

# On Comitative Constructions in Polish and Russian

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## 1 Introduction

Our paper compares two types of comitative construction in Polish and Russian,

1. what in an earlier analysis of Polish data has been called “quasi-comitative coordination” (Dyla, 1988) and “comitative coordination” with respect to Russian data (McNally, 1993), and
2. the plural pronoun construction (PPC) introduced onto the linguistic scene by (Schwartz, 1988).

The relevant examples illustrating the two types of construction in both languages are as follows:

[Polish: comitative coordination]

- (1) Dorota z Mirkiem poszli na plażę.  
Dorota-NOM with Mirek-INSTR went-PL.VIRILE to beach-ACC  
'Dorota and Mirek went to the beach.'

[Russian: comitative coordination]

- (2) Daša s Mišej pošli na pljaž.  
Dasha-NOM with Misha-INSTR went-PL to beach-ACC  
'Dasha and Misha went to the beach.'

[Polish: plural pronoun construction]

- (3) My z Mirkiem poszliśmy na plażę.  
we with Mirek-INSTR went-1PL.VIRILE to beach-ACC  
'We went shopping with Mirek/Mirek and I went shopping.'

[Russian: plural pronoun construction]

- (4) My s Mišej pošli na pljaž.  
We with Misha-INSTR went-PL to beach-ACC  
'We went to the beach.with Misha/ Misha and I went to the beach.'

In what follows, we will refer to sentences like (1 and (2) as "the comitative coordination" or "the NP-with-NP Vpl construction".

The discussion of comitatives and PPCs is not new in the linguistic literature (see (Schwartz, 1988), (Ladusaw, 1989), (Dyła, 1988), (Aissen, 1989), (Dalrymple et al., 1998) (McNally, 1993), (Urtz, 1994), (Vassilieva, 2000), (Skrabalova, 2001), (Camacho, 1996), to mention but a few).<sup>1</sup> Comitative coordination is treated as either conjunctionless ordinary coordination (Dyła, 1988), for Polish) or as a complex NP, consisting of a head (NP) and a non-head daughter (PP) of a complex NP (McNally, 1993) or as a complex NP, where the preposition "with" subcategorizes for two arguments, a nominative NP and an instrumental NP (Feldman, 2002). The comitative phrase in PPCs is treated as an adjunct (Ladusaw, 1989) or as complement (Vassilieva and Richard K. Larson, 2001), (Feldman, 2002).

The common challenge that anybody working with these constructions faces is their relation (or lack thereof) to ordinary coordination. After all, in spite of the apparent lack of an overt conjunction, both constructions exhibit some properties characteristic of ordinary coordination. We will follow the same path here. More specifically, we would like to test several hypotheses:

1. Polish and Russian exhibit a similar behavior with respect to comitative coordination; and therefore, comitative coordination in the two languages should get a unified analysis;
2. Comitative coordination is an instance of ordinary coordination;
3. Comitative coordination is a separate structure and should be analyzed differently from ordinary coordination;
4. In PPCs, the comitative phrase is an adjunct to the pronoun;
5. In PPC's, the comitative phrase is a complement of the pronoun;
6. PPC is an instance of comitative coordination.

In doing so, we will run our Polish and Russian data against a battery of constituency and coordination tests. Based upon the behavior of Polish and Russian comitative coordination with respect to binding anaphors. We will observe the behavior of the Polish and Russian comitatives with respect to different types of discontinuities, such as extraction, the insertion of parenthetical expressions and clitics; number and gender agreement, contrastive stress assignment, semantic factors,

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<sup>1</sup>For a discussion of comitative coordination from a typological perspective, cf.(Stassen, 2000), cite{leon2

such as the accessibility of the collective and distributive readings and definiteness agreement. The thorough consideration of all these phenomena leads us to a belief that Polish and Russian comitative coordinate constructions are not the same. Polish comitative coordination constructions are very much like the ordinary coordination, which goes along with the analysis proposed by (Dyła, 1988); whereas Russian comitatives behave neither like Polish ones, nor like Russian ordinary coordination – the binding phenomenon is our main evidence. Whether they cannot and should not be analyzed uniformly, is moot. In spite of the differences in binding, we will attempt to provide a unified account of comitative coordination in both languages.

The second part of our paper deals with PPCs. In Polish, the gender resolution in PPCs presents evidence for the coordinate nature of PPCs in Polish. However, Russian does not exhibit gender agreement in plural noun phrases, and as a result such evidence is not available for Russian. We consider semantic and syntactic properties of PPCs in Russian and conclude that the construction is neither an instance of adjunction, nor of comitative coordination.

## 2 Comitative Coordination in Polish and Russian

### 2.1 A Side by Side Comparison

Consider (5) and (6) below <sup>2</sup>:

(5) Dorota z Mirkiem poszli na plażę.  
 Dorota-NOM with Mirek-INSTR went-PL.VIRILE to beach-ACC  
 ‘Dorota and Mirek went to the beach.’

(6) Dorota z Mirkiem poszła na plażę.  
 Dorota-NOM with Mirek-INSTR went-3SG.FEM to beach-ACC  
 ‘Dorota went to the beach with Mirek.’

(5) is an example of the comitative coordinate construction with the comitative phrase immediately following the subject NP, while the latter is an instance of the regular comitative construction where the comitative phrase is an adjunct. The basic difference between the two is that in (6) *Dorota* and *z Mirkiem* are two separate constituents, whereas in (5) they are conjuncts in a coordinate NP. Consequently, *Dorota* is the subject of (6) and as such triggers feminine singular agreement on the verb. The masculine plural form of the verb in (5) indicates that the subject NP is plural, which can only be the case if the host NP *Dorota* and the comitative phrase *z Mirkiem* form one complex subject NP.

The same phenomenon is evident in Russian as well. To see this, compare example (7) with (8) below.

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<sup>2</sup>The former example is repeated here for the reader’s convenience.

(7) Daša s Mišej pošli na pljaž.  
Dasha-NOM with Misha-INSTR went-PL to beach-ACC  
'Dasha and Misha went to the beach.'

(8) Daša s Mišej pošla na pljaž.  
Dasha-NOM with Misha-INSTR went-3SG.FEM to beach-ACC  
'Dasha went to the beach with Misha.'

(7) and (8) are parallel to the Polish (5) and (6).

Although there is no gender difference for plural 3rd person Russian verb forms, the plural agreement with the verb in (7) suggests the same analysis: *Daša s Mišei* is one constituent, the subject of *pošli*.

## 2.2 Constituency Tests

### 2.2.1 Extraction

No extraction of either the host NP or the comitative phrase is allowed out of the comitative coordinate construction, as shown by the ungrammaticality of the examples below.

(9) \*Z Mirkiem, Dorota poszli na plażę.  
with Mirek-INSTR Dorota-NOM went-3PL.VIRILE to beach-ACC  
'With Mirek, Dorota went to the beach.'

(10) \*Dorota, sądzę, że z Mirkiem poszli na plażę  
Dorota-NOM think-1SG that with Mirek-INSTR went-3PL.VIRILE to beach-ACC  
'\*Dorota I think that with Mirek (they) went to the beach.'

Ungrammatical examples involving extraction are extremely rare. We found a single example of relativization out of the NP z NP.

(11) \*Który wraz z kilkoma żołnierzami dotarli do  
who-SG.MASC together with a-few-INSTR soldiers-INSTR reached-3PL.VIRILE to  
przełęczy  
pass-GEN  
'who together with a few soldiers reached the pass'

Such sentences while comprehensible to most native speakers are utterly ungrammatical.

The same is true for Russian:

- (12) \* S Mišej Daša pošli na pljaž  
With Masha Dasha went-PL to beach-ACC  
'With Masha Dasha went to the beach.'
- (13) \* Daša, ja dumaju, pošli na pljaž s Mišej.  
Dasha-NOM I think went-PL to beach with Misha  
'Dasha, I think, went to the beach with Misha.'

However, the use of the singular agreement in sentences involving extraction is perfectly grammatical in both languages, as the examples below indicate:

- (14) Dorota sądze, że z Mirkiem poszła na plażę.  
Dorota-NOM think-1SG that with Mirek-INSTR went-3SG-FEM to beach-ACC  
'Dorota, I think, went to the beach with Mirek.'
- (15) Daša, ja dumaju, poszła na pljaž s Mišej.  
Dasha-NOM I think went-3SG-FEM to beach with Misha  
'Dasha, I think, went to the beach with Misha.'

Note, however, that the host NP and the comitative phrase can be extracted together, as a constituent., as can be seen in the following perfectly well-formed examples of topicalization out of the subordinate clause.

- (16) Dorota z Mirkiem, sądze, że poszli na plażę.  
Dorota-NOM with Mirek-INSTR think-1SG that went-3PL to beach-ACC  
'Dorota and Mirek, I think, went to the beach.'
- (17) Daša s Mišej, ja dumaju, pošli na pljaž.  
Dasha-NOM with Misha-INSTR I think went-3PL to beach-ACC  
'Dasha and Misha, I think, went to the beach.'

