

Comitative adjuncts: appositives and non-appositives¹

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1. Introduction

Expressions involving a comitative adverbial and a plural pronoun as its host DP are ambiguous in Hungarian. In the exclusive reading the comitative is added to the reference of the pronoun, thus in total at least three persons are referred to.² In the inclusive reading, on the other hand, the referent of the comitative is not added to the referent of the pronoun, but included in it. Under this reading *we with John*, for instance, refers to two persons: John and me.³

- (1) (Mi) *Jánossal kísértünk* *a tóhoz*.⁴
we.NOM John-COM PREV-walk-PAST-1PL the lake-ALLAT
‘We walked to the lake with John.’ (exclusive reading)
‘I walked to the lake with John.’ (inclusive reading)

In the inclusive reading the most prominent member of the group denoted by the pronoun, whose person feature is the same as that of the pronoun, is termed focal referent. The focal referent in (1) is *I*. The group denoted by the plural pronoun comprises the focal referent and the referent of the comitative phrase (and nobody else), therefore the comitative is also known as completer phrase (Vassilieva 2005).

The aim of this paper is to investigate whether the exclusive and inclusive readings in Hungarian display a structural difference (cf. Skrabalova 2003 for Czech and Vassilieva 2005 for Russian) or whether non-structural phenomena contribute to their different interpretations (cf. Ionin and Matushansky 2003 on Russian). The chapter proceeds as follows. In section 2 I point out certain syntactic differences between the two readings. Section 3 demonstrates that the Hungarian data pose a serious challenge to some previous claims regarding the inclusive

interpretation. In section 4.1 I present my analysis of the exclusive and inclusive readings and argue that the comitative adverbial is an adjunct in both cases. The difference between the two constructions is that in the inclusive reading the comitative is an appositive, referentially nondistinct from the noun phrase to which it is adjoined. In 4.2 I show how the observed syntactic differences fall out from the proposed analysis. Section 5 concludes the paper.

2. Distributional differences between the two readings

I have identified six cases in which the exclusive and inclusive readings display different behaviour in Hungarian. The first three tests have been adapted from Dylá and Feldman (2003).

Firstly, wh-extraction of the plural pronoun is infelicitous under the inclusive reading.

- (2) *Kik irták Jánossal a cikket?*
 who-PL.NOM wrote-PAST-3PL John-COM the article-ACC
 ‘Which persons wrote the article with John?’
 *‘Which person wrote the article with John?’

Wh-extraction of the comitative, on the other hand, is compatible with both the exclusive and the inclusive interpretation.

- (3) *Kivel írtátok a cikket?*
 who-COM write-2PL the article-ACC?
 ‘Who is the person that you (SG/PL) write the article with?’

If (3) is uttered out of the blue, speakers definitely prefer a reading in which at least three people are involved in the writing event. Given the context given below, however, the sentence can receive an inclusive reading without a doubt.

- (4) - Are you working on that article you’ve mentioned?
 - No, not yet. The director told me that I should find a colleague to work with and we should write the article together.
 - And who is the person that you(plural) write the article with?(=3)

Secondly, the pronoun and the completer phrase can be focussed together only under the inclusive interpretation. (Focussing either of them on its own is well-formed under both readings.)

- (5) [FOC *CSAK MI JÁNOSSAL*] *mentünk el Norvégiába.*
 only we.NOM John-COM go-PAST-1PL preV Norway-ILL
 ‘It is only I/*us with John that went to Norway.’
- (6) [FOC *CSAK JÁNOSSAL*] *néztük meg a filmet.*
 only John-COM watch-PAST-1PL perf the film-ACC
 ‘It is only John with whom I/we watched the film.’
- (7) [FOC *CSAK MI*] *néztük meg a filmet Jánossal.*
 only we.NOM watch-PAST-1PL perf the film-ACC John-COM
 ‘It is only me/us that watched the film with John.’

Thirdly, if a non-identifying relative clause intervenes between the plural pronoun and the comitative then the sentence cannot receive an inclusive reading, only an exclusive interpretation is acceptable.

- (8) *Mi, akik még sohasem voltunk külföldön, Jánossal*
 we.NOM who-PL yet never be.PAST-1PL abroad John-COM
holnap Norvégiába utazunk.
 tomorrow Norway-ILL travel-1PL
 ‘We have never been abroad, and we are traveling to Norway with John tomorrow.’
 *‘John and I have never been abroad, and we are traveling to Norway tomorrow.’

