

**Associative and Pronominal Plurality**

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by

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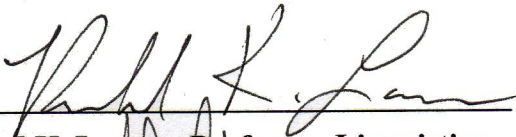
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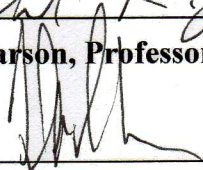
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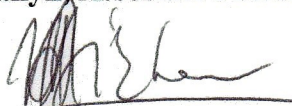
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Abstract of the Dissertation  
**Associative and Pronominal Plurality**

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This study focuses on the internal structure of inclusory expressions such as pronouns, associative plurals, plural pronoun constructions and extended associatives. Plural pronouns such as ‘we’ are inclusory in the sense that they refer to a group that includes the speaker. Similarly, associative plurals refer to a group by naming just one of its members overtly. I argue that personal pronouns and associative plurals are complex nominal phrases with identical syntax and semantics. Namely, I suggest that they are both headed by a (silent) plural nominal that names the group as a whole. The person feature [+speaker] in ‘we’ and the named referent of associative plurals are definite/indexical modifiers which are in a part-whole relation with the plural head. Thus, associative plurals

and personal pronouns are both interpreted as ‘X’s group’ (speaker’s group, in the case of ‘we’).

Plural Pronoun Constructions and extended associatives involve a plural pronoun (or an associative plural, respectively) as well as a comitative phrase. The referent of the comitative phrase is interpreted as being included into the group denoted by the plural expression. For instance, the interpretation of the string [we with Peter] is ‘I and Peter’. Traditionally, the role of the *with*-phrase has been seen as clarifying the reference of a variable in the semantics of the pronoun. Namely, if ‘we’ is interpreted as ‘I plus other(s)’, then the role of the *with*-phrase is to specify who those others are. My analysis of plural pronouns does not treat them as ‘X + others’, but rather as ‘X’s group’. Therefore, I analyze Plural Pronoun Constructions and extended associatives as coordinate constructions in which one of the conjuncts interacts with the conjunction &° in a way that leads to its being spelled out as a plural pronoun or an associative plural.

The study focuses primarily on data from several Slavic languages (Bulgarian, Czech, Polish, Russian and Slovenian).

For Boris and Ludmila

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

Acknowledgments.....	viii
Introduction .....	1
1. INTRODUCTION TO THE ASSOCIATIVE PLURAL CONSTRUCTIONS .....	4
1.1 Interpretation of associative plurals .....	4
1.2 Focal referents are human and definite .....	7
1.3 Typology of associative markers .....	10
1.4 Associatives in the linguistic literature .....	12
1.4.1 Associatives and pronouns .....	13
1.4.2 Associativity and plurality .....	14
1.4.3 Inclusion in associatives .....	15
1.5 Relevance of the earlier work to the ideas developed in the next chapters .....	16
2. A PREDICATIVE ANALYSIS OF ASSOCIATIVE PLURALS.....	18
2.1 Group reference: Associatives as DPs with a non-descriptive plural NP .....	18
2.1.1 The (silent) group referent .....	19
2.1.2 The group referent is plural, not collective .....	23
2.2 Focal referents as determiners.....	27
2.2.1 Preliminary syntactic assumptions .....	27
2.2.2 Morphology of focal referents .....	29
2.2.3 Definiteness effects .....	33
2.3 The interpretation of associative plurals.....	41
2.3.1 Contextual determination: associatives and other constructions with lexical determiners .....	42
2.3.2 Default interpretation, predicative linkers and ghost prepositions .....	43
2.3.3 The preference for family interpretation.....	46
2.3.4 The associative relation: a summary .....	47
2.4 Concluding remarks .....	48
3. ASSOCIATIVE AND PRONOMINAL PLURALITY: A UNIFIED ANALYSIS.....	49
3.1 Some similarities between personal pronouns and associative plurals: the motivation for a unified analysis.....	49
3.2 Person features and focal referents .....	51
3.3 Additional interpretations of personal pronouns .....	58
3.4 Pronominal form .....	63
3.5 Conclusions: plural pronouns as associative plurals .....	65

4.	A COORDINATIVE ANALYSIS OF PLURAL COMITATIVES.....	66
4.1	Introduction: the group, the focal referent ... and the associate? .....	66
4.2	The semantic role of the comitative phrase in PPC .....	69
4.2.1	Comitative referent as co-participant .....	69
4.2.2	Comitative referent as ‘completer’ of the pronoun.....	70
4.3	Existing analyses of PPC .....	75
4.3.1	Progovac (1997) .....	75
4.3.2	den Dikken et al (2000) .....	77
4.3.3	Vassilieva & Larson (2005) .....	78
4.3.4	Ionin & Matushanski (2003) .....	79
4.4	My analysis of PPC and <i>with</i> -coordination .....	83
4.4.1	Syntax of plural comitatives: the proposal .....	83
4.4.2	Binding .....	86
4.4.3	Discontinuity in PPC .....	87
4.4.4	Discontinuity and <i>pro</i> -drop in PPC .....	88
4.4.5	Selectional properties of the coordinative D° .....	91
4.4.6	The person hierarchy in PPC .....	92
4.4.7	The rarity of extended associatives .....	93
4.5	Puzzle #1: <i>Wh</i> -extraction of comitative phrases.....	99
4.6	Puzzle #2: Sensitivity to the type of verb .....	101
4.7	Summary of the coordinative approach to plural comitatives....	105
	References .....	108



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Edith Moravcsik has contributed by generously giving me access to her collection of data, the only one available to date. Michael Daniel has sent me a copy of his unpublished dissertation, the only detailed cross-linguistic study of associatives in existence. They and their willing accomplices Barbara Citko, Ivan Derzhanski, Stefan Dylą, Lanko Marušič, Ruiqin Miao, Tanya Scott and Hiroko Yamakido are also to be blamed for having answered countless questions, data requests and pleas for help in the course of several years.

Sandra Brennan and Susan Mitchell bear full responsibility for having blasted many a bureaucratic hurdle out of my way.

Countless other petty criminals are knowingly or unknowingly implicated in this crime of a thesis. They are too numerous to mention, but will not be forgotten.

Finally, Simon is definitely the guiltiest of all and should just be hanged. Had it been not for him, none of this would have happened.

## INTRODUCTION

This thesis grew out of an interest in a strange pronominal construction in Russian where the pronoun ‘we’ appeared to mean just ‘I’ (1).

- (1) My s Sajmonom pomešany na svoej koške. RUSSIAN < East Slavic  
 we with Simon are-crazy on our.refl cat  
 ‘Simon and I are crazy about our cat.’

The technical name for the construction is **Plural Pronoun Construction** (PPC). The conclusion I initially came to was that *we* means something like ‘speaker + other(s)’, with the comitative phrase in (1) clarifying who those ‘others’ were. Yet, this explained neither why English pronouns couldn’t specify their ‘remainder’, nor how PPC could be used with 3<sup>rd</sup> person pronouns (2).

- (2) Oni s Sajmonom pomešany na svoej koške. RUSSIAN < East Slavic  
 they with Simon are-crazy on their.refl cat  
 ‘She and Simon are crazy about their cat.’

It did not make much sense to analyze all 3<sup>rd</sup> person plural pronouns as ‘(s)he + others’, because in most cases ‘they’ just seemed to refer to a homogenic group, with no referent standing out the way the speaker stood out in ‘we’. Yet what could be the structural difference between a ‘normal’ *they* and the kind of *they* used in PPC? Seeking an answer to these riddles, I discovered the existence of expressions that were very similar to ‘we’ in their semantics, except that they were nominals, not pronouns.

- (3) a. Mehmetler (Lewis 1967:26) TURKISH < Turkic  
 Mehmet-PL  
 i. ‘Mehmets’ (two or more people by the same name)  
 ii. ‘Mehmet and his family’  
 b. Jánosék HUNGARIAN < Finno-Ugric < Uralic  
 John-poss-pl  
 ‘John and company’  
 c. Pa hulle (den Besten 1996:16) AFRIKAANS < West Germanic < IE  
 Dad them  
 i. ‘Dad and his folks’  
 ii. ‘Dad and Mum’, ‘parents’

These expressions, known as **associative plurals**, refer to a group by naming its salient member. They are interpreted as ‘X and Co’ or ‘X and X’s one(s)’. Hardly any syntactic research had been done on them, but the existing typological and semantic studies (summarized in Chapter 1) repeatedly pointed out the parallels between associatives and personal pronouns. One of the similarities, observed by Moravcsik (2003), was that associatives could sometimes participate in constructions that were very similar to Plural Pronoun Constructions (4b).

- (4) (Hoffman 1963:236-8)      MARGI < Biu-Mandara < Chadic < Afro-Asiatic
- a. Siapu-yar  
S.-pl  
‘Siapu and his followers.’
  - b. Siapu-yar **aga** mala gənda  
S.-pl      with his      wife  
‘Siapu and his wife.’

Intuitively, this much seemed clear: plural pronouns and associatives refer to groups, but do not name them directly. Rather, they name one of the referents (the speaker in *we* or the nominal in associatives) and let the hearer guess who the rest of the group are. The function of the *with*-phrase in Plural Pronoun Constructions (2) and extended associatives (4) is to name that rest overtly. The challenge, of course, was to express these intuitions in formal syntactic terms.

First, it was necessary to determine the syntactic structure of the associatives. I began by drawing a syntactic parallel between plural pronouns and associatives. Plural pronouns are headed by non-descriptive NPs. The reference to the speaker is made by a person feature. The person feature (the speaker) itself is not plural, rather it is the silent NP that is plural. Applied to the associative plurals, that would mean that the dominant (named) referent is in some modifier position, while the construction is headed by a silent (=non-descriptive) plural NP. The interpretation of associatives would, then, be something like PETER-GROUP, rather than PETER PLUS OTHERS. The details of this proposal for associative plurals are laid out in chapter 2.

My next problem was to account for the non-associative interpretations of personal pronouns. For instance, I needed to explain what made an ‘associative’ *they* different from a ‘regular’ *they*. Since the 3<sup>rd</sup> person pronouns do not have a person feature, how is the obvious referent encoded? Finally, what allows plural pronouns to have many non-canonical interpretations; for instance, how can the pronoun ‘we’ be interpreted as referring to the speaker alone in its royal use and to the listener alone in its use in Motherese? These are the questions I answer in chapter 3.

Finally, I needed to find a syntactic spot for the *with*-phrase in Plural Pronoun Constructions (2) and in what I decided to call **extended associatives** in (4). Having suggested in chapters 2-3 that associatives and pronouns involve no syntactic/semantic position for the remainder, the only option consistent with this proposal was to analyze PPC as coordination, with a special mechanism that combines one of the conjuncts with the plural feature of the conjunction &°, with the effect of producing something similar to a plural pronoun or a plural associative.

Treating PPC as coordination inevitably raises the question of whether it is structurally related to the so-called **comitative coordination** (5)

- (5) Sajmon s Mašej pomešany na svoej koške.      RUSSIAN < East Slavic  
 Simon with Masha are-crazy on their.refl cat  
 ‘Simon and Masha are crazy about their cat.’

In chapter 4, I develop a unified syntactic analysis of PPC and *with*-coordination, focusing on the mechanism that turns one of the conjuncts into a plural pronoun / associative in one construction, but not the other. I also discuss a number of syntactic differences between the two constructions and the relative rarity of the extended associatives (4), compared to the ubiquity of PPC.

# CHAPTER 1

## INTRODUCTION

### TO THE ASSOCIATIVE PLURAL CONSTRUCTIONS

In this chapter, I introduce the reader to associative plurality, something that many languages possess yet very few linguists have studied.

I begin with a discussion of the interpretation of these constructions and how it is reflected in the terminology (section 1.1), go on to describe their restriction to human and definite referents (section 1.2), and then briefly review the typology of means by which languages mark associativity (section 1.3).

