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Positions for oblique case-marked arguments in Hungarian noun phrases[1]

We argue that there are four positions open to oblique case-marked arguments within the Hungarian noun phrase structure, of which certain ones have never been mentioned in the literature while even the others have been discussed very scarcely (for different reasons, which are also pointed out in the paper). In order to formally account for these four positions and the data "legitimizing" them, we provide a new DP structure integrating the basically morphology-based Hungarian traditions with the cartographic Split-DP Hypothesis (Giusti 1996; Ihsane and Puskás 2001). We point out that, chiefly by means of the four positions for oblique case-marked arguments in Hungarian noun phrases and the operator layers based upon them, this language makes it possible for its speakers to explicitly express every possible scopal order of arguments of verbs, even if the given verbs are deeply embedded in complements of deverbal nominalizers.

Key words: Hungarian noun phrase; generative syntax; Split-DP Hypothesis; oblique case-marked arguments; possessive construction.

1. Introduction

The main topic of the paper is the investigation of DP-internal positions of oblique case-marked (i.e., non-possessor) arguments in Hungarian deverbal nominal constructions. We argue that four positions are open to oblique case-marked arguments in Hungarian DPs, of which certain ones have never been mentioned in the literature while even the others have been discussed very scarcely. We provide a new DP structure integrating the morphology-based Hungarian traditions (Szabolcsi and Laczkó 1992; Bartos 2000; 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 course of writing a Comprehensive Grammar Resource of Hungarian Noun Phrases on the basis of a similar Dutch project (Broekhuis et al. 2012).

The following section demonstrates the basic data, that is, the positions in which oblique case-marked arguments can appear within a Hungarian noun phrase. Section 3 provides an overview of the DP structures suggested for Hungarian in the mainstream literature (Szabolcsi and Laczkó 1992; and Bartos 2000). In section 4, we demonstrate our theory of the Hungarian DP structure – a "Split-DP Hypothesis for Hungarian" – and give the representation of the basic data presented in section 2. The paper concludes with a short summary (section 5).

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

In Hungarian, oblique case-marked arguments can appear in four positions, illustrated in the series of examples in (1) below.

The first position is in the postnominal complement zone (see *Pécsre* 'to Pécs' in (1b)). According to the mainstream literature (Szabolcsi and Laczkó 1992; Bartos 2000), this position does not exist at all, or at least not in the straightforwardly explicit form that the given example suggests (Bartos 2000; Kiss 2002). Alberti et al. (2015), however, provide arguments for the existence of this position by means of a new constituency test, namely, the non-exhaustive "*For example...*"-construction, which can appear in a contrastive topic position, as is shown in (1a) below. 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.

The second potential position for oblique case-marked arguments is the prenominal argument position (see *Pécsre* 'to Pécs' in (1c)). There are some data in the literature concerning this type of construction, but in Szabolcsi and Laczkó (1992)

and in Bartos (2000), for instance, there is no position for such an argument. In the former approach, the specifier of NP is occupied by the unmarked possessor (see Figure 1 in section 3), and 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 approach.[2]

(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. (?) *...**mindhárom város-ba** ugyanannak a   futárnak   az*
      all_three   city-ILL   same.DAT   the courier.DAT the

    elküldése...
    away_sending.POSS.3SG
    '... the sending of the same courier *to all the three cities...*'

  e'. *? *...**Pécs-re**   egy futárnak   az elküldése...*
     Pécs-Sub a   courier.DAT the away_sending.POSS.3SG
    '...the sending of a courier *to Pécs...*'

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[2] Even two elements can appear in the prenominal argument zone, as illustrated in (ii) (see also Figure 5 in section 4), in which the noun phrase is based on the argument structure presented in (i).

  (i) *Egész   nap **adatokat**   dolgozunk **fel**.*
    whole   day **datum.PL.ACC** work.1PL   **up**
    'We are processing data all day long'

  (ii) *Egész   nap tartott   <u>az **adat-fel**-dolgoz-ás</u>.*
    whole   day last.PAST.3SG *the **item-up**-work-ÁS*
    '*The data processing* lasted all day long'

The third position for an oblique case-marked argument within Hungarian noun phrases is in the prenominal modifier zone inside a *való*-phrase (see *Pécsre* 'to Pécs' in (1d)). The main question about this position is how an argument of the matrix noun can appear embedded in a construction headed by *való*, which is morphologically the present participial form of the verb *be*, used as an attributivizer (just like *-i*, see Kenesei 2014: section 6). There is no answer to this question in the mainstream literature.

Last, but not least, the fourth position for an oblique case-marked argument within a Hungarian noun phrase is a position before the possessor bearing the harmonizing case suffix *-nAk* 'Dat', that is, a NAK possessor (see *mindhárom városba* 'to all the three cities' in (1e)).[3] No such data can be found in the literature; moreover, there is a consensus in the mainstream literature that nothing can appear before the NAK possessor inside the DP.

All in all, three of the aforementioned four positions have already been mentioned in the literature but cannot be accounted for, while the position exemplified in (1e) has remained unknown so far, presumably due to the fact that only certain operators can occupy it (NB: the example in (1e') is unacceptable, presumably due to the non-operator status of the oblique case-marked noun phrase *Pécsre* 'to Pécs').

3. Structure(s) of Hungarian DP

This section gives an overview of the two basic concepts of the Hungarian DP structure. According to the approach of Szabolcsi and Laczkó (1992), the possessor is generated in the specifier of NP, from where it can move to the specifier of DP (in the case of a NAK possessor); attributives (including *való*-phrases) and numerals appear adjoined to N' (see Figure 1 below). In this approach, no postnominal complement zone is assumed,[4] no elaborated representation is provided for prenominal

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[3] As for the case suffix of NAK possessors, it can be regarded as the marker of the Dative case in Hungarian or some kind of Genitive case, which cannot be distinguished from the Dative case in Hungarian on the basis of their forms (Szabolcsi and Laczkó 1992: 295).

