszt-és-e
 soul.POSS.3SG-DAT PV-lose-NMZ-POSS.3SG

‘...and the loss of his soul appears to him as a new background narrative factor.’
 (HGC: academic article)

Another factor to be added to these observations is that, in scientific and argumentative contexts, *számára* also performs a clearly discursive function, making explicit the perspective from which the event is evaluated. In these cases, the construction makes it possible to spell out the interpretive viewpoint in a clear and explicit way, helping to shape the informational flow of the discourse. This becomes especially evident in academic writing, where specifying the relevant perspective goes beyond stylistic preference, forming part of the very structure of the text. This can already be observed in examples (53) and (54), both from scientific-academic contexts, but also in an example from the HHC (55), dated 1977 and belonging to the genre of essay studies, which further shows that this tendency — in this particular use — begins to display a trend that can be documented over time.

- 55) *Lehetetlen-né teszi, hogy az ember a látás-ban*
 impossible-TRANSL make.3SG that the person.NOM the vision-INE
egyéni mód-on formál-ja az-t, ami meg-jelenik
 individual way-SUPESS form-SBJV that-ACC which PV-appear.3SG
számára.
 for.3SG

‘It makes it impossible that the person, in vision, in an individual way, should shape that which appears for him/her.’ (HHC: Almási Miklós. 1977. *A fáradt szem, avagy A festőiség halála a nézőben.*)

Looking at the animacy spectrum of the elements governed by *számára* with this verb, we again see that animate arguments are used far more frequently. The few inanimate items—training schools as in (56), companies, public authorities, municipalities as in (57), countries, a capital city, parliament, public opinion, markets—are still strongly connected to human contexts or refer to groups of people. The only true exception is a case where the governed noun is *telefonok* ‘telephones’ (49), which is an actual inanimate object.

- 56) [*A szakképző iskolá-k*]_{PP} *számára már tavasz-szal*
 the professional school-PL.NOM for already spring-INS
meg-jelenik a ki-ír-ás,...
 PV-appear.3SG the out-write-NMZ

‘For vocational schools, the call is published already in spring,...’ (HGC: journalism)

- 57) ...*hogy miközben ez-ek a többlet-forrás-ok meg-jelen-nek [az*
 that while this-PL the extra-resource-PL PV-appear-3PL the
*önkormányzat-ok számára]*_{PP...}
 municipality-PL.NOM for

‘...while these extra resources appear for the municipalities...’ (HGC: official speech, documents from public administrations)

Although the morphological dative does not appear in direct alternation in the data examined, that is, it could in principle be used in all the contexts where *számára* is attested, it is still possible to formulate some interpretive hypotheses. The dative tends to encode an experiencer who is more directly involved and more tightly integrated into the verbal structure, whereas *számára* introduces a participant who is less syntactically integrated, more abstract or generalized, and associated with a cognitive or discursive perspective. It follows that the use of *számára* with *megjelenik* does more than mark a stylistic variant: it signals a different way of conceptualizing the relationship between the event and the experiencer. Overall, the data show that, with *megjelenik*, the construction with *számára* is strongly specialized for expressing what could be described as a perspectival experiencer, understood as the perceptual or cognitive locus in which the event becomes relevant. This function emerges consistently across different types of

contexts (technical, scientific, political, narrative), while keeping *számára* firmly anchored to its role as a marker of perspective rather than as an indicator of a recipient.

4.1.4. *Feltűnik*

The analysis of the occurrences of the verb *feltűnik* —‘appear’, but also ‘stand out’, ‘become noticeable’, or ‘become evident’— in constructions with *számára* reveals a semantic configuration that is partly comparable to what has been observed for *megjelenik*, yet characterized by a stronger cognitive-inferential and attentional component. Here too, *számára* does not introduce a recipient, but rather an experiencer: a subject for whom a given content emerges as salient or worthy of attention. However, in contrast to *megjelenik*, *feltűnik* systematically implies a process of active detection or perceptual salience, rather than mere accessibility²⁷.

Regarding the HGC raw data the inquiry returns 1.428 instances of the verb with a dative argument and 24 instances with *számára*, a distribution that falls well within the average proportions observed across the sampled verbs. The sampling revealed no occurrences from neighboring or border areas, meaning that all the attestations included in the analysis originate from within Hungary. When examining the distribution of *számára* with the verb under analysis across the various genres represented in the corpus, the overall pattern appears broadly similar to what was observed for *megjelenik*. As can be seen in *Figure 8*, there is a clear predominance of scientific, official, and journalistic-technical language. However, compared with the earlier pattern found for *megjelenik*, the scientific domain is somewhat less prominent here—although still above both the corpus average and the values found for most other verbs.

As for the data extracted from the historical HHC corpus, there are four cases where the verb appears with *számára* as its argument, and in every case the verb is in the participial form. The source texts all date from the decade between the 1980s and the 1990s, and the genres they cover are, respectively, specialist academic text in the field of meteorology, sports pedagogy, and specialist film studies. Once again, the branch of

²⁷ The semantic breadth of *feltűnik*, many of whose readings do not presuppose a clearly identifiable experiencer, makes the verb less compatible with *számára*, unlike *megjelenik*, whose experiential profile is more stable and thus more readily accommodates the postposition.

technical-specialist writing, even from a diachronic perspective, confirms the tendency already observed in the synchronic corpus.

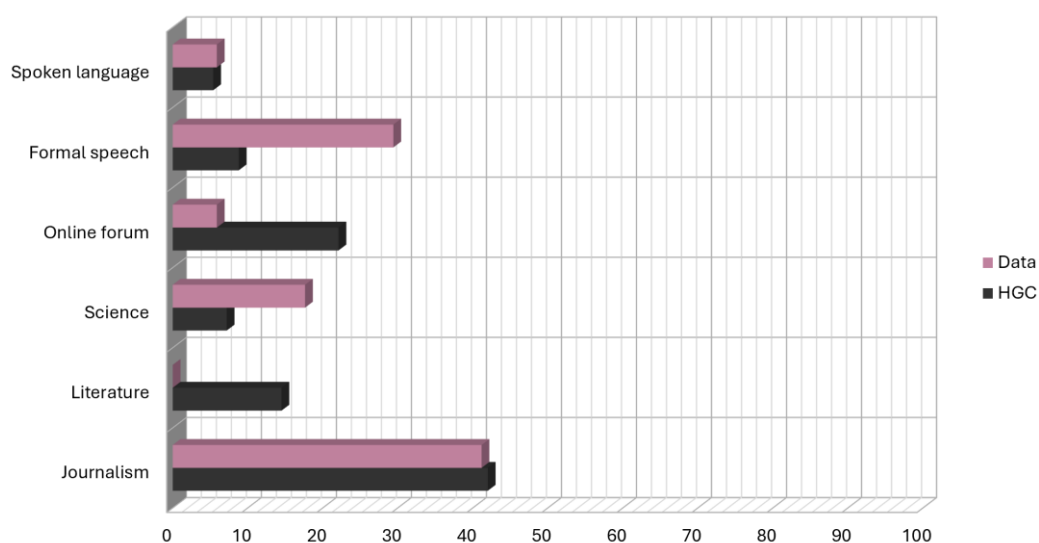


Figure 8: percentage distribution of the HGC genres for the occurrences of *számára* with the verb *feltűnik*, compared with the overall percentage of each genre within the corpus.

In relation to the contexts in which the occurrences appear, in a first group of sentences retrieved from the HGC corpus, *számára* introduces a participant who functions as an active observer, for whom something stands out or becomes noticeable. What is particularly significant is that these experiencers are in some way qualified, e.g., *figyelmes* ‘attentive’ in (58), *avatott* ‘experienced’, in (59): this confirms that *feltűnik* selects an experiencer endowed with heightened attentional or interpretive abilities. So, unlike *megjelenik*, *feltűnik* presupposes an experiencer equipped with attentional or interpretive competence, which turns the event into one of detection rather than mere appearance.

