

## Positions for oblique case-marked arguments in Hungarian noun phrases<sup>1</sup>

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### 1. Introduction: the topic of the talk

The main topic of the talk is the investigation of DP-internal positions of the oblique case-marked (i.e., non-possessor) arguments in Hungarian deverbal nouns.

We argue that four positions are open to oblique case-marked arguments in Hungarian DPs, of which all are discussed very scarcely in the literature. We provide a new DP structure integrating the morphology-based Hungarian traditions (Szabolcsi and Laczkó 1992, Bartos 2000, É. Kiss 2002) with the cartographic Split-DP Hypothesis (Giusti 1996, Ihsane and Puskás 2001) by means of which even new data can be accounted for (which we have been facing in the CGR-H project).

### 2. Basic data: oblique case-marked arguments in Hungarian DPs

- (1) a. Na például [...] az nem volt jó ötlet.  
well for\_instance that not be.Past.3Sg good idea  
'Well for instance, [...], that was not a good idea.'
- b. ...egy futár elküldése Pécs-re...  
a courier away\_sending.Poss.3Sg Pécs-Sub  
'...the sending of a courier to Pécs...'
- c. ...egy futár Pécs-re küldése...  
a courier Pécs-Sub sending.Poss.3Sg  
'...the sending of a courier to Pécs...'
- d. ...egy futár [Pécs-re való] elküldése...  
a courier Pécs-Sub be.Part away\_sending.Poss.3Sg  
'...the sending of a courier to Pécs...'
- e. <sup>(?)</sup>...mindhárom város-ba ugyanannak a futárnak az elküldése...  
all\_three city-III same.Dat the courier.Dat the away\_sending.Poss.3Sg  
'...the sending of the same courier to all the three cities...'
- e'. <sup>\*)</sup>...Pécs-re egy futárnak az elküldése...  
Pécs-Sub a courier.Dat the away\_sending.Poss.3Sg  
'...the sending of a courier to Pécs ...'

#### 1<sup>st</sup> position: postnominal complement zone (see (1b))

mainstream literature (Szabolcsi and Laczkó 1992, Bartos 2000) argues for that this position does not exist at all;

Alberti, Farkas and Szabó (2015) provided arguments for the existence of this position: we provided a new constituency test, namely, the non-exhaustive “*For example...*”-construction, which can appear in a contrastive topic position. The contrastive topic construction readily tolerates right branching, and can be completed with a resumptive pronoun (such as *az* ‘that’), which signals the end of the tested nominal constituent.

#### 2<sup>nd</sup> position: prenominal argument position (see (1c))

there are some data in the literature concerning this kind of constructions, but in Szabolcsi and Laczkó (1992) and in Bartos (2000), for instance, there is no position for such an argument: in the former theory, the specifier of the NP is occupied by the unmarked possessor (see Figure 1 below), in Bartos (2000) the same position is occupied by the possessor if the noun is deverbal, and there are no other positions coming into play in either theories;

another question arises: what about double filling of the prenominal argument zones, like in the case of *adat-fel-dolgoz-ás* ‘item-up-work-ÁS’ (‘data processing’);

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**3<sup>rd</sup> position: prenominal modifier zone inside a *való*-phrase** (see (1d))

no answer to the question of how an argument of the matrix noun can appear embedded in a construction headed by a participle of the verb *be*;

**4<sup>th</sup> position: a position before the NAK possessor** (see (1e-e'))

no such data in the literature, but there is a consensus that nothing can appear before the NAK possessor inside the DP;

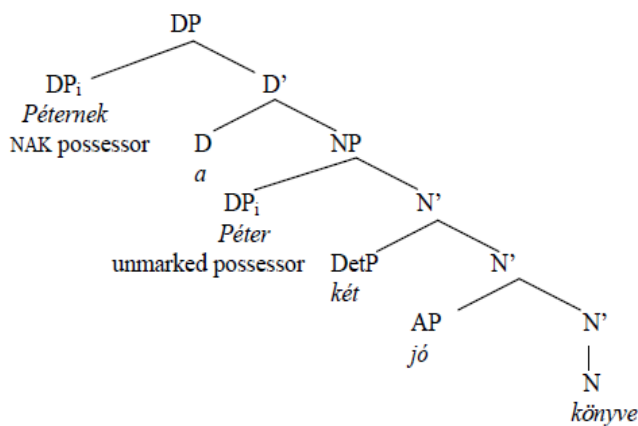
**summary:** three of the aforementioned positions have already been mentioned in the literature but cannot be accounted for, the position exemplified in (1e) has remained unknown so far, presumably due to the fact that only certain operators can occupy it.