Fourthly, if the comitative is a non-referential element, as in (9), then the sentence has only an exclusive reading.

- (9) *Ti bármelyik kollegával jó csapatot alkottok.*
 you(PL).NOM any colleague-COM good team comprise-2PL
 ‘You(PL) make a good team with any of the colleagues.’
 *‘You(SG) make a good team with any of the colleagues.’

Fifthly, the exclusive reading can be paraphrased in more ways than its inclusive counterpart. Paraphrasing *with X* as *together with X* is OK in both

interpretations. With the paraphrases *in the company of X* and *with the help of X*, however, only the exclusive reading is accessible.

- (10) a *Jánossal sütöttünk egy kenyeret.*
 John-COM bake-past-1PL a bread-ACC
 ‘I baked a loaf of bread with John.’
 ‘We baked a loaf of bread with John.’
- b *Jánossal együtt sütöttünk egy kenyeret.*
 John-COM together bake-PAST-1PL a bread-ACC
 ‘I baked a loaf of bread (together) with John.’
 ‘We baked a loaf of bread (together) with John.’
- c *János társaságában sütöttünk egy kenyeret.*
 John.NOM company-POSS.3SG-INESS bake-PAST-1PL a bread-ACC
 *‘I baked a loaf of bread in the company of John.’
 ‘We baked a loaf of bread in the company of John.’
- d *János segítségével sütöttünk egy kenyeret.*
 John.NOM help-POSS.3SG-COM bake-PAST-1PL a bread-ACC
 *‘I baked a loaf of bread with (the help of) John.’
 ‘We baked a loaf of bread with (the help of) John.’

Finally, companions in Hungarian can bear either the Comitative-instrumental (*-val/vel*) or the Sociative case (*-stul/stül*). The Comitative-instrumental case is compatible with both readings (cf. example 1). The referent of a companion bearing the Sociative case, on the other hand, is always interpreted as being added to the referent of the pronoun.⁵

- (11) *Ti* [FOC *GYERKESTÜL*] *érkeztetek.*
 you(PL).NOM child-SOC arrive-PAST.2PL
 ‘You(PL/*SG) arrived with your(PL/*SG) child.’

I summarize the observed differences between the two readings below.

Table 1. Syntactic properties of the exclusive and the inclusive reading

| | exclusive | inclusive |
|--|-----------|-----------|
| the host DP can undergo wh-extraction | ✓ | × |
| the host DP and the comitative can be focused together | × | ✓ |
| a non-identifying relative clause can intervene | ✓ | × |
| the comitative can be non-referential | ✓ | × |
| paraphrase <i>with X</i> as <i>together with X</i> | ✓ | ✓ |
| <i>in the company of X</i> | ✓ | × |
| <i>with the help of X</i> | ✓ | × |
| the companion can bear the Sociative case | ✓ | × |

3. Hungarian data contra previous proposals

Hungarian data specifically argue against two analyses that have been proposed in the literature.

3.1 The inclusive reading does not involve coordination

Dyła (1988) and Dyła and Feldman (2003) analyse the inclusive reading in Polish as conjunctionless coordination, with *z* being a clitic or a preposition.

- (12) *My z Mirkiem* (Dyła and Feldman 2003, p. 1)
 we with Mirek-INSTR
 ‘we with Mirek/Mirek and I’

Such an analysis does not work for Hungarian, though. Regardless of whether *-val/vel* is treated as the conjunction head itself or a case suffix on the second conjunct, it is unclear why such a coordination is ungrammatical when the first conjunct is a singular pronoun.

- (13) a *Ti Jánossal elutaztok.*
 you(PL).NOM John-COM PREV-travel-2PL
 ‘You(PL/SG) set off on a journey with John.’
- b **Te Jánossal elutaztok.*
 you(SG).NOM John-COM PREV-travel-2PL
 ‘You(SG) set off on a journey with John.’

The grammatical version of (13 b) has the second person singular verb form *elutazol*. This, in fact, is exactly the opposite of the agreement pattern found in real conjunctions:

- (14) a *Te és János elutaztok.*
 you(SG).NOM and John.NOM PREV-travel-2PL
 ‘You(SG) set off on a journey with John.’
- b **Te és János elutazol.*
 you(SG).NOM and John.NOM PREV-travel-2SG
 ‘You(SG) set off on a journey with John.’