58) [A *figyelmes-ebb* *néző-k* *számára*]_{PP} *azért* *az*
the attentive-CMP viewer-PL.NOM for for.that the
fel-tűn-t, *hogy* *sok* *az ismeretlen* *név*
PV-appear-PAST.3SG that many the unfamiliar.NOM noun.NOM
a színlap-on, ...
the cast_list-SUP

‘For the more attentive viewers it did stand out anyway that there are many unfamiliar names on the cast list,...’ (HGC: journalism, newspaper)

59) [*Az* *avatott-abb* *hallgató* *számára*]_{PP} *rögtön*
the discerning-CMP listener.NOM for immediately
fel-tűn-ik, *hogy az Armidá-ban Gluck mennyi-t merít*
PV-appear-3SG that the Armida-INE Gluck.NOM QNT-ACC draw.3SG
kor-ábbi mű-ve-i-ből...
previous work-POSS.3SG-PL-ELA

‘To the more discerning listener, it immediately becomes apparent that in *Armidá*, Gluck draws extensively on his earlier works...’ (HGC: academic, written article)

Another recurrent feature in the data is the presence of complement clauses introduced by *hogy* ‘that’ as in (58), (59), (60), (61). In these cases, *feltűnik* introduces a propositional content inferred or recognized by the experiencer. The frequent co-occurrence with *that*-clauses indicates that *feltűnik* encodes a form of evidential or inferential access, through which the experiencer comes to recognize a propositional content. This aspect is far less prominent with *megjelenik*, which instead tends to select entities rather than propositions.

60) *Fel-tűn-t* *számára,* *hogy aki pozitív*
PV-appear-PAST.3SG for.3SG that who.NOM positive
élet-szemlélet-ű az sokkal gyorsabban és jobban
life-perspective-ADJ the much.more rapidly.more and better
gyógyul.
heal.3SG

‘He/She has noticed that those who have a positive outlook on life heal much faster and better.’ (HGC: journalism, newspaper)

61) *Kell,* *hogy fel-tűn-jön* [*családtag-ja-i*
must.3SG that PV-appear-SBJV.3SG family.member-POSS.3SG-PL.NOM
számára]_{PP}, [*a hozzátartozó-k számára*]_{PP}, *hogy valami-ért*
for the relative-PL.NOM for that something-CAUS
rendszeresen éjszaká-k-ba nyúlóan távol van a
regularly night-PL-ILL extending away be.3SG the
lakás-á-tól,...

home.POSS.3SG-ABL

‘It must become noticeable for his/her family members, for the relatives, that for some reason he/she is regularly, extending into the nights, away from his/her apartment,...’
(HGC: spoken language, radio program)

Another group of examples highlights the dimension of what can be considered as perceptual salience. In these cases, *feltűnik* (and its participial derivatives) constructs a scale of evidential or perceptual prominence (e.g., *leginkább*, *kevésbé*). In these contexts, *számára* defines a scale of perceptual salience, relative to which certain elements are more or less prominent. This type of gradability reinforces the stative-perceptual character of *feltűnik*. It can be observed in (62) from HGC, (63) and (64) from HHC. In addition, these last two both involve the pronominal form of *számára* with an implicit first-person plural referent, a person and number combination that does not appear anywhere in the synchronic corpus for the verb under examination.

62) ...*a dongaláb betegség, ami még [a*
the clubfoot.NOM disease.NOM which.NOM even the
*laikus-ok számára]*_{PP} *is rögtön fel-tűn-ik a*
layperson-PL.NOM for also immediately PV-appear-3SG the
szülőszobá-n,...
delivery_room-INE

‘...clubfoot, which even for laypeople immediately stands out in the delivery room,...’
(HGC: journalism, newspaper)

63) ...*míg a számunkra leg-inkább fel-tűn-ő vörös sugar-ak-at*
while the for.1PL SUP-most PV-appear-PTCP red ray-PL-ACC
*alig [vesz-ik észre]*_{PV}.
hardly take-3PL into.notice

‘...while the red rays that are the most noticeable to us are barely noticed.’(HHC:
Herczeg Éva, Vojnits András. 1981. *Időjós élővilág*)

64) *A kesernyős iróniá-jú megjegyzés a háború-nak egy számunkra*
 the bitterish irony-ADJ remark.NOM the war-DAT one for.1PL
kevés-bé fel-tűn-ő,...
 little-CMP PV-appear-PTCP

‘The remark, with its slightly bitter irony, refers to an aspect of the war that is less noticeable to us,...’ (HHC: Takács Ferenc. 1990. *Háború és vége*)

As for the animacy spectrum, it appears that in this context, with the verb *feltűnik*, the verb’s lexical meaning is strongly tied to animacy: no pure inanimate referents are attested — that is, none that genuinely denote an inanimate object. At most, the data show an unspecified multitude, as in example (65). In this respect, and similarly to *megjelenik*, *feltűnik* also allows for collective or institutional experiencers (66). Here, *számára* identifies a potential audience with respect to which something emerges. However, unlike *megjelenik*, the focus shifts from accessibility to the capacity to attract attention.

65) ...*A rangos és divatos, európai és*
 the prestigious.NOM and fashionable.NOM European.NOM and
magyar rendező-k sor-á-ban fel-tűn-ik
 Hungarian director-PL.NOM line-POSS.3SG-INE PV-appear-3SG
[egy sok-ak számára]_{PP} ismeretlen név:
 one.CRD.NOM many-PL.NOM for unknown name.NOM
Molnár Keresztyén Gabriella
 Molnár.NOM Keresztyén.NOM Gabriella.NOM

‘In the line of prestigious and fashionable European and Hungarian directors there appears / stands out *to many people* a name unknown to many: Molnár Keresztyén Gabriella.’ (HGC: journalism, newspaper)

66) ...*és végre ez a régió [...] [egy beruházó,*
 and finally this the region.NOM one.NOM investor.NOM
egy befektető, egy munkaadó számára]_{PP}
 one.NOM financier.NOM one.NOM employer.NOM for
fel-tűn-ik Európa térkép-én, és el-ér-het-ő
 PV-appear-3SG Europe.NOM map-SUPRESS and PV-reach-POT-PTC

közelség-be kerül.
 proximity.ILL get.3SG

‘...and finally this region will [...] became noticeable to an investor, a financier, an employer on Europe’s map, and will come within reachable distance.’ (HGC: official speech, public administration)

A distinctive feature of *feltűnik* is its dynamic nature: the event involves a transition from not-noticed to noticed (67). The verb therefore encodes a change of state in awareness, whereby a stimulus becomes cognitively salient for the experiencer. This clearly sets it apart from *megjelenik*, which may simply describe a presence or manifestation without necessarily implying attention.

