Ruhástul vagy ruhátlanul — az a kérdés

The morphosyntax of sociative *-stul/stül* and dissociative *-talanul/telenül*

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Introduction

- most languages have comitative/instrumental and caritive case affixes or pre/postpositions used to express the meanings of 'with' and 'without'

- their syntactic projections can serve as modifiers of verbal or nominal phrases

    (1) a. he walks with(out) a cane
         b. a house with(out) a garden

- they can also build (dis)sociative secondary predications with a PRO-subject controlled by a matrix argument

    (2) he swims with(out) clothes on

Introduction

- our focus: Hungarian sociative *-stul/stül* and dissociative *-talanul/telenül*

(3) a. ruhá**stul** ugrott a medencébe
clothes.SOC jumped the pool.SOC
'(s)he jumped into the pool clothes and all'

b. ruhá**stul** belökte Pált a medencébe
clothes.SOC pushed Pál.ACC the pool.ILL
'(s)he pushed Pál into the pool fully clothed'

(4) a. ruhá**tlanul** ugrott a medencébe
clothes.DISSOC jumped the pool.ILL
'(s)he jumped into the pool clothesless'

b. ruhá**tlanul** ábrázolta a modellt
clothes.DISSOC portrayed the model.ACC
'(s)he portrayed the model clothesless'

Introduction

- Fekete (2013, 97): the sociative is limited to situations 'in which two entities are metaphorically tied or "glued" together'; this 'conceptual information of unity tied to the sociative' (p. 99) distinguishes it in Hungarian from comitative -*val/vel* (*együtt*) '(together) with'

- sociative -*stul* is less frequent than the comitative: it predominantly occurs in set expressions (e.g. *szőröstül bőröstül* 'with hair and skin')

- but sociative -*stul* is productive in Hungarian, like dissociative -*talanul*

Introduction

- we present a morphosyntactic analysis of *-stul* and *-talanul* that utilizes the morphemes in (5)

  (5) a.   *-s*   ADJECTIVALISER   *ruhás* 'clothed'

b.   *-(t)t*   LOCATIVE   *itt/ott* 'here/there', *Pécsett* 'in Pécs'

c.   *-u/ü*   ESSIVE   *magyarul* 'in Hungarian'

d.   *-l*   ABLATIVE   'from' in e.g. *-ból/ből, -ról/ről, -tól/től*

e.   *-n*   NEGATIVE   *ne(m)* 'not'

- these morphemes are the heads of phrases in the syntax

- the structures projected by *-stul* and *-talanul* are depictive secondary predications, with a PRO-subject controlled by a matrix argument

  (6)   [$_{RP}$ PRO [$_{R'}$ RELATOR=U+-l [$_{XP}$ X=-t [$_{YP}$ Y=-s [$_{NP}$ N=*ruha*]]]]]

  (7)   [$_{RP}$ PRO [$_{R'}$ RELATOR=U+-l [$_{NegP}$ Neg=n [$_{ZP}$ Z=-l [$_{XP}$ X=-t [$_{NP}$ N=*ruha*]]]]]]

The underlying structure of sociative -*stul/stül*

- our proposal re. -*stul* follows and translates structurally the diachronic reconstruction of -*stul* in Budenz (1884) and Beke (1910)

(8)   [$_{RP}$ PRO [$_{R'}$ RELATOR=U+-*l* [$_{XP}$ X=-*t* [$_{YP}$ Y=-*s* [$_{NP}$ N=*ruha*]]]]]

- the head 'Y' is exponed by the -*s* that turns a noun into the corresponding adjective (or nomen possessoris)

(9)   a.   *ruha*   'clothes'   ⇒   *ruhá-s*   'clothed'
       b.   *szőr*   'fur, hair'   *szőr-ös*   'furry, hairy'
       c.   *vaj*   'butter'   *vaj-as*   'buttery'

- 'Y' is the adjectival categoriser *a*

(10)   [$_{aP}$ a=-*s* [$_{NP}$ N=*ruha*]]