3.2 Focussing and information structure

It has been observed in several languages, including Chilean Spanish, Czech, Polish and Russian, that wh-extraction of the comitative out of plural pronoun + comitative units triggers an exclusive reading. Ionin and Matushansky (2003) account for this general tendency in terms of information-structure. The landing site of wh-movement in Russian is FocP. I&M assume that pronouns are ‘old information’, and since the comitative is interpreted as part of the pronoun, wh-extraction of the completer phrase would result in a “conflict of information structure” (p. 8.).

Nevertheless, as pointed out by Vassilieva (2005), wh-extraction of the comitative in the inclusive reading is allowed in Russian and Toqabaqita⁶ if the referent of the comitative has already been introduced into the universe of discourse (it is “contextually salient”, p. 100).⁷ Vassilieva proposes that in such sentences the comitative does not have a focus feature; movement targets the CP projection to check the wh-feature.

Suppose that I&M's account of extraction facts is on the right track, and it is conflict in information structure that makes wh-extraction of the comitative impossible. The theory then makes the following prediction. If besides wh-movement a language has some other movement types, too, which target [spec, FocP], then those movements should not be able to extract the completer phrase alone. Contrastive focussing in Hungarian involves precisely such a movement. The prediction, then, is that the comitative cannot be focussed without focussing the pronoun, too. (In this case Vassilieva's suggestion is inapplicable, since the comitative unquestionably bears a [+focus] feature, and there is no wh-feature to check anyway.) This prediction is contrary to fact, as in Hungarian the pronoun and the comitative can undergo movement to structural focus position either together or individually. I repeat the relevant example from §2 for the reader's convenience.

- (6) [FOC CSAK JÁNOS SAL] néztük meg a filmet.⁸
 only John-COM watch-PAST-1PL perf the film-ACC
 'It is only John with whom I/we watched the film.'

The fact that (6) can receive an inclusive reading suggests that 'conflict in information structure' must be avoided in some languages but not in others, or, more plausibly, that some other explanation must be found to account for the ungrammaticality of the Russian (Chilean Spanish, Czech, Polish, etc.) counterpart of (6).

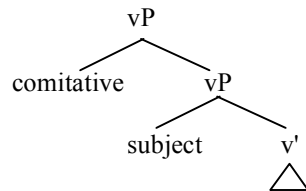
4. The syntax of the exclusive and the inclusive readings

4.1 Structure for the two readings in Hungarian

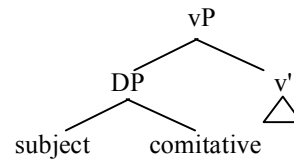
4.1.1 The exclusive reading

Given that in the exclusive reading the comitative is optional and does not influence number agreement on the verb, there is a general consensus among researchers that it is merged as an adjunct. The adjunction site, however, is a controversial issue. Ionin and Matushansky (2003) argue that the comitative forms a constituent with the associate DP, Skrabalova (2003) and Vassilieva and Larson (2005) favour a VP-adjunct analysis. The two structures are shown in (15), with the subject as the host DP.

(15) a) vP-adjunction



b) DP-adjunction



Note that both theories predict the grammaticality of sentences in which the comitative forms a constituent with the vP, as in the English examples below.

- (16) a) *John went to the cinema with Mary, and Peter did, too.*
 b) *John wanted to go to the cinema with Mary, and go to the cinema with Mary, he did.*

The DP-adjunction approach would assign a derivation to (16) in which the host DP is extracted to the canonical subject position but the comitative is stranded. In this case the vP contains the comitative, the verb, the direct and indirect objects (if there are any) and the low adverbs (if there are any). If next the vP undergoes some syntactic operation such as preposing or deletion, then the comitative is affected together with the verbal projection.

The point where the two analyses give different predictions, and therefore the crucial factor is whether the comitative and the DP can also be shown to form a constituent. Applying the binding test to the exclusive reading, we find that the comitative co-binds anaphors.

- (17) a) Mi_i $Jánossal_k$ $összetörtük$ $magunkat$ $*_{i/i+k}$.
 we.NOM John-COM PREV-break-PAST-1PL self-1PL-ACC
 ‘We had an accident (together with) with John.’
 (Also: ‘I had an accident together with John.’)

- b) $*Mi_i$ $Jánossal_k$ $összetörtük$ $magát_k$.
 we.NOM John-COM PREV-break-PAST-1PL self-3SG-ACC
 ‘We had an accident (together with) with John.’