67) ...*az össz-hatás is fontos, az, hogy*
 the overall-effect.NOM also important.NOM DET that
valami-ért fel-tűn-jön számomra.
 something-CAUS PV-appear-SBJV.3SG for.1SG

‘...the overall effect is also important, the fact that it should stand out to me for some reason.’ (HGC: private forum, social media)

Overall, the data show that with *feltűnik* the construction with *számára* is specialised for expressing an active cognitive experiencer, for whom some content becomes salient, evident, or inferable. Compared to *megjelenik*, the verb introduces a component of attention, inference, and cognitive dynamics, making the construction particularly suitable for contexts in which the process of recognition is relevant rather than mere appearance. The comparison between *megjelenik* and *feltűnik* in constructions with *számára* reveals a systematic distinction that goes beyond mere lexical variation. Although both verbs allow for a participant expressed through *számára*, the semantic role of this participant and the nature of the event differ significantly. In line with studies on experiencer constructions in Hungarian (Rákosi 2006; É. Kiss 1987), the data show that *számára* introduces an experiencer in both cases, but with different properties depending on the verb. The first fundamental difference concerns the type of relationship established between the event and the experiencer. In the case of *megjelenik*, *számára* delimits a domain of accessibility, as illustrated in (48) and (50). In these cases, the event is realised

in the fact that some content becomes available or visible within a given domain. With *feltűnik*, by contrast, the event involves something emerging as salient and relevant for an observer, as seen in (62) and (60). One may therefore conclude that *megjelenik* encodes availability within a domain, whereas *feltűnik* encodes salience relative to an experiencer. Based on the collected data, the types of experiencers selected by the two verbs also display slightly different semantic nuances. *Feltűnik* selects an experiencer with active perceptual or interpretive engagement, whereas *megjelenik* is compatible with passive or purely functional domains and the experiencer may be technical, institutional, or abstract. Another systematic difference concerns the type of content that emerges. With *megjelenik*, the theme is predominantly an entity, whereas with *feltűnik* propositional content is very frequent (59), (60), (61). This leads to the conclusion that *feltűnik* readily takes propositional complements, encoding recognition or inference, whereas *megjelenik* primarily introduces entities into a perceptual domain. The two verbs also differ with respect to their aspectual and dynamic structure. *Megjelenik* typically describes a stative or neutral type of appearance (51), (57), by contrast, *feltűnik* implies a change and encodes a change-of-state in awareness (60), i.e. the transition from non-noticed to noticed, unlike the more stative *megjelenik*. The role of *számára* reflects these verbal differences. With *megjelenik* it defines a domain of validity, with *feltűnik* it identifies a cognitive centre relative to which salience is evaluated. If we consider, for instance, the expressions *felhasználók számára megjelenik egy opció* and *felhasználók számára feltűnik egy opció*, the former can be translated as ‘an option becomes available to users’, whereas the latter corresponds to ‘an option stands out / becomes noticeable to users’. This illustrates that in *megjelenik*-constructions, *számára* functions as a domain restrictor, while in *feltűnik*-constructions it acts as a cognitive anchor of salience. In both cases, *számára* introduces a perspectival experiencer, but with *megjelenik* it defines the domain within which something is accessible, while with *feltűnik* it represents the cognitive centre relative to which something emerges as relevant. It follows that the choice between the two verbs is far from being neutral and reflects a different conceptualisation of the event: presence vs. relevance, availability vs. attention, appearance vs. awareness.

4.1.5. *Fáj*

So far, with the constructions involving the verbs *segít* and *kedvez*, it has been seen how *számára* marks the target of a favourable evaluation. However, turning to the fifth verb in the sample, *fáj* ‘to hurt, to be painful’, it can be observed how its distribution is not only restricted to the domain of positive evaluation. In particular, *fáj* provides crucial evidence that *számára* extends into the domain of emotional experience, where it marks the experiencer of a negatively evaluated situation. The behaviour of this postposition with *fáj* supports a more general analysis of this postpositional construction as a marker of participant-oriented perspective, rather than a narrowly defined beneficiary marker. As previously mentioned, the verb *fáj* is a stative predicate typically associated with an experiencer argument. Its canonical construction involves a dative-marked experiencer, like in *X fáj valakinek* ‘X hurts someone’. In this structure, the subject X denotes the source or cause of pain, while the experiencer is encoded in the dative case (*-nak/-nek*). This pattern is well established in Hungarian and aligns with cross-linguistic tendencies in experiencer constructions. However, the corpus data analysed here show that the experiencer can also be expressed by means of *számára*, yielding the alternative pattern *X fáj Y számára*, with the same meaning as before, ‘X hurts Y’.

Considering the results of the extractions, what immediately stands out is the striking imbalance between the two constructions: while the verb occurs 3.907 times with a dative-case argument, only 5 instances with *számára* were attested. This is the lowest ratio observed across all sampled verbs and constitutes a clear case of negative evidence, strongly suggesting that the use of *számára* with this verb is marginal to the point of being systematically disfavoured. Moreover, the sampling process yielded no attestations from adjacent or border regions; consequently, all occurrences can be treated as originating from Hungarian territory. In what concerns the animacy spectrum, it is entirely skewed towards animacy: no inanimate values are attested. Furthermore, contrary to the broader tendencies observed across the other verbs, spoken language emerges here as one of the most productive genres for the use of the postposition, as illustrated in *Figure 9*. It must be stressed, however, that given the very limited number of attested instances, the statistical values are likely to be negatively affected in terms of reliability, and any generalisations should therefore be drawn with caution. In the historical HHC corpus, the construction is attested only marginally, with virtually no occurrences. This near-absence

is itself revealing, as it reinforces the negative evidence emerging from the synchronic data and suggests that the use of *számára* with this verb has little to no diachronic grounding.

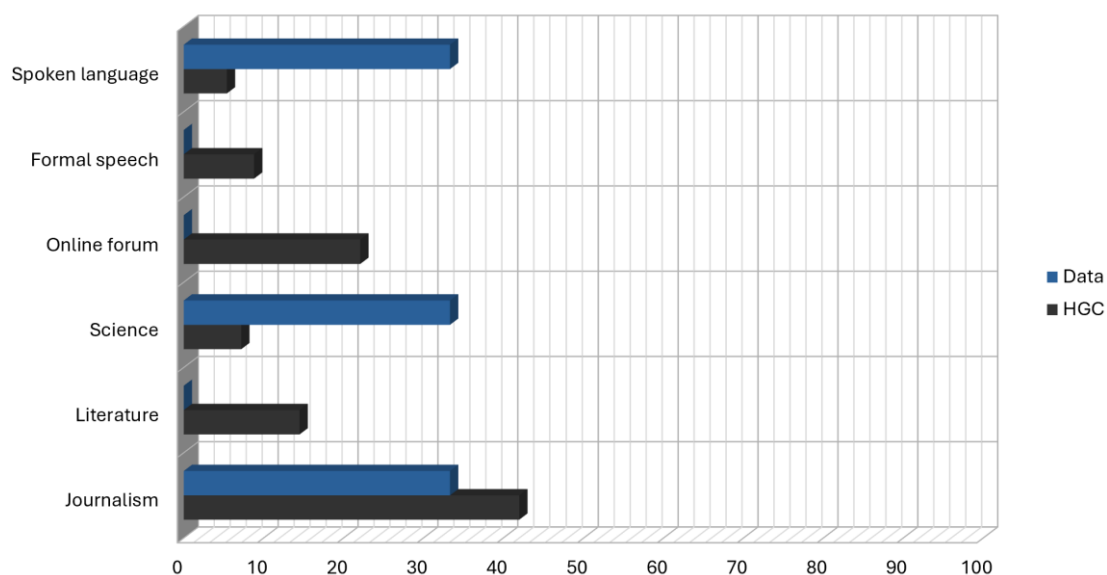


Figure 9: percentage distribution of the HGC genres for the occurrences of *számára* with the verb *fáj*, compared with the overall percentage of each genre within the corpus.

In the first example selected from the HGC corpus (68), the stimulus is a nominal event, and the experiencer is expressed by *számára*, which in this case also incorporates the pronominal information. The construction is structurally parallel to the canonical dative *neki fájt* ‘hurt him’, but the use of *számára* introduces a more explicit, analytic encoding of the experiencer. Notably, the experiencer is not syntactically integrated as a core argument in the same way as a dative pronoun but rather appears as a PP that frames the event in relation to a particular individual. The preverbal position of *számára* makes its perspectival function even more salient, appearing in the slot typically associated with focus, signaling that the event is to be interpreted explicitly from that individual’s viewpoint, shaping how the event is evaluated and foregrounding the experiencer’s perspective.