Having summarized some of the semantic and morphological properties of associatives, I review some major problems that have been raised in the few existing studies of associativity (section 1.4). The issues in question are (i) the nature of semantic similarities between personal pronouns and associatives, (ii) the role of plurality and whether associatives are a ‘new’ type of non-plural, and (iii) the source of the inclusive interpretation in associatives. I conclude with a short discussion of how the problems raised in previous research on associatives are addressed in the remaining chapters of the thesis (section 1.5).

#### 1.1 INTERPRETATION OF ASSOCIATIVE PLURALS

In English, a plural proper name like *Sandras* makes reference to a group of people each of whom is called Sandra. There are, however, many languages in which a word like *Sandras* would also have an additional interpretation and refer to a group containing just one Sandra. For example, in Turkish, a combination of the name *Mehmet* and a nominal pluralizer *-ler* not only denotes a group comprised of many Mehmetts, but can also denote a group that includes Mehmet himself and one or more members of his family (1).

- |   |                 |  |
|---|-----------------|--|
| (1) Mehmetler                                       | (Lewis 1967:26) | TURKISH < Turkic < ? Altaic <sup>1</sup> |
| Mehmet-PL   |                 |  |
| i. ‘Mehmetts’ (two or more people by the same name) |                 |  |
| ii. ‘Mehmet and his family’                         |                 |  |

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<sup>1</sup> Inclusion of Turkic languages into an Altaic (or even Ural-Altaic) phylum is not uncontroversial, hence the question mark.

The closest equivalent in English would be a plural **last** name like *the Johnsons* if one were to interpret it as ‘Mr. Johnson and his family’. Note, however, that each member of the family is a *Johnson*, while there is only one person named *Mehmet* in our Turkish example (1).

The special form of plural reference exemplified by (1-ii) is known in linguistic literature as **Associative Plurality (APL)**<sup>2</sup> (e.g., Den Besten 1996, Daniel 2000a, 2002, Moravcsik 1994, 2003, Nakanishi & Tomioka 2004). The term reflects the fact that we identify the unnamed referents of the expression by their association with the one referent that is named. In Turkish (1) and Bulgarian (2), this association is usually understood as family affiliation; in other languages association can be of a different type or even purely accidental, with the context determining how we identify the unnamed members of the group (3).

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| <p>(2) <b>Wojtkowie</b> (Dyła, p.c.)<br/> Wojtek-pl<sup>4</sup><br/> ‘Wojtek and his wife’</p>            | <p>POLISH &lt; West Slavic &lt; Indo-European<sup>3</sup></p> |
| <p>(3) <b>Yalõn-ni</b> (Moravcsik’s file<sup>5</sup>)<br/> Yalong-pl<br/> ‘Yalong and his companions’</p> | <p>KPELLE &lt; Mande &lt; Niger-Congo</p>                     |

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<sup>2</sup> Some other terms for this construction are *elliptical plural*, *approximative plural*, *representative plural* and *plural a potiori* (Moravcsik 2003:497, ft.1).

<sup>3</sup> Henceforth I will use the acronym IE for Indo-European and N., S., E., and W. for the North, South, etc. classifications of language families and groups.

<sup>4</sup> The suffix *-owie* denotes **married couples** when used with last names (*Zarbowie* ‘the Zarbas’), masculine first names (*Jackowie* ‘Jacek and his wife’) and kin terms (*dziadek* ‘granddad’=> *dziadkowie* ‘grandparents’). It is also used to mark **plural** with a group of personal masculine nouns (*synowie* ‘sons’, *generałowie* ‘generals’). Sometimes it is also used to derive **collective** nouns (*listowie* ‘foliage’ vs. *liście* ‘leaf.pl’)

<sup>5</sup> Throughout the paper, I will make references to a data file that Prof. Edith Moravcsik generously sent me. Data on associatives are very hard to come by, since this construction is often restricted to the colloquial register of a language and is therefore rarely mentioned in descriptive grammars.

In associative plural constructions (henceforth: associatives<sup>6</sup>) the referent of the proper name in a sense represents the group, which is why another term sometimes used for this construction is ‘**representative** plural’. The named referent has a special position within the group, the position of discourse salience or communicative prominence, which is why Daniel (2000a:25) and Moravcsik (2003:471) use the term **focal referent** for the representative member of the group. I will adopt this term here, as well as the term ‘**associate(s)**’ for the ‘remainder’ of the group (cf. Moravcsik 2003:472).

In addition to discourse salience, languages may impose additional prominence requirements on the focal referent, such as social prominence, gender, spatial or conceptual proximity to the speaker. For example, Daniel (2000a: 72-76) discusses how some of these factors determine the choice of the focal referent in Bagvalal.<sup>7</sup> While males are usually chosen as focal referents, an exception can be made, for example, if the name of the head of the family is too common and makes identification difficult. Also, a female focal referent is chosen in *jašari* ‘daughter and her family’, because the daughter is perceived by the speaker as closer to him than his daughter’s husband. In addition to pragmatic closeness and gender prominence, the focal referent in Bagvalal associatives should be a representative from the older generation and dominant within his family. The example

---

<sup>6</sup> Not to be confused with the (as)sociative case which in some languages is distinguished from both comitative and instrumental cases (Daniel 2000a:9). Some other uses of the term ‘associative’ in the linguistic literature are:

i. ‘**Associative anaphora**’ are ‘definite NPs used to designate a referent that has not yet been introduced into the discourse, but that can be presumed accessible by the addressee at the time they are employed. For example, after mentioning a football match an announcer may immediately launch into a discussion of the audience, the referee, the bleachers, or the score without any previous introduction to these entities, under the assumption that they are commonly evoked by such a game’ (Charolles & Kleiber 1999:307-310).

ii. **Associative phrase** in Chinese linguistics denotes a type of modification between two nominals, namely possessive, part-whole and descriptive relations (e.g. bird –link – tail ‘the tail of the bird’, black tail-link-bird ‘the bird with black tail’) (Wu 1996:357-8).

iii. **Associative copulatives** in Xhosa have two interpretations, ‘X owns Y’ or ‘X is (associated) with Y’ (e.g. she-copula-dog can be interpreted as ‘she has a dog’ or as ‘she is with a dog’) (Jokweni 1997:111).

<sup>7</sup> Bagvalal is a North-Caucasian language spoken by some 5,500 in the Dagestan region of the Caucasus, according to <http://www.ethnologue.com>.

in (4) can be interpreted as ‘Sahid, his wife and children’, but not as ‘Sahid, his parents and siblings’.

- (4) Saſitāri (Daniel 2000a:72) BAGVALAL < N. Caucasian  
 ‘Said and his family’

Associative constructions are sometimes also called **group** or **cohort** plurals (Moravcsik 1994). Associatives are more restrictive than conjunctions with respect to the homogeneity of their referents. For example, associatives cannot normally be interpreted as ‘X and his enemies’, ‘X and his slave(s)’, or ‘X and his dog’ (cf. Moravcsik 2003:471-2). Associatives tend to refer to a close-knit group of individuals rather than to sets without any internal cohesion (cf. Daniel & Moravcsik, forthcoming).

## 1.2 FOCAL REFERENTS ARE HUMAN AND DEFINITE

In all the examples used so far, the focal referent was expressed by a proper name. While very common, this is not the only possible choice of base for associative plurals. Below are some examples with kinship terms (5a, b), titles (5c) and common nouns (5d). Note that not all types of definite expressions are equally acceptable as focal referents in all languages; for example, in Bulgarian the choice is restricted to proper names and terms for older kin (Ivan Derzhanski, p.c.), while in another South Slavic language, Slovenian, other types of nominals are acceptable (Lanko Marušič, p.c.). See chapter 2 for a discussion of these restrictions.

- (5) a. **teyzemler** (Lewis 1967:40) TURKISH < Turkic < ? Altaic  
 aunt-PL  
 i. ‘Aunts’  
 ii. ‘(My) aunt and her family’  
 b. **dziadkowie** (Dyła, p.c.) POLISH < W. Slavic < IE  
 grandpa-pl<sup>8</sup>  
 ‘Grandpa and his wife’

---

<sup>8</sup> See footnote 4.



- c. pater ɔl<sup>9</sup> (Mühlhäusler 1981: 43) TOK PISIN<sup>10</sup>  
 priest pl  
 ‘The priest and his flock’
- d. Mamaka-**ziga**-la digeŋ-ki-ni UDIHE < Tungus < Altaic  
 old.woman-PL-FOC hide-PAST-3SG (Moravcsik’s file)  
 ‘The old woman and those who were with her have hidden.’

The focal referent that identifies the group is definite and referential. For example, in Hungarian ‘<the suffix *-ék*> is usually added to nouns denoting persons – such as proper names or names of kinship or occupation – to form plural nouns meaning a group of people associated with the person referred to by the base. When on a common noun, it must be used with the definite article to guarantee referentiality’ (Kenesei 1998:353).

- (6) a. *János-ék* ‘John and company’ HUNGARIAN < Finno-Ugric < Uralic  
 b. *a mérnök-ék* ‘**the** engineer and his group’ (Moravcsik’s file)

There are some associative-like constructions whose focal referents can be inanimate<sup>11</sup> or non-human. When this is the case, these constructions either have an ‘etcetera’ interpretation (7) or a ‘habitual pair’ interpretation (8). Daniel (2000a: 92, 64) calls the former ‘similative’ associatives, and the latter ‘lexical’ associatives.

- (7) a. su bàrēwā (Newman 2000:371) HAUSA < Chadic < Afro-Asiatic  
 they gazelles  
 ‘gazelles, etc.’ / ‘gazelles and similar animals’ <=*etcetera* interpretation
- b. su Tankò (Newman 2000:371)  
 they Tanko  
 ‘Tanko and the others’ <= associative interpretation

---

<sup>9</sup> The marker ɔl in Tok Pisin functions as a plural marker as well as a 3<sup>rd</sup> person plural pronoun. When it marks associativity, it follows the noun; when it marks regular plurality, it precedes the noun, cf. ɔl pater ‘priests’ vs. pater ɔl ‘priest and his flock’.

<sup>10</sup> Tok Pisin is an English-based Creole spoken in New Guinea.

<sup>11</sup> Moravcsik & Daniel (forthcoming): ‘There is only sporadic evidence for inanimate heterogeneous plurals designating sets of objects closely related to each other and this pattern is never productive’.

- (8) áhanī (Delbrück 1983:137, in Daniel 2000a:66) SANSKRIT  
 day.Du < Indo-Aryan < IE  
 ‘day and night’

I will exclude the *etcetera*-constructions from consideration here because their interpretation differs significantly from the interpretation of associatives and because many languages have separate forms for them (9-10). For example, Turkic languages (9) often form their associatives with a regular plural marker, using the so-called ‘echo-compound’ or ‘reduplicative’ compounds for the *etcetera* constructions.<sup>12</sup>

- (9) a. Fatma-lar (Kornfilt 1997:202) TURKISH < Turkic < ?Altaic  
 Fatma-Pl  
 ‘Fatma and her family’  
 b. kitap-mitap (cf. *kitap* ‘book’) (Lewis 1967:337)  
 ‘books and such’

- (10) (Ruiqin Miao, p.c.)<sup>13</sup> CHINESE < Sino-Tibetan  
 a. XiaoQiang-tamen (XQ-they) ‘XQ and his group’  
 b. XiaoQiang-men (XQ-PL) ‘XQ and others like him’

Nor will I discuss the ‘lexical’ associatives, because they are generally not productive, and differ from the ‘canonical’ associatives in the ‘fixedness’ of the interpretation of the associate member. For example, the Spanish word *padres* (father + pl) is an example of a lexical associative: it is neither productive nor has to be referential. The interpretation of the associate member is fixed, similarly to the Latin plural *Castores* which always refers to Castor and his mythical twin brother Pollux and to the Sanskrit dual form *Mitrā* that always refers to Mitra and Varuna, the Hindu gods of light and dawn, respectively (Daniel 2000a:178).

