

Case in PPs

Introduction: This paper is concerned with the case properties of PPs in Czech and Russian. I propose that in addition to the standardly assumed locative and directional projection, PPs contain T_P (ense)-head, which bears the valued T-feature and unvalued ϕ -features and is responsible for the case assignment. Syntactically, case on the prepositional complement is a reflex of the Agree operation between the T-features and ϕ -features on the prepositional complement and the T_P -head and semantically, it is a reflex of the semantic features of the decomposed preposition.

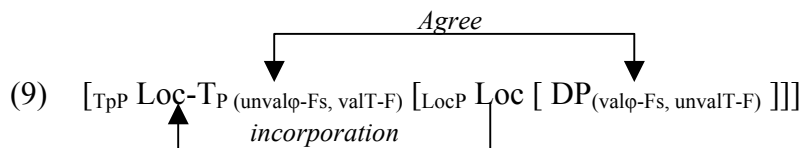
Data: Certain Ps assign only one case, see (1) for Czech and (2) for Russian. Other Ps can assign more cases; see (3) for the instrumental/accusative alternation in Czech and (4) for the locative/accusative alternation in Russian. The cases in (3) and (4) express the difference between the stative meaning (location) and the dynamic meaning (direction or path). Locative and instrumental express the locative meaning and accusative expresses the directional meaning, as evidenced by (in)compatibility of particular Ps with stative verbs. Only the instrumental Ps in (3a), and not the accusative ones in (3b), are compatible with the stative predicate *stál*. Both Russian (5) and Czech (6) also have complex Ps. They assign genitive, which shows that case is assigned by the leftmost (highest) preposition. Both languages have adverbial PPs, see the Czech examples in (7) and (8b-d). In (7), case is also determined by the higher P, i.e. by the directional *do*, *ku*, *na*, and not by the lower P *před*, which assigns accusative and instrumental. As shown in (7) and (8), the prepositional case can be spelled out on different categories: on a P (7), noun (8a), adjective (8b,c) and adverb (8d).

Analysis: Under the standard assumption that there is a mapping between syntax and semantics, PPs can be decomposed into Dir and Loc, which encode the directional and locative meaning. Thus, when P has the locative meaning, only Loc projects and the preposition assigns the locative case. When P has the directional meaning, Dir projects as well and the P assigns the directional case. This means that the case-assigning head should know whether or not the head Dir projects. Loc and Dir cannot be the case-assigning heads because Dir should assign case exactly when Loc does not assign case and Loc should assign case when Dir does not project. Given the derivational point of view, the problem with this dependency is that Loc does not know whether or not Dir will be merged in the derivation, hence it does not know whether or not it shall assign case. A related problem is that it is not clear why in certain cases Loc could assign case and in others could not. To avoid this complication, I propose that case is assigned by a higher head, which can see all the relevant information, i.e. by T_P with the valued T-feature and unvalued ϕ -features. I extend Pesetsky & Torrego's analysis (2004) and propose that all cases are unvalued T(ense)-feature on the head D. This analysis has the advantage that all cases are treated uniformly as Agree between T-features and ϕ -features of the probe and goal and that the T-feature on Ps can account for the relation between the prepositional case, the morphological aspect and the perfective structural accusative (not discussed here). As demonstrated in (1)-(4), the directional or locative case is not identical for all Ps. Thus, T_P must get the information which case it shall assign. This is ensured by incorporation of Loc (and Dir if it projects) into T_P (supporting incorporation data not shown here). Then, the whole process in a locative P looks like (9). As shown in (7) and (8b-d), the prepositional complement can be covert. Nevertheless, Agree between T_P and the complement happens and case is valued in accordance with its ϕ -features, i.e. case of the paradigm *hrad* 'castle' in (7) and of the paradigm *město* 'city' in (8b-d). The case ending is then spelled out in accordance with the syntactic structure, on the closest overt element. If there is no modifier in DP, it is spelled out on the closest P, as in *dopředu* in (10a). If a modifier is present in DP, e.g. an adjective, case is spelled out on the modifier, as in

(10b). Nothing changes on it, if the closest overt element is an adverbial modifier, as demonstrated for *ztama* in (10c).

For instance, let us look at the source P *z* ‘out’. Since all source Ps assign genitive in Czech, I propose that if Dir with the source-feature incorporates into T_P, T_P assigns genitive (values the unvalued T-feature on the prepositional complement as genitive). Such an analysis can be proposed for other types of Ps as well. Then, case is not determined by particular Ps but rather particular submeanings of Ps, i.e. by the heads with appropriate features incorporated into T_P. There are also directional Ps of the goal type and they mostly assign accusative in Czech. Hence, if Dir with the goal-feature incorporates into T_P, then T_P values the unvalued T-feature on the prepositional complement as accusative. There are also other goal Ps like *do*, which assigns genitive. *Do* differs from other goal Ps in the fact that the Figure argument ends in the Ground. Therefore, *do* also bears the contain-feature. Consequently, when Loc and Dir with the contain-feature and the goal-feature incorporate into T_P, T_P assigns genitive. Locative prepositions will be analyzed in the same way.

- (1) do: gen k: dat při: loc přes: acc z: gen
to toward at across out
- (2) do: gen k: dat pri: loc čerez: acc iz: gen
to toward at across out
- (3) a. Stál mezi / nad / pod / před / za aut-y
stood between above under in front of behind car-inst.n.pl
‘He stood between/above/under/in front of/behind cars.’
b. *Stál mezi / nad / pod / před / za aut-a
stood between above under in front of behind car-acc.n.pl
- (4) a. na / v / o stol-e b. na / v / o stol
on in about table-loc.m.sg on in about table.acc.m.sg
- (5) a. iz-pod b. iz-za
out-under out-behind
‘from under’ ‘from behind’
- (6) a. z-pod b. ze-za c. z-po-za d. z-po-nad
out-under out-behind out-along-behind out-along-above
‘from under’ ‘from behind’ ‘from behind’ ‘from above’
- (7) a. ku-před-u b. do-před-u c. na-před
toward-in.front.of-dat.sg to-in.front.of-gen.sg on-in.front.of.acc.sg
‘forward’ ‘forward’ ‘ahead’
- (8) a. do měst-a b. na-modr-o c. z-řídka d. z-tam-a
to city-gen.sg to-blue-acc.sg out-rare-gen.sg out-there-gen.sg
‘to the city’ ‘become blue’ ‘seldom’ ‘from there’



- (10) a. $\left[\text{TP}_{\text{P}} \text{T}_{\text{P}} \left[\text{DirP do} \left[\text{LocP před} \left[\text{DP -u} \right] \right] \right] \right]$ =(7b)
b. $\left[\text{TP}_{\text{P}} \text{T}_{\text{P}} \left[\text{DirP z} \left[\text{LocP z} \left[\text{DP [řídka] -a} \right] \right] \right] \right]$ =(8c)
c. $\left[\text{TP}_{\text{P}} \text{T}_{\text{P}} \left[\text{DirP z} \left[\text{LocP z} \left[\text{DP [tam] -a} \right] \right] \right] \right]$ =(8d)

References

Pesetsky, D. & E. Torrego (2004), Tense, Case, and the Nature of Syntactic Categories. In: J. Guéron and J. Lecarme (eds.), *The syntax of Time*. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 495-539.