68) ... <i>számára</i>	<i>sokkal</i>	<i>inkább</i>	<i>fáj-t</i>	<i>a</i>
for.3SG	much.ADV	more.ADV	hurt-PAST.3SG	the
<i>Liverpool</i>	<i>vereség-e,</i>		<i>mint</i>	<i>amikor</i>
Liverpool.NOM	defeat.NOM-POSS.3SG	than	when.PRO.ADV	the

Angol válogatott-al kap-ott ki.
 England.NOM national-INS lose-PAST.3SG PV

‘...for him, the Liverpool defeat hurt much more than when he lost with England national team.’ (HGC: press, interview, football commentary)

In other sentences extracted from this corpus, however, a clausal stimulus is present, as in the case of (69). In this example, the cause of the emotional state takes the form, instead of a nominal entity, of an entire proposition introduced by *hogy* ‘that’ (so a *that*-clause). The fact that *számára* can co-occur with such a complex stimulus demonstrates that its function turns on the interpretive relation between a certain kind of situation and an experiencer, not on specific argument types. This parallels earlier observations with *kedvez*, where *számára* was shown to combine with both nominal and clausal complements, suggesting a high degree of semantic flexibility.

69) ...és fáj számára, hogy Kouta nem
 and hurt3SG for.3SG that Kouta.NOM not
 fog-ja fel az iránt-a táplál-t
 grasp-DEFOBJ.3SG PV the for-3SG harbor-PAST.3SG
 érzés-e-i-t.
 feeling-POSS.3SG-PL-ACC

‘...it pains her that Kouta does not grasp the feelings she harbors for him.’(HGC: scientific literature)

Proceeding through the sample of sentences, instances of a collective experiencer can also be found, implicitly encoded, as in (70). Here, the experiencer is a plural group, Hungarian-born individuals who assert their sense of belonging but who reside abroad. They have already been mentioned earlier in the discourse and are therefore expressed through the implicit form incorporated into *számára* itself, which in this case appears as *számukra*, indicating an understood third-person plural noun. The stimulus is an abstract social condition *kirekesztettség* ‘exclusion’. This configuration closely resembles earlier examples with *kedvez*, where *számára* marked collective or institutional targets (e.g.

political actors or social groups). The parallel suggests that *számára* operates uniformly across individual and collective reference.

70) ...és *fáj* *számukra* *ez a kirekesztettség...*
 and hurt.3SG for.3PL this the exclusion.NOM

‘...and for whom this exclusion hurts...’ (HGC: spoken language, news broadcast)

At this point in the discussion, it is still important to keep in mind— as already noted at the beginning of the paragraph— that the amount of data obtained from the corpus-based investigation is extremely limited for this verb. This is evident, for instance, from the fact that the diachronic corpus did not yield any occurrences at all. Even so, the few available data have been included here, as they provide negative evidence that is nonetheless informative with respect to the phenomenon under examination. Within the set of selected verbs, the complete absence of attestations (in the HHC) or the presence of only a very small number of them (in the HGC) indicates that the spread of the phenomenon— namely, the use of the postposition *számára* as a substitute or alternative to the dative— does not extend uniformly across all verbs taken into account into the study but also in general, nor does it carry the same functional weight in each case. This is particularly evident for experiential verbs. Despite the limited number of occurrences, the few attested cases nevertheless succeed in bringing to light some interesting elements. The canonical form *fáj neki* ‘hurt him/her’ is more compact and syntactically integrated, while *fáj számára* is more explicit and analytically structured. The latter tends to occur in more formal, narrative, or descriptive contexts, where the experiencer is conceptualised less as an internal participant and more as an external point of reference. The dative encodes an internal experiencer argument, *számára* encodes an externalised perspective or reference point. Both constructions refer to the same participant role, but differ in how that role is integrated into the clause structure. The data from *fáj* significantly expand the functional domain of *számára*. In earlier sections, *számára* is analysed as marking the target of favourable evaluation (e.g. *kedvez Y számára* ‘favour Y’). The present data show that it also marks the experiencer of negative emotional states, and this leads to the more general characterization that *számára* marks the participant relative to whom a state of affairs is evaluated or experienced, functioning as a general marker of participant-relative interpretation. Its ability to encode experiencers of emotional states, including those

triggered by complex propositions or abstract social conditions, confirms that its role is fundamentally semantic rather than syntactically determined. Accordingly, *számára* should be analysed as a flexible postpositional device that encodes the perspective from which a situation is evaluated or experienced, rather than as a simple alternative to the dative case.

4.1.6. *Hiányzik*

The verb *hiányzik* ‘to be missing, to lack’ occupies a particularly important position within the present study because it represents one of the clearest cases in Hungarian where the canonical dative construction alternates with a *számára*-construction while preserving essentially the same semantic participant structure. As already observed by Rákosi (2006), *hiányzik* belongs to a broader cross-linguistic class of predicates licensing experiencer datives encoded by the dative marker *-nak/-nek*. However, the corpus material examined here demonstrates that the same semantic participant can also be encoded through the postpositional construction *számára*, yielding structures of the type *hiányzik valami X számára* without any substantial modification of propositional meaning but with possible semantic readings depending on the context, such as ‘something is absent for X’ (more neutral, descriptive), ‘X is missing something’ (more experiential, centered on the experiencer), ‘something is felt as missing by X’ (explicitly experiential). The alternation with the dative therefore does not affect verbal valency itself, but rather the way in which the experiencer or evaluative target is syntactically realized. The choice between the two strategies reflects indeed significant differences in terms of syntactic integration, discourse role, and degree of subjectivity. This offers an occasion to point out that although *hiányzik* is not inherently experiential in the strict lexical sense (cf. Rákosi 2006), its uses with a human experiencer instantiate a fully-fledged experiential predicate, with an obligatory experiencer–stimulus structure. Rákosi argues that *hiányzik* does not obligatorily require a dative experiencer at all. Hungarian allows monadic uses, such as *hiányzik a könyv* ‘the book is missing’, which confirms that the experiencer can be optional from a syntactic perspective, and the data analysed here strongly support this observation. In the examples with *számára*, the PP isn’t always structurally indispensable for grammaticality, but it remains semantically central because it introduces the participant relative to whom the absence is interpreted as relevant. This semantic role varies slightly across contexts, but a unifying generalization emerges: *számára*

consistently marks the participant from whose perspective the state of absence is evaluated. In what concerns the data extracted from the HHC, the raw data contain 18 occurrences, but once examined and selected on the basis of the search criteria, only 6 remain. These latter texts from which they are extracted cover a period ranging from 1929 to 2003, spanning genres such as cultural essays, specialized literary essays, critical studies on visual arts, a specialized study in political science, and, contrary to what has been shown so far, even a novel from the 1970s (indeed, considering also the data coming from the HGC, *hiányzik* is the verb that shows the highest frequency of *számára* in literary contexts compared to all the other verbs, although its rate still does not reach the average genre distribution in the corpus). It is worth noting that no cases of inanimacy are attested in the HHC; here the verb's use with *számára* continues to be closely associated with human participants. The pronominal form of *számára* also displays low frequency, with the only notable values occurring in the first and third person singular. Turning to the raw figures from the synchronic corpus, the verb appears with *számára* in 53 instances, whereas the canonical dative construction is attested 3.478 times. Looking more closely at the distribution of *számára* with *hiányzik* across the various genres represented in the corpus, the trend observed so far is once again confirmed in *Figure 10*: the construction is strongly concentrated in formal, scientific, and journalistic genres.