**3. Structure of Hungarian DP**

**I. Szabolcsi and Laczkó (1992)**

Figure 1. DP structure according to Szabolcsi and Laczkó (1992):

- (2) [*Péternek a*] / *Péter két jó könyve*  
 Péter.Dat the / Péter two good book.Poss.3Sg  
 'Péter's two good books'

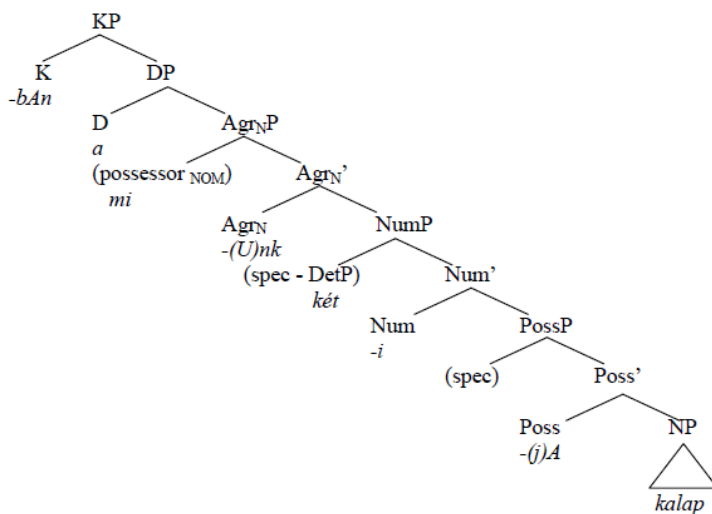


the possessor is generated in spec-NP, from where it can move to spec-DP; attributives and numerals appear adjoined to N'; no postnominal complement zone and no place for prenominal arguments (appearing left-adjacent to the noun head); no position before the NAK possessor.

**II. Bartos (2000)**

Figure 2. DP structure according to Bartos (2000):

- (3) *a mi kalap-ja-i-nk-ban*  
 the we hat-Poss-Pl-1Pl-Ine  
 'in our two hats'



inflected nouns are divided into morphemes: all morphemes get separate nodes; the possessor is generated in spec-NP (in the case of deverbal nominals) or in spec-PossP (in other cases); numerals have separate phrase; no postnominal complement zone and no place for prenominal arguments (appearing left-adjacent to the noun head); no position before the NAK possessor.

### III. Alberti and Farkas (2015)

Figure 3. Postnominal complement zone

- (1b) ... egy futár el-küld-és-e Pécs-re...  
 a courier away-send-ÁS-Poss.3Sg Pécs-Sub  
 ‘...the sending of a courier to Pécs...’