The underlying structure of sociative -*stul/stül*

$[_{RP} \text{PRO} [_{R'} \text{RELATOR}=U+\text{-}l [_{XP} X=\text{-}t [_{aP} a=\text{-}s [_{NP} N=ruha]]]]]$

- 'X' is the locative -*t* found in *itt/ott* 'here/there', *mell-ett* 'next to', *minden-ütt* 'everywhere', *Pécs-ett* 'in Pécs (cf. also *egy-ütt* 'together')

- -*t* is a semantically bland spatial P marking central coincidence (Hale, 1986), best rendered in English as *at*, which also has non-spatial uses (*at noon, at ease, at last, at once*)

- 'X' is P_{LOC}

  (11) $[_{PP} P=\text{-}t [_{aP} a=\text{-}s [_{NP} N=ruha]]]$

The underlying structure of sociative -*stul/stül*

[$_{RP}$ PRO [$_{R'}$ RELATOR=*U*+-*l* [$_{PP}$ P=-*t* [$_{aP}$ a=-*s* [$_{NP}$ N=*ruha*]]]]]

- the function of locative -*t* is to help express that the combination of N and -*s* denotes a state that an argument in the sentence is in: the argument is 'in' the state of being clothed

- since 'being clothed' itself already denotes a state, locative -*t* is not semantically indispensable

- indeed, it is dispensed with in Transylvanian dialects: Beke (1910) reports *tősül* for *tövestül* 'by the roots, roots and all'

The underlying structure of sociative -*stul/stül*

[RP PRO [R′ RELATOR=*U*+-*l* [PP P=-*t* [aP a=-*s* [NP N=*ruha*]]]]]

- the combination of N+*s*+*t* forms the predicate of a depictive small clause whose PRO-subject is controlled by an argument of the containing clause

- small clauses are asymmetrical subject–predicate structures projected by a functional head (the relator) which establishes the predication relation between the two terms

- in *(s)he works as a secretary* or *they employ him/her as a secretary*, the *as* is an essive particle — a 'non-verbal copula' ('essive' < Latin esse 'be')

- Hungarian essive -*ul/ül* is the closest counterpart to English *as*, and spells out the relator

The underlying structure of sociative -*stul/stül*

[RP PRO [R′ RELATOR=*U*+-*l* [PP P=-*t* [aP a=-*s* [NP N=*ruha*]]]]]

- Hungarian essive -*ul/ül* is found on both subject and object depictives

  (12) a. *bizonyíték-ul szolgál*   'it serves as evidence'
        b. *zálog-ul adta*   '(s)he gave it as a pledge'
        c. *rab-ul ejtette*   '(s)he took it as prey'

- the [+high, +round] feature bundle of essive -*ul/ül* rears its head in the verbal copula across Uralic (Mordvin *ul'ems* (Aasmäe, 2018, 193), Finnish *olla* (Hynönen, 2017, 35), Hungarian *van*; Proto-Uralic *vole)

- the -*l* of essive -*ul/ül* is the Finno-Ugric ablative case, found in the Hungarian case particles -*ból/ből* "out of", -*ról/ről* 'from, off of" and -*tól/től* 'from', and in *mellől* 'from beside', *alól* 'from under', *mögül* 'from behind', etc.

The underlying structure of sociative -*stul/stül*

[RP PRO [R′ RELATOR=U+-l [PP P=-t [aP a=-s [NP N=*ruha*]]]]]

- the use of ablative case to partially spell out the RELATOR relates the Hungarian sociative to the ablativus absolutus construction of Latin, which likewise involves a predication structure in an adjunction position, and features ablative case as the realisation of the relator

- sociative -*stul/stül* is frequently pronounced and written as -*stól/stől*, with the same long mid vowel that also appears in the ablative postpositions -*ból*/*ből*, -*ról*/*ről* and -*tól*/*től*

- this may lead to a reanalysis of the morphosyntax of the sociative suffix, with -*tól*/*től* as the relator

(13)   [RP PRO [R′ RELATOR=-*tól* [aP a=-*s* [NP N=*ruha*]]]]

- the ablative prepositions of Indo-European (*de* in Romance, *of* in English, *van* in Dutch, *von* in German) show the highest rate of non-spatial functional uses of all prepositions (English ablative *of* has largely lost its original spatial sense)