[4] Szabolcsi and Laczkó (1992: 189–190) argues against the mere existence of the postnominal complement zone in Hungarian on the basis of a constituency test resting upon focus constructions. That is the source of the wide-spread opinion that "Hungarian is a more or less regular head-final language below the level of the (tensed) sentence, that is, in its NPs, APs, PPs, etc." (Kenesei 2014: 225; also see Bartos 2000: 689–692). Alberti et al. (2015), however, points out the inadequacy of the *focus* test as a constituency test (due to the property of the Hungarian focus that it cannot host

arguments (appearing left-adjacent to the noun head and forming a phonological unit with it (Szabolcsi and Laczkó 1992: 281–284)), and there is no position before the NAK possessor (cf. section 2).

(2) [*Péternek   a*] / *Péter két jó   könyve*
     Péter.DAT   the/ Péter two   good   book.POSS.3SG
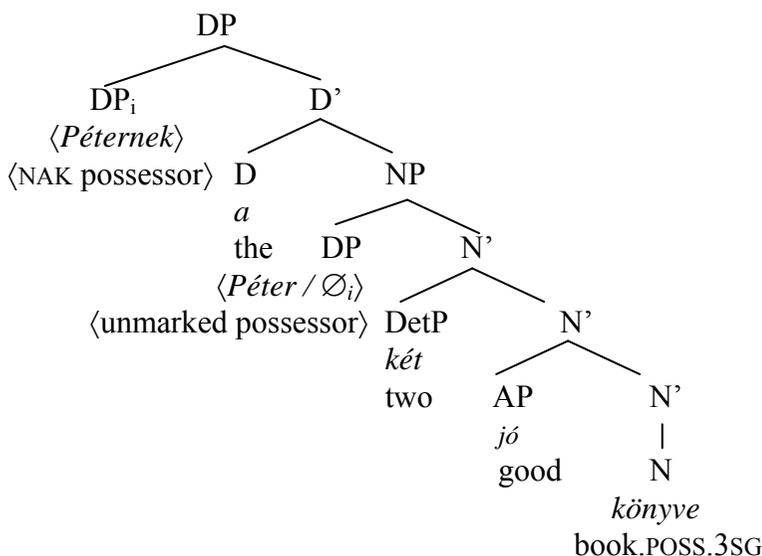   'Péter's two good books'

Figure 1: DP structure according to Szabolcsi and Laczkó (1992: 212, 229)

Bartos (2000) deals with inflectional morphology in syntax (see Figure 2 below). In this Mirror-Principle-based approach (Baker 1985), inflected nouns are divided into morphemes and all morphemes get separate nodes. The possessor is generated in the specifier of NP (in the case of deverbal nominals) or in the specifier of PossP (in other cases),[5] numerals have a separate phrase (NumP), and attributive phrases are claimed to occupy NP-internal position(s) but in a non-specified manner (NB: the question of *való*-phrases is not dealt with in Bartos (2000)). Similarly to the ap-

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exactly right-branching phrases), and proposes a contrastive-topic-based constituency test, in the light of which Hungarian already proves to be much less head-final.

[5] The possessor is claimed by Bartos (2000: 671–673, 745) to be raised from (Spec,PossP) (i) into the Agr$_N$P-layer to check agreement features and to obtain Nominative (if it is an unmarked possessor) or (ii) into the DP-layer to obtain Dative (if it is a NAK possessor). The DP-layer is *ab ovo* headed by the definite article (just like in all approaches to the Hungarian noun phrase).

proach of Szabolcsi and Laczkó (1992), in this approach, too, it is claimed that there is no postnominal complement zone (see footnote 4), there is no place for prenominal arguments (appearing left-adjacent to the noun head), since the specifier of NP is reserved for possessors of deverbal nominals, and there is no position before the NAK possessor, either.

(3) *a   mi kalap-ja-i-nk-ban*
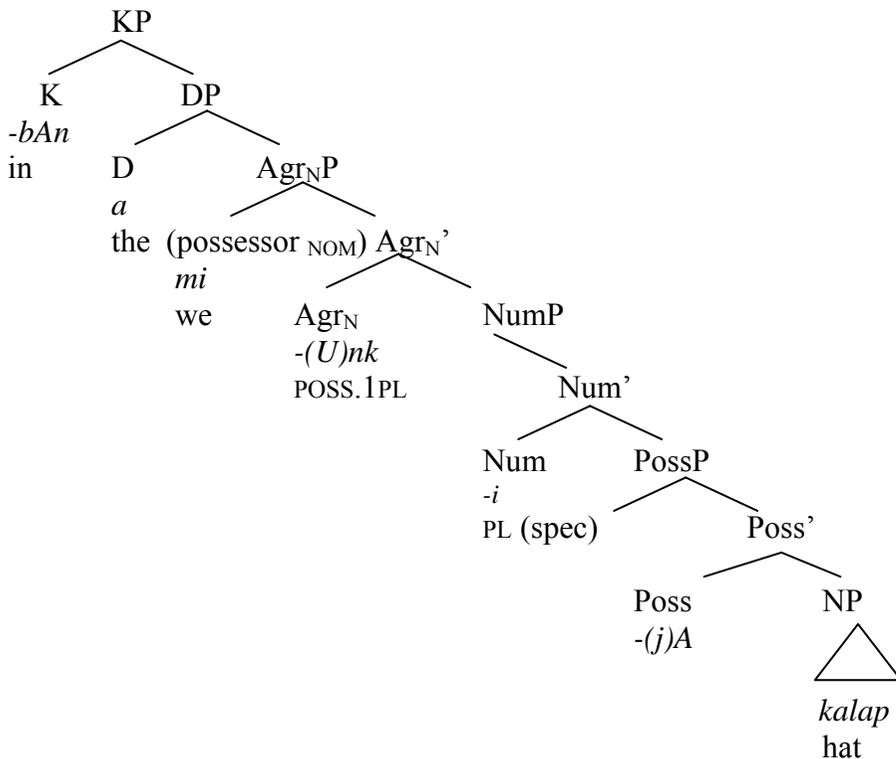   the   we hat-POSS-PL-1PL-INE
     'in our hats'