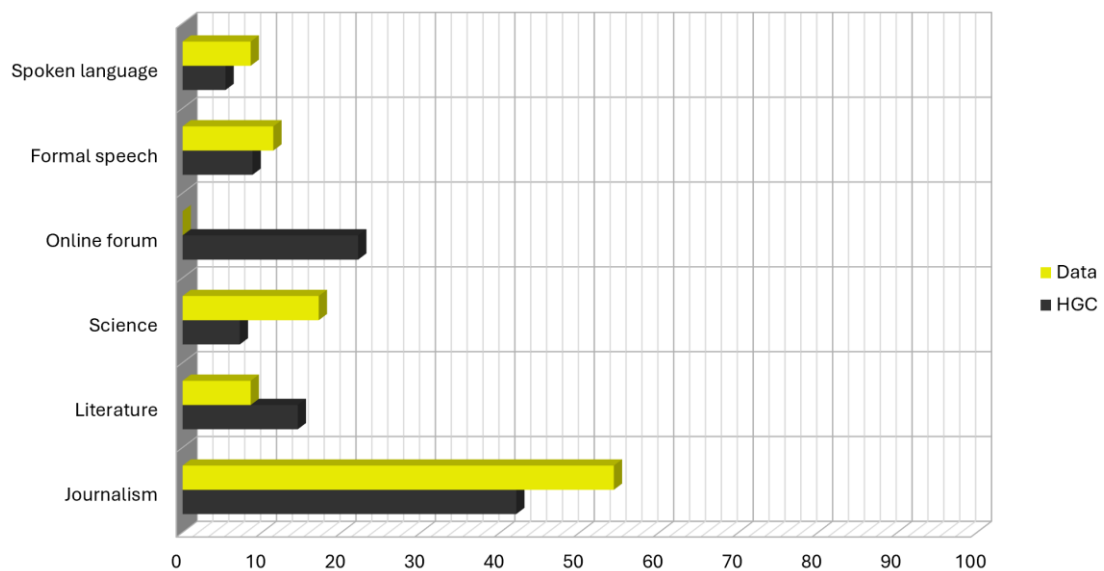


Figure 10: percentage distribution of the HGC genres for the occurrences of *számára* with the verb *hiányzik*, compared with the overall percentage of each genre within the corpus.

Its presence in spoken language is broadly comparable to that of the other verbs, whereas two patterns stand out more clearly: a complete absence in online-forum texts (which is somewhat surprising), and a non-negligible presence in literary texts. Although the latter may appear unremarkable at first glance compared to the total percentage of diffusion of this genre in the entire corpus, when compared with the percentages observed for the other verbs in study it actually represents a noteworthy deviation: *számára* occurs with this verb in literary contexts far more frequently than in the other samples, which typically showed either no occurrences or only minimal attestation in this genre. Examining the instances in which *számára* has a pronominal function, this verb shows a relatively high proportion because nearly half of the relevant occurrences fall into this category. The distribution is strongly dominated by third-person singular forms, with only a few sporadic instances of first-person singular. Turning to the animacy hierarchy, we again observe a strong bias toward human-related referents. Even in those cases that could, in principle, be classified as inanimate, the nouns involved typically retain a more or less direct connection to human entities—for instance, collective terms denoting groups of people e.g. police, political party, country in the sense of ‘nation’ or a sport team, like in the case of the football team in (71). This particular example offers an early glimpse of what will be discussed shortly: *hiányzik* used not to encode an emotional experiencer, but as the target of something that is missing. Moreover, the presence of the allative gives the construction a teleological orientation, in which the missing element is evaluated relative to a goal. This shows that, in this case, *számára* does not function as a recipient but rather as an evaluative reference point. Returning to the animacy hierarchy, one can also note the presence of abstract nouns whose conceptual basis is ultimately grounded in human activity (as in *közvélemény* ‘public opinion’). The only instance in which *számára* governs a genuinely inanimate referent in this dataset is the noun *költségvetés* ‘state budget’.

71)A	Valencia	ennek	ellenére	meg-szerez-t-e	a
the	Valencia.NOM	this.GEN	despite	PV-obtain-PAST-3SG	the
vezetés-t,	és	már	csak egy	gól	hiányz-ott
lead-ACC	and	already	only one	goal.NOM	lack-PAST.3SG
számára	az	üdvösség-hez,...			
for.3SG	the	salvation-ALL			

‘Nevertheless, Valencia took the lead, and only one goal was missing for it for salvation,...’ (HGC: journalism, newspaper)

With regard to the more fine-grained findings obtained from corpora, a particularly frequent pattern in the corpus involves abstract or institutional referents, as already mentioned. In these cases, *számára* introduces not an emotional experiencer in the narrow sense, but rather the target for whom the absence constitutes a relevant deficiency. This is already visible in (72). Here the participant introduced by *számára* is the collective noun *közvélemény* ‘public opinion’. The sentence does not describe an individual emotional state but rather an evaluative lack affecting a discourse community. A canonical dative (*a közvéleménynek hiányzik...*) would still be possible, but would sound considerably more colloquial and more strongly integrated into the verbal argument structure. The use of *számára* instead creates a more detached and institutional perspective, typical of academic prose. The same holds for nouns referring to categories with an animate component, like members of communities, parts of society, but still occurring in formal or officially framed contexts, as shown in (73).

72) *A [közvélemény számára]_{PP} hiányzik a kínai viszony-ok-ra*
the public.NOM for miss.3SG the Chinese condition-PL-SUBL
vonatkoz-ó meg-felel-ő információ.
relate.to-PTCP PV-be.suitable-PTCP information.NOM

‘For the public, the appropriate information concerning Chinese conditions is missing.’ (HGC: academic written article)

73) ...*A leg-több eset-ben hiányzik [a gyengén-lát-ó-k*
The SUP-more case-INE miss.3SG the weakly-see-PTCP-PL
számára]_{PP}.
for

‘In most cases, it is missing for the visually impaired.’ (HGC: spoken language)

A very similar configuration appears in (74), embedded in a *that*-clause. The referent is again inanimate and institutional (*költségvetés* ‘state budget’). This example is particularly significant because the notion of “missing” cannot realistically be interpreted

as emotional experience. Instead, *számára* marks the entity relative to which the absence is evaluated as problematic. This strongly supports the idea that the construction has generalized beyond canonical experiencer semantics. The same institutional-evaluative reading appears in (75), again within a *that*-clause, with a passive form, and again the construction is embedded within a highly nominalized and formal syntactic environment. Such contexts recur systematically throughout the corpus and seem especially favourable to *számára*, suggesting that the postpositional construction is associated with formal, abstract, and informationally complex discourse.

- 74) ...*ami nagyon hiányzik [a költségvetés számára]*_{PP} *és*
 which very.much miss.3SG the budget.NOM for and
az-on belül is különösen az oktatási, és az
 DET-SUPESS within also especially the education.NOM and the
egészségügy-i terület-ek-en.
 health.matter-ADJ care-PL-SUPESS

‘...,which is very much missing for the budget, and within it especially in the fields of education and health care’ (HGC: journalism, newspaper)

- 75) *Mivel munká-ja során rá-ébred-t, hogy [a*
 since work-POSS.3SG.NOM during PV-realize-PAST.3SG that the
*gyermek-ek számára]*_{PP} *hiányzik az óvoda által*
 child-PL for lack.3SG the kindergarten.NOM by
biztosít-ott alap-képzés,...
 provide-PTCP.PAST basic-training

‘Since in the course of his work he realized that for the children the basic training provided by the kindergarten is missing,...’ (HGC: scientific, Hungarian electronic library)

Alongside these evaluative uses, the corpus also contains clear experiencer readings closer to the canonical dative construction. The most explicit example is in a *that*-clause in (76). Semantically, this corresponds almost exactly to canonical *hiányzik neki a lőporszag*. The participant introduced by *számára* is a genuine psychological experiencer who emotionally feels the absence of something formerly familiar. It is worth observing

at this point that the Hungarian structure preserves the original perspectival organization more transparently than the English translation. This example is particularly important for the overall argument of the thesis because it demonstrates that *számára* can penetrate into one of the most canonical dative domains: psychological experiencer constructions.

76) *A volt nyomozó nem titkol-t-a, hogy hiányzik*
 the former investigator.NOM not hide-PAST-3SG that miss.3SG
számára a lőpor-szag,...
 for.3SG the gunpowder-smell.NOM

‘The former investigator did not hide that he is missing the smell of gunpowder,...’

