

Structural government effects in Hungarian locative incorporation

1. Structural government A central tenet of TG has been that it strives to maximally exploit constituent structure in its account of syntactic phenomena. Accordingly, the central notion of government that TG developed (in distinction to lexical government) is formulated in terms of hierarchical constituent structure: roughly, A can govern B if B is not higher in the hierarchical structure than A, and B is sufficiently close to A in the structure (see Chomsky 1981, 1986).

2. Structural government in incorporation One empirical field where TG's structural notion of government gave rise to a rich array of empirical results is the area of incorporation, as analyzed by Baker (1988) and much subsequent work since. Baker sought to capture his generalization that incorporation into a syntactically atomic lexical element is available to lexical items which, when in their un-incorporated basic positions, are governed by the host of incorporation. This correctly excludes the incorporation of (or some element from) external argument dependents like agentive subjects into a verb, because external arguments are higher than the verb in basic constituent structure. It also correctly permits the incorporation of (or some element from) internal arguments like Theme/Patient objects, Theme/Patient subjects (of unaccusatives), as well as Goal/Beneficiary arguments and some other obliques, none of which are structurally higher than the verb in basic structure (Baker 1988 takes them to be complements, i.e., sisters to the verb). Adjuncts are also correctly precluded from incorporation, granting that their canonical position is higher than that of the verb and its complements. Baker's model is based on the assumption that incorporation is the result of a movement transformation: the incorporee is moved from its basic position to the verb. It is not incorporation per se but movement at large that is constrained by a government requirement: a moved element must govern its original position (Chomsky *ibid.*, Rizzi 1990).

3. Hungarian locative 'incorporation' (HLI) I show that despite the empirical differences found from the data discussed by Baker (1988), the apparent 'incorporation' of locative elements in Hungarian essentially corroborates his structural government based approach.

3.1 Structural government based asymmetries HLI to the verb creates a complex semantic predicate together with the verb, but involves phrasal elements rather than single lexical items (É. Kiss 1994, 2002, Koopman and Szabolcsi 2000). I argue that HLI exhibits a range of asymmetries accountable for in the manner of Baker's (1988) structural government based approach. It is shown that HLI is available to elements in (1b), while it is unavailable to those in (1a).

- (1) a. outer stative locatives, source locatives, and orientation of trajectory locatives
b. goal locatives, route directional locatives, and inner stative locatives

Based on empirical asymmetries in word order, anaphor licensing, variable binding by quantificational expressions and other phenomena, modifiers of the verb like those in (1) are assumed in TG to be in different basic positions within a hierarchically structured predicate phrase. Overall, elements in (1b) are known to be positioned relatively high within the predicate phrase, while the basic position of those in (1a) is in its lower region (my survey is based a.o. on Nilsen 2000, Cinque 2006 Ch. 6, Schweikert 2005; Hoekstra 1984, Nilsen 2000, Tungseth 2003, Maienborn 2003; Schweikert 2005, Nam 2005; Hinterhölzl 2002, Cinque 2006 Ch. 6, Baltin 2007; Nam 2005; Ramchand 2008). Following Baker's line, I then suggest that HLI to the verb takes place at a position that is higher than the base position of all the elements in (1b) (=low predicate phase internal locatives), and lower than the base position of the elements in (1a) (=high predicate phase internal locatives), as represented schematically below:

- (2) ... [... high locatives ... [___ V [low locatives ...]]]

That HLI takes place in a predicate phrase medial position is corroborated by some better known asymmetries in the availability of further elements for incorporation: those in (3b) can, while those in (3a) cannot incorporate. Again, elements in (3b) are known to be located in the lower region of the predicate phrase, while those in (3a) are higher.

- (3) a. Resultative and some other ('low') secondary predicates, Theme bare (articleless) NPs, Oblique internal argument bare NPs
b. Agent bare NPs, Experiencer bare NPs, Duratives, Completive Temporals