KP
├── K
│   *-bAn*
│   in
└── DP
    ├── D
    │   *a*
    │   the
    │   *mi*
    │   we
    └── AgrₙP

(possessor NOM) Agrₙ'

Agrₙ
-(U)nk
POSS.1PL

NumP
Num'
Num
-i
PL (spec)

PossP
Poss'
Poss
-(j)A

NP
kalap
hat

Figure 2: DP structure according to Bartos (2000: 669, 673)

4. A split-DP hypothesis for Hungarian

Such noun-phrase-internal-scope readings in different deverbal nominal constructions in Hungarian as the one shown in (1e) in section 2 argue for the integration of the cartographic Split-DP Hypothesis (Giusti 1996; Ihsane and Puskás 2001; see also Grohmann (2003: 211, (37b)) into the morphology-based Hungarian traditions

(Szabolcsi and Laczkó 1992; Bartos 2000; Kiss 2002), illustrated in section 3. Before considering the details, let us put the question in a historical perspective.

The division of the noun phrase into a lexical domain (NP) and a functional domain (DP) with intermediate functional projections was first introduced in Abney (1987) and has since become widely accepted within generative grammar. It is on this approach that the seminal generative description of the Hungarian DP has also been based, primarily due to Anna Szabolcsi (e.g., Szabolcsi 1981, 1983, 1994; Szabolcsi and Laczkó 1992). In the last two decades, this model has been enriched due to the chiefly morphological observations of Bartos (2000), based on Baker's Mirror Principle (Baker 1985). This approach underlies the seminal DP-model developed in Kiss (2000, 2002), too.

Our new data (primarily see (1e) and Figures 7–8 illustrating noun-phrase-internal scope takers) suggest that the Hungarian DP has an even finer structure than has been assumed so far. That is, the parallelism between clausal and nominal structure, partly conjectured by Abney (1987), who compared DP to IP, and Szabolcsi (1994), who compared DP to CP, is as complete in Hungarian as is generally hypothesized in the nowadays very popular "Split-DP Hypothesis" (Giusti 2005; Caruso 2011; Cetnarowska 2014; Mišmaš 2014; Giusti and Iovino 2014), according to which the left periphery in noun phrases can be split into operator and other functional shells essentially in the same way as the left periphery in clauses (in such cartographic descriptions as Rizzi's (1997) split-CP hypothesis).

Furthermore, such examples as the one in (1b) in section 2 suggest that the zone to the right of the noun head is also worth studying; as is pointed out in Alberti *et al.* (2015), even the mere existence of this zone has practically been rejected or neglected in the aforementioned works by Szabolcsi, Bartos and Kiss.

Let us start, from bottom up, with the analysis of the example in (1b), repeated here as (4) below. We follow Fu et al. (2001) in assuming that a deverbal nominalizer occupies the position of the N head in the center of the deverbal nominal construction and takes a projection containing a VP (cf. Dékány (2014), for instance, in the generative literature concerning Hungarian). The sublative case-marked noun phrase (*Pécsre* 'to Pécs'), which is the main topic of the paper, is base-generated inside the complement of the N head, as part of the complement of the embedded V head *küld* 'send'.

It is irrelevant to us now, as is indicated in Figure 3 by a node with no label (see the triangle above VP), whether the given projection also contains a *v*P, AspP or

PredP.[6] We essentially follow Bene (2014: 277–280) in assuming the Hungarian sentence structure proposed by Kiss (2006, 2008); and, as for the position of the preverb, we follow Alberti and Medve (2000) in representing it in the specifier of VP. Nor is it dealt with in this paper how the Agent of the base verb *küld* 'send', which would appear in *v*P in a finite verbal construction around this verb, is suppressed as a result of *Ás*-nominalization. It also must be noted that the phonetic form *elküldése* 'away.send.ÁS.POSS.3SG' is due to linearization in the course of which it is considered that the deverbal nominalizer *-Ás* takes its complement as a suffix (that is why NP is represented as right-headed, just like PosdP, KP[7] and the further suffix-headed projections), while the preverb *el-* is a prefix.[8]

Let us make a remark on the unmarked possessor (*egy futár* 'a courier'). It is also base-generated inside the embedded VP as the Theme argument of the verb *küld* 'send', from where it moves to (Spec,PosAgrP), which is an appropriate prenominal position for an unmarked possessor in Hungarian possessive constructions. Note in passing that the head of PosAgrP is empty in this case, due to the non-pronominal status of the possessor, when no agreement morpheme is assumed in the given head position (Bartos 2000: 678–683; see also footnote 8).

[6] This decision depends on, in addition to the type of the deverbal nominalizer and the type of the input verbal expression, whether the deverbal nominal construction in question is a complex-event-related expression, when an AspP or a PredP is complemented by the deverbal nominalizer, or a simple-event-related expression, when a VP or a *v*P is complemented (Laczkó 2000: 314–316). On the difference between complex- and simple-event-related deverbal nominals (and the entire spectrum of hybrid constructions derived by means of productive deverbal nominalizers in Hungarian), see Szabó *et al.* in this volume.

[7] Here we follow Bartos (2000: 664–665) in assuming that a suffix is spelled out in the position of the stem that it attaches to. Hence, all suffixes considered will be spelled out in the position of the embedded verb stem *küld* 'send' and the oblique case-marked argument *Pécsre* 'to Pécs' of the verb stem thus remains on its right-hand side. This solution is an alternative to an also possible analysis based on extraposition.