Similarly experiential readings emerge in (77), also here in a relative clause, and in (78), an example from the HHC. In both cases the experiencer is pronominal and encoded analytically through the postpositional form rather than through the clitic-like dative pronouns (*neki, nekem*). This distinction is highly revealing. The dative forms are morphologically compact and strongly integrated into clause structure, whereas *számára* creates a more explicit and discursively independent perspective phrase. The contrast closely parallels observations made earlier for *fáj*. In both verbs, the dative tends to encode an internal experiencer directly affected by the state, while *számára* presents the same participant more externally, as a reference point relative to which the absence or pain is interpreted.

77) *...és akkor éli át, mi az, ami hiányzik számára*
 and then live.3SG through what DET that miss.3SG for.3SG

‘...and then he experiences what it is that is missing for him.’ (HGC: academic article)

78) *Ha irodalom-nak tekint-em, s az, akkor hiányzik a*
 if literature-DAT consider-1SG and that then lack.3SG the
számomra az el-uralkodó kétségbeesés,...
 for.1SG the PV-dominate-PTCP despair.NOM

‘If I consider it literature, and it is, then I lack the prevailing despair,...’ (HHC: Bacsó Béla. 2003. *Írások Esterházy Péter Harmónia caelestis és Javított kiadás című műveiről*)

Several examples further demonstrate that *számára* is particularly compatible with collective, generalized, or category-like participants. In (79) the experiencer is not an individual but a discourse-defined interpretive category. Likewise, in (80) the quantified plural *sokak számára* again shows that *számára* easily combines with generalized human reference. This tendency recurs throughout the corpus and represents one of the clearest differences from canonical dative encoding. While dative pronouns are highly natural with concrete individual experiencers (*nekem, neki*), *számára* appears particularly productive with collective entities, institutional referents, abstract participant categories, discourse-defined groups. This distribution strongly suggests that the construction favours a more detached and conceptualized construal of the participant. Moreover, the fact that these cases are also attested in the diachronic corpus indicates how firmly established this feature can be considered.

79) ...és [az európai olvasó számára]_{PP} hiányzik valami,
and the European reader.NOM for miss.3SG something
a leg-fontos-abb.
the SUP-important-CMP

‘...and the European reader is missing something, the most important (thing).’ (HHC: Szerb Antal. 1943. *Hétköznapiak és csodák. Francia, angol, amerikai, német regények a világháború után*)

80) ...hogy az alkot-ó munka lehetőség-e-i
that the create-PTCP work.NOM possibility-POSS.3SG-PL
[soka-k számára]_{PP} hiányoz-t-ak,...
many-PL.NOM for lack-PAST-3PL

‘...That many lacked the possibility for creative work,...’ (HHC: Darvas József. 1954. *Képzőművészetünk időszerű kérdéseiről*)

From a syntactic and discourse perspective, *számára*-phrases with *hiányzik* display substantial positional flexibility. In many examples the PP appears sentence-initially like in (72), (79). This leftward positioning strongly suggests topical status. The construction introduces the interpretive domain before the missing entity itself is identified. In other cases, however, the PP appears postverbally, as shown in (76) or (78). These configurations are structurally closer to canonical dative experiencer constructions and demonstrate that *számára* is not restricted to detached topical framing. It can also occupy positions normally associated with indirect objects. The construction is furthermore fully compatible with negation, subordinate clauses, quantification, nominalization, modal and evaluative structures. This confirms its high degree of syntactic productivity. Bringing the discussion together, the data strongly support the hypothesis that *számára* is expanding into domains traditionally associated with the dative. With *hiányzik*, the alternation does not produce a change in valency both constructions encode the same semantic participant, both may express experiencer or evaluative target readings, both occur with animate and inanimate referents. The difference instead concerns construal and discourse organization. While the canonical dative is morphologically compact and strongly integrated syntactically, *számára* tends to externalize the participant, frame it as a perspectival reference point, favor formal and abstract discourse, combine especially well with collective and institutional referents. The corpus evidence therefore suggests that also with this verb, *számára* should not be analysed merely as a stylistic variant of the dative. Rather, it functions as a highly productive postpositional strategy for encoding participant-relative evaluation and experience. Its occurrence with *hiányzik* is particularly significant because it demonstrates expansion into one of the most canonical experiencer-dative domains in Hungarian. In this respect, *hiányzik* provides some of the strongest evidence in the present study that *számára* is progressively extending beyond its original benefactive function and developing into a broader marker of perspectival participant encoding.

5. CONCLUSIONS

The analysis of the six verbal predicates examined in this study — *segít*, *kedvez*, *megjelenik*, *feltűnik*, *fáj*, and *hiányzik* — allows a set of converging generalizations to be drawn regarding the status of the postpositional construction *számára* in contemporary Hungarian and its relationship with the morphological dative. What the corpus data collectively document is a process of functional expansion that is neither uniform across predicates nor reducible to a simple stylistic preference, but follows a coherent directional trajectory shaped by the interaction of semantic, argument-structural, and register-based factors.

A first and fundamental result concerns argument structure. Across all six verbs, the alternation between the dative and *számára* does not involve any modification of the predicate’s valency or of the thematic role assigned to the participant. Whether the construction involves a dynamic beneficiary with *segít*, a stative evaluative target with *kedvez*, an affected or psychological experiencer with *fáj* and *hiányzik*, or a perceptual experiencer with *megjelenik* and *feltűnik*, the same semantic participant is present in both the dative and the postpositional version of the construction. What changes is not the content of the participant’s role but the mode of its formal encoding — specifically, the degree of syntactic integration and the type of conceptual relationship between the participant and the event. This finding is fully consistent with the content-form architecture proposed by Spencer and Stump (2013) and developed in Chapter 2: the alternation is best understood as a difference in the formal encoding of a constant participant role, in which the dative provides a compact, synthetic realization and *számára* provides an analytic, postpositional one, with an additional component of perspectival and evaluative construal that the bare morphological case does not straightforwardly replicate.

A second key finding concerns the semantic profile that *számára* is developing across the sample. Instead of bearing on the argument-structural invariance established above, which concerns strictly the thematic content of the participant role, this development concerns the additional perspectival and evaluative component of construal that, as noted above, distinguishes the postpositional variant from its dative counterpart.

The progression from beneficiary (*segít*) through evaluative target (*kedvez*) to perceptual and/or emotional experiencer (*megjelenik*, *feltűnik*, *fáj*, *hiányzik*) maps a semantic continuum that demonstrates the construction is no longer confined to its original benefactive domain. In all the environments documented, *számára* marks the participant relative to whom a situation is evaluated, experienced, or interpreted as relevant. Across the sample the postposition behaves as an event-level participant introducer, relating its complement to the event structure as a whole rather than to any specific internal argument — a distribution confirmed by its attested co-occurrence with the categorically intransitive predicates *megjelenik*, *feltűnik*, *fáj*, and *hiányzik*, none of which selects a direct object.

A third result concerns the distributional conditioning of the alternation. The corpus data consistently show that the use of *számára* in argument-licensing contexts is strongly associated with formal, technical, and institutional registers (scientific writing, formal speech, journalism, public administration) and largely absent from literary and informal online language use. Across all six verbs, the construction is systematically favoured in environments involving abstract or nominalized event structures, institutional or collective beneficiaries, and low-agentivity predicates. These contexts share a common property: they reduce the structural salience of direct argument structure and favour an interpretive, relational construal of the participant’s involvement. The strong association between *számára* and prestige written and formal spoken registers suggests that the construction is currently advancing through the upper registers of the language rather than through everyday conversational usage.