The ungrammaticality of examples involving extraction of the host NP or the comitative phrase out of the NP-with-NP cluster indicates that the cluster forms a constituent.

## 2.2.2 Contrastive Stress Assignment

In Polish, contrastive stress can only be assigned to the NP-with-NP as a single constituent, when the verb is plural, but not separately to the host NP or to the comitative phrase..

- (18) \* DOROTA z Mirkiem poszli na plażę.  
Dorota-NOM with Mirek-INSTR went-3PL.VIRILE to beach-ACC  
'It was Dorota who went with Mirek to the beach.'

- (19) \* Dorota Z MIRKIEM poszli na plażę.  
Dorota-NOM with Mirek-INSTR went-3PL. VIRILE to beach-ACC  
'It was with Mirek that Dorota went the beach.'

- (20) DOROTA Z MIRKIEM poszli na plażę.  
Dorota-NOM with Mirek-INSTR went-3PL.VIRILE to beach-ACC  
'It was Dorota and Mirek who went the beach.'

Russian exhibits another type of behavior in contrastive contexts. The comitative phrase is stressed, not the entire NP-with-NP string.

- (21) Tanja s Vasej ostalis' doma. Daša s MIŠEJ pošli na pljaž.  
Tanya with Vasya stayed-PL home. Dasha with Misha went-PL to beach  
'Tanya and Vasya stayed at home. Dasha and MISHA went to the beach.'

## 2.2.3 Adjacency

In order for the host NP+comitative phrase to "trigger" plural agreement with the predicate or attribute, the comitative phrase must immediately follow the host NP. Since what kind of intervening material can be found between the host NP and the comitative phrase will be relevant later, we split this section into two: one dealing with parentheticals, the other with clitics.

**2.2.3.1 Parentheticals** Parentheticals cannot be placed between the host NP and the comitative phrase.

- (22) \* Dorota, niestety, z Mirkiem poszli na plażę.  
Dorota-NOM unfortunately with Mirek-INSTR went-3PL.VIRILE to beach-ACC  
'Unfortunately, Dorota and Mirek went to the beach.'

- (23) \* Daša, k sożaleniju, pošli na pljaż s Miše*i*.  
 Dasha-NOM for regret went-PL to beach with Misha-INSTR  
 ‘Unfortunately, Dasha and Misha went to the beach.’

**2.2.3.2 Clitics** Clitics cannot intervene either, as can be seen from the ungrammaticality of (25) vs. the perfect well-formedness of (24).

- (24) Dorota się z Mirkiem spotkała na plaży.  
 Dorota-NOM CLITIC with Mirek-INSTR met-3SG.FEM at beach-LOC  
 ‘Dorota met Mirek at the beach.’

- (25) \* Dorota się z Mirkiem spotkali na plaży.  
 Dorota-NOM CLITIC with Mirek-INSTR met-3PL.VIRILE at beach-LOC  
 ‘Dorota and Mirek met at the beach.’

Since parentheticals in Polish tend to occur at major constituent boundaries, as noted by (Cichocki, 1983), the ungrammaticality of (25) indicates the lack of major constituent boundary between *Dorota* and *z Mirkiem*.

Russian does not seem to exhibit this type of behavior. Russian clitics tend to occur in the so-called second position, i.e. either they follow the first prosodic word or the first constituent of a sentence. So, the two cases are grammatical:

- (26) Daša że s Mišej pošli na pljaż.  
 Dasha-NOM CLITIC with Misha-INSTR went-PL to beach-ACC  
 ‘Dasha and Misha went to the beach, after all’

- (27) Daša s Mišej że pošli na pljaż.  
 Dasha-NOM CLITIC with Misha-INSTR went-PL to beach-ACC  
 ‘Dasha and Misha went to the beach, after all’

## 2.2.4 Control of Reflexives

The complex NP consisting of the host NP and the comitative phrase acts as a single constituent with respect to reflexivization. Consider the following example:

(28) Dorota<sub>i</sub> z Mirkiem<sub>j</sub> wrócili do swego<sub>i+j</sub>  
 Dorota-NOM with Mirek-INSTR returned-3PL.VIRILE to their-REFL.GEN  
 mieszkania.  
 apartment-GEN  
 ‘Dorota and Mirek returned to their apartment.’

(29) Daša<sub>i</sub> s Mišei<sub>j</sub> vernulis’ v svoju<sub>i+j</sub> kvartiru.  
 Dasha-NOM with Misha-INSTR returned-PL to self’s-ACC apartment-ACC  
 ‘Dasha and Misha returned to their apartment.’

Split antecedents are not allowed in case of this construction, as shown below. The ungrammaticality of these examples indicates that the host NP and the comitative phrase form a single constituent.

(30) \*Dorota<sub>i</sub> z Mirkiem wrócili do swego<sub>i</sub>  
 Dorota-NOM with Mirek-INSTR returned-3PL.VIRILE to their-REFL.GEN  
 mieszkania.  
 apartment-GEN  
 ‘Dorota and Mirek returned to her apartment.’

(31) \*Dorota<sub>i</sub> z Mirkiem<sub>j</sub> wrócili do swego<sub>j</sub>  
 Dorota-NOM with Mirek-INSTR returned-3PL.VIRILE to their-REFL.GEN  
 mieszkania.  
 apartment-GEN  
 ‘Dorota and Mirek returned to his apartment.’

The same observation can be made with respect to Russian data.

(32) Daša<sub>i</sub> i Miša<sub>j</sub> vernulis’ v svoju<sub>i+j</sub> kvartiru.  
 Dasha-NOM and Misha-NOM returned-PL to self’s-ACC apartment-ACC  
 ‘Dasha and Misha returned to her apartment.’

(33) Daša<sub>i</sub> s Mišej<sub>j</sub> vernulis’ v svoju<sub>i+j</sub> kvartiru.  
 Dasha-NOM with Misha-INSTR returned-PL to self’s-ACC apartment-ACC  
 ‘Dasha and Misha returned to his apartment.’

(34) Daša<sub>i</sub> s Mišej<sub>j</sub> vernulis’ v \*svoju<sub>i</sub> kvartiru.  
 Dasha-NOM with Misha-INSTR returned-PL to self’s-ACC apartment-ACC  
 ‘Dasha and Misha returned to her apartment.’

- (35) Daša<sub>i</sub> s Mišej<sub>j</sub> vernulis' v \*svoju<sub>j</sub> kvartiru.  
 Dasha-NOM with Misha-INSTR returned-PL to self's-ACC apartment.ACC  
 'Dasha and Misha returned to his apartment.'

### 2.2.5 Control of Equi in Infinitival Complements

The NP-with-NP cluster also behaves like a constituent with respect to control of Equi in infinitival complements. No split controllers are allowed, as can be seen from the fact that both the Polish and Russian examples below can only have a comitative reading.

- (36) Kasia chciała iść na plażę z Marcinem  
 Kasia-NOM wanted-3SG.FEM. go-INF to beach-ACC with Marcin-INSTR  
 'Kasia wanted to go to the beach with Marcin.'

- (37) Katja xočet/\*xotjat poiti na pljaż s Mašej.  
 Katya-INSTR want-SG-3P-FEM/\*want-PL go-INF to beach-ACC with Masha  
 'Katya wanted to go to the beach with Masha'

In view of this, the grammaticality of (38) in Polish and of (39) in Russian indicates that in both languages the NP and the comitative phrase that immediately follows it form a constituent.

- (38) Kasia z Marcinem chcieli iść na plażę.  
 Kasia-NOM with Marcin-INSTR wanted-3PL.VIRILE go-INF to beach-ACC  
 'Kasia and Marcin wanted to go to the beach.'

- (39) Katja s Mašej xotjat poiti na pljaż.  
 Katya-NOM with Masha-INSTR want-PL-3P go-INF to beach-ACC  
 'Katja and Masha want to go to the beach.'

### 2.2.6 Control of Equi in Participial Clauses

Another test for constituency that supports the claim that the NP and the comitative phrase form a constituent is their ability to jointly control Equi into participial clauses. Consider the following examples:

(40) Przyjechawszy w południe, Kasia z Marcinem zaraz  
 having-arrived at noon Kasia-NOM with Marcin-INSTR immediately  
 poszli na plażę.  
 went-3PL.VIRILE to beach-ACC  
 ‘Having arrived at noon, Kasia and Marcin immediately went to the beach.’

(41) Priexav v polden’, Katja s Mašej pošli na pljaž.  
 Having-arrived at noon, Katya-NOM with Masha-INSTR went-PL to beach  
 ‘Having arrived at noon, Katya and Masha went to the beach.’

The fact that the only readings that (40) and (41) have are comitative should be construed that split controllers for Equi in participial clauses are forbidden in both languages. Thus, the ability of the NP + comitative phrase cluster to serve jointly as a controller in (42) and (43), respectively, counts as evidence for the claim that they form a constituent.