---

<sup>12</sup> Johanson (2002): ‘reduplicative compounds are an areal feature of Turkic languages’.

<sup>13</sup> Li (1999) says that both interpretations are available in XQ-men.

### 1.3 TYPOLOGY OF ASSOCIATIVE MARKERS

Among the languages that have associatives, about 50% use a regular plural marker, while the rest use other means to form associatives (Moravcsik & Daniel, forthcoming). In some of the languages that use a plural marker, the resulting forms may be ambiguous between plural and associative interpretations (11-12). In others, the difference in the interpretation may be signaled by the position of the marker (13).

- (11) a. ame-wó (*wo* ‘they’) Ewe < Niger-Kordofan  
       ‘human beings’ (den Besten 1996:14)  
       b. fiahá-wo  
       ‘the Chief and his attenue’ (Westerman 1945:1-27)
- (12) (Moravcsik’s file) LUVALE < Bantoid < Benue-Congo < Niger-Congo  
       a. va-kayombo ‘Kayombo and his friend’  
       b. va-tata ‘fathers’, va-ngolo ‘zebras’
- (13) a. *ɔl pater* ‘the priests’ (Mühlhäusler 1981: 43) TOK PISIN  
       b. *pater ɔl* ‘the priest and his flock’ (Mühlhäusler 1981: 43)

Moravcsik (1994, 2003) and Daniel (2000a:34-52) identified several associative marking strategies in languages whose associatives differ from regular plurals. These strategies can be schematically represented as **Peter+POSS.PL**, **Peter+THEY**, **Peter+MOB**, **Peter+COLLECTIVE SUFFIX**, **Peter+AND/WITH/ALSO**, **Peter+and+ them**, **Peter verb.PL**, **Peter+???**, the last one representing a situation where the marker can’t be traced back to any other morphemes of the language.<sup>14</sup>

- (14) **Peter-POSS-PL**  
       a. Mih-ov-i (Lanko Marušič) SLOVENIAN < S. Slavic < IE  
           Miha-poss-pl  
           i. ‘Miha & his family/friends/group’ <= associative  
           ii. ‘Miha’s family/friends/group’ <= bare possessive  
       **Peter-THEY** (cf. regular plural in (c))  
       b. su Tankò (Newman 2000:371) HAUSA < Chadic < Afro-Asiatic  
           they Tanko  
           ‘Tanko and the others’ <= associative

<sup>14</sup> See the articles quoted for further classification of markers into bound and free morphemes/words/clitics.

- c. Bashir-ai (Newman 2000:342)  
 Bashir-pl  
 ‘several people all called Bashir’ <= plural of a proper name
- Peter-MOB** (no information on nominal plural)
- d. Rénzi yīhuo (Daniel 2002:46) PEKING CHINESE < Sino-Tibetan  
 Renzi people  
 ‘Renzi and others’
- e. Rosan-mob (Moravcsik’s data file) KRIOL (Fitzroy Crossing)  
 Rosanne-mob  
 ‘Rosanne and her friends’
- Peter-COLLECTIVE**
- f. awa-Tyemeny (Moravcsik’s file) NANGIKURRUNGURR<sup>15</sup> < Australian  
 COLL.PLU-Tyemeny  
 ‘Tyemeny and her kids/friends/family etc.’ <= associative
- g. awa-purppurk  
 COLL-PLU-little.’uns  
 ‘a mob of kids’ <= collective
- Peter-AND/WITH/ALSO** (cf. coordination (i) and plural (j))
- h. Mere maa (Moravcsik’s file) MAORI < Austronesian  
 Mary and ‘Mary & Co’ <= associative
- i. tekau maa tahi (Campbell 1995:332)  
 ten and one ‘eleven’ <= ‘and’
- Peter-AND-THEM**
- j. Pa en dié<sup>16</sup> (Den Besten 1996: 16) AFRIKAANS < W. Germanic < IE  
 Dad and those  
 ‘Dad and that one/those’

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<sup>15</sup> Also known as Ngan’gityemerri (Nick Reid, p.c.).

<sup>16</sup> ‘True’ conjunctions differ from PETER-AND-THEM associatives in Afrikaans in that the conjunctions stress the right-hand conjunct, while associative plurals stress the element on the left (Den Besten 1996: 16). Also note that one of the possible interpretations involves just two people, including Dad, therefore, the plural word cannot be viewed as a conjunct.

**Peter-VERB.PL**<sup>17</sup> (cf. the suffixal nominal plural in (l))

- k. Brian gew (Corbett 2000:191) MALTESE < Semitic < Afro-Asiatic  
Brian came.PL  
'Brian and his family/friend(s) came.'
- l. bahrin (< bahri) 'sailors' (Borg & Azzopardi-Alexander 1997:136)

**Peter+???**

- m. Lumma-ghask BRAHUI < North Dravidian  
mother-??? (Brays 1909:41, quoted in Daniel 2000a:38)<sup>18</sup>  
'Mother and her group'

On the areal distribution of marking strategies, with maps, see Daniel & Moravcsik (forthcoming). I have found no clear correlation between the marking strategy and properties of associatives. All of the markers express the notion of plurality in some sense, which is unsurprising since the implied referent of the whole construction is a group.

#### 1.4 ASSOCIATIVES IN THE LINGUISTIC LITERATURE

In the few existing studies on associative plurality, the following issues have attracted the attention of researchers:

- the intriguing similarity in the structure of reference between associatives (X + others) and personal pronouns (speaker + others) (section 1.4.1);
- the relation between associativity and 'regular' plurality (i.e. are they derived by the same mechanism as regular plurals? Do they involve a special plural feature?) (section 1.4.2);
- the inclusive interpretation of the focal referent (i.e. is the focal referent a modifier of a (silent) plural pronoun?) (section 1.4.3).

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<sup>17</sup> This is a rare marking strategy; as far as I know, in addition to Maltese, it is attested only in Plains Cree (Moravcsik's file), some Russian dialects (Bogdanov 1968:69, cited in Urtz 1994:31), and marginally in Bulgarian (Daniel 2000:52, quoting Ivan Derzhanski, p.c.).

<sup>18</sup> Brays's (1909) study seems to be the only available description of Brahui. Perhaps the morpheme can't be traced back to other markers due to a lack of information?

#### 1.4.1 ASSOCIATIVES AND PRONOUNS

Associatives have only recently attracted attention from linguists. Edith **Moravcsik (2003)** and Michael **Daniel (2000a)** have concentrated on cross-linguistic properties of associatives, typology of their form and meaning, and geographic distribution. While neither author works within a formal-theoretic framework, they pioneered the research into these constructions by collecting and analyzing an unparalleled wealth of data and formulating major generalizations about the cross-linguistic properties of these constructions, and the parameters of variation. For example, they identified such defining properties of associatives as preference for definite human focal referents, homogeneity of the group (no ‘Ivan and his slaves’ interpretation), dominance of the focal referent, common preference for family interpretation, and so on.

Both authors draw the attention of the reader to the similarities between nominal and associative plurality:

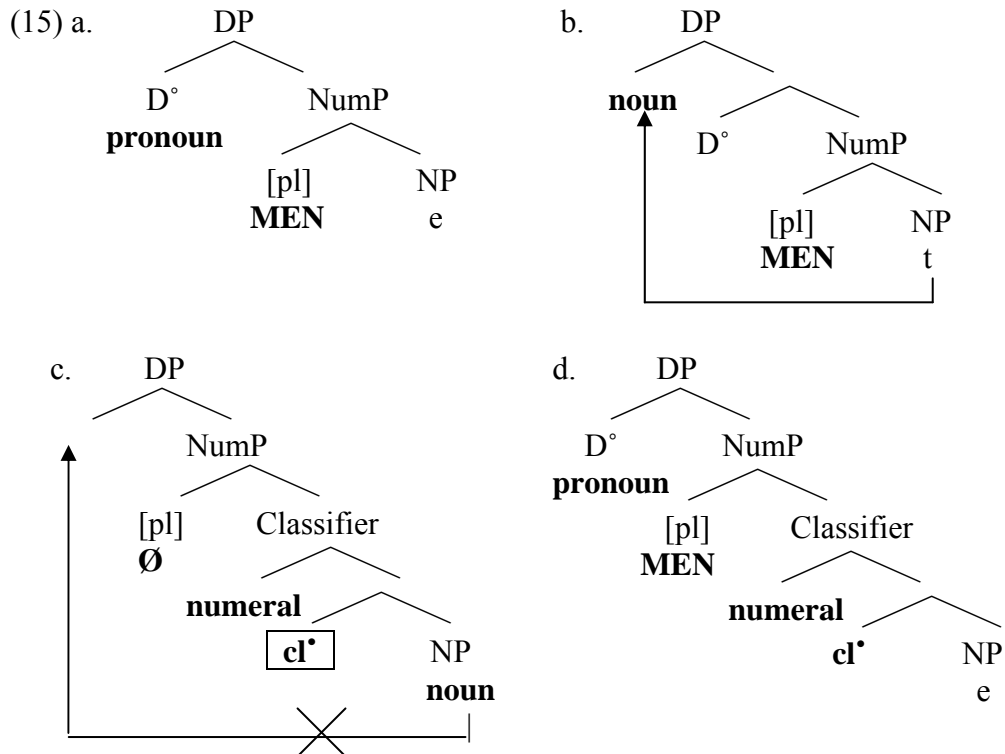
<Plural pronouns and associatives> opt for the same choices <...>: they refer to partially-enumerated definite human individuals forming a ranked group consisting of a focal referent and a set of associates, with various numerical categories – plural, dual – available and both collective and distributive interpretations possible. The only respect in which they part ways is in the type of nominals involved: first and second person pronouns involve pronouns and associate plurals involve nouns. (Moravcsik 2003:489)

Both authors note, however, that there are some problems for a unified analysis of associatives and pronouns. First, there is a difference in their interpretation: while both interpret the focal referent ‘inclusively’, pronouns rarely (and associatives often) imply any sort of intrinsic association between their referents. Second, plural pronouns do not have separate forms for their plural and associative interpretations, while nominal associatives differ from nominal plurals in at least 50% of languages (Daniel & Moravcsik, forthcoming). Third, if pronouns and associatives are derived by the same syntactic or semantic mechanism, languages that have plural pronouns should also have associatives. Yet, while personal plural pronouns are (nearly) universal, associatives are not.

## 1.4.2 ASSOCIATIVITY AND PLURALITY

Three further studies focus on the relationship between plurality and associativity. **Corbett and Mithun (1996)** suggest that associativity is not another value of non-singularity on a par with [+dual] and [+paucal], but rather an independent phenomenon that interacts with plurality. Their evidence is that associatives show the same number distinctions (dual/plural) as do regular non-singular nominal expressions.

**Li (1999)** analyzes associatives as plural forms of the focal referent. The marker *–men* in Chinese is used to form associatives, plural pronouns and (optionally) plural forms of definite human nouns. The link between plurality and definiteness is explained as a restriction on the overt realization of the plural morpheme: it can only be ‘visible’ when realized on some lexical material in the specifier position of DP. Plural pronouns occur with *–men* because their lexical material is base-generated in DP (15a). Definite nouns can be marked with *–men* if they move to the specifier of DP (15b); this movement is blocked if a numeral and a classifier intervene (15c). Note that the presence of the numeral + classifier sequence does not block overt marking of plural on plural pronouns because these pronouns are already in DP (15d).



Li (1999) observes that associatives behave just like personal pronouns. They occur with the marker *–men*, which suggests that they are in the specifier of DP. They appear with this marker even when a classifier is present, which suggests that associatives are base-generated in the specifier of DP (as opposed to moving there). No explanation is given, however, for why the difference in the site of base-generation gives rise to the difference in the interpretation between regular plurals and associative plurals.