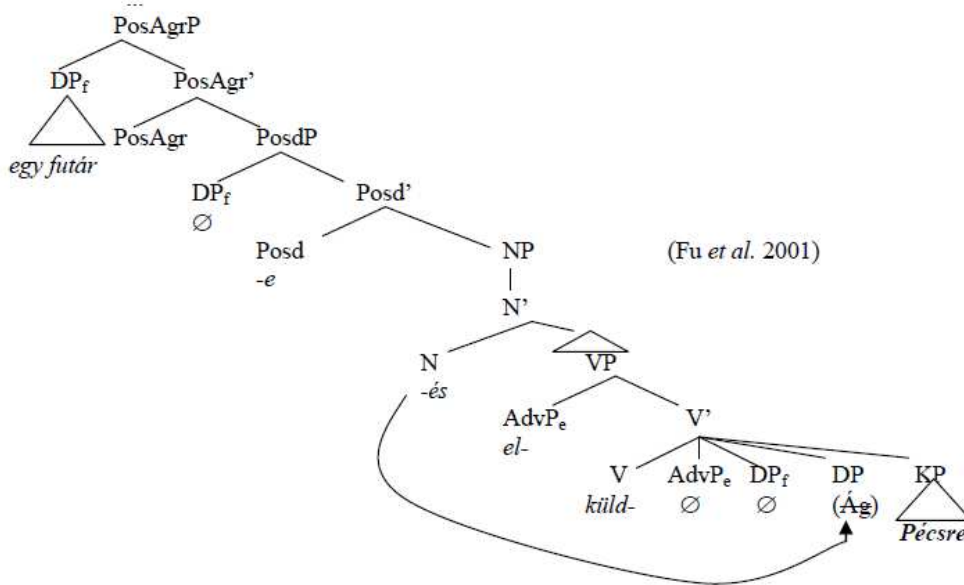


Figure 4. Prenominal argument position

- (1c) ... egy futár Pécs-re küld-és-e...  
 a courier Pécs-Sub send-ÁS-Poss.3Sg  
 ‘...the sending of a courier to Pécs...’

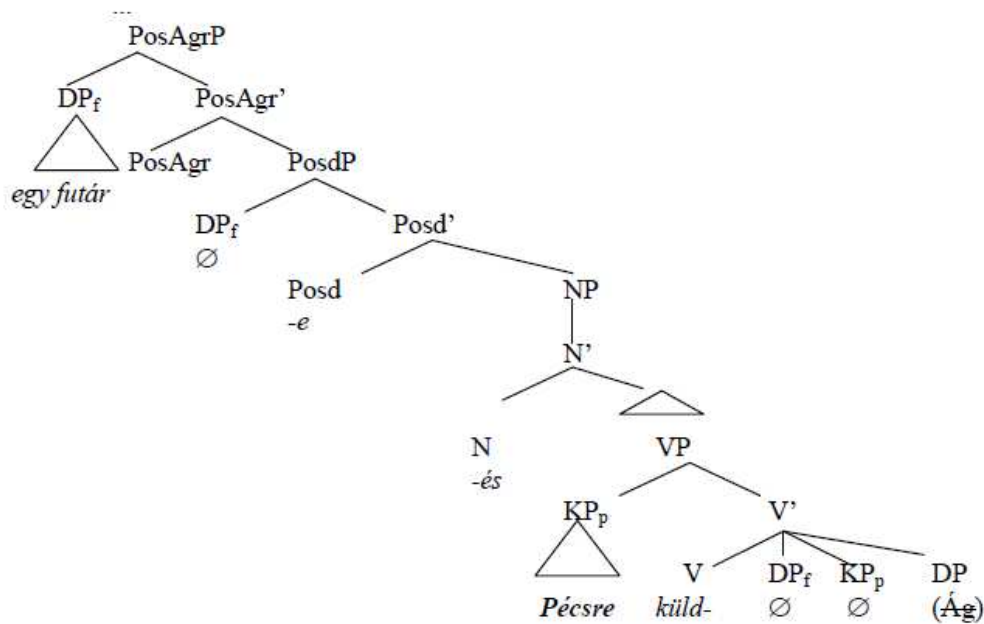


Figure 5. Double filling of the prenominal argument zone

- (4) *adat-fel-dolgoz-ás*  
 item-up-work-ÁS  
 ‘data processing’

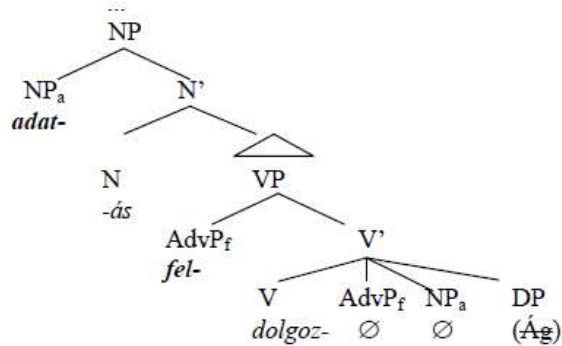


Figure 6. Prenominal modifier zone: a *való*-phrase

- (1d) ...egy futár [*Pécs-re való*] el-küld-és-e...  
 a courier Pécs-Sub be.Part away-send-ÁS-Poss.3Sg  
 ‘...the sending of a courier to Pécs...’