(42) Przyjechawszy w południe, Kasia zaraz poszła na plażę z  
 having-arrived at noon Kasia-NOM immediately went-3SG.FEM to beach-ACC with  
 Marcinem.  
 Marcin-INSTR  
 ‘Having arrived at noon, Kasia immediately went to the beach with Marcin.’

(43) Priexav v polden’, Katja pošla na pljaž s Mašej.  
 Having-arrived at noon, Katya-NOM went-SG-FEM to beach with Masha-INSTR  
 ‘Having arrived at noon, Katya went to the beach with Masha.’

## 2.3 Tests for Coordination

In this section, we will argue that the complex NP evidence for which we presented in the previous section is in fact coordinate. Arguments for coordination take the form of showing that the NP-with-NP Vpl construction mimics the behavior of ordinary NP coordination.

### 2.3.1 Number Agreement

In Polish and Russian, a coordination of singular NPs almost always requires plural number agreement on the verb.<sup>3</sup> In Polish, only a handful of collective nouns can trigger plural agreement on its predicate and vice versa, a plural lexical noun subject never triggers singular agreement. Thus, if a phrasal subject NP does trigger plural agreement, it is an indication of its plurality. Since the components of the phrasal NP are not plural themselves, the conclusion follows that the plural verbal forms indicate that the NP-with-NP string is an instance of coordination.

<sup>3</sup>The exceptions are rare instances of agreement with the closest conjunct.

### 2.3.2 Control of Reflexive Possessives Within Comitative Phrase

For most speakers of Polish, the host NP in the construction under consideration cannot serve as an antecedent for a reflexive possessive pronoun within the comitative phrase, as illustrated by the example below.

- (44) \* Dorota<sub>i</sub> ze swym<sub>i</sub> chłopakiem poszli na plażę.  
Dorota-NOM with her-REFL.INSTR boyfriend-INSTR went-3PL.MASC to beach-ACC  
'Dorota and her boyfriend went to the beach.'

In this respect, the NP-with-NP Vpl construction mimics the behavior of ordinary NP coordination, as shown in (2.3.2) below.

- (45) \* Dorota<sub>i</sub> i swój<sub>i</sub> chłopak poszli na plażę.  
Dorota-NOM and her-REFL.NOM boyfriend-NOM went-3PL.MASC to beach-ACC  
'Dorota and her boyfriend went to the beach.'

Non-reflexive possessives in the comitative phrase cannot be anteceded by the first conjunct either.

- (46) \* Dorota<sub>i</sub> ze jej<sub>i</sub> mężem poszli na plażę.  
Dorota-NOM with her-INSTR husband-INSTR went-3PL.MASC to beach-ACC  
'Dorota and her husband went to the beach.'

Only zero anaphoric possessive in the comitative controlled by the first conjunct seems somewhat acceptable.

- (47) ? Dorota<sub>i</sub> z 0<sub>i</sub> mężem poszli na plażę.  
Dorota-NOM with husband-INSTR went-3PL.MASC to beach-ACC  
'Dorota and her husband went to the beach.'

Note, however, the non-reflexive possessive pronoun is the best in ordinary coordination. The example with zero possessive sounds odd.

- (48) ? Dorota<sub>i</sub> i 0<sub>i</sub> mąż poszli na plażę.  
Dorota-NOM and husband-NOM went-3PL.MASC to beach-ACC  
'Dorota and her husband went to the beach.'

- (49) Dorota<sub>i</sub> i jej<sub>i</sub> mąż poszli na plażę.  
 Dorota-NOM and her-NOM husband-NOM went-3PL.MASC to beach-ACC  
 ‘Dorota and her husband went to the beach.’

Occasional instances of first conjuncts controlling reflexive possessives within the comitative phrase can rarely be found in written language, but their ungrammaticality is indisputable.

Russian, however, exhibits a different pattern:

- (50) a. Daša<sub>i</sub> i ee<sub>i</sub> drug pošli na pljaż.  
 Dasha and her friend went-PL to beach  
 ‘Dasha and her friend went to the beach.’
- b. \*Daša<sub>i</sub> i svoj<sub>i</sub> drug pošli na pljaż.  
 Dasha and her friend went-PL to beach  
 ‘Dasha and her friend went to the beach.’
- c. Daša<sub>i</sub> so swoim<sub>i</sub> drugom pošli na pljaż.  
 Dasha with her friend went-PL to beach  
 ‘Dasha and her friend went to the beach.’
- d. \*Dasha<sub>i</sub> s ee<sub>i</sub> drugom pošli na pljaż.  
 Dasha and her friend went-PL to beach  
 ‘Dasha and her friend went to the beach.’

There are two types of possessive pronouns in Russian, reflexive and non-reflexive. The former can modify the comitative phrase, whereas the latter can modify the second conjunct in ordinary coordinate constructions.

Thus, Russian and Polish with-coordinate constructions are different in their binding patterns.<sup>4</sup>

### 2.3.3 Gender Resolution

In ordinary coordinate structures in Polish, virile (masculine human) always overrides non-virile. This happens regardless of whether the gender is inherently specified or assigned by the pragmatic context. Thus, (51) is grammatical only if uttered by a male speaker, (52) is ungrammatical for both male and female speakers since the gender agreement on the verb is non-virile and one of the conjuncts, Marcin, is inherently virile.

<sup>4</sup>Incidentally, the Russian reflexive binding in comitative coordination runs counter Munn’s (1993) claim that conjuncts do not receive a theta role and thus cannot act as antecedents for reflexive binding.

(51) Joanna i ja polecieliśmy do Calgary.  
Joanna-NOM and I-NOM flew-3PL.VIRILE to Calgary-GEN  
'Joanna and I flew to Calgary.'

(52) \*Marcin i ja poleciałyśmy do Calgary.  
Marcin-NOM and I-NOM flew-3PL.NON-VIRILE to Calgary-GEN  
'Marcin and I went to Calgary.'

Note that the form of the verb in example (53) is in its third person plural virile form.

(53) Dorota z Mirkiem poszli na plażę.  
Dorota-NOM with Mirek-INSTR went-3PL.VIRILE to beach-ACC  
'Dorota and Mirek went to the beach.'

The use of the third person plural non-virile form of the verb renders the sentence ungrammatical, as shown in (54) below.

(54) \*Dorota z Mirkiem poszły na plażę.  
Dorota-NOM with Mirek-INSTR went-3PL.NON-VIRILE to beach-ACC  
'Dorota and Mirek went to the beach.'

The grammaticality of (53) taken together with the ill-formedness of (54) indicates that the comitative phrase *z Mirkiem* participates in gender resolution. Hence, it must be a conjunct.

Since there is no gender distinction for plural verbs in Russian, this phenomenon is not attested.

### 2.3.4 Distributive vs. Collective Reading

An *s*-adjunct cannot modify a verb that requires a distributive reading. Thus, for example, verbs such as *believe* or *know* will not have *with*-modifiers. However, *s*-phrases with coordinate meanings are acceptable with these verbs (see (55b)) just as are regular coordinated subjects (55c):

(55) a. \*Maša verit s Dašej v boga.  
Masha believe-3SG.PRES with Dasha-INSTR in God  
'\*Masha believes in God with Dasha.'

b. Maša s Dašej verjat v boga.  
Masha with Dasha-INSTR believe-3PL.PRES in God  
'Masha and Dasha believe in God.'

- c. Maša i Daša verjat v boga.  
 Masha and Dasha.-INSTR believe-3PL.PRES in God  
 ‘Masha and Dasha believe in God.’

The ability of a *with*-phrase to occur with verbs like *believe* that only require distributive readings can be considered a diagnostic for (with)-coordination in Russian.

In addition, comitative adjuncts cannot occur with reciprocals:

- (56) a. Maša s Dašej ljubjat drug druga.  
 Masha with Dasha like-3PL each other  
 ‘Masha and Dasha like each other.’  
 b. \*Maša s Dašej ljubit drug druga.  
 Masha with Dasha like-3SG each other  
 ‘\*Masha likes each other with Dasha.’

The NP-with-NP Vpl construction in Polish also occurs with predicates that have exclusively distributive meanings, as can be seen below.

- (57) Marcin z Joanną są wysocy.  
 Marcin-NOM with Joanna-INSTR be-3PL.VIRILE tall-VIRILE  
 ‘Marcin and Joanna are tall.’

- (58) Marcin z Joanną są wysocy.  
 Marcin-NOM with Joanna-INSTR be-3PL tall-VIRILE  
 ‘Marcin and Joanna are tall.’

- (59) Marcin z Joanną są zwolennikami postępu w  
 Marcin-NOM with Joanna-INSTR be-3PL proponent-PL progress-GEN within  
 granicach zdrowego rozsądku.  
 boundaries-LOG common-GEN sense-GEN  
 ‘Marcin and Joanna are proponents of progress within the boundaries of common sense.’