**Nakanishi & Tomioka (2004)**'s analysis is similar to Li's (1999) in assuming that associatives are 'just plurals' of the focal referent. However, they suggest a new semantic interpretation for the Japanese plural marker *–tati*, to account for the associative interpretation. They suggest that all Japanese plurals are 'non-uniform' - their denotations may include objects not named by the nominal. The denotation of the nominal 'represents' the group. When the nominal happens to refer to a unique human individual, we have a prototypical associative plural 'X + associate(s)'. When the nominal is a noun such as 'student', the plural form may still refer to a group that includes students and non-students. The 'regular' (or 'uniform') plural interpretation is then a sort of an accident: it happens when the group happens not to include any non-students.

All three studies surveyed agree that plurality plays a role in the formation of associatives. Mithun and Corbett (1996) suggest that associativity is a 'separate phenomenon', but do not elaborate on its nature. The two other studies treat associatives as plural forms of focal referents. Li (1999) suggests no explanation of the special interpretation, while Nakanishi and Tomioka (2004) propose a new semantics for the plural marker that allows for the inclusion of unnamed elements into the plural group.

#### 1.4.3 INCLUSION IN ASSOCIATIVES

In the studies outlined in 1.4.1 and 1.4.2, the focal referent has been treated as the sole nominal head of the construction. An alternative approach has been argued for by den Besten (1997) and Vinokurova (2005)<sup>19</sup> who suggest that there are two elements in an associative. For den Besten (1997), the second argument denotes the group as a whole, for Vinokurova (2005), it denotes the associate member(s).

Den Besten (1997) treats associatives as part-whole constructions, focusing on Afrikaans where the group-referent appears to be expressed overtly by the 3<sup>rd</sup>

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<sup>19</sup> Associative plurals are not the focus of Vinokurova's (2005) study.



person plural pronoun *hulle* (e.g., *Oom-hulle* ‘uncle and others’ (Den Besten 1997:21). This will be essentially my approach to the associatives too, supplemented by an analysis of association/identification in addition to partitivity (chapter 2). However, I crucially depart from Den Besten’s analysis is in the treatment of the so-called Plural Pronoun Constructions (16) which he equates with associatives. I treat the two interpretations of (16) as resulting from different structural representations (Chapter 4) and having different forms in most languages (17-18).

- (16) þeir Gunnar (Einarsson 1949:122) OLD ICELANDIC < Germanic < IE  
 they Gunnar  
 i. ‘somebody just mentioned (=he) and Gunnar’ <= **PPC**  
 ii. ‘Gunnar and his companions’ <= **ASSOCIATIVE PLURAL**
- (17) a. nà'y àgá-já (Hoffman 1963:238) MARGI < Chadic < Afro-Asiatic  
 we.excl with him  
 ‘he and I’ <= **PPC**  
 b. Siapu-yar (Hoffman 1963:57)  
 Siapu.PL  
 ‘Siapu and his people’ <= **ASSOCIATIVE PLURAL**
- (18) a. Lankotovi (Lanko Marušič, p.c.) SLOVENIAN < S. SLAVIC < IE  
 Lanko-Poss-Pl  
 ‘Lanko and Co’ <= **ASSOCIATIVE PLURAL**  
 b. (midva) s Lankom  
 we.two with Lanko. Instr  
 ‘Lanko and I’ <= **PPC**

Vinokurova (2005) treats associatives (in Yakut) as predicative constructions linking the focal argument and an associate member. The interpretation is, essentially, coordinative (X is together with Y). In chapter 4, I will suggest a similar analysis for the Plural Pronoun Construction (16i, 17a, 18b).

## 1.5 RELEVANCE OF THE EARLIER WORK TO THE IDEAS DEVELOPED IN THE NEXT CHAPTERS

In the next three chapters I address many of the issues raised in previous research on associative plurals. I analyze these constructions as complex constructions with two arguments: the focal referent and the *group*-referent. The *group*-referent is plural, the focal referent is not. Therefore, associatives are ‘regular’

plurals, not ‘special’ plurals; there is no need to redefine the notion of plurality to account for the associatives.

In chapter 2, I suggest an analysis of associative plurals. Similarly to den Besten (1997), I view them as part-whole expressions: the focal referent is a member of the group. Similarly to Li (1999), I suggest a structural link between the focal referents and definiteness; namely, focal referents move to DP from their NP-internal modifier position. I leave open the question of whether focal referents may also be base-generated in the specifier of DP, as Li (1999) suggests for Chinese.

While most studies of associativity have concentrated on a single language, my goal is to suggest an analysis that transcends (to a certain degree) the apparent diversity of formal expression of associativity.<sup>20</sup> Despite the surface variation, associatives are fairly uniform cross-linguistically with respect to their syntactic and semantic features, such as definiteness, plurality, personal reference, and the role of the focal referent as ‘reference anchor’ for a human group.

The intriguing semantic similarities between personal pronouns and associatives are tackled in chapter 3. Both constructions will be argued to involve a focal referent (a nominal vs. a person feature) and a group-referent (a ‘silent’ NP with group reference).

In chapter 4, I suggest an analysis of Plural Pronoun Constructions. On the first glance, the construction seems to name the group, the focal referent and the associate member. However, such view would not be reconcilable with my approach to associative which treats them as relations between groups and focal referents, with no mention of the associate. I suggest that Plural Pronoun Constructions are quasi-coordinative constructions, in which one of the arguments is made plural by its interaction with the conjunction & itself. In other words, pronouns in PPC are different from the ‘regular’ plural pronouns.

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<sup>20</sup> Although one will probably detect a bias towards Slavic languages.

## CHAPTER 2

# A PREDICATIVE ANALYSIS OF ASSOCIATIVE PLURALS

Associative plurals and personal plural pronouns are similar in their interpretation: both refer to a group (without actually naming it) by providing a human ‘point of reference’. For example, the pronoun *we* refers to a group associated with the speaker, while an associative plural refers to a group associated with a particular individual.

The hypothesis that I attempt to justify in this chapter is that associatives and personal pronouns are similar not only in their semantics, but in their syntax as well. At the heart of the proposal is the idea that the syntactic role of the focal referents is essentially the same as that of person features: they are indexical determiners. Associatives, like pronouns, are headed not by their focal referent, but by a ‘silent’ non-descriptive plural NP with group-semantics.

The chapter is organized as follows. I begin by suggesting that not only pronouns but also associatives are headed by plural non-descriptive NPs (section 2.1). These NPs (or group-referents) have no descriptive material in them; the group-words that often surface in plural pronouns and as markers of associativity are merely lexicalizations of grammatical features of functional projections such as [+plural] of the Number Phrase and [+human] of the Gender Phrase.

In section 2.2, I compare syntactic properties of focal referents to those of pronominal possessives and demonstratives. I come to the conclusion that focal referents function as determiners of the silent non-descriptive NP (=group-referent): they identify rather than describe. Later in chapter 3 I will extend this analysis to the person features of personal pronouns.

In section 2.3, I explore the nature of the relation between the focal referent and the group referent. In its context-dependency, the associative relation is similar to that found in constructions with demonstrative and possessive determiners. Yet, each of the three constructions also has a default interpretation, which I attribute to three lexical ghost-prepositions.

Section 2.4 summarizes my proposal.

## 2.1 GROUP REFERENCE: ASSOCIATIVES AS DPs WITH A NON-DESCRIPTIVE PLURAL NP

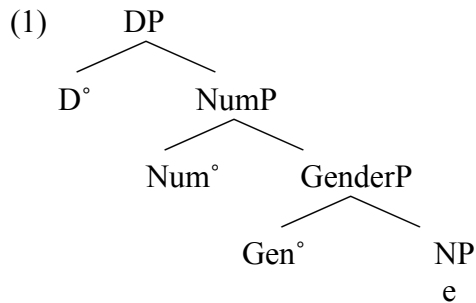
A schoolboy’s definition of a pronoun that it ‘stands for a person, a thing or a concept’. In other words, pronouns refer, but do not describe. In this section, I

suggest that associatives are like pronouns in that they refer to a group, but do not name it. More specifically, I argue that associatives are headed by a non-descriptive NP (2.1.1) and that this ‘silent’ NP is grammatically plural rather than collective (2.1.2).

### 2.1.1 THE (SILENT) GROUP-REFERENT

In this section, I will argue that associatives and pronouns are structurally similar in that both are headed by a non-descriptive NP with group reference. In other words, they refer to a group but do not name it. I begin by outlining some basic assumptions about pronominal syntax and then show how the structure can accommodate associative plurals as well.

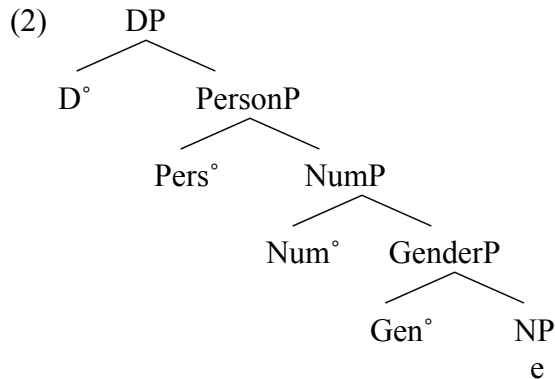
Personal pronouns are usually analyzed as determiners (DPs) with a (silent) NP-complement which is devoid of descriptive content (1) (Abney 1997, Panagiotidis 2002, 2003, among many others). As with other nominals, there are functional categories (Number Phrase, Gender Phrase) that are projected between DP and NP (1) (e.g., Ritter 1992, Koopman 1999).



In addition, personal pronouns possess person features. The nature of person features will be discussed in detail in chapter 3; for simplicity, let us assume that they have their own functional projection, on a par with NumP and GenderP (2).<sup>1</sup>

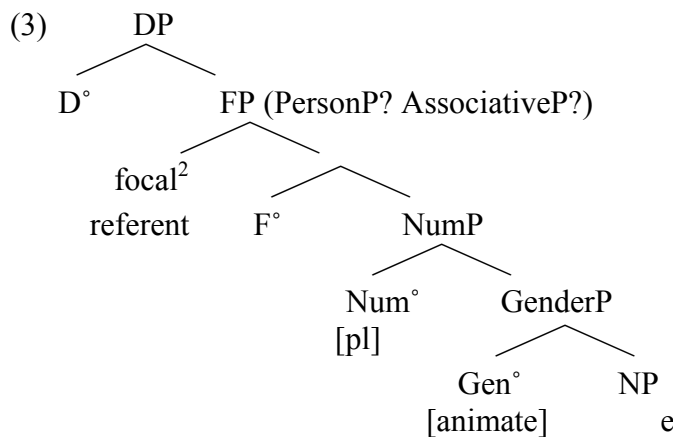
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<sup>1</sup> Lyons (1995) and Ritter (1992, 1995) suggest that person features are encoded on D° as special deictic definite features. On the other hand, van Koppen (2005) suggests that person features make direct reference to the speaker or hearer and are located in the specifier of the top-most functional projection. Under both approaches, person features function as determiners of sorts; later in this chapter I will suggest that focal referents are determiners as well, located either in the specifier of DP or adjoined to D°.



The person features are interpreted ‘inclusively’; for instance, a pronoun is a ‘1<sup>st</sup> person pronoun’ if its set of referents *includes* the speaker. Therefore, a plural pronoun is interpreted as referring to an unspecified plural group that includes the speaker. The group is, in effect, identified by its inclusion of the speaker and interpreted as something like ‘the speaker’s group’. The expression itself is plural, but the speaker is still singular and functions like a deictic determiner of the plural group-noun.

The syntactic structure of pronouns in (2) is well suited for accommodating associative plurals. Like pronouns, associatives do not contain any descriptive material about the group they refer to; hence the empty-NP idea comes in useful. By putting the focal referent in a modifier position where it is not quantified over by the plural feature of the Number Phrase (see 2.2) we arrive at a structure where reference is made to a plural set but the focal referent itself is not plural (3).