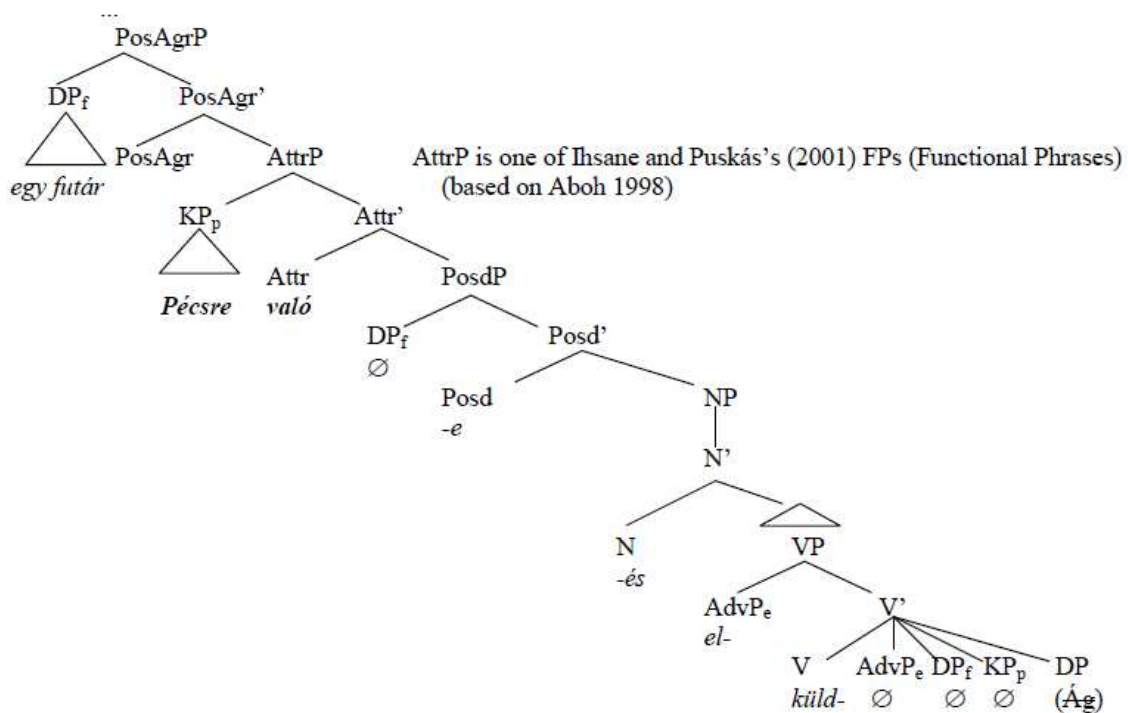
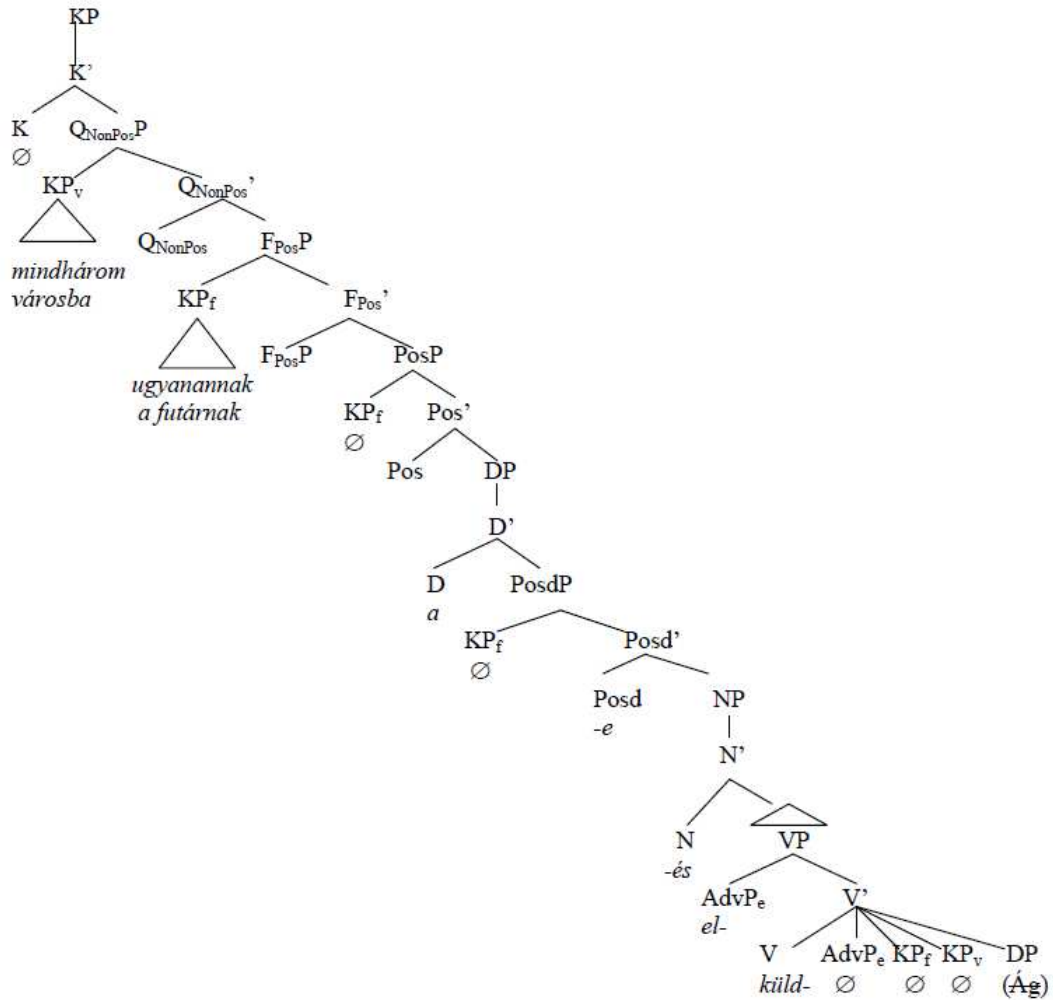