Additional evidence in favor of the claim that the NP-with-NP string is a coordinate structure comes from the following examples:

- (60) a. Maša s Dašej zarabotala tri rublja.  
 Masha with Dasha earned-SG three rubles  
 ‘Masha earned three rubles with Dasha.’

b. Maša s Dašej zarabotali tri rublja.  
Masha with Dasha earned-PL three rubles

‘Masha and Dasha earned three rubles/Masha and Dasha each earned three rubles (6 rubles in total).’

As becomes evident from the translations of the examples provided in this section, the comitative adjuncts do not allow a distributive reading, whereas the comitatives conjuncts allow the object to either distribute over the subject or not, the way ordinary coordinate constructions do.

A closely related piece of evidence for the plurality and the coordinate nature of the phrase in question comes from its co-occurrence with the distributive preposition *po* which subcategorizes for an NP in the accusative case, a test available both in Polish and Russian. Consider the following examples:

(61) Marcin i Tomek zjedli po dwa ciastka.  
Marcin-NOM and Tomek-NOM ate-3PL.VIRILE DISTR two-ACC cookies-ACC  
‘Marcin and Tomek ate two cookies each.’

(62) Miša i Katja s’eli po dva pečenja.  
Miša-NOM and Katya-NOM ate-3PL DISTR two-ACC cookies-ACC  
‘Misha and Katya ate two cookies each.’

The meanings of examples (61) and (62) are identical to that of a coordination of (63) and (65) and of a coordination of (64) and (66), respectively. And so are the meanings of examples (67) and (68), both of which involve the NP-with-NP phrase instead of ordinary coordination.

(63) Marcin zjadł dwa ciastka.  
Marcin-NOM ate-3SG.VIRILE two-ACC cookies-ACC  
‘Marcin ate two cookies.’

(64) Miša s’el dva pečenja.  
Misha-NOM ate-3SG.MASC two-ACC cookies-ACC  
‘Misha ate two cookies.’

(65) Tomek zjadł dwa ciastka.  
Tomek-NOM ate-3SG.VIRILE two-ACC cookies-ACC  
‘Tomek ate two cookies.’

(66) Katja s’ela dva pečenja.  
Katya-NOM ate-3SG.FEM two-ACC cookies-ACC  
‘Katya ate two cookies.’

(67) Marcin z Tomkiem zjedli po dwa ciastka.  
Marcin-NOM with Tomek-INSTR ate-3PL.VIRILE DISTR two-ACC cookies-ACC  
'Marcin and Tomek ate two cookies each.'

(68) Miša s Katej s'eli po dva pečenja.  
Misha-NOM with Katya-INSTR ate-3PL DISTR two-ACC cookies-ACC  
'Misha with Katya ate two cookies each.'

Note that adjunct structures are absolutely impossible with the distributive preposition *po*:

[Polish]

(69) \* Marcin z Tomkiem zjadł po dwa ciastka.  
Marcin-NOM with Tomek-INSTR ate-3SG.VIRILE DISTR two-ACC cookies-ACC  
'Marcin and Tomek ate two cookies each.'

[Russian]

(70) \* Maša s Tanej s'ela po dva pečenja.  
Masha-NOM with Tanya-INSTR ate-3SG.FEM DISTR two-ACC cookies-GEN  
'Masha and Tanya ate two cookies each'

Basically, this is a test for plurality but it also proves that comitative coordination NP-with-NP can have a distributive reading (unlike adjunct structures) and like ordinary coordination.

### 2.3.5 Definiteness Agreement

In Polish there is a clear relationship between the features on the nominative NP and the features on the NP within the comitative phrase. Compare the following examples:

(71) Mirek z Dorotą poszli na plażę.  
Mirek-NOM with Dorota-INSTR went-3PL.VIRILE to beach-ACC  
'Mirek and Dorota went to the beach.'

(72) ? Mirek z tą dziewczyną poszli na plażę.  
Mirek-NOM with this-INSTR girl-INSTR went-3PL to beach-ACC  
'Mirek and this girl went to the beach.'

- (73) \* Mirek z jakąś dziewczyną poszli na plażę.  
 Mirek-NOM with some-INSTR.FEM girl-INSTR went-3PL to beach-ACC  
 ‘Mirek and some girl went to the beach.’

In (71) where the two NPs are proper nouns, plural agreement with the verb is fine. It becomes more problematic in (72), where one of the NPs is a proper noun and the other a definite description. In (73), where the other NP is indefinite, plural agreement is totally unacceptable. Note, however, that the two NPs agree with respect to definiteness, plural agreement is just fine, (as in (74) and (75)).

- (74) Ten chłopak z tą dziewczyną poszli na  
 this-NOM.MASC boy-NOM with this-INSTR.FEM girl-INSTR went-3PL.VIRILE to  
 plażę.  
 beach-ACC  
 ‘This boy and this girl went to the beach.’

- (75) Jakiś chłopak z jakąś dziewczyną poszli na  
 some-NOM.MASC boy-NOM with some-INSTR.FEM girl-INSTR went-3PL.VIRILE to  
 plażę.  
 beach-ACC  
 ‘A boy and a girl went to the beach.’

However, Russian is different in this respect. Native speakers prefer the plural agreement over singular in all the cases regardless whether the comitative phrase is definite or indefinite, as is illustrated by the following examples. The singular agreement is not completely ruled out, but is definitely dispreferred.<sup>5</sup>

- (76) Daša s Mišej pošli/pošla na pljaż.  
 Dasha and Misha went-PL to beach  
 ‘Dasha and Misha went to the beach.’

- (77) Daša s kakoi-to devočkoj pošli/pošla na pljaż.  
 Dasha and some girl went-PL/went-SG to beach  
 ‘Dasha and some girl went to the beach.’

- (78) Daša s toj devočkoj pošli/pošla na pljaż.  
 Dasha and that girl went-PL/went-SG to beach  
 ‘Dasha and some girl went to the beach.’

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<sup>5</sup>To accept a sentence with a singular verb the speakers have the tendency to dislocate the phrase phrase farther away from the nominative NP.

(79) Etot mal'čik s etoj devočkoj pošli/pošel na pljaž.  
 This boy with this girl went-PL/went-SG.MASC to beach  
 'This boy and this girl went to the beach./This boy went to the beach with some girl.'

(80) Kakoj-to mal'čik s kakoj-to devočkoj pošli/pošel na pljaž.  
 Some boy with some girl went-PL/went-SG.MASC to beach  
 'Some boy and some girl went to the beach./Some boy went to the beach with some girl.'

## 2.4 Comitative Coordination in Polish and Russian - Summary

Our discussion is summarized in the table below. Both Polish and Russian NP-with-NP clusters occur with plural verbs, both can occur with verbs that have exclusively distributive meanings. The NP-with-NP cluster, both in Polish and Russian, can serve an antecedent for reflexive pronominal modifiers of objects. The NP-with-NP is a controller for Equi in infinitival and participial clauses. When the verb is plural, there is a strict linear order (in case the NP-NOM is singular) of the NP-with-NP cluster: the host NP must immediately precede the comitative phrase. The host NP can never be an antecedent for a non-reflexive possessive within the comitative phrase; however, in Russian, unlike Polish, it can antecede reflexive possessives within the comitative phrase. Note the differences between Polish and Russian: the host NP and the comitative NP must agree with respect to definiteness in Polish, whereas Russian lacks this requirement; the comitative NP participates in gender resolution in Polish (like ordinary coordination); however, Russian does not have the gender resolution phenomenon.

Property	Polish	Russian
Plural verb agreement	Yes	Yes
Ability to co-occur with verbs that have exclusively distributive meanings	Yes	Yes
NP-with-NP serve jointly as an antecedent for a reflexive	Yes	Yes
NP-with-NP serve jointly as a controller for Equi in infinitival complements	Yes	Yes
NP-with-NP serve jointly as a controller for Equi in a participial clause	Yes	Yes
The host NP must precede the comitative phrase	Yes	Yes
The comitative phrase must be strictly adjacent to the host NP	Yes	Yes
The comitative NP participates in gender resolution	Yes	n/a
Extraction out of the NP z NP phrase	No	No
The host NP serves as an antecedent for a reflexive possessive within the comitative NP	No	Yes
The host NP serves as an antecedent for a non-reflexive possessive within the comitative NP	No	No
The host NP and the comitative NP must agree with respect to definiteness	Yes	No
Personal pronoun as the host NP	No	No
Personal pronoun as the comitative NP	No	No
The elements of the PPC's can be conjoined by "and"	Yes	Yes
The order of the NPs in the NP-with-NP cluster is arbitrary	Yes	Yes

The facts suggest that Polish comitative coordination is not different from ordinary coordination. This conclusion goes along the analysis proposed by (Dyła, 1988).

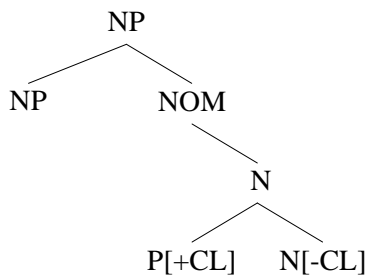
## 2.5 Polish Comitative Coordination – Analysis

Considering the Polish facts, summarized in the table above, a natural assumption to make with respect to *with*-coordination is to assume that it is exactly the same as ordinary coordination, or at least very similar.