<sup>2</sup> In section 2.2, I suggest that the focal referent starts out in the specifier of NP and then undergoes movement reminiscent of possessor-raising (usually, to the specifier of DP).

In many cases, the only trace we have of the group referent is the plural marker. It may surface attached to the focal referent by means of adjectival concord, especially if the focal referent itself is adjectivized (see 2.2.2) as in Bulgarian (4). The plural feature can also ‘stand alone’ as an independent word in languages where plural morphemes are not bound (5).

- (4) a. Peš-ov-**i** BULGARIAN < S. Slavic < IE  
 Peter-poss/adj-pl <= ASSOCIATIVE PLURAL  
 ‘Peter and family’  
 b. berez-ov-**i** stol-**i**  
 birch-adj-pl table-pl <=DENOMINAL ADJECTIVE  
 ‘birch-wood tables’
- (5) (Mühlhäusler 1981:43) TOK PISIN (an English-based Creole spoken in New Guinea)  
 a. **ɔl** pater  
 pl priest  
 ‘the priests’  
 b. pater **ɔl**  
 priest pl  
 ‘the priest and his congregation’

In the absence of a lexical NP, another way for the functional features [plural] and [animate] to surface is to be lexicalized, in which case it is logical for these features to appear as group expressions. This is what we find in PETER-THEY and PETER-MOB languages. Compared with its independent lexical counterpart, the resulting semi-functional expression often shows signs of grammaticalization, phonetic reduction and cliticization when used in associatives.<sup>3</sup> For example, the Chinese plural pronoun *tāmen* ‘they’ is pronounced in a neutral tone when it marks associativity (*XiaoQiang-tamen* ‘XQ & Co’). The Bengali plural pronoun *ora* ‘they’ shows signs of phonetic reduction when used in associatives (*Smith-ra* ‘Smith & Co’). In Hausa, associatives use the so-called strong-object form *su* of the corresponding independent 3<sup>rd</sup> person plural pronoun *sū*; Newman (2000:460) analyzes the associative marker as a proclitic. In Afrikaans, associatives use a ‘frozen’ accusative form *hulle* ‘they’, even when the associative plural form is the subject.

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<sup>3</sup> This is Michael Daniel’s (2000:47-48) observation.

A similar range of overt manifestations of the group-referent (i.e. group-words vs. plural morphemes)<sup>4</sup> is found with personal pronouns, which Panagiotidis (2002, 2003) analyzes as a combination of the determiner (which encodes a person feature) and a non-descriptive pro-form NP (similar to *one*).<sup>5</sup> Namely, the features of this NP can be realized either as plural marker (6), or as a separate semi-functional noun with group semantics (7).

(6) Plural marker added to singular pronoun

- a. *watasi-tachi* ‘we’ (lit. I-pl), JAPANESE < ? Altaic  
cf. *sensei-tachi* ‘teachers’, *Hiroko-tachi* ‘Hiroko & Co’
- b. *cama-do* ‘we’ (lit. I-pl), (Li 1999:92-3) BURMESE < Sino-Tibetan  
cf. *khalee-do* ‘children’, *Ko-Thein-Tun-do* ‘KTT & Co’
- c. my ‘we’ (lit. 1<sup>st</sup>p+pl), RUSSIAN < E. Slavic < IE  
cf. *divany* ‘sofas’

(7) Group expressions as markers of pronominal plurality

- a. *chung/bon/tsui*      *tao* ‘we’ VIETNAMESE < Mon-Khmer  
people/gang/clique I (Nguyen 1996)
- b. *wú cáo / chái / shǔ / bèi / děng* ‘we’ CLASSICAL CHINESE  
I class/group/generation (Iljic 2001:76 ,87)

In as much as the defining feature of pronouns is the ‘lack of concept-denoting features on N’ (Panagiotidis 2002:199), associatives are pronouns. They refer to a group, but do not describe it. Associative markers spell out the grammatical features of the group referent either on the determiner (the focal referent) via concord or cliticization, or as a separate lexicalized ‘group expression’.

<sup>4</sup> The analysis in this chapter provides an explanation for the following structural types of associatives: PETER-PL, PETER-THEY, PETER-MOB, PETER-POSS.PL, PETER-AND/WITH. The surface form of the last two types results from the adjectival properties of the focal referent (see 2.2 for the source of the possessive marker; see 2.3 for the source of the comitative marker). Personal pronouns have the same range of structural types as associative plurals; they will be discussed in chapter 3, where I also address the question of why personal pronouns do not always look like I-PL in languages with PETER-PL associatives.

<sup>5</sup> The analysis of pronouns as determiners taking a nominal complement is also argued for in, among others, Ritter (1995), Cardinaletti & Starke (1999) and Koopman (2000).

## 2.1.2 THE GROUP REFERENT IS PLURAL, NOT COLLECTIVE

In the previous section, I suggested that grammatical features of the group-referent can be lexicalized as ‘light’ words with group reference. In this section, I will show that while we often see such lexemes as ‘group’, ‘crowd’ and ‘clan’ as associative markers, the construction is an associative *plural* and not an associative *collective*.<sup>6</sup>

In certain aspects of their syntactic behavior, associatives behave as though they could be headed either by a plural or by a collective noun. They can be interpreted collectively or distributively (8), which is compatible with the head noun being either plural or collective (9).

- (8) (Moravcsik 2003:471) HUNGARIAN < Finno-Ugric  
 Péterék (együtt / különböző időben) érkeztek.  
 Peter-APL (together/ different-at times) arrived  
 ‘Peter and his associates arrived (together / at different times)’

- (9) Lesley’s team ate an apple each.<sup>7</sup> ENGLISH < W. Germanic < IE

Also, associatives induce plural agreement<sup>8</sup> on the verb (10), the way collectives occasionally do in some languages (11).

- (10) (Newman 2000:460) HAUSA < Chadic < Afro-Asiatic  
 su Mūsā sun dāwō dà sāfe  
 they Musa aux.perf.3pl return with morning  
 ‘Musa and others returned in the morning.’

- (11) ‘Can we be the Anti-Umbridge League?’ said Angelina hopefully.  
 ‘Or the Ministry of Magic **are** Morons Group?’ suggested Fred.  
 (J.K Rowling (2003:392) ‘Harry Potter and the Order of the Phoenix’)

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Iljic’s (2001) suggestion that associatives are ‘personal collectives’. The term is chosen to highlight the parallels between associatives and personal pronouns (namely, their preference for human referents). The author does not suggest that associatives are *syntactically* collective nouns.

<sup>7</sup> Thanks to my British-English informant Dr. Simon Bandler for this example.

<sup>8</sup> I do not know of any languages with subject-verb number agreement where associatives occur with *singular* verbs.



Interestingly, in Polish, associatives induce plural agreement with the verb (12a) even when abstract (12b) and collective nouns with the same marker *–stwo* are neuter singular.<sup>9</sup>

- (12) POLISH < W. Slavic < IE
- a. Królestwo przyglądali się turniejowi. (Stefan Dyla, p.c.)  
 king-aspl watched-3Pl.virile refl. tournament  
 ‘The King and the Queen watched the tournament.’
- b. Jego królestwo jest małe. ([www.poltran.com](http://www.poltran.com))  
 his kingdom is small  
 ‘His kingdom is small.’

Another indication that associatives are *not* headed by a collective noun is their compatibility with plural modifiers. Collective nouns do not agree with their prenominal modifiers in plural (13), while Bulgarian associatives can be preceded by plural demonstratives (14).

(13) This/\*These team have dispersed rather quickly.

- (14) (Ivan Derzhanski, p.c.) BULGARIAN < S. Slavic < IE
- Tija Pešovi šte ni ostavjat li njakoga na mira?  
 these P aux Neg leave Q never in peace  
 ‘Aren’t these [Peter & Co] ever going to leave us alone?’

The final argument against the collectivity of the group-referent is the incompatibility with counting. Collective nouns are countable (*three teams*, *Peter’s three teams*), but no combination of an associative with a numeral produces the multiple-group interpretation. Plural nouns show the same sort of non-countability: no combination of *they* or *the girls* with the numeral *three* will produce a reference to three separate groups.

Why does it matter whether associative heads are plural or collective? First, our findings support the idea that the group words found in associatives are lexicalized grammatical features rather than lexical NPs. Had they been lexical group-words, associatives would have behaved the way collective nouns do.

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<sup>9</sup> Associative formation with *–stwo* is restricted to a few titles and kinship terms; some examples are *stryjostwo* ‘paternal uncle + wife’, *hrabiostwo* ‘count + wife’, *państwo* ‘Mr + Mrs’, *dyrektorostwo* ‘director + wife’, *mecenasostwo* ‘attorney + wife’ (Stefan Dyla, p.c). Examples of collective neuter-singular nouns in *–stwo*: *państwo* ‘gentry’ (cf. *panowie* ‘gentlemen’), *chłopstwo* ‘peasantry’ (cf. *chłopi* ‘peasants’).

Second, the distinction between plural and collective nouns as heads of attributive constructions is often related to the (in)availability of an inclusive interpretation. Consider the difference between (15a) and (15b):

- (15) a. Lanko's gang
- b. Lanko's teammates

In (15a) but not in (15b) Lanko can be a member of the group denoted by the head-noun.<sup>10</sup> If the availability of an inclusive interpretation depends on collectivity of the head nominal, then how can associative *plurals* be interpreted inclusively? I believe that the availability of an inclusive interpretation is not dependent on some grammatical feature that collective nouns possess and plural ones don't. Rather, the availability of an inclusive interpretation depends on the absence of descriptive information about individual members. The less information we have about the individual members of the group the more possible it is to interpret the referent of the modifier as a member of his own group. Consider, for example, an expression such as Simon's boys. In a context where it denotes, say, a team of plumbers of whom Simon is the only one we know by name, it is perfectly possible to interpret the utterance in (16a) as (16b)

- (16) a. Simon's boys are coming on Saturday.
- b. Simon and the other plumbers will be coming on Saturday.

The difference between expressions such as *Simon's gang* on the one hand, and associative plurals on the other hand, is that the latter have no collective noun in their NPs. Since there is no countable lexical group-denoting element in the NP, we can't use an associative to refer to several groups associated with the same focal referent. Since there is no singular element in the NP, the prenominal modifiers can be plural.<sup>11</sup> In essence, it is the lack of descriptive information in the

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<sup>10</sup> See Barker (1999) for a discussion of some plural-headed possessive constructions (i) that allow 'temporary' inclusive interpretation even when the head noun is a relational one.

(i) I am the oldest of my siblings.

<sup>11</sup> It is immaterial for our discussion here to decide on the exact mechanism that allows collective nouns to induce plural verbal agreement. Perhaps in these constructions collective nouns are quantifiers with an empty plural NP; in this case, the pre-quantifier elements would have to be singular (agreeing with the quantifier), while the verb would agree with the silent plural noun, the way it does in (i):

(i) A lot of students are from Morocco.

associative NP that makes an inclusive interpretation possible. See section 2.3 for a discussion of what makes this interpretation not only possible but strongly preferred (and, in some cases, mandatory).

In this section, I have argued that associatives are not ‘special’ plurals<sup>12</sup> of a proper name, but complex constructions headed by a (silent) plural NP. The syntactic properties of the focal referents will be investigated in the next section.

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<sup>12</sup> The *group*-referent can be either dual or plural in languages that distinguish the two categories.

- (i) (Corbett & Mithun 1996:11-12) CENTRAL ALASKAN YUP’IK < Eskimo
- a. qaya-**k** ‘two kayaks’
  - b. qaya-**t** ‘3+ kayaks’
  - c. Cuna-nku-**k** ‘Chuna and his friend’
  - d. Cuna-nku-**t** ‘Chuna and his family/friends’

Slovenian presents a puzzling exception: its associatives can neither be dual in form, nor refer to two people.

