

Postpositions and case suffixes as verbal particles in Hungarian
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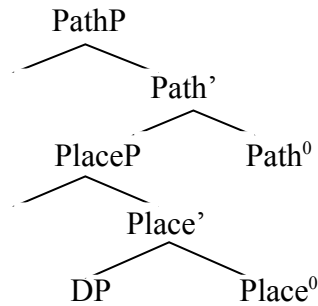
In my paper I investigate and account for the data in (1) and (2). In (1) and in (2) the postpositions and case suffixes function as verbal particles, which means they occupy the preverbal position in the sentence. The verbal particle moves to the specifier position of PredP, a functional projection dominating VP. During the derivation of the sentences in (1) and (2), the DP moves from inside PathP to a position outside PathP, then the remnant of PathP, including now only the postposition or the case suffix, moves to the Spec,PredP position.

I will give an account for the following data: In the case of a postposition expressing direction, the agreement morpheme on the postposition is optional (1a-b) while it is obligatory with postpositions denoting location (1c-d). If the verbal particle is derived from a case suffix (2a-d), the agreement morpheme is always obligatory. In the case of verbal particles derived from a case suffix, the DP bears a case suffix corresponding to the verbal particle (2), while in the case of verbal particles derived from postpositions, the DP is always assigned dative case.

- (1) a. A macska **alá** bújt a szekrény**nek**.
the cat under hid the wardrobe-DAT
'The cat got under the wardrobe.'
- b. A macska **alá-ja** bújt a szekrény**nek**.
the cat under-3rdSg hid the wardrobe-DAT
'The cat got under the wardrobe.'
- c. A macska **alatt-a** ült a szekrény**nek**.
the cat under-3rdSg sat the wardrobe-DAT
'The cat was sitting under the wardrobe.'
- d. *A macska **alatt** ült a szekrény**nek**.
the cat under sat the wardrobe-DAT
'The cat was sitting under the wardrobe.'
- (2) a. A macska **benn-e** ült a doboz**ban**.
the cat in-3rdSg sat the box-INESS
'The cat was sitting in the box.'
- b. *A macska **benn-e** ült a doboz**nak**.
the cat in-3rdSg sat the box-DAT
'The cat was sitting in the box.'
- c. A macska **bel-e** bújt a doboz**ba**.
the cat into-3rdSg hid the box-ILLAT
'The cat got into the box.'
- d. *A macska **bel-e** bújt a doboz**nak**.
the cat into-3rdSg hid the box-DAT
'The cat got into the box.'

My analysis of the above data is based on the theory of Asbury (2008), who analyses the PP as an extended projection of the noun. According to her, the PP can be divided into two phrases: PathP and PlaceP (3). She claims that postpositions and case suffixes occupy the same syntactic positions. Those postpositions and case suffixes which express direction (like *alá* 'under', *-ba/-be* 'into') are placed in Path⁰ while those expressing location (like *alatt* 'under', *-ban/-ben* 'in') can be found in Place⁰.

(3)



I account for the above data in the following way: I propose that the Path⁰ and Place⁰ heads can be optionally assigned an α feature ([+ α] or [- α]). The [+ α] feature of a head requires a nominal element to appear in its specifier position. The Path⁰/Place⁰ head with a [+ α] feature either assigns dative case to the DP moved into its specifier, or if the Path⁰/Place⁰ head is a bound morpheme, the DP in the specifier has case concord with the head (that means that the DP in the specifier will take a case suffix corresponding to the head). If the specifier is occupied by a DP, the head will agree with the DP.

Following Asbury (2008), I analyse DPs expressing location as PlacePs and DPs denoting direction as PathPs dominating a PlaceP.

Accounting for the data in (1), I propose that a PP (PlaceP or PathP) can function as a verbal particle only if the DP is removed from it. Moving the DP out of the PP is only possible through the specifier of either PathP or PlaceP. PPs denoting location (=PlacePs) consist of only one PP layer, so the DP has to move through the specifier of PlaceP. This will result in obligatory dative case assignment to the DP and in the agreement of the head with the DP. If the PP is directional, it consists of two layers: PathP and PlaceP. In this case the DP can move either to the specifier of PlaceP or to the specifier of PathP, depending on the random assignment of the α feature to these heads. If the DP moves to Spec,PathP, the agreement between the DP and the Path⁰ head takes place, and the case suffix will appear on the postposition. If the DP moves to Spec,PlaceP, no agreement will take place. Since the PP expressing location (=PlaceP) has only one PP layer, the option of the lack of agreement is not available there.

In the case of PPs headed by a case suffix, the underlying structure is the same as it is with postpositions, since they occupy the same positions in the structure. The difference in their behaviour is due to the bound morpheme status of the case suffix. The DP in the specifier has to have concord with the head, which will license the word-level behaviour of the case suffix. If we have a case suffix expressing location, the DP will move to the specifier of PlaceP. Here the head will agree with the DP, so the agreement morpheme will appear on the Place⁰ head. Concord takes place too, so the DP will be assigned case which corresponds to the Place⁰ head.

If the PP is headed by a case suffix expressing direction, the PP will have two layers: PathP and PlaceP. Here the structure is derivable only if Path⁰ has a [+ α] feature, while Place⁰ has [- α]. Moving the DP to the specifier of PlaceP would result in the assignment of dative case to the DP. If we move this DP further to Spec,PathP, it will result in double case assignment to the DP. If we do not move the DP to Spec,PathP, then the lack of concord will result in an ungrammatical structure. The only way to derive a grammatical structure is to move the DP directly to the Spec,PathP position. In this case both agreement and concord will take place. Moving along the DP to a higher position makes it possible to move the remnant of the PathP to the preverbal position, where it can function as a verbal particle.