- this is significant for the question of why the relator of adjunct small clauses with a PRO subject shows a tendency to be represented by an ablative case particle

- these P-elements are usable as relators of predication relationships

(14) a.   that idiot of a doctor
      b.   imbécile de médecin   French
      c.   idioot van een dokter   Dutch

(15) hell of (>hella) cool

- in (16) the use of the ablative (*out of, from*) is semantically motivated: the adjunct is the cause or source of the event

  (16) a. he did it out of hunger/spite/being in love
       b. my fingers are blue from the cold/writing too much

  $\rightarrow$ the ablative can plausibly be syntactically represented as a lexical P

- but in (dis)sociative depictives, there is no sense of causation; hence for these constructions, analysing the ablative as an exponent of a lexical P merged outside the small clause is not semantically justified

  (17) [$_{RP}$ PRO [$_{R'}$ RELATOR=U+-l [$_{XP}$ X=-t [$_{aP}$ a=-s [$_{NP}$ N=*ruha*]]]]]

- the relator has double exponence because of its 'Janus-faced' nature: a copula (-u/$ü$) within the small clause and a liaison (-l) between the small clause and its syntactic environment

Interim summary

- heads in the morphosyntax of sociative *-stul/stül*

(18) a.   *-s*   ADJECTIVALISER   *ruhás* 'clothed'
  b.   *-(t)t*   LOCATIVE   *itt/ott* 'here/there', *Pécsett* 'in Pécs'
  c.   *-u/ü*   ESSIVE   *magyarul* 'in Hungarian'
  d.   *-l*   ABLATIVE   'from' in e.g. *-ból/ből, -ról/ről, -tól/től*

- structure for sociative *-stul/stül*

(19)   [RP PRO [R′ RELATOR=*U*+*-l* [PP P=*-t* [aP a=*-s* [NP N=*ruha*]]]]]

The derivation of sociative -*stul/stül*

$$[_{RP} \text{ PRO } [_{R'} \text{ RELATOR}=U+\text{-}l \ [_{PP} \text{ P}=\text{-}t \ [_{aP} \text{ a}=\text{-}s \ [_{NP} \text{ N}=ruha]]]]]$$

- the surface string comes about via left-adjoining snowballing head-movement

  - N moves to a
  - [N+a] moves to P
  - [[N+a]+P] moves to the relator

- the roll-up produces the surface output N-*s-t-Ul*

[RP PRO [R′ RELATOR=U+-l [PP P=-t [aP a=-s [NP N=*ruha*]]]]]

- head movement throughout the derivation of -*stul* explains the bare singular restriction imposed on N

(20)   a.   **ruhá-k-ostul*   N.PL.SOC
            b.   **ruhá-já-stul*   N.POSS.SOC
            c.   *?*ˈkoszos/ˈúj ˈruhá-stul*   dirty/new clothes.SOC

NB: see the Appendix for discussion of apparent counterexamples to the last point
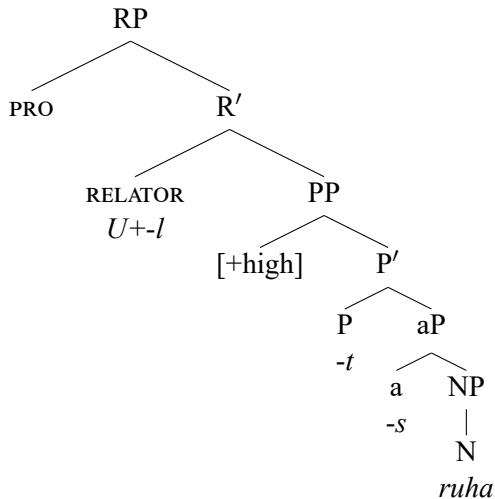
Why head movement?