- (ii) (Lanko Marušič, p.c.) SLOVENIAN < S. Slavic < IE
- a. Lankot-ov-a (dva)  
Lanko-OV-**du** (two.masc)
    - i. \* ‘Lanko & Co, two in total’ <= \* associative
    - ii. ‘two of Lanko’s associates’ <= bare possessive
  - b. Lankot-ov-i  
Lanko-OV-**pl**  
‘Lanko & Co’ (at least three people)
  - c. \* Lankot-ov-i dva  
Lanko-OV-pl two  
‘Lanko & Co, 2 in total’

I have no explanation for the restriction in Slovenian. Note that Slovenian pronouns mark duality by adding a numeral (cf. ii-c), while Slovenian adjectives and Old Common Slavic (OCS) pronouns add a dual marker (iii b-c).

- (iii) a. *ty* ‘you.sg’ => *va* ‘you.du’ (cf. *vy* ‘you.pl’) OCS  
 b. *ti* ‘you.sg’ => *vidva* (lit.you.pl-two)(cf. *vi* ‘you.pl’) SLOVENIAN

A similar restriction is found in Rapanui (iv), another language with formal dual/plural distinction in pronouns, whose associatives, according to Daniel (2000a:44), refer to at least three people:

- (iv) kuá Nua (Moravcsik’s file) RAPANUI < Austronesian  
 ??? Nua ‘Nua and her lot.’

## 2.2 FOCAL REFERENTS AS DETERMINERS

Focal referents have many characteristics of prenominal individual possessors. For instance, they both may

- be restricted in complexity
- contain morphological signs of adjectivization
- license silent definite articles
- be restricted to pre-numeral positions

In this section, I outline my assumptions about how the above characteristics result from the syntactic structure of possessives (2.2.1), and then show that comparable properties of associatives can be explained if focal referents are analyzed as determiners (2.2.2–2.2.3).

### 2.2.1 PRELIMINARY SYNTACTIC ASSUMPTIONS

Prenominal possessors are standardly assumed to undergo a movement that takes them from an NP-internal modifier position to a higher functional projection to which they move for feature-checking and licensing (e.g., Abney (1987), Radford (1993)). In some languages this functional projection is the DP where possessors may license a silent determiner and/or be incompatible with demonstratives which presumably target the same position (17a). When possessors are in DP they precede the numerals which are in the lower Number Phrase (or Cardinality Phrase or Plural Phrase) (17b).

- (17) a. (\*this) (\*the) John's friend.  
       b. (\*three) John's (three) friends.

These properties of English prenominal possessors are the reason why they are often assigned to a class of determiners, along with the articles and demonstratives. These determiners are incompatible with each other either because they target the same position<sup>13</sup>, or because demonstratives and possessives may license a silent article (cf. Szabolci 1983, Larson 2004).

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<sup>13</sup> See Brugé (1996) for the suggestion that demonstratives move from an FP into the specifier of DP; see also Roers (2002) and Julien (2002) for proposals that articles move to DP from a lower ArtP (or dP), rather than being generated in D°.

In other languages the target site of possessor movement is a projection that is lower than DP (sometimes labeled PossP). In this case, possessives may be compatible with overt markers of definiteness (18a), co-occur with demonstratives (18b) and be preceded by numerals (18c).

- (18) BULGARIAN < S. Slavic < IE
- a. Peš-ov-i-te blizki (Ivan Derzhanski, p.c.)  
 Peter-poss.pl.def relatives  
 ‘Peter’s relatives’
  - b. tezi negovi knigi (<http://webtrance.skycode.com>)  
 these his books  
 ‘these books of his’
  - c. trima-ta Pešovi bratja (Ivan Derzhanski, p.c.)  
 three-the Peter’s brothers  
 ‘Ivan’s three brothers’

Languages differ not only with respect to the landing position of possessors, but also with respect to the permitted degree of complexity of the moving phrase. While English possessors may be phrasal (19a), many Slavic languages restrict their *prenominal* possessors to just one word (19b). Babyonyshev (1997) analyzes this distinction as head versus phrase movement (for Russian).

- (19) a. my friend’s car
- b. (\*moej) podrugina mašina RUSSIAN < E. Slavic < IE  
 my friend’s car  
 ‘(my) friend’s car’
  - c. mašina moej podrugi RUSSIAN < E. Slavic < IE  
 car my.Gen friend.Gen  
 ‘my friend’s car’

In the sections that follow, I show that associatives have syntactic properties which parallel those of prenominal possessors (and other determiners). I will suggest that Bulgarian focal referents can be analyzed as (adjectival) modifiers that move to DP and function as determiners.

## 2.2.2 MORPHOLOGY OF FOCAL REFERENTS

In Bulgarian (20) and Slovenian (21), associatives and possessives look very much alike.<sup>14</sup> They are formed by adding the suffixes *-ov* and *-in* to masculine and feminine nouns which refer to definite human referents and have no modifiers with them (cf. Zlatic 1998).

(20) (Ivan Derzhanski, p.c.) BULGARIAN < S. Slavic < IE

- a. Pešovi / Mariini  
Peter-OV-pl / Mary-IN-pl  
'Peter/Mary and his/her family' <= ASSOCIATIVE
- b. Pešovi / Mariini blizki  
Peter-OV-pl / Mary-IN-pl relatives  
'Peter's / Mary's relatives.' <= POSSESSIVE

(21) (Lanko Marušič, p.c.) SLOVENIAN < S. Slavic < IE

- a. Lankotovi / Petrini  
Lanko-OV-pl / Petra-IN-pl  
'Lanko/Petra & family/friends/teammates...' <= ASSOCIATIVE
- b. Lankotovi / Petrini gosti  
Lanko-OV-pl / Petra-IN-pl guests  
'Lanko's / Petra's guests' <= POSSESSIVE

The marking *-ov* and *-in* plus the plural concord is not unique to possessives in Bulgarian, but is also found in adjective formation (22):

(22) (Ivan Derzhanski, p.c.) BULGARIAN < S. Slavic < IE

- a. Peš-ov-i / Mari-in-i <= ASSOCIATIVE  
Peter-OV-pl / Maria-IN-pl 'Peter / Maria + family'
- b. Mari-in-i blizk-i <= POSSESSIVE  
Maria-IN-pl relative-pl 'Maria's relatives'

<sup>14</sup> As for other South Slavic languages, some speakers of Serbian and Croatian accept associative (=inclusive) interpretations of bare possessives; I have no information about Macedonian. In West Slavic languages such as Polish and Czech, associatives are formed only from masculine bases; the ending *-owie* can be traced either to possessives (although contemporary Polish has no prenominal possessives), or to the special masculine-personal plural. East Slavic languages have no associatives (but Daniel (2000a:65) notes that plural forms of unusual first names can be interpreted as associatives in Russian).

- c. berez-ov-i stol-i<sup>15</sup> <= DENOMINAL ADJECTIVE  
birch-OV-pl table-pl 'birch-wood tables'

Traces of adjectivizers (23-24) and linkers (25) can also be found in the associative plurals of some non-Slavic languages.

- (23) (Rudenko 1940:263) GEORGIAN < S. Caucasian<sup>16</sup>
- a. tsver-ian-i<sup>17</sup> (lit. beard-IAN-Nom) 'bearded' (with beard)
  - b. dz<sup>h</sup>ol-ian-i (lit. wife-IAN-Nom) 'married' (with wife) (ibid.)
  - c. ghud-osan-i (lit. hat-OSAN-Nom) 'with hat', 'wearing a hat' (ibid.)
  - d. Giorgi-an-eb-i (Daniel 2000a:40-1) <= ASSOCIATIVE  
George-AN-pl-Nom  
'George and his family'

<sup>15</sup> Note that adjectives do not necessarily use -OV with masculine stems and -IN with feminine ones; in the example in the text, the suffix -OV- is attached to the feminine noun *breza* 'birch'. Similarly, -IN can be used with a masculine base:

- (i) orlinyj / \*orlovyj vzgljad RUSSIAN < E. Slavic < IE  
eagle-IN-agr /\*eagle-OV-agr stare  
'eagle-like stare'
- (ii) orlov vid BULGARIAN < S. Slavic < IE  
eagle-OV stare  
'eagle-like stare'

<sup>16</sup> S. Caucasian = Kartvelian

<sup>17</sup> I cannot vouch for the accuracy of this transliteration; Rudenko gives his examples in the Georgian alphabet; I am not sure whether the provided transliteration table (p.2) is consistent with IPA. For example, the initial letter in 'bearded' (8a) is described as an alveo-dental voiced whistling affricate. The initial sound in 'married' is an 'alveo-dental medium-voiced aspirated whistling affricate. The affricates are described as either whistling or hissing.

- (24) (Vinokurova 2005:137,135) YAKUT (=SAKHA) < Turkic < ? Altaic
- a. **Sardaana-laax**<sup>18, 19</sup>  
name-LAAX  
'Sardaana and other(s)'
  - b. **massyyna-laax kihi**  
car-LAAX person  
'a person with car, a car-having person'
- (25) (Schuh 1998:252, 251, 243, 253, 253, 257) MIYA < Chadic < Afro-Asiatic
- a. **níy** Kàsham  
'Kasham & Co' <= ASSOCIATIVE
  - b. **níy** Kasham  
'Kasham's (ones)' <= INDEPENDENT GENITIVE
  - c. **níykin** tàmakwi  
'these sheep' <= DEMONSTRATIVE
  - d. tàmakwi **niy** Vaziya <= NOMINAL POSSESSOR  
sheep.pl agr. Vazya 'Vazya's sheep'
  - e. tàmakwi **niytlán** <= PRONOMINAL POSSESSOR  
sheep.pl gen.pl.they 'their sheep'
  - f. sàbe kàrkaniy <= ADJECTIVE  
people-tall.pl 'tall people'

The presence of adjectivizers and linkers in associative formation is expected under my analysis because it treats focal referents as (topicalized) attributive modifiers. When focal referents are adjectivized their complexity is restricted; for

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<sup>18</sup> The suffix is also used to form the plural of 'who' (the form of the suffix depends on its phonological environment)

(i) kim-neex (Vinokurova 2005:136)  
who-LAAX  
'who-all'

<sup>19</sup> Alternatively, Yakut associatives can be formed by adding the regular plural morpheme *-LAR* to the nominal base (Vinokurova 2005: 144) (in the example below, the morpheme assimilates to its morphological host (cf. previous footnote) and is spelled out as *-tar*):

(i) Ajaaltar Tobuukap-tar  
A.T.-pl  
a. 'several people named Ajaaltar Tobuukap'  
b. 'Ajaaltar Tobuukap and his folk/another person(s)'



example, Bulgarian associatives and possessives must consist of just one word (26a), unlike English possessives (26b).

- (26) a. (\*moji) kakini BULGARIAN < S. Slavic < IE  
           my sister-in-pl  
           i. ‘my elder sister and her family’ <= ASSOCIATIVE  
           ii. ‘my elder sister’s family’ <= BARE POSSESSIVE  
       b. my sister’s (books) <= CF. COMPLEX POSSESSOR IN ENGLISH

In other languages, the focal referents may be phrasal, with a linker functioning either as an independent word (Yakut) or cliticizing to the phrasal focal referent (Afrikaans), not unlike the possessive clitic-like *-s* in English. In Yakut, the linker cliticizes to the ‘simple’ focal referent (27a-b), but not to a phrasal one (27c-d).<sup>20</sup>

- (27) (Vinokurova 2005:144) YAKUT (=SAKHA) < Turkic  
   a. Lena-**laaq**-ym  
       Lena-LAAX-1<sup>st</sup>  
       ‘Lena and others (I know them all)’  
   b. [my [Lena & Co]]  
   c. Lena-m **aax**  
       Lena-1<sup>st</sup> AAX  
       ‘Lena (whom I know) + other(s)’  
   d. [[my Lena] & Co]

In Afrikaans, the marker *-hulle* (a frozen Accusative form of ‘they’) cliticizes to the phrasal focal referent.