[8] There are also two slight notational changes compared to the morphology-based structure presented in Figure 2: the node responsible for agreement in person and number (Agr) is referred to in Figure 3 (and in later figures) as PosAgr, and the node hosting the suffix revealing the possessed status of a possessee (Poss) is referred to in our analyses as Posd. The notation 'PosAgr' can be argued for as follows: in certain possessive constructions, as is pointed out by Bartos (2000: 678–683), there is no agreement in spite of the presence of a possessor (e.g., *a fiú-k kard-ja-i* 'the boy-PL hat-POSS(3SG)-PL', which means *the boys' swords*). As for the notation 'Posd', it simply refers to the close relationship between this node and the suffix responsible for possessed status (which is the suffix *-ja-* in the above-mentioned word *kard-ja-i*) more directly than the notation 'Poss'; it is also a relevant factor that it will be argued for in connection with Figures 7–8 that there is a Pos head above the DP level (for NAK possessors).

(4) *... egy futár el-küld-és-e*   ***Pécs-re****...*
     a   courier away-send-ÁS-POSS.3SG *Pécs-SUB*
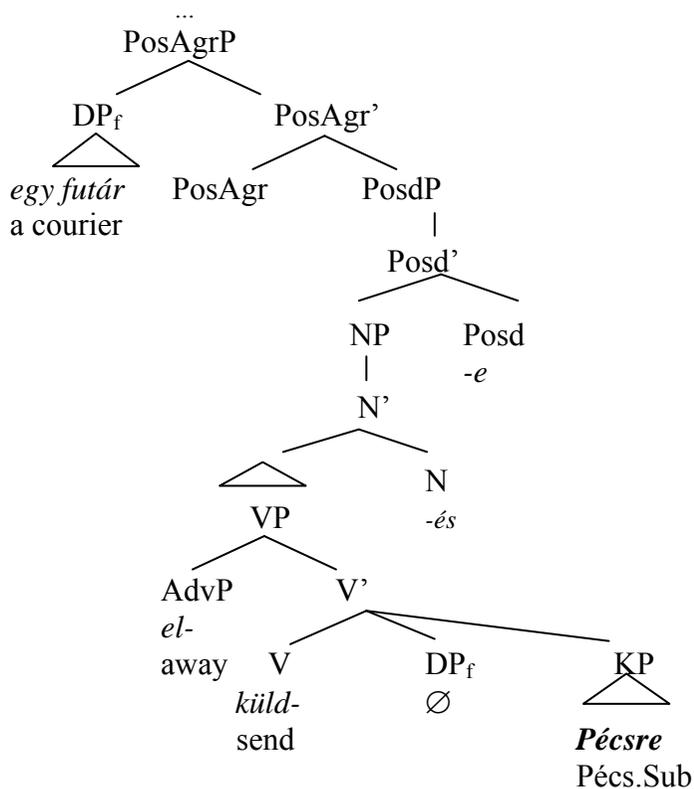   '...the sending of a courier *to Pécs...*'

Figure 3: Postnominal complement zone in the Hungarian DP structure

Let us continue with the analysis of example (1c) in section 2, repeated here as (5) below, in which the oblique case-marked argument *Pécsre* 'to Pécs' is placed in the prenominal argument position. The only new detail of the analysis tree in Figure 3 below (that is, thus, worth commenting) is that this position is the same as the position occupied by the preverb *el* 'away' in Figure 2 above, with which it stands in a complementary distribution (which serves as an argument for this treatment).

(5) *... egy futár **Pécs-re** küld-és-e...*
     a   courier *Pécs-SUB* send-ÁS-POSS.3SG
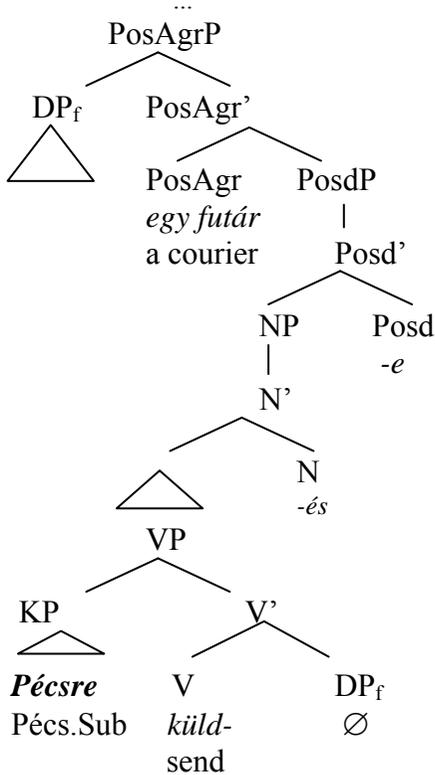   '...the sending of a courier *to Pécs...*'

Figure 4: Prenominal argument position

Our approach offers a straightforward solution to the problem of the "double filling" of the prenominal argument zone, discussed in footnote 2 in section 2, illustrated here in example (6) below. As is shown in Figure 5 below, (Spec,NP) and (Spec,VP) offer the two required positions for the non-fully-fledged (i.e., bare-NP) Theme and the preverb of the input verb, respectively.