(Dyła, 1988) treats comitative constructions that trigger plural verb agreement as ‘quasi-comitative’; i.e. they look like comitative constructions but exhibit the syntactic properties of coordinate constructions. Dyła’s main argument relies on the fact that both ordinary and comitative coordination trigger plural agreement with the verb. (Dyła, 1988) argues that comitative coordinate phrases (‘quasi-comitative constructions’) are indeed coordinate constructions.

Dyła treats *z* (an analogue of the Russian *s* ‘with’) as neither a conjunction, nor a full-fledged preposition. The *z*-phrases are rather NPs with proclitic prepositions. He provides a number of arguments to support this claim. Polish, for instance, allows extraction of prepositions and determiners out of what look like PPs as if they were single constituents.

Dyła argues for the following internal structure of the so-called *z*- phrase in Polish:



In other words, comitative coordination is conjunctionless ordinary coordination.

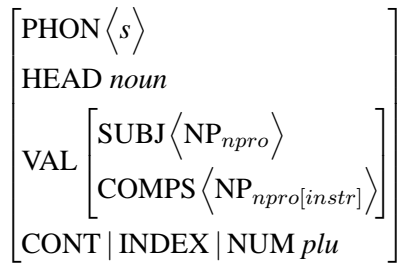
## 2.6 Russian Comitative Coordination – Analysis

The binding facts in Russian suggest that comitative coordination should be analyzed differently from that of ordinary coordination. The section outlines two possible analyses of Russian comitative coordination.

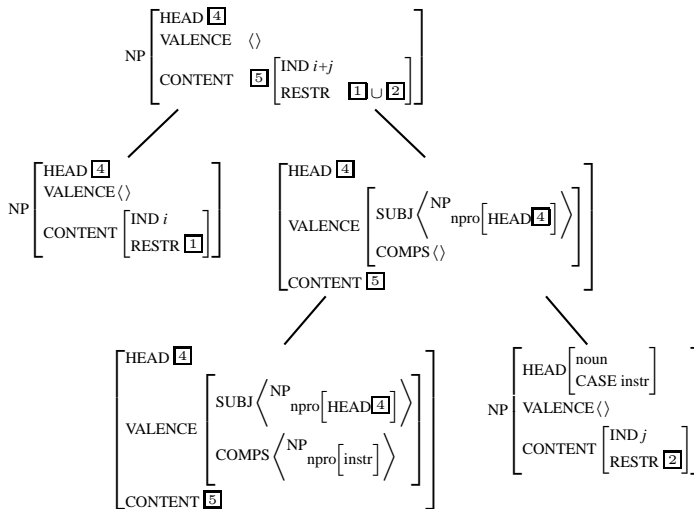
This analysis has been proposed in (Feldman, 2002) within the framework of HPSG. The argument in favor of this distinction between ordinary and comitative coordination comes from the difference in the behavior of these constructions with respect to possessive pronouns when the possession relation holds between the entities denoted by the ordinary/comitative coordinate phrase. In the case of comitative coordination, the nominal head *s* selects two NP complements.

(Feldman, 2002) proposes to treat *s* as a nominal head that selects two noun complements.

[lexical entry for *s*]



The *s*-coordinate structure will look like the following:



In an *s*-coordinate structure, the nominal head *s* subcategorizes for a subject NP<sub>*npro*</sub> and a complement NP<sub>*npro[instr]*</sub>. Moreover, the head values of the nominal head are token identical to the head specification of its subject as represented in the avm above. It is important to notice that this head selects two NP's whose heads are non-pronominal.

Though such an analysis seems to be counterintuitive<sup>6</sup>, it has several immediately appealing facts. First, it ensures the right number specification of the mother NP. Second, it predicts that when a possession relation holds between the entities denoted by the comitative coordinate NP, a reflexive pronoun is required. Third, the first NP always varies in case in accord with the grammatical relation it bears, while the second is invariably in instrumental case. Moreover, it predicts that only non-pronominal NP's will participate in *s*-coordination and provides grounds upon which to explain the contrasts between comitative coordinates and ordinary coordinates on the one hand, and between comitative coordinates and Plural Pronoun Constructions on the other.

<sup>6</sup>See (Feldman, 2002) for the discussion of iterativity and right- and left-node raising apparent problem and their solutions

### 2.6.1 An Excursus on Grammaticalization

In order to understand where the two languages are today with respect to comitative coordination, we must remember that the current state of affairs is just a synchronic reflex of the on-going diachronic process of grammaticalization of coordination as described in (Mithun, 1988). More precisely, what we are faced with is the process of recategorization of a comitative preposition into a conjunction. Since the process of grammaticalization does not occur overnight and many factors are probably involved, both linguistic and extralinguistic, which can speed up or slow down the process, it is not surprising to find Polish and Russian at different stages of the process.<sup>7</sup> As (DeLancey, 1994) has pointed out, a consequence of the gradual process of grammaticalization is that in any language one may find a number of transitional, hybrid categories whose properties are a combination of the properties of the source category and of the properties of the target category. As such, they may not always be easily described in terms of a model of grammar based upon a predefined set of grammatical categories. We claim that the so-called 'comitative preposition' is such a category.

### 2.6.2 The Neutralization Hypothesis

(van Riemsdijk, 1983) in his study of the case of German adjectives proposes that German adjectives are unspecified for the feature [N:]. His Neutralization Hypothesis analysis was later extended by (Samiiian, 1989) to an analysis of Persian prepositions. We feel that an similar analysis would probably be the most suitable for comitative prepositions in Polish and Russian.<sup>8</sup>

If, following (Chomsky, 1970), we assume for the sake of discussion that a preposition can be characterized as [V:-] [N:-], then the Russian preposition *s*, being unspecified for [N:-], becomes compatible with the class of nominals, or, as (Feldman, 2002) puts it, the preposition becomes a functional nominal. It still subcategorizes for an NP in the instrumental case, or at minimum, assigns the instrumental case to the NP it immediately precedes. The host NP is reinterpreted as the specifier of the functional nominal.<sup>9</sup>

Two questions need to be answered

1. How to account for its ability of the host NP in Russian to serve as an antecedent for a reflexive possessive within the instrumental-marked NP?
2. Why is this impossible in Polish comitative coordination?

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<sup>7</sup>We do not intend to use diachronic arguments in a synchronic analysis but we believe that diachrony imposes constraints on synchrony in that it limits a set of possible synchronic analyses.

<sup>8</sup>At this point, such an analysis is not available in HPSG due to the requirement that feature structures be 'fully specified'. Note, however, that (Sag, 2003) proposes to eliminate from HPSG the requirement that feature structures be assigned maximal types and suggests that it may be desirable to eliminate the requirement that feature structures bear a specification for all features that could be specified for that type of feature structure.

<sup>9</sup>To avert possible misunderstandings, we would like to make it clear that we DO NOT postulate any synchronic reanalysis rules.

Note that in sentences like (81) below, the host NP c-commands but does not s-command the reflexive possessive pronoun. One may claim that Russian allows not only clausal subjects to be controllers of *svoj*-reflexives but also subjects (or specifiers) of the NP to serve as controllers. Note that this does not require any changes in the binding theory itself.

- (81) Daša<sub>i</sub> so svoim<sub>i</sub> drugom pošli na pljaž.  
 Dasha with her friend went-PL to beach  
 ‘Dasha and her friend went to the beach.’

It follows that NP-internal binding should be possible in Russian not only with a functional head like 's but also with lexical heads and indeed it is. The results are somewhat "weird". but not ungrammatical., as in the following example:

- (82) Uniženie Ivanom<sub>i</sub> svoei<sub>i</sub> ženy.  
 humiliation-NOM John-INSTR REFL-GEN wife-GEN  
 ‘John’s humiliation of his wife.’

The Polish comitative preposition *z* is likewise neutralized with respect to [N:-] and so is the comitative phrase, thus allowing its value for gender to contribute to the gender specification of the mother. Since comitative coordination in Polish is conjunctionless ordinary coordination, the host NP cannot be used as an antecedent for a reflexive possessive in the comitative phrases. In addition to this NP-internal binding of the kind exemplified in

- (83) \* ciągle upokazanie przez Janka<sub>i</sub> swojej<sub>i</sub> żony  
 constant humiliation-ITERATIVE-NOM by John-INSTR REFL-GEN wife-GEN  
 ‘John’s constant humiliation of his wife.’