- (28) (den Besten 1997:15) AFRIKAANS < W. Germanic < IE  
   a. [Piet en Koos]-hulle  
       P. & K. – them  
       ‘Peter and Koos (and one or more others)’  
   b. [die kinders]-hulle  
       the children-them  
       ‘the children (plus one or more others)’

The data reviewed in this section highlight certain morphological similarities between prenominal possessors and focal referents, such as the presence of

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<sup>20</sup> The phrasal / head distinction is indicated by the position of the possessive suffix ‘my’: in (27a) it attaches to the associative as a whole (phrase), while in (27c) it forms a complex focal referent (head).

adjectivizers and linkers as well as restrictions on structural complexity. The existence of these similarities lends support to the idea that associatives are syntactically complex, involving two phrases in a predicative relation. If, as I have suggested, associatives are headed by a (silent) group-referent of which the focal referent is an attribute (or determiner), then it is expected that phrasal linkers would surface in these constructions, and that some languages would turn the focal referents into adjectives, thereby restricting their morphological complexity.

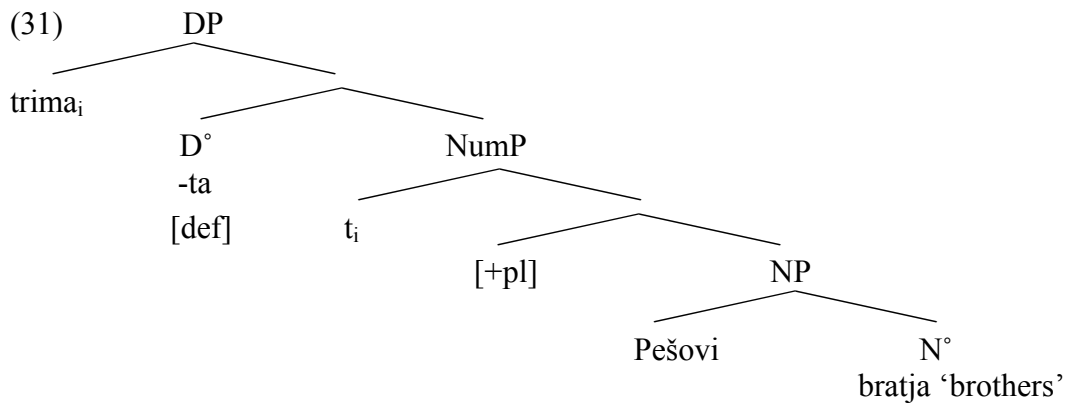
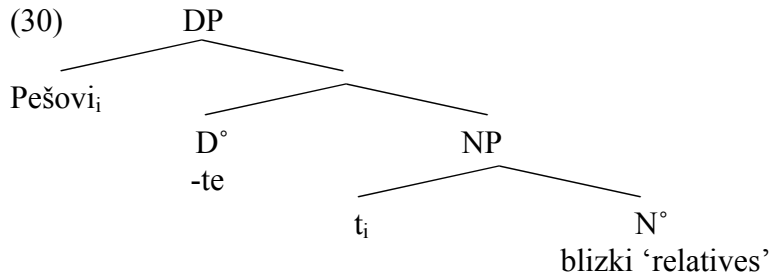
### 2.2.3 DEFINITENESS EFFECTS

While associatives and prenominal possessives in Bulgarian have certain morphological similarities, they have different syntactic properties. First, associatives never co-occur with a definite marker (29a). Second, associatives always precede numerals (29b-d). Third, focal referents must be either proper names or terms for older kin, while a possessive adjective can be formed from any noun with human reference (29e).

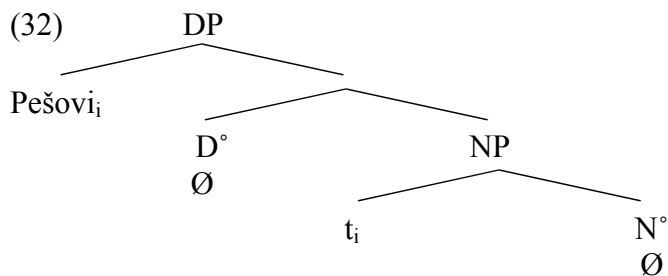
- (29) (Ivan Derzhanski, p.c.) BULGARIAN < S. Slavic < IE
- a. Pešovite  
Peter-OV-pl-def  
(i) 'Peter's relatives' <= POSSESSIVE+DEF  
(ii) \* 'Peter and his family' <= \*ASSOCIATIVE+DEF
  - b. trimata Pešovi bratja  
three Peter's brothers  
'Peter's three brothers' <= NUMERAL + POSSESSIVE
  - c. \* trimata Pešovi  
three-det Peter-OV-pl  
'Peter and his family, all three' <= \*NUMERAL + ASSOCIATIVE
  - d. Pešovi (i) trimata  
Peter-OV-pl (all) three.def  
'Peter and his family, all three' <= ASSOCIATIVE + NUMERAL
  - e. carevi  
king-OV-pl  
(i) 'the king's family' <= POSSESSIVE  
(ii) \* 'the king and his family' <= ASSOCIATIVE

Bulgarian possessives are analyzed in Tasseva-Kurktchieva (2004:253) as modifiers that optionally move to DP, but can also appear in any intermediate position between the DP and the head of NP. Apparently, when possessives move to

the specifier of DP, they do not license a silent definite article (30). When they do not move to the specifier of DP, they can be preceded by the numerals and demonstratives (31).



Associatives clearly differ from possessives in Bulgarian in that they appear to move mandatorily to the specifier of DP (32). The non-optionality of this movement is indicated by the ungrammaticality of (33a) (=29c). Unlike Bulgarian possessors, the moved focal referent appears to license a silent definite article (33b) (=29a-ii).



- (33) (Ivan Derzhanski, p.c.) BULGARIAN < S. Slavic < IE  
 a. \*trimata Pešovi  
    three-det Peter-OV-pl  
    ‘Peter and his family, all three’     <= \*NUMERAL + ASSOCIATIVE  
 . b. Pešovite  
    Peter-OV-pl-def  
    \* ‘Peter and his family’     <= \*ASSOCIATIVE+DEF

Because of the movement to the specifier (or head) of DP, associatives always precede the numerals. It is interesting, however, that the numerals in this case appear with a definite article (33a). Note that a similar situation happens when demonstratives are followed by a numeral (34).

- (34) (Tasseva-Kurktchieva 2005) BULGARIAN < S. Slavic < IE  
    tezi vsičkite / mnogoto / dvete knigi  
    these all.the / many.the / two.the books  
    ‘these all / many / two books’

Tasseva-Kurktchieva (2005) suggests that the quantifiers in (34) are heads rather than phrases. Whenever they are generated in QP with a definite feature, they must move to DP to check it. Presumably, if they attach themselves to D°, then the definite determiner appears overtly despite the licensing ability of the demonstrative in the specifier of DP.<sup>21</sup>

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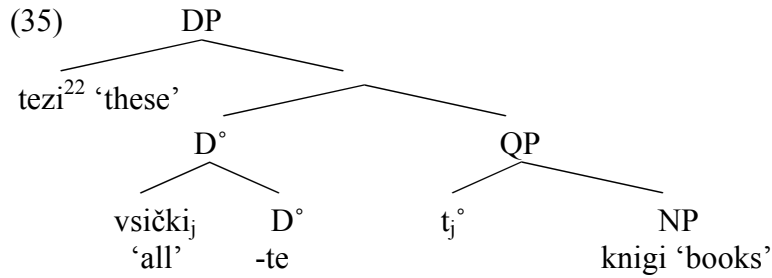
<sup>21</sup> One common word order that is not discussed in Tasseva-Kurktchieva (2005) is when the quantifier (without a definite marker) precedes the demonstrative (i) (examples found through Google search for ‘vsički tezi’):

- (i) vsički tezi predimstva / problemi / gluposti / uslovija / rashodi  
    all these priorities / problems / silly things/conditions/ expenses  
    ‘all these priorities/problems/silly things/conditions/expenses’

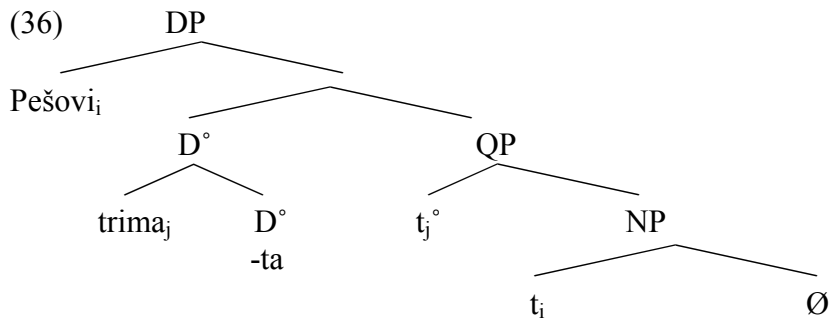
If *tezi* ‘these’ is always in the specifier of DP, then there must be a DP-external position for universal quantifiers in addition to the DP-internal one suggested by Tasseva-Kurktchieva (2005). The quantifier may move there alone (i) or the whole Q°+D° complex may move (ii).

- (ii) vsičkite tezi godini / slučai / demonstracii / produkti / faktori  
    all-the these years /cases / demonstrations/ products / factors

While Tasseva-Kurktchieva (2005) considers sentences like (ii) ungrammatical, they seem to be quite ubiquitous on the internet. Ivan Derzhanski (p.c.) finds the order in (ii) more natural than Tasseva-Kurktchieva’s (2005) *tezi vsičkite* (these all-the) examples.



It is, then, possible that associatives are similar to demonstrative adjectives in allowing the definite article to surface on a lexical element adjoined to D° (36).



Bulgarian focal referents are sufficiently similar to prenominal possessives to be analyzed as adjectival modifiers. The differences lie in their interaction with D°: while the presence of a definite possessor does not necessarily render a phrase definite, the presence of a focal referent does. In a sense, focal referents are determiners rather than modifiers; their function is to identify the group rather than to describe it.

<sup>22</sup> Tasseva-Kurkchieva (2005) argues (contra Giusti 2002) that Bulgarian demonstratives are base-generated in the specifier of DP, as opposed to moving to DP from a lower projection. However, note that Bulgarian demonstratives are compatible with associatives (i).

- (i) Tija Pešovi šte ni ostavjat li njakoga na mira?  
 these P aux Neg leave Q never in peace  
 'Are these (darned) [Peter & Co] ever going to leave us alone?!'

The demonstrative here is emphatic rather than deictic; it conveys a sense of irritation (my informant Ivan Derzhanski (p.c.) wasn't sure whether a deictic (contrastive) interpretation was possible in (i)). If the specifier of DP is a topic position, then perhaps DPs parallel clauses in having two positions for topics (cf. Rizzi 1997), so that demonstrative and the focal referent in (i) are sitting in two different DP-internal topic positions.

An additional difference between Bulgarian associatives and possessives is that the former are more restricted in the choice of their nominal bases. While possessives can be formed from any nominal with human reference, associatives must be formed either from proper names or from certain terms for blood-related kin. For example, neither ‘brother’ nor ‘son’ nor ‘king’ is a proper focal referent for associatives, as opposed to ‘maternal uncle’ and ‘older sister’ (37).