[RP PRO [R′ RELATOR=U+-l [PP P=-t [aP a=-s [NP N=$ruha$]]]]]

- that the derivation of -*stul* must involve snowballing head movement is due to a property of locative -*t*

- its specifier is occupied by an abstract element associated in the phonology with a floating feature [+high] (see locative *ott*/*itt* 'there/here' = *az*/*ez* 'that/this' + -*t*, with raising of the vowel *a*/*e* to *o*/*i*)

- because Spec,PP is occupied, phrasal movement out of P's complement into Spec,PP is blocked; only head movement can serve to raise N+-*s* to the left of P=-*t*

- NP also cannot raise to Spec,aP prior to N-movement to P: phrasal move-ment would 'freeze' NP and bleed subsequent head movement

(21)

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                        RP
                      /    \
                  PRO        R′
                           /    \
                    RELATOR      PP
                      U+-l      /   \
                          [+high]    P′
                                   /    \
                                  P      aP
                                 -t     /   \
                                      a      NP
                                     -s       |
                                              N
                                            ruha
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The underlying structure of dissociative *-talanul/telenül*

- the syntax underlying dissociative *-talan*:

  (22) $[_{RP}$ PRO $[_{R'}$ RELATOR=U+-l $[_{NegP}$ Neg=n $[_{ZP}$ Z=-l $[_{XP}$ X=-t $[_{NP}$ N=*ruha*$]]]]]]$

- we can update with concrete labels to 'X' and 'Z': P_{LOC} and P_{ABL}

  (23) $[_{RP}$ PRO $[_{R'}$ RELATOR=U+-l $[_{NegP}$ Neg=n $[_{PP}$ P=-l $[_{PP}$ P=-t $[_{NP}$ N=*ruha*$]]]]]]$

- in sociative *-stul* the locative P *-t* governs the adjectivaliser *-s*, which is absent from the structure of dissociatives

- the PP projected by *-t* is dominated in dissociatives by a projection of ablative *-l* 'of/from', which gives rise to the deprivative interpretation of *-talanul* — compare ablative *of* in the English *deprive of*, the antonym to *provide with*

- the deprivative reading is further reinforced by merging a projection of Neg, headed by the same *n* also found in the negation particles *ne*, *nem*

  [$_{RP}$ PRO [$_{R'}$ RELATOR=U+-l [$_{NegP}$ Neg=n [$_{PP}$ P=-l [$_{PP}$ P=-t [$_{NP}$ N=*ruha*]]]]]]

- a NegP in the syntax of dissociatives (and likewise in their English counterparts featuring the suffix -*less*) is supported by NPI-licensing

  (24) a. erőtlen volt (arra), hogy {a kis ujját is megmozdítsa / valamit is tegyen}
            '(s)he was powerless to {lift a finger/do anything}'
        b. he is powerless to do anything about it
        c. he is clueless about anything you ask him

- the presence of NegP in the structure of dissociatives also explains the fact that adjectivalising -*s* (a PPI) is necessarily absent from the syntax

No -*t* drop

[RP PRO [R′ RELATOR=*U*+-*l* [NegP Neg=*n* [PP P=-*l* [PP P=-*t* [NP N=*ruha*]]]]]]

- that -*s* is ruled out in the structure of dissociatives has an interesting consequence for locative -*t*
- in the sociative, this -*t* is semantically redundant, and can be dropped in (Transylvanian) dialects
- but dissociative -*talanul* never drops its -*t*
- this is a side-effect of the obligatory absence of adjective-forming -*s* from dissociatives: it now comes to locative -*t* to procure the state predicable of PRO
- in dissociatives, -*t* thus plays a semantically indispensable role (unlike in sociatives); concomitantly, it is not omissible
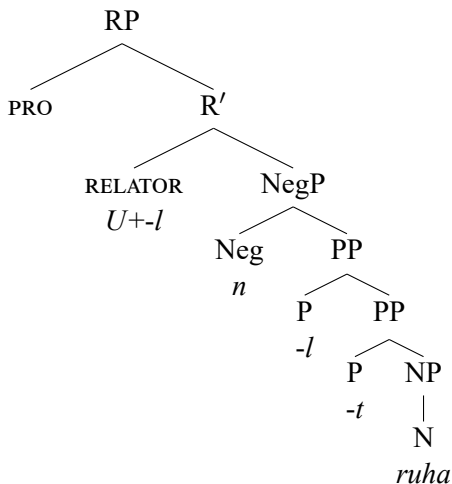
Putting together the dissociative

$$[_{RP} \text{ PRO } [_{R'} \text{ RELATOR}=U+\text{-}l \; [_{NegP} \text{ Neg}=n \; [_{PP} \text{ P}=\text{-}l \; [_{PP} \text{ P}=\text{-}t \; [_{NP} \text{ N}=ruha]]]]]]$$