### 3 The Plural Pronoun Construction in Polish and Russian

In Polish and Russian, the Plural Pronoun Construction (PPC) involves a complex subject or object NP that consists of a plural pronoun and a comitative phrase which is always made up of the preposition *z* (for Polish) and *s* (for Russian) (or one of its functional variants like *wraz z* (Polish), *razem z* (Polish), *vmeste s* (Russian) etc. ) and an NP in the instrumental case.<sup>10</sup> The case of the plural pronoun is either the default case assigned to an NP that bears a subject or direct object relation in the clause (nominative or accusative) or the genitive case assigned when the plural pronoun is within the scope of quantification or negation or when it is a possessor within an NP. Dative-marked hosts are limited to Inversion nominals.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>10</sup>We will limit ourselves to a discussion to the PPC proper. Verb-coded coordination (VCC) (cf. (Schwartz, 1988) as well as a variety of constructions that form a continuum between the PCC and the VCC deserve a separate treatment.

<sup>11</sup>The term used the literature on Relational Grammar (RG) and Arc Pair Grammar (APG) to refer to a nominal that bears a subject relation in one stratum and an indirect object relation in the next stratum.

In this construction, the inclusive pronominal is usually the first or second person plural pronoun *my* (Polish, Russian) 'we' or *wy/vy* (Polish/Russian) 'you', as in (84) or (85, 88) below, but examples involving the third person plural pronouns *oni* (virile, Polish) or *one* (non-virile, Polish) or *oni* (masculine/feminine; Russian), though less common, are also attested and in a proper context sound perfectly fine, as can be seen from the well-formedness of the examples below.<sup>12</sup>

[Polish]

(84) *My z Ewą pojechaliśmy na zakupy.*  
 we with Ewa-INSTR went-1PL.VIRILE shopping  
 'Eve and I went shopping.'

(85) *Czy wy z Ewą pojechaliście dziś na zakupy?*  
 whether you with Ewa-INSTR went-2PL.VIRILE today shopping  
 'Did you and Eve go shopping today?'

(86) *Oni z Ewą pojechali na zakupy.*  
 They-VIRILE with Ewa-INSTR went-3PL.VIRILE shopping  
 'He and Eve went shopping.'

(87) *Maria zostawia Janka w kinie a one z Ewą jada na zakupy.*  
 Maria-NOM leave-3SG Janek-ACC at cinema-LOC and they-NOM.FEM with Ewa-INSTR  
 went-3PL.FEM shopping  
 'Maria leaves Janek at the cinema while she and Eve are going shopping.'

[Russian]

(88) *My s Dašej kupili kompjuter.*  
 We with Dasha bought-PL computer  
 'We bought a computer with Dasha/ Dasha and I bought a computer.'

The examples below illustrate other contexts in which the PPC can be found.

[Polish]

(89) *Ale nas z Ewą nie potrzebowali przekonywać.*  
 but us-ACC with Ewa-INSTR NEG needed-3PL.VIRILE. convince-INF  
 'But they did not have to convince Eve and me.'

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<sup>12</sup>Note that in (88), using *ja (I)*, instead of *my (we)* is impossible.

(90) \* Nam z Ewą nikt nie pomógł.  
us-DAT with Ewa-INSTR nobody-NOM NEG helped-3PL.VIRILE  
'Nobody helped Eve and me.'

(91) Nam z Ewą przyjemnie się tu mieszka.  
us-DAT with Ewa-INSTR enjoyably REFL here live-3SG  
'It is enjoyable for Eve and me to live here.'

(92) Poczekaj do naszego z Mamą powrotu.  
Wait until our-GEN with Mom-INSTR return-GEN  
'Wait until Mom and I return.'

(93) Dla nas z Ewą stało się jasne, że...  
For us-GEN with Ewa-INSTR became REFL clear-NEUT that  
'It became clear to Eve and me that...'

(94) O nas z Ewą się nie martw.  
about us-LOC with Ewa-INSTR REFL NEG worry-2SG.IMP  
'Don't worry about Eve and me.'

[Russian]

(95) No nas s Evoj im ne nužno bylo ubeždat'  
but us-ACC with Eva-INSTR them-DAT NEG needed-ADV convince-INF  
'But they did not have to convince Eve and me./But they did not have to convince us and Eve.'

(96) Nam s Evoj nikto ne pomog  
us-DAT with Eva-INSTR nobody-NOM NEG helped-3SG.MASC  
'Nobody helped Eve and me./Nobody helped Eve and us.'

(97) Nam s Evoj nraivitsja tut žit'  
us-DAT with Eva-INSTR like.REFL here live-INF  
'It is enjoyable for Eve and me to live here./It is enjoyable for Eve and us to live here.'

(98) Podoždi našegeo s mamoi vozvraschenija.  
Wait our-GEN with Mom-INSTR return-GEN  
'Wait until Mom and I return./Wait until Mom and us return.'

(99) Nam s Evoj stalo jasno...  
 TO us-DAT with Eva-INSTR became REFL clear-NEUT that  
 ‘It became clear to Eve and me that... / It became clear to Eve and us that...’

(100) Za nas z Evoj ne volnujsja  
 about us-LOC with Eva-INSTR NEG worry-2SG.IMP.REFL  
 ‘Don’t worry about Eve and me./Don’t worry about Eve and us.’

With the exception of example (91) which is ambiguous between two readings– one on which the referent of the instrumental NP within the comitative phrase is included in the referent set of the pronoun and the other on which is not– all the other Polish sentences have all only a PPC (inclusory) reading. All Russian examples, however, are ambiguous between inclusive and exclusive readings, as evident from their translations.

The PPC has been analyzed as an instance of comitative coordination (as in (Aissen, 1988, 1989)) or as adjunction (Ladusaw, 1989). However, as has been observed in (Ladusaw, 1989) and (Vassilieva, 2000), PPCs possess syntactic and semantic properties that contrast with those exhibited by coordination. In the following sections, we will show that Polish PPC’s are indeed coordinate, whereas Russian PPC’s are instances of neither adjunction nor coordination, but rather of complementation.

### 3.0.3 Extraction

Let’s begin with extraction out of the complement clause. Extraction of the plural pronoun alone yields an ungrammatical result in Polish, as in (101). When the plural pronoun is accompanied by the comitative phrase, the result is fine, which indicates that the plural pronoun and the comitative phrase form a constituent.

[Polish]

(101) \* Wy, sądzę, że z Mirkim poszliście na plażę.  
 you-NOM.2PL think-1SG that with Mirek-INSTR went-2PL.VIRILE to beach-ACC  
 ‘\*You I think that with Mirek went to the beach.’

(102) Wy z Mirkim, sądzę, że pójdziecie na plażę.  
 you-NOM.2PL with Mirek-INSTR think-1SG that will-go-2PL to beach-ACC  
 ‘You and Mirek, I think, will go to the beach.’

In Russian, the extraction of the plural pronoun alone does not yield ungrammatical examples. Moreover, the two readings, the inclusive and the non-inclusive ones, are still available.

[Russian]

(103) Vy, ja dumaju, s Mašej pošli na pljaž.  
you-NOM.2PL I think-1SG with Masha-INSTR went-PL to beach  
'You[sg], I think, went to the beach with Masha./ You[pl] went to the beach with Masha'

(104) Vy s Mašej, ja dumaju, pošli na pljaž  
you-NOM.2PL with Masha-INSTR I think-1SG went-PL to beach  
'You[sg], I think, went to the beach with Masha./ You went to the beach with Masha.'

### 3.0.4 Contrastive Stress Assignment

A similar situation obtains in case of contrastive stress. The only example which has a PPC reading in Polish is (3.0.4).

[Polish]

(105) \*MY z Mirkiem poszliśmy na plażę.  
we-NOM with Mirek-INSTR went-1PL.VIRILE to beach-ACC  
'It was ME who went with Mirek to the beach.'

(106) \*my Z MIRKIEM poszliśmy na plażę.  
we-NOM with Mirek-INSTR went-1PL.VIRILE to beach-ACC  
'It was with MIREK that I went to the beach.'

(107) MY Z MIRKIEM poszliśmy na plażę.  
we-NOM with Mirek-INSTR went-1PL.VIRILE to beach-ACC  
'It was MIREK and I who went to the beach.'

[Russian]

(108) MY s Mašej pošli na pljaž  
we-NOM with Masha-INSTR went-PL to beach  
'It was US who went with Masha to the beach.'

(109) my S MAŠEJ pošli na pljaž  
we-NOM with Masha-INSTR went-PL to beach  
'It was with MASHA that we went to the beach.'

- (110) ?? MY S MAŠEJ pošli na pljaž  
 we-NOM with Masha-INSTR went-PL to beach  
 ‘It was US AND MASHA who went to the beach.’

The fact that contrastive stress applies to both the plural pronoun and the comitative phrase in Polish constitutes evidence for the existence of the complex NP. In Russian, however, the NP-with-NP string as in (110) seems to be the least acceptable case.

### 3.0.5 Parentheticals and Clitics

Parentheticals cannot intervene between the plural pronoun and the comitative phrase in Polish, as can be seen from the ungrammaticality of (111). Nor can clitics, as shown in (115) below. In Russian, however, the examples in (112) and in (114) are grammatical.