(6) *az   adat-fel-dolgoz-ás*
     the   item-up-work-ÁS
     'the data processing'

```
        ...
        DP
        |
        D'
      /    \
     D      NP
    az    /    \
    the NPₐ      N'
       adat-    /   \
       item   /‾‾\    N
             VP      -ás
            /  \
         AdvP   V'
         fel-  /   \
         up   V     NPₐ
            dolgoz-  ∅
            work
```
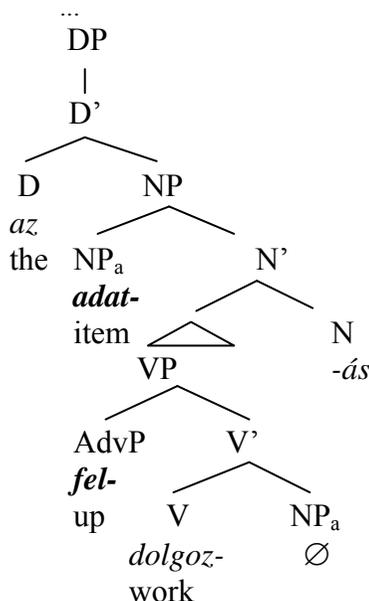
Figure 5: Double filling of the prenominal argument zone

Note in passing that, since the noun phrase presented in (6) above contains no possessor, its constituent tree contains neither a Posd node nor a PosAgr node but the D node immediately takes the NP as its complement.

Figure 6 below demonstrates the crucial elements of the constituent tree we propose as the structure of example (1d), repeated here as (7). The key to the solution of the problem concerning the relation of the attributive construction *Pécsre való* 'Pécs.Sub be.Part' to the sublative case-marked argument *Pécsre* 'to Pécs' that belongs to the embedded verb *küld* 'send' is to insert (potentially iterable) functional phrases between PosAgrP and PosdP in the Hungarian DP-structure, following Ihsane and Puskás (2001), whose approach is based on Aboh's (1998) ideas. We assume that *való* is an attributivizer particle, which occupies a functional head Attr, which functions in the same way as PosAgr with respect to offering its specifier position for arguments—with the difference that while (Spec,PosAgrP) hosts possessors, (Spec,AttrP) hosts non-possessors, that is, oblique case-marked arguments.

Note in passing that all other details of Figure 6 are the same as those of Figure 3.

(7) ... *egy futár* [***Pécs-re** való*]   *el-küld-és-e...*
    a   courier *Pécs-SUB* be.PART away-send-ÁS-POSS.3SG
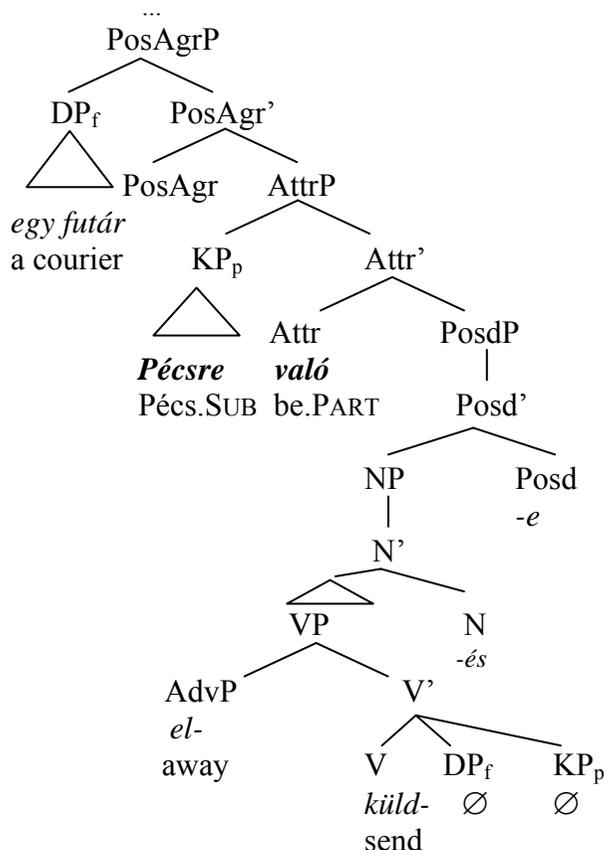   '...the sending of a courier *to Pécs...*'

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

Let us now return to the minimal pair presented in (1e-e'), in order to demonstrate the fourth position available to oblique case-marked arguments within the Hungarian DP-structure, or more precisely, available to quantified or focused ones. Figure 7 below shows the constituent structure of example (1e), repeated here as (8). It is at this point that it is worth having recourse to the Split-DP Hypothesis, according to which DP patterns with sentence structure in containing operator shells. As is witnessed by the word order, the NAK possessor precedes the definite article *a(z)* 'the'. We argue that NAK possessors are hosted in the specifier of another "possessive head", marked as Pos, from which position it moves to (the

specifier of) an operator layer $Q_{Pos}P$ or $F_{Pos}P$ if it has the corresponding quantifier or focus function.[9] As for the (non-attributivized) illative case-marked argument of the embedded verb, it can be placed in another quantifier layer in the left periphery of the noun phrase, available to non-possessors. As is illustrated in Figure 7, a NonPos head is assumed to project a phrase, which can underlie $Q_{NonPos}P$ and/or $F_{NonPos}P$ functional projections.

Note that the proposed structure can account for the facts that (i) while after the definite article, the possessor precedes non-possessors, which inevitably appear in their attributivized form (7), (ii) before the definite article, the possessor is preceded by non-possessors, which do not appear in their attributivized form (8).

(8) [(?)]*...**mindhárom   város-ba***
      *all_three   city-*ILL

      ugyanannak a   futárnak   az   elküldése...
      same.DAT   the courier.DAT the away-send-ÁS-POSS.3SG

     '...the sending of the same courier *to all the three cities...*'

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[9] As for the NAK possessor preceding the definite article, it is typically placed in (Spec,DP) in the literature (e.g., Szabolcsi and Laczkó 1992; Bartos 2000). In our analysis, however, it is placed in a (Spec,PosP) position above the DP-layer (Figure 7), in order to separate a Giusti-style (1996) left-peripheral topic/operator layer (cf. Kiss 1999: 86) from a layer (i.e., the DP-layer) exclusively responsible for the expression of definiteness, following Alexiadou's (2004) principle of D-visibility (for whose application to Hungarian Egedi (2015) convincingly argues). The principle declares that either the specifier or the head of the DP must be spelled out (see Figure 9).