The diachronic evidence from the Hungarian Historical Corpus, while quantitatively limited for most of the verbs examined, offers a further set of observations that deserve attention. For the majority of the predicates in the sample, valid attestations of *számára* in the HHC are sparse and, crucially, concentrated in the twentieth century: the construction in these verbal environments is effectively absent from the eighteenth and nineteenth century portions of the corpus, which is itself consistent with the historical account in Section 2.2, according to which the extension of *számára* to evaluative and experiencer contexts is primarily a twentieth-century development. The one notable exception is *kedvez*, which yields a substantially higher number of diachronic attestations than any other predicate in the sample (44 valid occurrences after filtering, spanning from

1871 to 2010). This result calls for a qualification, however. Examination of the extracted sentences reveals that the majority of the HHC attestations for *kedvez* do not involve the finite verb but rather its participial or adjectival derivative *kedvező* ‘favourable’, used either attributively (*kedvező feltételeket jelent* ‘it represents favourable conditions’) or predicatively (*kedvezőbb számára* ‘more favourable for...’). This observation is theoretically significant because, firstly, it suggests that the adjectival and nominal environments — already identified in Section 2.2 as among the earliest contexts in which *számára* extended beyond concrete benefactive domains — may have functioned as a structural gateway for the subsequent expansion of the construction into the verbal domain. Under this interpretation, *kedvező számára* is historically prior to *kedvez számára*, and the high frequency of the former in the diachronic corpus may reflect an early stage of the expansion trajectory rather than independent verbal productivity. Secondly, and more broadly, this finding points to a research question that the present study raises but cannot resolve with the available data: whether the adjectival pathway constitutes a general mechanism by which *számára* enters new predicate classes, or whether the *kedvez/kedvező* case is a predicate-specific configuration that does not generalize. Addressing this question would require a systematic investigation of *számára* with the full range of adjectival and nominal predicates in Hungarian — an investigation that would benefit from additional historical corpora or digitized text databases with better coverage of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, where the current HHC evidence is too sparse to support firm conclusions. This last observation reflects a more general limitation of the diachronic component of the present study, which has already been acknowledged in Section 3.3.2. The HHC, while invaluable as a resource for tracing the historical distribution of *számára* at this scale, is a lexicographically curated corpus with uneven register coverage and restricted chronological depth for the verbal environments most relevant here. The near-absence of eighteenth and nineteenth century attestations for most of the sampled predicates is a real empirical finding — these constructions were simply not yet available, or were not yet frequent enough to appear in the available textual record — but it cannot, on its own, be taken as a precise terminus post quem for the emergence of each specific *számára*-verbal combination. A more exhaustive diachronic investigation, drawing on a broader set of historical resources and

potentially extending the search to additional verbal and adjectival predicates, remains an open and methodologically important direction for future research.

Taken together, the synchronic and diachronic evidence examined in this study supports a characterization of *számára* as a grammatical construction in active expansion, one that is progressively developing into an autonomous, analytic marker of perspectival and evaluative participant relations. The expansion does not proceed uniformly and does not yet threaten the categorical core of the dative's argument-licensing domain: as confirmed by the near-zero frequency of *számára* with *fáj* and its general absence from the core experiencer class exemplified by *tetszik*, the postposition remains constrained to the non-core argument domain in the sense of Rákosi (2021). What the data document is the progressive narrowing of the space within that domain in which the dative operates as the default, unmarked choice. Whether this process will ultimately stabilize in a system of durable functional complementarity between the two constructions, or whether it represents the initial phase of a longer displacement trajectory comparable to the decline of the Greek dative documented by Stolk (2017), remains a question that the present study is not in a position to answer. What it does establish is that the competition between *számára* and the dative is real, directional, and semantically motivated — and that documenting it systematically, across a structured range of predicate types and with the methodological precision that corpus-based investigation affords, is both a feasible and a theoretically productive undertaking.

A final consideration should be made: a complementary and equally promising direction for future research would involve the integration of experimental methods alongside the corpus-based approach developed here. The distributional patterns documented in this study — in particular the strong association between *számára* and formal, technical, and institutional registers, and its near-absence from informal and literary contexts — generate a set of testable predictions about speaker behaviour that corpus evidence alone cannot directly address. A questionnaire-based investigation, designed on the basis of the sentences extracted from the HGC and the HHC, could pursue at least two related lines of inquiry. The first would target the perceived register or formality value of the construction: participants could be asked to rate, on a graduated scale, the degree of colloquiality or bureaucratic flavour they associate with pairs of sentences that are identical in propositional content but differ in whether the participant

is encoded through the dative or through *számára*, allowing a direct test of whether the register association observed in the corpus data corresponds to a stable intuition among speakers. The second line would target the degree to which *számára* in argument-licensing contexts is perceived as grammatically well-formed: a Likert-scale acceptability judgment task, presenting sentences drawn from the full range of predicate types and semantic environments examined here, would make it possible to establish not only whether the construction is broadly accepted but also whether acceptance varies systematically across predicate classes, in ways that either confirm or refine the gradient boundaries identified through the corpus analysis. Crucially, stratifying respondents by age group (with a principled generational division designed to capture potential differences between older and younger speakers) would allow the investigation to determine whether the expansion of *számára* documented here reflects a change in progress that is more advanced among younger generations, or a stable register preference that cuts across age groups. Combining the results of such a questionnaire with a broader corpus investigation — one that extends the verbal sample beyond the six predicates examined here and draws on a wider range of historical resources to deepen the diachronic dimension — would provide a significantly richer empirical basis for the theoretical claims advanced in the present study, and would bring the analysis of this quietly ambitious postposition meaningfully closer to a full account of its place in the contemporary Hungarian grammatical system.

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Appendix A

The following section presents the queries applied during the corpus-based extraction procedure.

HGC queries:

Segít (dative)

Corpus: MNSZ2

Hits: 13441

```
# Query lemma,[lemma="segít" &
msd="(IK\.)*IGE\(_HAT\.)?[TI]?[MPF]?[et]?[123]?"]within <doc
(style="beszélnyelvi" | style="hivatalos" | style="sajtó" | style="személyes-fórum" |
style="szépirodalom" | style="tudományos") /> 169336
```

```
# Positive filter -5 5 1 [msd="FN.DAT.*" | msd="FN_NM.DAT.*"]within <doc
(style="beszélnyelvi" | style="hivatalos" | style="sajtó" | style="személyes-fórum" |
style="szépirodalom" | style="tudományos") /> 13441
```

Segít (számára)

Corpus: MNSZ2

Hits: 239

```
# Query word,[word="segít" &
msd="(IK\.)*IGE\(_HAT\.)?[TI]?[MPF]?[et]?[123]?"]within <doc
(style="beszélnyelvi" | style="hivatalos" | style="sajtó" | style="személyes-fórum" |
style="szépirodalom" | style="tudományos") /> 31517
```

```
# Positive filter -3 3 1 [lemma="számára"]within <doc (style="beszélnyelvi" |
style="hivatalos" | style="sajtó" | style="személyes-fórum" | style="személyes-
közösségi" | style="szépirodalom" | style="tudományos") /> 87
```

Kedvez (dative)

Corpus: MNSZ2

Hits: 4487

```
# Query word,[lemma="kedvez" &
msd="(IK\.)*IGE\(_HAT\.)?[TI]?[MPF]?[et]?[123]?"]within <doc
(style="beszélnyelvi" | style="hivatalos" | style="sajtó" | style="személyes-fórum" |
style="szépirodalom" | style="tudományos") /> 12924
```

```
# Positive filter -3 3 1 [msd="FN.DAT.*" | msd="FN_NM.DAT.*"]within <doc
(style="beszélnyelvi" | style="hivatalos" | style="sajtó" | style="személyes-fórum" |
style="szépirodalom" | style="tudományos") /> 4487
```

Kedvez (számára)