[Polish]

- (111) \* My, niestety, z Mirkiem poszliśmy na plażę.  
 we-NOM unfortunately with Mirek-INSTR went-1PL.VIRILE to beach-ACC  
 ‘Unfortunately, we went to the beach with Mirek.’

[Russian]

- (112) My, k sożaleniju, s Mashej pošli na pljaž.  
 we-NOM unfortunately with Masha-INSTR went-1PL to beach  
 ‘Unfortunately, we went to the beach with Masha./ Unfortunately, I and Masha went to the beach.’

[Polish]

- (113) My się z Mirkiem spotkałsmy na plaży.  
 we-NOM CLITIC with Mirek-INSTR met-1PL.VIRILE at beach-LOC  
 ‘Mirek and I met Mirek at the beach. /We met Mirek at the beach.’

[Russian]

- (114) My że s Mašej vstretilis’ na pljaže.  
 we-NOM CLITIC with Masha-INSTR met-1PL at beach-LOC  
 ‘Masha and I met at the beach. /We met Masha at the beach.’

The behavior of the Polish clitic *się* in (113) is in line with (Toman, 1981), who showed that it cannot be moved into an NP. Thus, the ungrammaticality of (111) shows that the plural pronoun

and the comitative phrase form a constituent. In Russian, however, the clitic does not seem to affect the two readings available for PPC's, as evident from (114).

Note, however, that the ban on material intervening between the plural pronoun and the comitative is lifted when the clitic is a 'mobile inflection', <sup>13</sup>as can be seen from the well-formedness of (115) and (116).

[Polish]

- (115) Myśmy z Joanną poszli na plażę.  
we-NOM-1PL with Joanna-INSTR went-PL to beach-ACC  
'Joanna and I went to the beach./We went to the beach with Joanna.'

[Polish]

- (116) My żeśmy z Joanną poszli na plażę.  
we-NOM that-1PL with Joanna-INSTR went-PL to beach-ACC  
'Joanna and I went to the beach./We went to the beach with Joanna.'

Some speakers will undoubtedly find (117) less acceptable than (115) because the use of pleonastic *że* is limited to colloquial, socially lower registers of Polish but brushing all the social biases aside, we will treat (116) on a par with (115). Does this mean that the complex NP can indeed be split? Note that 'mobile inflections' can also penetrate ordinary coordination, as in (117).

- (117) Alboście Joannę albo Ewę widzieli.  
either-2PL Joanna-ACC or Ewa-ACC saw-PL  
'You either saw Joanna or Eve.'

### 3.0.6 Reflexives and Equi

The examples below show that the plural pronoun and the comitative phrase acts as a constituent in Polish when they jointly serve as an antecedent for a reflexive possessive. When the plural pronoun is a sole controller, the PPC reading gets blocked. Since the comitative phrase alone cannot antecede reflexive possessives, (120) is ungrammatical.

[Polish]

- (118) My<sub>i</sub> z Mirkiem<sub>j</sub> wróciliśmy do swego<sub>i+j</sub> mieszkania.  
we-NOM with Mirek-INSTR returned-1PL.VIRILE to their-REFL.GEN apartment-GEN  
'Mirek and I returned to our apartment.'

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<sup>13</sup>For a detailed discussion of constraints on 'mobile inflections', cf. (Sussex, 1980) and (Borsley and Rivero, 1994).

(119)  $My_i$  z Mirkiem wróciliśmy do swego<sub>i</sub> mieszkania.  
 we-NOM with Mirek-INSTR returned-1PL.VIRILE to their-REFL.GEN apartment-GEN  
 ‘We returned to our apartment with Mirek.’

(120) \*  $My_i$  z Mirkiem<sub>j</sub> wróciliśmy do swego<sub>j</sub> mieszkania.  
 we-NOM with Mirek-INSTR returned-1PL.VIRILE to their-REFL.GEN apartment-GEN  
 ‘We returned with Mirek to his apartment.’

In Russian, on the non-inclusive interpretation, the antecedent of the possessive reflexive *svoj* is understood as *my* (*we*), without the inclusion of Dasha. This fact suggests that the *with*-phrase in (121) cannot be a conjunct.

[Russian, non-inclusory]

(121)  $My_i$  s Dašej<sub>j</sub> prodali svoj<sub>i/\*j/\*i+j</sub> komputer.  
 We<sub>i</sub> with Dasha<sub>j</sub> sold-PL self<sub>i/\*j/\*i+j</sub> computer  
 ‘We<sub>i</sub> sold our<sub>i/\*j/\*i+j</sub> computer with Dasha<sub>j</sub>.’

[Russian, inclusory]

(122)  $My_i$  s Dašej<sub>j</sub> prodali svoj<sub>i/\*j/i+j</sub> komputer.  
 We<sub>i</sub> with Dasha<sub>j</sub> sold-PL self<sub>s\*i/\*j/i+j</sub> computer  
 ‘Dasha and I<sub>i</sub> sold our<sub>i/\*j/i+j</sub> computer.’

In the context of Equi, the plural pronoun + comitative phrase cluster behaves like a complex NP. Examples below are ambiguous between a PPC reading and a non-PPC reading.

[Polish]

(123)  $My$  z Marcinem chcieliśmy iść na plażę.  
 we-NOM with Marcin-INSTR wanted-1PL.VIRILE go-INF to beach-ACC  
 ‘Marcin and I wanted to go to the beach./We wanted to go to the beach with Marcin’

(124) Przyjechawszy w południe,  $my$  z Marcinem zaraz poszliśmy  
 having-arrived at noon we-NOM with Marcin-INSTR immediately went-1PL.VIRILE  
 na plażę.  
 to beach-ACC  
 ‘Having arrived at noon, Marcin and I immediately went to the beach./ Having arrived at noon, we immediately went to the beach with Marcin.’

[Russian]

- (125) My s Mašej xoteli poiti na pljaž.  
we-NOM with Masha-INSTR wanted-1PL go-INF to beach-ACC  
'Masha and I wanted to go to the beach./We wanted to go to the beach with Masha'

- (126) Priexav v polden', my s Mašej srazu pošli na  
having-arrived at noon we-NOM with Masha-INSTR immediately went-1PL to  
pljaž.  
beach-ACC  
'Having arrived at noon, Masha and I immediately went to the beach./ Having arrived at noon, we immediately went to the beach with Masha.'

### 3.0.7 Gender Resolution

Consider the following sentence:

[Polish]

- (127) My z Mirkiem poszliśmy na plażę.  
we-NOM with Mirek-INSTR went-1PL.VIRILE to beach-ACC  
'Mirek and I went to the beach./We went to the beach with Mirek.'

The sentence has both readings regardless of whether the speaker is male or female. However, if we replace the virile verb form with a non-virile one, as in (128), the resulting sentence will have only one reading, a non-PPC one, and only when uttered by a female speaker can only have a non-PPC reading.<sup>14</sup> The reason for this is that the virile gender of the phrase *z Mirkiem* contributes to the gender of the complex NP. Since the virile gender overrides the non-virile genders, the complex NP is likewise virile. Since as the subject of the sentence, it should agree with the predicate in gender and the verb is in its non-virile first person plural form, the PPC reading is blocked.<sup>15</sup>

[Polish]

- (128) My z Mirkiem poszłyśmy na plażę.  
we-NOM with Mirek-INSTR went-1PL.NON-VIRILE to beach-ACC  
'We went to the beach with Mirek.'

The fact that the comitative phrase contributes its value for gender to its mother indicates that the complex NP is coordinate.

<sup>14</sup>The sentence is ungrammatical when uttered by a male speaker.

<sup>15</sup>For a detailed discussion of gender resolution in Polish PPCs, cf. Dylą (2003).

### 3.0.8 Control of Reflexive Possessives Within Comitative Phrase

Like the NP-with-NP Vpl construction discussed in the previous section, the PPC does not allow the plural pronoun to control a reflexive possessive pronoun within the comitative phrase, thus following the pattern of ordinary coordination.

[Polish]

- (129) \*  $My_i$  ze  $swoim_i$  synem poszliśmy na plażę.  
we-NOM with REFL.INSTR son-INSTR went-1PL.MASC to beach-ACC  
'My son and I went to the beach.'

The inability of the plural pronoun to serve as an antecedent for a reflexive possessive within the comitative phrase is a consequence of the construction being coordinate (and of the fact that the referent of the comitative NP is already included in the referent set of the plural pronoun).

In Russian, PPC's behave different from the comitative coordination in that they do not allow for reflexive possessives to modify the comitative phrase:

[Russian]

- (130)  $My$  so  $moim/*svoim$  drugom pošli na pljaż.  
we-NOM with my.POSS-NONREFL/\*self.POSS-REFL friend went-PL to beach-ACC  
'I went to the beach with my friend.'

- (131)  $My$  so  $našim/*svoim$  drugom pošli na pljaż.  
we-NOM with our.POSS-NONREFL/\*self.POSS-REFL friend went-PL to beach-ACC  
'We went to the beach with our friend.'