Figure 7: Position(s) before the NAK possessor.

Figure 8 below demonstrates that we assume on the basis of the data presented in (9a-d) below that not only NonPosP and PosP are suitable for basing operator layers upon them but also PosAgrP and AttrP are (see the examples in this order);

of which the first and the fourth are suitable for underlying iterable operator layers, given that the input verb can have several non-possessor arguments (cf. (9a) and (9d), respectively; the Kleene-star in the notations '$\omega_{NonPos}P*$' and '$\omega_{Attr}P*$' refers to iterability).

(9) a. $^{(?)}$...***mindkét évben   mindhárom város-ba***
　　　　　both   year.INE   all_ three   city-ILL

　　　　　ugyanannak a   futárnak   az el-küld-és-e...　　　　(1e)
　　　　　same.DAT   the courier.DAT the away-send-ÁS-POSS.3SG

　　'...the sending of the same courier ***to all the three cities in both years***...'

　 b. ...***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***...'

　 c. ...***mindkét húgod***　　　　　　　　　*meg-hív-ás-a...*
　　　　both   little_sister.POSS.2SG PERF-invite-ÁS-POSS.3SG
　　'...the inviting ***of both of your little sisters***...'

　 d. ...a   ***mindkét kollégával***
　　　　the *both   colleague.INS*

　　　　mindkét témáról való   *cseveg-és-ed...*
　　　　both   topic.DEL be.PART chat-ÁS-POSS.2SG

　　'...your chatting ***with both colleagues about both topics***...'

Figure 8: Internal operators in the Hungarian DP structure

The section concludes with the analysis of a triply ambiguous deverbal nominal construction, presented in (10a) together with its three possible readings, given in (10b-d) by means of three [commented] translations. The source of the three readings is the following three possible distributions of the two quantifiers between the finite verb *ellenez* 'oppose' and the embedded verb *(meg)hív* 'invite' in the depth of the deverbal nominal construction. First, as is formulated in (10b): both quantifiers belong to the information structure of the finite verb. Second, both quantifiers belong to the information structure of the embedded verb (10c). Third, the possessor as a quantifier belongs to the finite verb (something is *opposed* in the case of both sisters), while the non-possessor as a quantifier belongs to the embedded verb (the event of someone's *invitation* to three concerts is referred to) (10d).

(10) a. ***Mindkét húgod   mindhárom koncertre   való***
      both   sister.POSS.2SG all_ three   concert.SUB   be.PART

      meg-hív-ás-á-t *ellenzem.*
      PERF-invite-ÁS-POSS.3SG-ACC oppose.DEFOBJ.1SG

   b. '*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.* [Nobody should be invited to nowhere.]'

   c. '*As for both of my sisters' invitation to all the three concerts, I am against that.* [That is too much, but I am not against inviting them to some concerts. It is also allowed to invite (at most) one of them to all the three concerts.]'

   d. '*In the case of both of my sisters, I am against the invitation of each of them to all the three concerts.* [Both of them are allowed to be invited to at most two concerts.]'

   e. '*In the case of all the three concerts, I am against the invitation of both of my sisters to each of them.* [Each concert can be participated in by at most one of my sisters.]'

The constituent trees in Figures 9 and 10 demonstrate the structures of (10b) and (10d). Their comparison enables the reader to grasp how the external/internal scopal affiliation of a syntactically noun-phrase-internal operator can be captured in our approach.
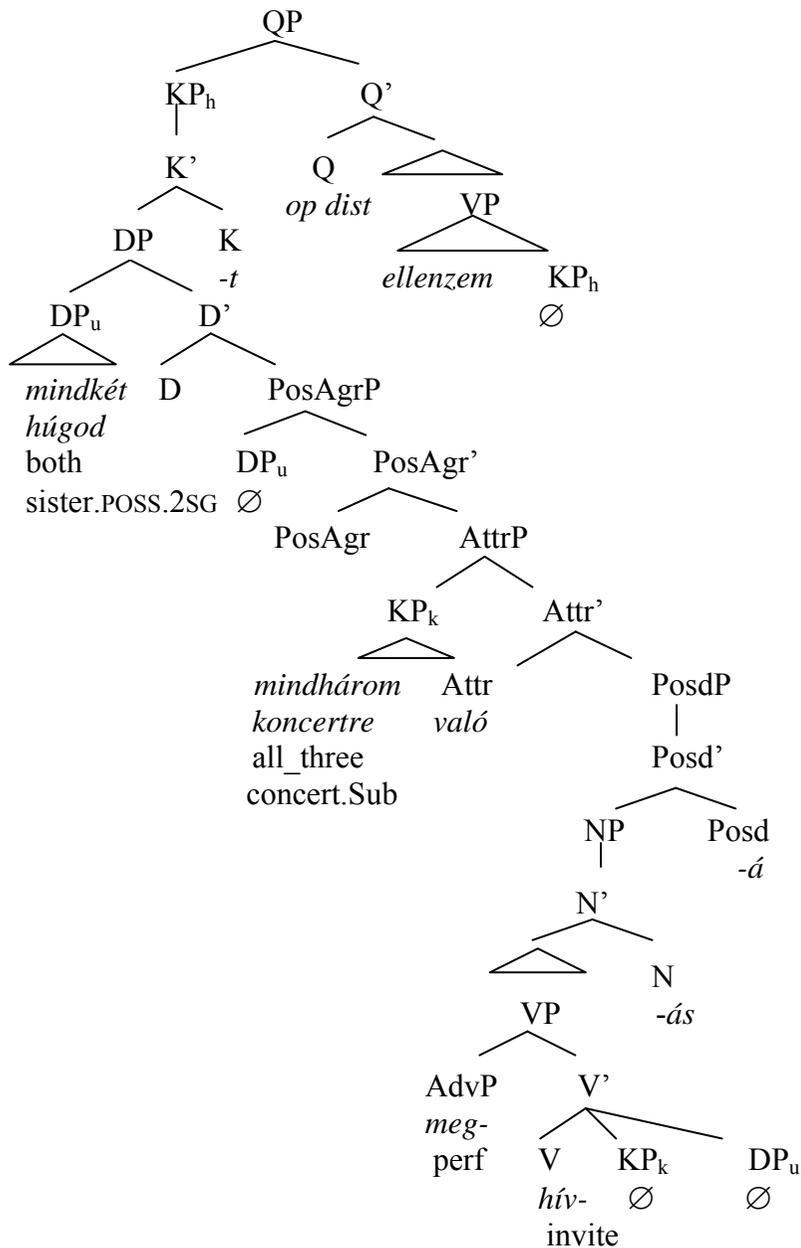
Figure 9: The syntactic structure of (10b), in which both quantifiers take external scope