- the derivation of dissociative -*talanul* again proceeds via left-adjoining snowballing head movement:

    - N moves to P_{LOC}=-*t*
    - [N+P] moves to P_{ABL}=-*l*
    - [[N+P]+P] moves to the Neg=-*n*
    - [[[N+P]+P]+Neg] moves to the RELATOR

- as in the case of sociative -*stul*, the head movement derivation is responsible for the fact that the noun must be 'bare'

(25) a. **ruhá-k-talanul*   N.PL.DISSOC
      b. **ruhá-já-talanul*   N.POSS.DISSOC
      c. *?*koszos/új ruhá-talanul* dirty/new clothes.DISSOC

(26)

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                    RP
                  /    \
              PRO       R′
                      /    \
               RELATOR      NegP
               U+-l        /    \
                        Neg      PP
                         n      /  \
                              P      PP
                             -l     /  \
                                  P      NP
                                 -t      |
                                         N
                                        ruha
```

The essive

- while dissociative *-talanul* occurs without the essive *-ul/ül* suffix, sociative *-stul* does not (in present-day standard Hungarian)
- the constituents in the box serve as predicates of a PRO-subject that is controlled by an argument of the matrix clause, as is typical for depictives

$$[_{RP} \text{ PRO } [_{R'} \text{ RELATOR}{=}U{+}{\text-}l \; [_{PP} \text{ P}{=}{\text-}t \; [_{aP} \; a{=}{\text-}s \; [_{NP} \text{ N}{=}ruha]]]]]$$
$$[_{RP} \text{ PRO } [_{R'} \text{ RELATOR}{=}U{+}{\text-}l \; [_{NegP} \text{ Neg}{=}n \; [_{PP} \text{ P}{=}{\text-}l \; [_{PP} \text{ P}{=}{\text-}t \; [_{NP} \text{ N}{=}ruha]]]]]]$$

- Q: could these constituents alternatively be used adverbially, as modifiers of a verbal or adjectival (extended) projection?
- for dissociatives, the answer is affirmative; for sociatives, it is negative

The dissociative without the essive

$$[_{RP} \text{ PRO } [_{R'} \text{ RELATOR}=U+\text{-}l \; [_{PP} \text{ P}=\text{-}t \; [_{aP} \; a=\text{-}s \; [_{NP} \text{ N}=ruha]]]]]$$
$$[_{RP} \text{ PRO } [_{R'} \text{ RELATOR}=U+\text{-}l \; [_{NegP} \text{ Neg}=n \; [_{PP} \text{ P}=\text{-}l \; [_{PP} \text{ P}=\text{-}t \; [_{NP} \text{ N}=ruha]]]]]]$$

- with NegP not influencing the categorial distribution of its complement, the boxed portion of the dissociative should distribute like an ablative PP
- such PPs can be used as adverbial modifiers of verbal and adjectival projections
- so there is no reason to expect *-talanul* to become ungrammatical without *-ul* — and indeed: the following are grammatical (Dékány and Hegedűs, 2021, 120)

(27)   a.   *feltétlen(ül) eljövök*   'I'll come under any circumstance'
       b.   *hirtelen(ül) elájult*   '(s)he suddenly fainted'

(28)   a.   *esztelen(ül) meleg*   'insanely hot'
       b.   *hihetetlen(ül) nagy*   'incredibly large'

$[_{RP} \text{ PRO } [_{R'} \text{ RELATOR}=U+\text{-}l \overbrace{[_{PP} \text{ P}=\text{-}t \, [_{aP} \, a=\text{-}s \, [_{NP} \text{ N}=ruha]]]]]}$
$[_{RP} \text{ PRO } [_{R'} \text{ RELATOR}=U+\text{-}l \, [_{NegP} \text{ Neg}=n \, [_{PP} \text{ P}=\text{-}l \, [_{PP} \text{ P}=\text{-}t \, [_{NP} \text{ N}=ruha]]]]]]}$

- the boxed portion is projected by what is historically a locative P, still preserving a clearly locative use in *itt/ott* 'here/there', *mindenütt* 'everywhere' and *Pécsett* 'in Pécs', but no longer productive