Corpus: MNSZ2

Hits: 68

```
# Query word,[lemma="kedvez" &
msd="(IK\.)*IGE\.( _HAT\.)?[TI]?[MPF]?[et]?[123]?"]within <doc
(style="beszélnyelvi" | style="hivatalos" | style="sajtó" | style="személyes-fórum" |
style="szépirodalom" | style="tudományos") /> 12924
```

```
# Positive filter -3 3 1 [lemma="számára"]within <doc (style="beszélnyelvi" |
style="hivatalos" | style="sajtó" | style="személyes-fórum" | style="szépirodalom" |
style="tudományos") /> 68
```

Megjelenik (dative)

Corpus: MNSZ2

Hits: 2034

```
# Query word,[lemma="megjelenik" &
msd="(IK\.)*IGE\.( _HAT\.)?[TI]?[MPF]?[et]?[123]?"]within <doc
(style="beszélnyelvi" | style="hivatalos" | style="sajtó" | style="személyes-fórum" |
style="szépirodalom" | style="tudományos") /> 122881
```

```
# Positive filter -3 3 1 [msd="FN.DAT.*" | msd="FN_NM.DAT.*"]within <doc
(style="beszélnyelvi" | style="hivatalos" | style="sajtó" | style="személyes-közösségi" |
style="szépirodalom" | style="tudományos") /> 2034
```

Megjelenik (számára)

Corpus: MNSZ2

Hits: 112

```
# Query word,[lemma="megjelenik" &
msd="(IK\.)*IGE\.( _HAT\.)?[TI]?[MPF]?[et]?[123]?"]within <doc
(style="beszélnyelvi" | style="hivatalos" | style="sajtó" | style="személyes-fórum" |
style="szépirodalom" | style="tudományos") />
```

```
# Positive filter -3 3 1 [lemma="számára"]within <doc (style="beszélnyelvi" |
style="hivatalos" | style="sajtó" | style="személyes-fórum" | style="szépirodalom" |
style="tudományos") /> 112
```

Feltűnik (dative)

Corpus: MNSZ2

Hits: 1428

```
# Query word,[lemma="feltűnik" &
msd="(IK\.)*IGE\.( _HAT\.)?[TI]?[MPF]?[et]?[123]?"]within <doc
(style="beszélnyelvi" | style="hivatalos" | style="sajtó" | style="személyes-fórum" |
style="szépirodalom" | style="tudományos") /> 16547
```

```
# Positive filter -3 3 1 [msd="FN.DAT.*" | msd="FN_NM.DAT.*"]within <doc
(style="beszélnyelvi" | style="hivatalos" | style="sajtó" | style="személyes-fórum" |
style="szépirodalom" | style="tudományos") /> 1428
```

Feltűnik (számára)

Corpus: MNSZ2

Hits: 24

```
# Query word,[lemma="feltűnik" &
msd="(IK\.)*IGE\.( _HAT\.)?[TI]?[MPF]?[et]?[123]?"]within <doc
(style="beszélnyelvi" | style="hivatalos" | style="sajtó" | style="személyes-fórum" |
style="szépirodalom" | style="tudományos") /> 16547
```

```
# Positive filter -3 3 1 [lemma="számára"]within <doc (style="beszélnyelvi" |
style="hivatalos" | style="sajtó" | style="személyes-fórum" | style="szépirodalom" |
style="tudományos") /> 24
```

Fáj (dative)

Corpus: MNSZ2

Hits: 3907

```
# Query word,[lemma="fáj" &
msd="(IK\.)*IGE\.( _HAT\.)?[TI]?[MPF]?[et]?[123]?"]within <doc
(style="beszélnyelvi" | style="hivatalos" | style="sajtó" | style="személyes-fórum" |
style="szépirodalom" | style="tudományos") /> 22048
```

```
# Positive filter -3 3 1 [msd="FN.DAT.*" | msd="FN_NM.DAT.*"]within <doc
(style="beszélnyelvi" | style="hivatalos" | style="sajtó" | style="személyes-fórum" |
style="szépirodalom" | style="tudományos") /> 3907
```

Fáj (számára)

Corpus: MNSZ2

Hits: 5

```
# Query word,[lemma="fáj" &
msd="(IK\.)*IGE\.( _HAT\.)?[TI]?[MPF]?[et]?[123]?"]within <doc
(style="beszélnyelvi" | style="hivatalos" | style="sajtó" | style="személyes-fórum" |
style="szépirodalom" | style="tudományos") /> 22048
```

```
# Positive filter -3 3 1 [lemma="számára"]within <doc (style="beszéltnyelvi" |  
style="hivatalos" | style="sajtó" | style="személyes-fórum" | style="szépirodalom" |  
style="tudományos") /> 5
```

Hiányzik (dative)

Corpus: MNSZ2

Hits: 3478

```
# Query word,[lemma="hiányzik"]within <doc (style="beszéltnyelvi" |  
style="hivatalos" | style="sajtó" | style="személyes-fórum" | style="szépirodalom" |  
style="tudományos") /> 55091
```

```
# Positive filter -3 3 1 [msd="FN.DAT.*" | msd="FN_NM.DAT.*"]within <doc  
(style="beszéltnyelvi" | style="hivatalos" | style="sajtó" | style="személyes-fórum" |  
style="szépirodalom" | style="tudományos") /> 3478
```

Hiányzik (számára)

Corpus: MNSZ2

Hits: 53

```
# Query word,[lemma="hiányzik" &  
msd="(IK\.)*IGE\.( _HAT\.)?[TI]?[MPF]?[et]?[123]?"]within <doc  
(style="beszéltnyelvi" | style="hivatalos" | style="sajtó" | style="személyes-fórum" |  
style="szépirodalom" | style="tudományos") />
```

```
# Positive filter -3 3 1 [lemma="számára"]within <doc (style="beszéltnyelvi" |  
style="hivatalos" | style="sajtó" | style="személyes-fórum" | style="szépirodalom" |  
style="tudományos") /> 53
```

HHC queries

Segít

Corpus: MTSZ

Hits: 25

```
# Query word,[word = "segít.*"] 9858  
# Positive filter -3 3 1 [word = "számára" | word= "számomra" | word= "számodra"  
| word="számunkra" | word= "számotokra" | word="számukra" ] 25
```

Kedvez

Corpus: MTSZ

Hits: 65

```
# Query word,[word = "kedvez.*"] 2826  
# Positive filter -3 3 1 [word = "számára" | word= "számomra" | word= "számodra"  
| word="számunkra" | word= "számotokra" | word="számukra" ] 65
```

Megjelenik

```
# Corpus: MTSZ
# Hits: 13
# Query word,[word = "megjelen.*"] 7650
# Positive filter -3 3 1 [word = "számára" | word= "számomra" | word= "számodra"
| word="számunkra" | word= "számotokra" | word="számukra" ]
```

Feltűnik

```
# Corpus: MTSZ
# Hits: 4
# Query word,[word = "feltűn.*"] 1501
# Positive filter -3 3 1 [word = "számára" | word= "számomra" | word= "számodra"
| word="számunkra" | word= "számotokra" | word="számukra" ] 4
```

Fáj

```
# Corpus: MTSZ
# Hits: 22
# Query word,[word = "fáj.*"] 10345
# Positive filter -3 3 1 [word = "számára" | word= "számomra" | word= "számodra"
| word="számunkra" | word= "számotokra" | word="számukra" ] 22
```

Hiányzik

```
# Corpus: MTSZ
# Hits: 18
# Query word,[word = "hiány.*"] 6963
# Positive filter -3 3 1 [word = "számára" | word= "számomra" | word= "számodra"
| word="számunkra" | word= "számotokra" | word="számukra" ] 18
```

Appendix B

The link below gives access to the Drive folder containing all the Excel sheets used to store the extracted sentences considered exemplificatory and analytically relevant for the study, along with the associated annotation layers.

[https://drive.google.com/drive/folders/15qoJQ6P3E9LNj-Gp-VYP7e95TSGGyCe-
?usp=sharing](https://drive.google.com/drive/folders/15qoJQ6P3E9LNj-Gp-VYP7e95TSGGyCe-?usp=sharing)