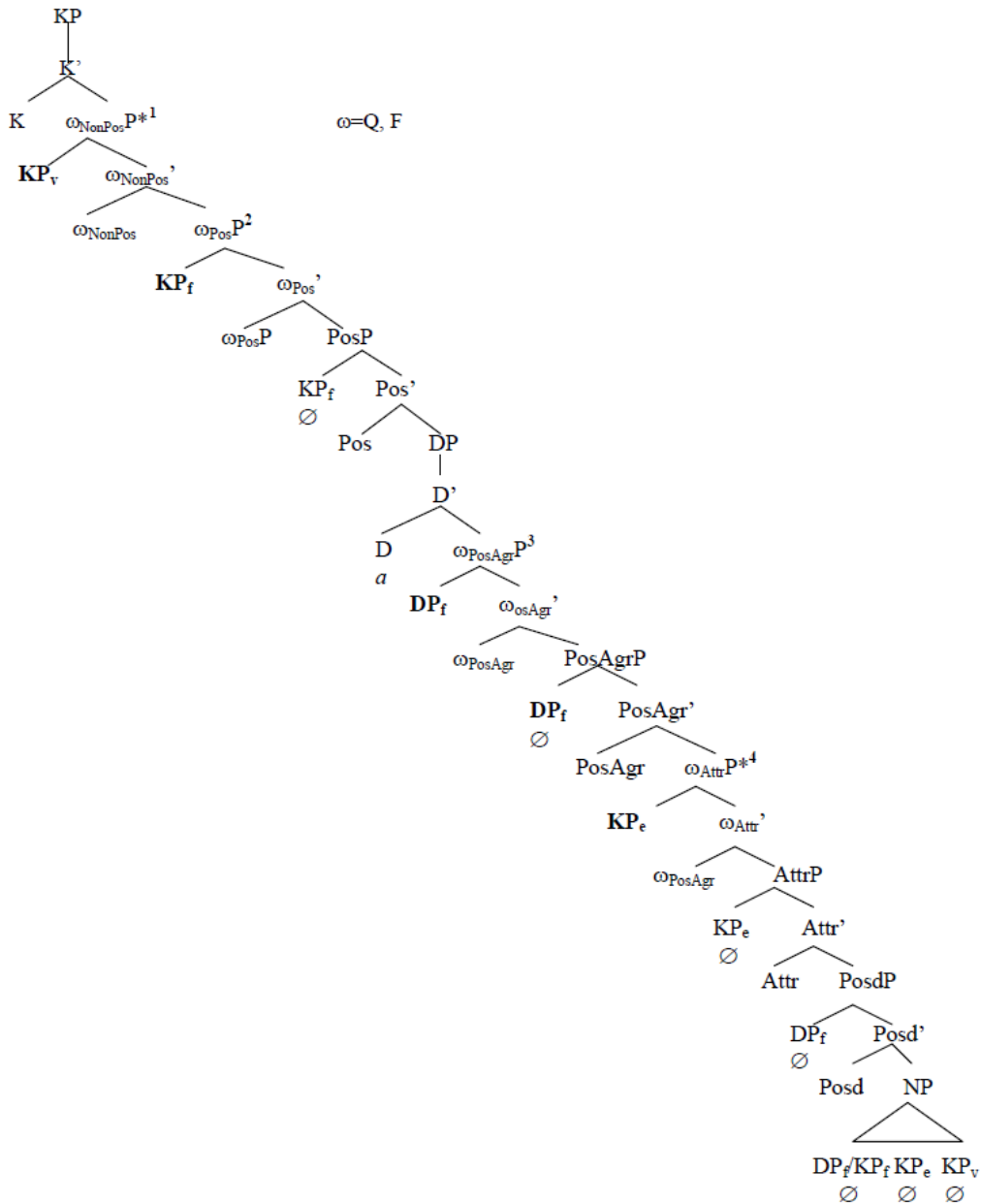
Figure 7. A position before the NAK possessor