The crucial difference is that in Figure 9 there are no noun-phrase-internal operator layers (i.e., there is neither a $Q_{PosAgr}P$ operator layer nor a $Q_{Attr}P$ one), since scopally both operators belong to the information structure of the matrix verb, which is captured by basing a quantifier layer for them upon the external VP, while in Figure 10 a $Q_{Attr}P$ operator layer is built in order to account for the noun-phrase-internal scope of the sublative case-marked argument. Note that in the syntactic structure of (10c), even a $Q_{PosAgr}P$ operator layer should be built (in addition to $Q_{Attr}P$), given that in this version both operators in question are internal scope takers.[10]

As for the fourth potential reading, according to which the possessor as a quantifier belongs to the information structure of the embedded verb while the non-possessor to that of the finite verb (10e), such a reading cannot be associated with the string of words presented in (10a). This suggests the following straightforward hypothesis as a generalization on arbitrary operators ω_1 and ω_2: if, within a deverbal nominal construction, ω_1 c-commands ω_2 (in the structure reflecting word order), it is excluded that the higher operator (ω_1) belongs to the embedded verb while the lower operator (ω_2) to the finite verb. That is, the scopal domain of the finite verb "from outside" cannot spread lower than the upper boundary of the scopal domain of the embedded verb. As is shown in (10b–d), however, (i) it is not prohibited for the finite verb to acquire as its operator several arguments of the embedded verb (10b), (ii) it is not prohibited for the embedded verb to retain all of its arguments in its own information structure (10c), and (iii) some hybrid distribution is not prohibited, either (10d).

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[10] The unmarked possessor should be raised into the DP-layer in all the three versions (and in all further cases in this paper, cf. Figures 3, 4, and 6) due to the principle of D-visibility, as is pointed out in footnote 9. It is postponed to future research to investigate whether this kind of Move may yield the violation of Grohmann's (2003) principle of Anti-Locality, together with the opposite question of how it is possible that in a structure like the one in Figure 9 two quantifiers are "checked" in the same ($\Omega\Delta$-internal) operator layer (NB: there is a consensus in the literature (e.g., Szabolcsi and Laczkó 1992; Bartos 2000) that the unmarked possessor cannot be extracted from its noun phrase, so there is no reason to assume that this happens in this case).
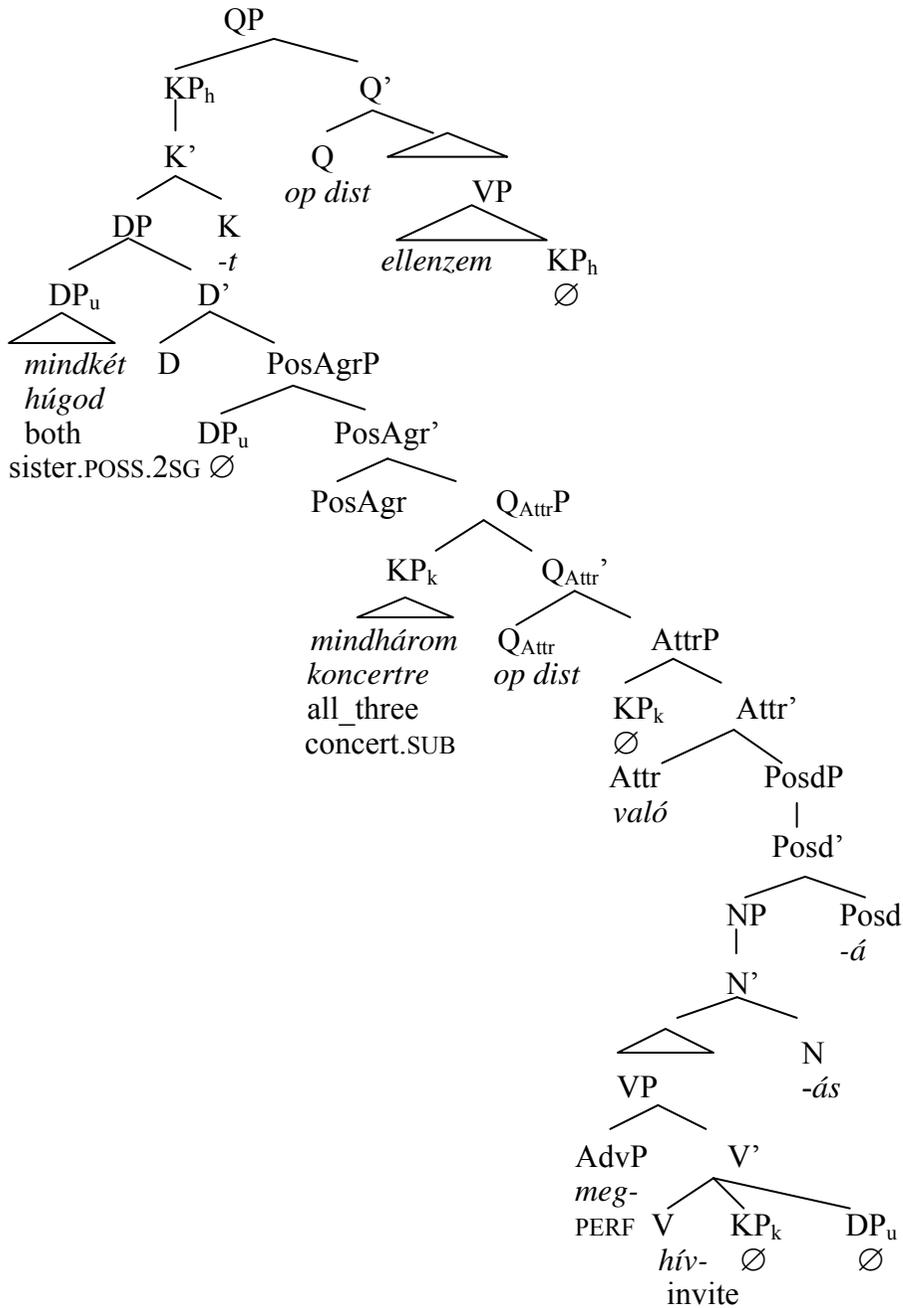
Figure 10: The syntactic structure of (10d): hybrid scope taking