- -t is a semantically bleached representative of the category P
- the semantics of the boxed portion is delivered entirely by the complement of P=-*t*, which is an aP
- adjectives are perfect predicates of individuals but bad as adverbial modifiers
- the boxed part is not construable directly with a projection of a verb or adjective: it must instead be predicated of an individual, whence the need for a relator (-*ul/ül*) with a PRO in its specifier

Concluding remarks

- we presented a morphosyntactic analysis of the Hungarian sociative and dissociative suffixes *-stul/stül* and *-talanul/telenül*, unpacked with the aid of the morphemes below

(29) a. *-s* ADJECTIVALISER *ruhás* 'clothed'
  b. *-(t)t* LOCATIVE *itt/ott* 'here/there', *Pécsett* 'in Pécs'
  c. *-u/ü* ESSIVE *magyarul* 'in Hungarian'
  d. *-l* ABLATIVE 'from' in e.g. *-ból/ből, -ról/ről, -tól/től*
  e. *-n* NEGATIVE *ne(m)* 'not'

- all of the morphemes are heads of phrases in the syntax; the structures composed out of them serve as depictive secondary predications, with a PRO-subject controlled by an argument of the containing clause

(30) [$_{RP}$ PRO [$_{R'}$ RELATOR=U+-*l* [$_{PP}$ P=-*t* [$_{aP}$ a=-*s* [$_{NP}$ N=*ruha*]]]]]

(31) [$_{RP}$ PRO [$_{R'}$ RELATOR=U+-*l* [$_{NegP}$ Neg=*n* [$_{PP}$ P=-*l* [$_{PP}$ P=-*t* [$_{NP}$ N=*ruha*]]]]]]

Concluding remarks

- morphophonology and semantics of -*stul* and -*talanul* are compositional

- the analysis of sociative -*stul* and dissociative -*talanul* sheds new light on the grammatical formatives -*s*, -*t*, -*l* and -*u*/*ü*, and on their interactions

- the analysis also shows that snowballing head movement and phrasal movement are two discrete strategies for syntactic word formation

- at a broader theoretical level, the analysis reveals the benefits of composing complex word-level formatives in syntax

Thank you very much!
Köszönjük szépen!

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Appendix

- adjectival modification for sociatives is not completely out (thanks to a reviewer for the examples)
- but: prosody atypical of phrase-level attributive modification
- the As below express a defining property of the noun; they can perhaps combine with the noun without a mediating relator being necessary, in which case no functional head structurally intervenes between the noun and the adjectivalising a spelled out as -*s*, and head movement can proceed unhindered

  (32) *Szíve szerint bemenne s lefeküdne aludni, úgy, koszos ruhástól, ahogy van, mert szó szerint rosszul van a fáradtságtól* (...).
  '(S)he would like to go in according to her/his heart and lie down to sleep, with dirty clothes and all, just the way (s)he is, because she is literally ill from fatigue.'

Appendix

(33) *Vasárnap délután így vonult ki Mari új ruhástul, kalapostul, a napernyővel a kezében.* 'On Sunday afternoon Mari went out with her new dress and hat on, with an umbrella in her hand.'

(34) *A vásárló érintéssel választhat ruhát, mire megjelenik a tükörben a képe, ruhástul — mármint új ruhástul —, anélkül, hogy valóban felpróbálta volna.* 'The shopper can choose an outfit with a touch, then his or her image appears in the mirror, with an outfit on — that is, with a new outfit on — without actually trying it on.'

(35) *Jó elnézni az indai családot akik, vagy 15-en utaznak nagyszülőstől ordító gyerekestől* (...). 'It's good to look at the Indian family who, up to 15, travel with grandparents and screaming children'

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