I take these data to point to the conclusion that the pronoun and the comitative form a constituent, and thus to corroborate the DP-adjunction analysis.

4.1.2 *The inclusive reading*

As for the inclusive reading, everybody agrees that the pronoun and the completer phrase do form a constituent. It is, however, subject to much discussion if the comitative is merged as an adjunct (Schwartz 1988, Aissen 1989, Skrabalova 2003, Ionin and Matushansky 2003), as a complement (Feldmann 2002, Vassilieva and Larson 2005) or as a conjunct (Vassilieva 2005).

In my proposal I wish to build on the suggestion of Vassilieva and Larson (2005) that plural pronouns include an element whose content is unspecified in the lexicon (a variable). V&L make the following claim about plural pronouns:

In explaining the relation between *I* and *we*, and between *you* (singular) and *you* (plural), it is commonplace to put things like this: “*We* refers to the speaker plus some other individuals” or “*You* can refer to the addressee plus someone else.” In other words, we describe the reference of the plural pronoun as if it were derived from the reference of the corresponding singular pronoun by the addition of individuals Δ ... By extension, we might describe the third person plural, at least in certain instances, in terms of the reference of the third singular plus others (p. 115).

The reference of plural pronouns according to V&L is shown below.

(18) a $we = I + \Delta$

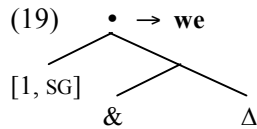
b $you\ (pl) = you\ (sg) + \Delta$

c $they = he/she/it + \Delta$

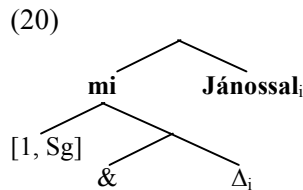
In contrast to V&L’s analysis, however, I want to claim that pronouns do have an internal structure. My assumption is that the completer phrase is semantically part of the pronoun because it is in some sense part of the

pronoun syntactically, too. The crucial difference between the exclusive and the inclusive reading, then, is that in the inclusive reading the comitative binds the variable Δ internal to the pronoun.

The proposed structure for 1st person plural pronouns is shown in (19). What spells out as *we* is not a single terminal.⁹ It is a constituent, a conjunction of *pro* and Δ . Δ is unspecified for person and number. *We* is plural because the person features of *pro* and Δ add up just like in the case of ordinary conjunction, and it is 1st person due to a rule that makes reference to the person hierarchy 1st person > 2nd person > 3rd person and requires that in the unmarked case the higher-ranked feature determine the feature of the complex expression.



This is *we* in general, but what happens the inclusive reading? Δ is inside *we*, as in (19). The comitative gives additional information on *we*: it specifies who else is included in the group besides the focal referent. For that reason, I submit that it is an appositive modifier¹⁰ of *we* and is coindexed with Δ . The completer phrase and Δ thus have the same referent. Pending a detailed theory of apposition, I will tentatively assume that the appositive modifier is an adjunct that is referentially non-distinct from the category to which it is adjoined.



Mi (we) cannot mean $I_1 + I_2$, it is always $I + \text{others}$. Second and third person plural pronouns, however, are different. The preferred meaning of *ti* (you.PL) is $\text{you} + \text{others}$, but $\text{you}_1 + \text{you}_2$ is also possible; and *ők* (they) is typically $\text{he}_1 + \text{he}_2$, though $\text{he} + \text{others}$ is not unthinkable either (Bartos 1999). This means that plural pronouns in all persons can be derived from the corresponding singular pronoun by adding Δ . This interpretation is a

must for first person, possible for second person and still possible but less likely for third person plural pronouns.

In light of this, it is interesting to note that some languages allow the inclusive reading only in first or first and second persons. Moravcsik (2003) gives the following cross-linguistic generalisation about the availability of the focal referent: for every given language, if a person on the scale 1st person > 2nd person > 3rd person can function as the focal referent of the inclusive interpretation, then so can any other person to its left on the scale. I suggest that the greatest salience of Δ in 1st person plural pronouns and the preference for the inclusive reading with 1st person pronouns is not a mere coincidence: the more salient the variable is, the more sensible it is to specify its reference.

4.2 The facts explained

The analysis outlined above can account for the differences between the exclusive and the inclusive reading in the following way.