5. Summary

From our point of departure, according to which four positions are open to oblique case-marked arguments in Hungarian DPs (of which none has been accounted for in the Hungarian generative literature in a formal way), we have been led to a "Hungarian Split-DP Hypothesis".

Giusti (1996: 126) argues that in Noun Phrases different operators are to be assumed, at least for some languages – for instance, Albanian, Bulgarian, Serbian, Italian –, to which such languages as Romanian (Giusti 2005), Croatian (Caruso 2011), Slovenian (Mišmaš 2014), Polish (Cetnarowska 2014), and Latin (Giusti and Iovino 2014) have also been proven to belong. It can unequivocally be claimed that Hungarian belongs to such languages, too.

"Considering," claims Giusti (1996: 126), "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 that also the FocP and the TopP are not necessarily present in Noun Phrases in all languages."[11] As we have shown in the series of examples in (9), the Hungarian noun phrase is not defective at all, but just on the contrary, due to its 2×2 operator zones, presented in Figure 8, which makes it possible that all scope orders can be realized in spite of the fact that the two prenominal possessor positions ((Spec,PosP) and (Spec,PosAgrP)) both precede attributives.

"These two functional projections represent the "fine" structure of the DP, in the sense that Rizzi (1997) proposes for CPs. And, as a matter of fact, they are situated either immediately below or immediately above it," adds Giusti (1996: 126). In Hungarian, both zones can be found, namely, the unit of $\omega_{NonPos}P*$ and $\omega_{Pos}P$ immediately above the DP-layer and the unit of $\omega_{PosAgr}P$ and $\omega_{Attr}P*$ immediately below the DP-layer, as is demonstrated in Figure 8. This richness is presumably exactly for the above-mentioned reason: as if Hungarian intended to make it possible for its speakers, at all costs, to be capable of explicitly expressing every possible scopal order of arguments of verbs, even if the given verbs are deeply embedded in complements of deverbal nominalizers. It is postponed to future research to reveal the exact rules that control the distribution of arguments of deverbal nominals between the information structure of the embedded input verb (within the noun phrase projected above the verbal derivational base) and the

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[11] Instead of topics, we usually investigate quantifiers, which can logically or model-theoretically be captured much more easily. The investigation of (potential) noun-phrase-internal topics in Hungarian is postponed to future research.

information structure of the finite verb of the given sentence (cf. example (10) and Figures 9 and 10).

Assuming the rich system of operator projections within the noun phrase structure "not only does not complicate the general approach, since they have been proposed for clauses, but also can explain a certain number of otherwise unexpected word orders," points out Giusti (1996: 127). As could be seen, this conclusion, together with all claims by Giusti on the ideal parallelism between DP structure and clause structure presented in the summary holds for Hungarian so precisely as if they have been claimed immediately about Hungarian. Nevertheless, it must be noted that the relevant Hungarian data underlying the similar conclusions are radically different from the data Giusti and her aforementioned followers take into consideration; which is a most felicitous fact from a methodological point of view, but is also a fact whose clarification and explanation is worth future research.

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POLOŽAJI ARGUMENATA U KOSIM PADEŽIMA U MAĐARSKIM IMENSKIM SKUPINAMA

U radu se pokazuje da argumenti u kosim padežima u mađarskom mogu zauzimati četiri položaja. Neki se položaji uopće ne spominju u literaturi, dok je o ostalima bilo vrlo malo riječi (zbog različitih razloga, od kojih neke ističemo u radu). Kako bismo formalno opisali te položaje i jezične podatke koji ih "legitimiraju", predlažemo novu strukturu imenske skupine u kojoj integriramo morfološki utemeljenu mađarsku gramatičku tradiciju i kartog-

rafsku hipotezu o razdvojenoj determinatorskoj skupini (Giusti 1996; Ihsane and Puskás 2001). Pokazujemo da taj sustav s četiri položaja za imenske skupine u kosom padežu te sustavom operatorskih razina koji se temelji na njima omogućuje govornicima mađarskoga da eksplicitno izraze sve moguće poretke glagolskih argumenata, čak i ako su uklopljeni duboko unutar dopuna glagolskih poimeničenja.

Ključne riječi: mađarska imenska skupina; generativna sintaksa; hipoteza o razdvojenoj determinatorskoj skupini; argumenti u kosom padežu; posvojna konstrukcija.