- (1e) <sup>(?)</sup> ...*mindhárom város-ba* ugyanannak a futárnak az el-küld-és-e...  
*all\_three city-ill* same.Dat the courier.Dat the away-send-ÁS-Poss.3Sg  
 ‘...the sending of the same courier *to all the three cities*...’



- (1e') <sup>\*?</sup> ...*Pécs-re* egy futárnak az el-küld-és-e...  
*Pécs-Sub* a courier.Dat the away-send-ÁS-Poss.3Sg  
 ‘...the sending of a courier *to Pécs* ...’

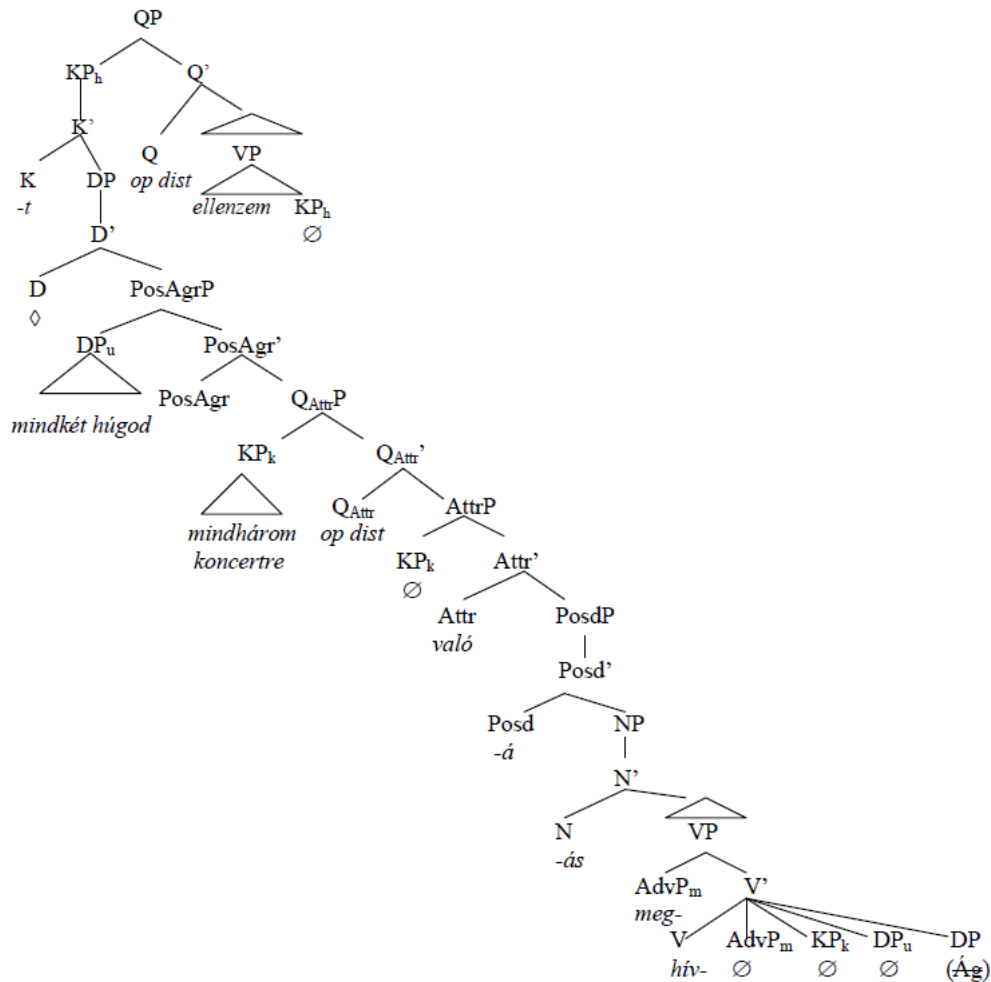
Figure 8. Internal operators in the Hungarian DP structure