I have argued that in the inclusive reading the relationship between the pronoun and the comitative is that of appositive modification. In appositive structures wh-extraction of the host DP leads to ungrammaticality (21).

- (21) **Ki írta a barátom a cikket?*
 who.NOM write-PAST-3SG the friend-POSS.1SG the article-ACC
 ‘Who is the person that is my friend and wrote the article?’

It is this restriction that disallows the inclusive interpretation of (2), which in turn can only be interpreted as referring to at least 3 persons. That is, crucially for us, the restriction on the inclusive reading can be independently motivated. We might also speculate on what it can be derived from. The problem seems to be semantic: *ki* (‘who’) is a referentially open subject, whereas *a barátom* (my friend) is a referentially fixed subject, which is clearly a contradiction. (Notice that the sentence is also ungrammatical if both *ki* and its appositive modifier are preposed: **Ki a barátom írta a cikket?*)

In addition, pragmatic considerations may also contribute to the illformedness of (2). In (2) the person feature on the verb tells us that one of the persons involved in the event is ‘he/she’. It would be perfectly reasonable to ask who the other person is. In an inclusive reading of (2),

however, then there would be no referent to identify: the completer phrase is already given and the focal referent (3.SG) can be inferred from the inflection on the verb.

The focussing facts also fall out from the analysis without further assumptions. Consider the following generalisations. Among postnominal modifiers, only appositives can be focussed together with the noun they modify, non-appositives cannot. In the latter case a paraphrase involving a prenominal modifier is necessary.

- (22) [*CSAK JÁNOS, A BARÁTOM*] *utazott el.*
 only John.NOM the friend-POSS.1SG travel-PAST.3SG PREV
 ‘It is only my friend John that set out on a journey.’

- (23) a * [*CSAK A KÖNYV A POLCON*] *lett poros.*
 only the book.NOM the shelf-SUP become-PAST.3SG dusty
 ‘It is only the book on the shelf that is covered in dust.’

- b [*CSAK A POLCON LEVŐ KÖNYV*] *lett poros.*
 only the shelf-SUP being book.NOM become-PAST.3SG dusty
 ‘It is only the book on the shelf that is covered in dust.’

If the comitative of the exclusive reading is a postnominal adjunct and the completer phrase of the inclusive reading is an appositive modifier indeed, then their behaviour with respect to focussing is exactly as expected: a focalised pronoun + comitative unit always triggers the inclusive reading.

It is an interesting question – beyond the scope of the present paper – why an appositive adjunct is exempt from the requirement of extraposition in focus position. My tentative generalization is that referential nondistinctness is at play here; an adjunct that is referentially nondistinct from its host is invisible as an intervener.

As for the (im)possibility for non-identifying relative clauses to appear between the pronoun and the comitative, I assume that unless some independent principle prevents it, such intervention is possible. The generalisation that rules out the inclusive interpretation of (8) is the following: if two appositives modify the same head, then the one introduced by a relative pronoun has to follow the other.

- (24) a *János, a barátom, aki még sose volt*
 John.NOM the friend-POSS.1SG who.NOM yet never be.PAST.3SG
külföldön, nyert egy görögországi nyaralást.
 abroad-SUP win-PAST.3SG a greek holiday-ACC
 ‘John, my friend, who has never been abroad, won a holiday to
 Greece.’
- b **János, aki még sose volt külföldön, a*
 John.NOM who.NOM yet never be.PAST.3SG abroad-SUP the
barátom, nyert egy görögországi nyaralást.
 friend-POSS.1SG win-PAST.3SG a Greek holiday
 ‘John, my friend, who has never been abroad, won a holiday to
 Greece.’

This rule directly follows from the Law of Growing Constituents proposed by Behagel (1932): sub-components of a constituent following the head line up according to phonological weight; shorter components come closer to the head than longer ones. (For the effect of Behagel’s law on vP linearisation, see É. Kiss, chapter 2, this volume.)

That the completer phrase of the inclusive reading cannot be a non-referential element is also predicted by my analysis, for the binding of Δ is an operation based on reference, and so cannot be performed by non-referential expressions.

My account of the restriction concerning the limited paraphrasing possibilities of the inclusive reading proceeds from the fact that the denotation of the completer phrase is interpreted as part of the denotation of the pronoun. In an inclusive reading of (10 c and d) *John’s company* and *John’s help* should be part of the denotation of *we*, which contradicts the presupposition that a pronoun denotes a set all members of which are [+human], or at least [+animate]. The unavailability of the inclusive reading in these sentences thus can be attributed to pragmatic considerations. In (10 b), on the other hand, no such problem arises. *Together with John* means roughly the same as *with John*, thus the sentence can happily receive the inclusive reading.