As evident from the examples in (130) and (131), neither of the readings allow for reflexive possessives to modify the comitative phrase within the NP-with-NP cluster. This fact suggests that PPC's in Russian are not instances of comitative coordination; moreover, the inclusory PPC's are not instances of adjunction either.

### 3.0.9 Co-occurrence with Exclusively Distributive Predicates

The plural pronoun + comitative phrase cluster can co-occur with predicates that have exclusively distributive readings. This may indicate that the comitative preposition is viewed as a conjunction in Polish.

[Polish]

(132) My z Joanną jesteśmy wysocy.  
 we-NOM with Joanna-INSTR be-1PL.VIRILE tall-VIRILE  
 ‘Joanna and I are tall.’

(133) My z Joanną jesteśmy zwolennikami postępu w  
 we-NOM with Joanna-INSTR be-1PL proponent-PL progress-GEN within  
 granicach zdrowego rozsądku.  
 boundaries-LOG common-GEN sense-GEN  
 ‘Joanna and I are proponents of progress within the boundaries of common sense.’

In Russian, when a non-inclusory PPC cooccurs with the verbs such as *believe*, which trigger only a distributive reading, the intended interpretation is impossible.<sup>16</sup>

[Russian]

(134) \*My s Dašej verim v boga.  
 We with Dasha believe-PL in God  
 ‘We and Dasha believe in God.’

Observe, incidentally that sentence is perfectly grammatical, however, on the inclusory interpretation.

Additional evidence that the non-inclusory PPC does not have a distributive reading is the fact that it never cooccurs with reciprocals:

[Russian]

(135) \*My s Dašej ljubim drug družku  
 We with Dasha like each other  
 ‘\*We like each other with Dasha.’

Again, this sentence is grammatical on the inclusive interpretation.

### 3.1 Inclusory PPCs (IPPCs) – Polish vs. Russian

While all the tests that we applied to Polish PPC’s suggest that these constructions in Polish are coordinate, Russian PPC’s behaved differently from comitative coordination. In addition, there are several additional facts that suggest that PPC’s in Russian are not coordinate constructions.

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<sup>16</sup>See (Vassilieva, 2000) for additional data

The elements of the inclusory PPCs cannot be conjoined by *i* 'and', unlike coordinate comitatives, where such a substitution is allowed.

- (136) a. My [i Maša] kupili kompjuter  
 We [and Masha] bought-PL computer  
 'Masha and we bought a computer./\*Masha and I bought a computer.'
- b. My [s Mašej] kupili kompjuter.  
 We with Masha bought-PL computer  
 '\*Masha and we bought a computer./Masha and I bought a computer.'

Polish PPCs behave in the same way.

*S*-coordinate constructions trigger plural agreement with the verb. The order of conjuncts can be freely changed in both comitative and regular coordination:

- (137) a. Maša s Dašej(=Daša s Mašej) pokupajut kompjuter.  
 Masha with Dasha(=Dasha and Masha) buy-Pres.3PL computer  
 'Masha and Dasha are buying a computer.'
- b. My s Dašej pokupaem kompjuter.  
 We with Dasha buy-Pres.1PL computer  
 'Dasha and I are buying a computer.'
- c. \* Dasha s nami pokupaem/pokupajut kompjuter.  
 Dasha with us buy-Pres.1PL/3PL computer  
 'Dasha and we are buying a computer.'

As evident from (137b) and (137c), plural agreement is impossible in inclusive PPCs when the order of the elements of the comitative phrase is altered.<sup>17</sup> Moreover, pronouns cannot participate in *s*-coordination in Russian:

- (138) a. \* On so mnoj delaem/delajut uroki.  
 He with me do-Pres.1PL/3PL homework  
 'He and I are doing the homework assignment.'
- b. ? On i ja delaem uroki.  
 He and I do-Pres.1PL homework  
 'He and I are doing the homework assignment.'

As has been noticed in (Urtz, 1994), native speakers tend to avoid *and*-coordination of pronouns (as in (138b)), giving preference to PPCs (cf.(139)) as 'more natural':

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<sup>17</sup>The order in Polish PPCs is also fixed.

- (139) My s nim delaem uroki.  
 We with him do-Pres.1PL homework  
 ‘He and I are doing the homework assignment.’

In addition, there is a restriction on the order of elements in IPPCs with respect to the person hierarchy. While English requires the 1st person pronoun to come second in a coordinate structure (*He and I* vs. *\*I and he*), Russian has no preference. However, in inclusory PPCs, the plural pronoun must be higher in the hierarchy (1 > 2 > 3) than the pronoun in the *with*-phrase. Therefore, the example below cannot have an inclusory reading even when the verb agrees with the plural pronoun in person:

- (140) a. My s nej poem.  
 we with her sing.1PL  
 ‘She and I sing.’  
 b. \* \*Oni so mnoj poem/pojut.  
 They with me sing.1PL/3PL  
 ‘She/he and I sing.’

Thus, the strict selectivity imposed on the constituents and their order is unique to IPPCs and does not apply to other comitative constructions. This supports the hypothesis that the IPPC is not an instance of coordination (although Polish PPCs in spite of their coordinate nature share some of these restrictions too).

### 3.2 Summary and the analysis of the IPPC’s in Russian and Polish

As has been discussed in the previous sections, Polish IPPCs possess very similar properties to those of coordination (see the table below), so that no additional analysis is required for them.

Property	Polish	Russian
Plural verb agreement	Yes	Yes
Ability to co-occur with verbs that have exclusively distributive meanings	Yes	Yes
NP z NP serve jointly as an antecedent for a reflexive	Yes	Yes
NP z NP serve jointly as a controller for Equi in infinitival complements	Yes	Yes
NP z NP serve jointly as a controller for Equi in a participial clause	Yes	Yes
The host NP must precede the comitative phrase	Yes	Yes
The comitative phrase must be strictly adjacent to the host NP	Yes <sup>18</sup>	No
The comitative NP participates in gender resolution	Yes	n/a
Extraction out of the NP-with-NP phrase	No	No
The host NP serves as an antecedent for a reflexive possessive within the comitative NP	No	Yes
The host NP and the comitative NP must agree with respect to definiteness	Yes	No
The elements of the PPC's can be conjoined by "and"	No	No
The order of the NPs in the NP-with-NP cluster is arbitrary	No	No
There is a restriction on the order of elements with respect to the person hierarchy	n/a	Yes

However, Russian IPPC's behave differently from Polish IPPC's and also they behave differently from comitative coordination. The analysis of Russian IPPC's have been proposed in (Feldman, 2002) within the HPSG framework, where other analyses are also discussed and provided counterexamples. In a nutshell, IPPCs share some properties with comitative adjuncts and *with*-conjuncts. Like *with*-coordinate constructions, IPPCs "trigger" plural agreement with the verb, jointly antecede reflexives, prohibit 'wh-extraction', and appear with reciprocals and distributive verbs; however, unlike coordination and like adjunction, the prepositional phrase can occur in postverbal position. The most intriguing fact is that IPPCs exhibit a number of features not found in other *with*-constructions: the order of the constituents with respect to their person specification is unique; and an IPPC cannot be substituted with an equivalent coordinate phrase. Since IPPCs pattern neither with *s*-coordinate constructions nor with comitative adjunction, (Feldman, 2002) assumes that the plural pronouns that occur in such structures are heads that select *with*-phrases with particular specifications. The plural pronoun is transitive and it selects a  $PP_s$ . To ensure that the denotation of the complement is included in the denotation of the head for the inclusory interpretation and to impose restrictions on the order of elements in IPPCs with respect to the personal hierarchy, (Feldman, 2002) states two additional constraints:

1. An element  $z$  of poset  $A$  covers another element  $x$  provided that there exists no third element  $y$  in the poset for which  $x \subset y \subset z$ , where  $A$  is a set of individuals, some of which are plural and  $x \setminus z$  is a singleton. (We write  $x \prec z$ ).
2. lexical entry for a transitive plural pronoun in Russian

$$\left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{PHON} \langle phon \rangle \\ \text{CAT} \left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{HEAD } noun \\ \text{VAL} \mid \text{COMPS} \langle PP_s \ 1 \rangle \end{array} \right] \\ \text{CONT } pro\_tr \left[ \text{INDEX } 2 \right] \\ \text{CONX} \mid \text{BG} \{ 1 \prec 2 \} \end{array} \right]$$

$\wedge (\text{PERS 1st} \wedge \text{PERS}(2\text{nd} \vee 3\text{rd})) \vee (\text{PERS 2nd} \wedge \text{PERS 3rd}) \vee (\text{PERS 3rd} \wedge \text{PERS 3rd})$

## 4 Conclusions

We believe to have shown here that with respect to comitative coordination and the plural pronoun construction there are significant differences between Polish and Russian. On the comitative > coordinate continuum, Polish is very close to the coordinate end, while Russian is somewhere in the middle. Although it is not possible to provide a unified cross-linguistic account of the two constructions under consideration, we were able to find some common ground and shed some light on the differences in binding.

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