- 1: <sup>(?)</sup>...*mindhárom város-ba* ugyanannak a futárnak az el-küld-és-e... (1e)  
*all\_three city-ill same.Dat the courier.Dat the away-send-ÁS-Poss.3Sg*  
 ‘...the sending of the same courier *to all the three cities*...’
- 2: ...*mindkét húgodnak* a meg-hív-ás-a...  
*both little\_sister.Poss.2Sg.Dat the perf-invite-ÁS-Poss.3Sg*  
 ‘...the inviting *of both of your little sisters*...’
- 3: ...*mindkét húgod* meg-hív-ás-a...  
*both little\_sister.Poss.2Sg perf-invite-ÁS-Poss.3Sg*  
 ‘...the inviting *of both of your little sisters*...’
- 4: ...a *mindkét koncertre való* meg-hív-ás-od...  
*the both concert.Sub be.Part perf-invite-ÁS-Poss.2Sg*  
 ‘...inviting you *to both concerts*...’

Figure 9. Internal and external operators in the Hungarian DP structure

(5a) *Mindkét húgod mindhárom koncertre való meg-hív-ás-át ellenzem.*  
*both sister.Poss.2Sg all\_the\_three concert.Sub be.Part perf-invite-Ás-Poss.3Sg-Acc oppose.DefObj.1Sg*  
 ‘In the case of both of your sisters, I am against the invitation of each of them to all the three concerts.’



(5b) ‘In the case of both of my sisters and all the three concerts, I am against the invitation of each of them to each of the concerts.’

(5c) ‘As for both of my sisters’ invitation to all the three concerts I am against that.’

#### 4. Summary

Giusti (1996) argues that “in Noun Phrases a FocP and/or a TopP are to be assumed at least for some languages.” [Hungarian is such a language; see also Cetnarowska 2014, Giusti and Iovino 2014, Ihsane and Puskás 2001, Mišmaš 2014, Caruso 2011.]

“Considering that in a very general sense, Noun Phrases are “defective” with respect to the functional properties found in clauses, we are not surprised to find out also the FocP and the TopP are not necessarily in present in Noun Phrases in all languages.” [Hungarian NP is not defective at all due to the 2x2 operator zones, all scope orders can be realized in spite of the fact that the two possessor positions precede attributives.]

“These two functional projections represent the “fine” structure of the DP, in the sense that Rizzi (1995) proposes for CPs. And, as a matter of fact, they are situated either immediately below or immediately above it.” [In Hungarian, both zones can be found “for the above-mentioned reason” and three of the 2x2 zones can be used to express both internal and external operators.]

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