Last but not least, the incompatibility of the inclusive interpretation and the Sociative case derives from a morphological property of *-stul/stül*, namely that it combines only with bare nouns (25). Bare nouns are non-referential, and as such they cannot serve as the completer phrase in the inclusive reading (cf. §2).

- (25) (**A/egy*) *gyerekestül ment nyaralni.*
 the/a child-SOC go-PAST.3SG have.holiday-INF
 ‘He went on holiday with his child.’

5. Summary

In this paper I have argued that the exclusive and the inclusive readings of a comitative with a plural pronoun host display no structural difference. That in certain cases such an expression is unambiguous is the effect of independently existing syntactic principles as well as the interaction between the syntactic and the interface components of the grammar.

The inclusive interpretation of companions bearing the Sociative case is ruled out syntactically, via the subcategorisational frame of the suffix. The interpretation possibilities of stacked appositives are determined at the PF interface. When the pronoun is targeted by *wh*-extraction, when the comitative is a bare noun or when it is paraphrased as *with the help of X* or *in the company of X*, the inclusive reading is ruled out at the CI interface. It has to be acknowledged that the difference in the focussing possibilities of appositive and non-appositive adjuncts is not properly understood yet, but I suspect that referential (non)distinctness is the key factor here, and so semantics disambiguates in this case, too.

These results implicate that the division of labour between syntax and the interfaces plays a far more important role in the interpretation of comitative adjuncts than it has been assumed so far.

Notes

1. I wish to thank Katalin É. Kiss for our discussions and her useful advice on the issues dealt with here.

I also wish to thank Gillian Ramchand, Huba Bartos and Masha Vassilieva for their valuable comments on an earlier version of this paper. The article has also benefitted from the help of my colleagues at UIT/CASTL, who shared with me their knowledge about comitatives in their native languages. I take responsibility for all wrong ideas and remaining errors.

The glosses contain the following abbreviations: ALLAT – Allative case, COM – Comitative-Instrumental case, ILL – illative case, INF – Infinitive, INSTR – Instrumental case, SOC – Sociative case, SUBL – Sublative case.

2. (Feldman 2002) terms this reading non-inclusive plural pronoun construction.
3. Other labels of the inclusive reading include Plural Pronoun Construction (Schwartz 1988), inclusory coordination (Haspelmath 2000), inclusive plural pronoun construction (Feldman 2002), inclusory pronominal (Lichtenberk 2002) and inclusory construction (Moravcsik 2003).
4. The Comitative-instrumental case suffix is *-val/vel*. The choice of the vowel is determined by vowel harmony; *v* assimilates to the preceding consonant.
5. Rákosi (2006) uses the paraphrase-test and the *-stul/stül* test to distinguish between comitative arguments (*John fell out* with Mary) and comitative adjuncts (*John went to the beach* with Mary). He convincingly shows that in contrast to comitative adjuncts, comitative arguments resist paraphrasing and do not take the Sociative case. He does not apply the test, however, to the exclusive/inclusive readings under consideration here.
6. Toqabaqita is an Austronesian language spoken on the Solomon Islands.
7. Recall from (3) that wh-extraction of the comitative is possible in Hungarian, too, but likewise needs a context in which the referent of the comitative is contextually salient.
8. In Hungarian a focussed pronoun must be spelt out; it can be represented by a silent *pro* only postverbally or in topic position. Hence the structure of (6) is, in fact, either i) or ii)
 - i) *pro* [FOC CSAK JÁNOSSAL] *néztük* *meg a filmet.*
 only John-COM watch-PAST-1PL PERF the film-ACC
 ‘It is only John with whom I/we watched the film.’
 - ii) [FOC CSAK JÁNOSSAL] *néztük* *meg pro a filmet.*
 only John-COM watch-PAST-1PL PERF the film-ACC
 ‘It is only John with whom I/we watched the film.’
9. Although the assignment of vocabulary items to non-terminal nodes is not part of the mainstream Minimalist toolbox, it is one of the core ideas of Starke (2006) and Ramchand (2008), for instance.
10. An appositive treatment of the completer phrase has been independently developed in Ladusaw (1989).

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