- (37) a. *bratovi* (brother-ov-pl)      ‘brother’s family’ / \* ‘brother and his family’  
       b. *carevi* (king-ov-pl)        ‘king’s family’    / \* ‘king and his family’  
       c. *sinovi* (son-ov-pl)        ‘son’s family’    / \* ‘son and his family’  
       d. *vujčovi* (uncle-ov-pl)      ‘maternal uncle [’s /and] family’  
       e. *kakini* (eld.sister-in-pl)    ‘elder sister [’s /and ] family’

These differences can be interpreted as resulting from different degrees of sensitivity to the so-called Animacy Hierarchy (Comrie 1981, Croft 1990, Smith-Stark 1974).<sup>23</sup>

- (38) 1<sup>st</sup> person pronoun >> 2<sup>nd</sup> person pronoun >> Proper names >> Kin terms >>  
       Rational (human, personal) noun >> Other Animate >> Inanimate

Cross-linguistically, associative formation is clearly sensitive to the constraints of the Animacy Hierarchy. Focal referents of associative constructions serve as points of referents for the groups they represent and, therefore, are predominantly realized by nominals that have a high identification value such as proper names, kinship terms, titles and so forth. Moravcsik (2003:472) observes that languages are more likely to form associative plurals with the types of nominals on the left of the top row in (38). A sort of hierarchy of definite noun phrases is thus established, so that ‘if in a language, a nominal can be a focal referent of an associative plural, so can any other nominal to its left on the scale in that language’ (Moravcsik 2003:472). Indeed, as the data in (39) show, in Central Alaskan Yup’ik associatives can only be formed from proper names (Corbett 2000:107-108), while Bulgarian only allows associatives with proper names and some kinship terms (Ivan Derzhanski, p.c.). In Hungarian, on the other side, associatives can be formed from proper names, kinship terms and title nouns, but not

<sup>23</sup> The Animacy Hierarchy has many versions. Some exclude proper names (Smith-Stark 1974), some have personal pronouns (including 3<sup>rd</sup> person) as the left-most member (Corbett 2000:57). Kiparski (2004) points out that the hierarchy is not always so tidy. One somewhat widespread pattern groups kinship terms with the pronouns. Sometimes, ‘animates’ are restricted to higher or intelligent animals, others patterning with ‘inanimates’.

from definite common nouns (Moravcsik 2003:472). Finally, Slovenian allows all types of definite nouns to head the associative phrase (Lanko Marušič, p.c.).

(39)

Proper name	Definite Kinship Term	Definite Title Noun	Other definite [+human] noun	
<b>YES</b>	<b>NO</b>	<b>NO</b>	<b>NO</b>	YUP'IK
<b>YES</b>	<b>YES</b>	<b>NO</b>	<b>NO</b>	BULGARIAN
<b>YES</b>	<b>YES</b>	<b>YES</b>	<b>NO</b>	HUNGARIAN
<b>YES</b>	<b>YES</b>	<b>YES</b>	<b>YES</b>	SLOVENE

The effects of the Animacy Hierarchy are felt in many other grammatical processes, for example in number marking and subject-verb agreement, which are often dependent on the animacy and definiteness of the nominal. While the ‘hierarchy’ metaphor captures some valid generalizations, it offers no explanation as to the nature of the phenomenon. Even the term itself is not unproblematic, since it is not obvious why pronouns are more ‘animate’ than proper names.<sup>24</sup> Alternative names have been suggested to better capture the nature of the ‘animacy’ effects. Among them are the **egocentricity** scale (Chappell/Thompson (1992:203)), the hierarchy of **inherent salience** (Foley/Van Valin (1985:288)), the scale of **individuation** (Yamamoto 1999, 2000a), **D-hierarchy** (Kiparski 2004), and the **empathy** hierarchy (Helmbrecht (2002:2) and references therein). Comrie (1981) and Croft (1990) say that the Animacy Hierarchy is actually a complex clustering of distinct parameters: person, noun phrase type, animacy proper, and probably definiteness. Lyons (1999:215) suggests that “<...> what we are dealing with is the **subjective prominence**, or salience of entities in the domain of discourse. It can be argued that human referents are, in general, more salient in human perception than non-human ones; definite referents are more to the fore in our minds than indefinites because, by definition, they are familiar; <...> It is clear that definiteness and specificity play a major role in the phenomenon”.

To the best of my knowledge, the differences between the nominal classes with respect to the animacy hierarchy have not been linked to a particular (syntactic) feature that one class has and another class does not. It is interesting, however, to see that different types of prenominal modifiers may be sensitive to different cut-off points on the animacy hierarchy, as Bulgarian possessives and associatives are.

In this section I have focused on Bulgarian data, suggesting that focal referents are topicalized by moving into the specifier of DP. Similarly to

<sup>24</sup> The notion of ‘animacy’ itself may be linked to such categories as ‘active’ or ‘agentive’; see Degtjarev (1994:31) for a discussion of these categories in Proto-Indo-European.

demonstratives and personal pronouns, they tend to precede numerals<sup>25</sup> and other sub-DP material. Similar restrictions on the ordering of numerals and associatives are found in other languages, such as Japanese (40), Chinese (41) and Slovenian (42).

- (40) ASSOCIATIVE PLURAL (Hiroko Yamakido, p.c.) JAPANESE < ? Altaic
- |  |  |
|--|--|
| a. Hiroko-tati <b>san</b> nin<br>Hiroko-pl three CL<br>'Hiroko & Co, three in all' | b. ?? <b>San</b> nin no Hiroko-tati<br>three CL GEN Hiroko-pl<br>'Hiroko & Co, three in all' |
| PERSONAL PRONOUN   |  |
| c. watasi-tati <b>san</b> nin<br>I-pl three CL<br>'us three'                       | d. ?? <b>San</b> nin no watasi-tati<br>three CL GEN I-pl<br>'us three'                       |
- (41) ASSOCIATIVE PLURAL (Li 1999: 79-80) CHINESE < Sino-Tibetan
- |   |  |
|---|--|
| a. XiaoQiang-men <b>san-ge</b> (ren) <sup>26</sup><br>XQ-men 3-CL (person)<br>'XQ and Co, three in total' | b. * <b>san-ge</b> XiaoQiang-men<br>3-CL XQ-men<br>'XQ and Co, three in total' |
| PERSONAL PRONOUN  |  |
| c. tamen/women <b>san-ge</b> (ren)<br>they /we 3-CL (ren)<br>'us /them three'                             | d. * <b>san-ge</b> tamen/women<br>3-CL they/we<br>'us /them three'             |

<sup>25</sup> In Tagalog (Josephine Palencia, p.c.), Basque (Nerea Madariaga, p.c.) and some other languages (Tatar, Bagvalian, Pular-Fulfulde, Songhay, Georgian; see Daniel (2000a:82), also Moravcsik (1994)), associatives cannot co-occur with numerals at all. Interestingly, *pronouns* in these languages *can* appear with numerals. This is something of a problem for my analysis which seeks to structurally unify pronouns and associatives. I have no explanation for this restriction within a framework that assumes that DP is universally projected. However, if we adopt Lyons' (1999) hypothesis that in some languages DP is projected only with personal pronouns, then it may be possible that nominal focal referents in those non-DP languages end up in the specifier of NumP, thus competing with numerals.

<sup>26</sup> For speakers that form associatives with *-tamen* 'they' instead of *-men*, the same generalizations apply. I thank my fellow SUNY students Ruiqin Miao, Chih-Hsiang Shu and Zheng Xu for this information.



(42) ASSOCIATIVE PLURAL (Lanko Marušič, p.c.) SLOVENIAN < S. Slavic < IE

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| a. Lankotovi <b>tri</b> je<br>Lanko-poss.pl three-masc.pl<br>i. 'Lanko & Co, three in total'<br>ii. 'Lanko's family, all three' | b. <b>tri</b> je Lankotovi<br>three-masc.pl Lanko-poss.pl<br>i. * 'Lanko & Co, three in total'<br>ii. 'Lanko's family, all three' |
|---|---|
- PERSONAL PRONOUN
- |  |  |
|--|--|
| c. oni <b>tri</b> je<br>they three<br>'them three' | d. * <b>tri</b> je oni<br>three they<br>'them three' |
|--|--|

In Slovenian, an associative plural can also follow a collective numeral (43); note that in this case the behavior of associatives still correlates with that of pronouns and demonstratives.

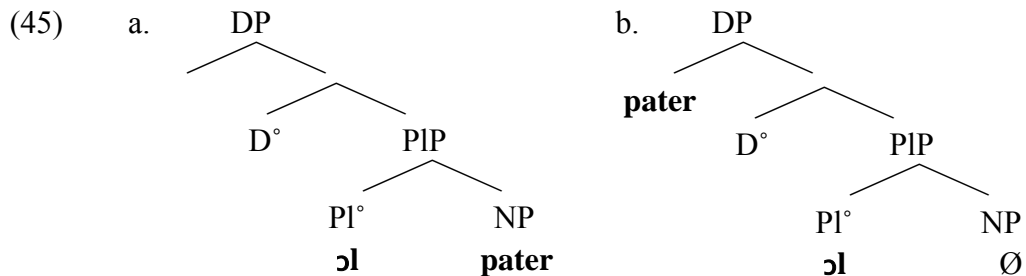
(43) (Lanko Marušič, p.c.) SLOVENIAN < S. Slavic < IE

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| a. <b>tro</b> je Lankotovix (*troje)<br>three.coll Lanko-poss-Gen.pl (*three.coll)<br>i. 'Lanko & Co, three in total' <= ASSOCIATIVE<br>ii. 'Lanko's associates, three in total' <= BARE POSSESSIVE |  |
| c. <b>tro</b> je onix / tistix (*troje)<br>three.coll they.Gen.pl / these.Gen.pl (three.coll)<br>'they/those three'   |  |

In Tok Pisin, associatives and regular plurals use the same marker *ɔl* (<all), but regular plurals (in NP) follow it (44a, 45a), while associative plurals (in the specifier of DP) precede it (44b, 45b)

(44) (Mühlhäusler 1981: 43) TOK PISIN (an English-based Creole spoken in New Guinea)

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| a. <b>ɔl</b> pater<br>pl priest 'the priests'                     |  |
| b. pater <b>ɔl</b><br>priest pl 'the priest and his congregation' |  |



In this section, I have argued that focal referents of associative plurals share many properties with determiners and determiner-like elements such as personal pronouns, demonstratives and English-style prenominal possessives. Their function is to identify a group, rather than to describe it, which is why their referents tend to have an inherently-high identification value. They are base-generated as nominal modifiers and then move to the specifier of DP, a topic position. Sitting in the specifier of DP, they nearly always precede numerals and can be capable of licensing a silent  $D^\circ$ .

My discussion so far has focused on the syntactic structure of associatives. I have suggested that they are headed by a silent non-descriptive plural NP with human reference. The focal referent is a modifier which identifies this group; similarly to other determiners and determiner-like lexical modifiers, it appears to occupy a high position within DP. In the next and last section of this chapter, I will discuss the semantic relationship between this focal modifier and its silent head, comparing it to the relation between other determiners and their nominal heads.

### 2.3 THE INTERPRETATION OF ASSOCIATIVE PLURALS

Associatives express a relation between a group and an individual. The *group*-referent is identified by its association with and its inclusion of the individual, the focal referent. I have suggested that the *group*-referent and the focal referent are two syntactically-separate nominals in a complex DP. The *group*-referent is the head of this DP, while the focal referent is its determiner.

In this section, I focus on the relation between the focal referent and the group-nominal. I begin by demonstrating that this relation is partially context-determined, similarly to the relation expressed by demonstrative and possessive determiners (section 2.3.1). I go on to suggest that while demonstratives, associatives and possessives are similar in allowing a range of context-dependent interpretations, they each also have a certain ‘default’ interpretation. I attribute this default interpretation to distinct lexical elements (ghost-prepositions) whose core meaning can be overridden by the context (section 2.3.2). I conclude with a discussion of a number of possible sources for the preference for family-interpretation exhibited by the associative plurals in some languages (section 2.3.3). In section 2.3.4, I summarize my proposal regarding the nature of the relation that links focal referents to their group-heads.

### 2.3.1 CONTEXTUAL DETERMINATION: ASSOCIATIVES AND OTHER CONSTRUCTIONS WITH LEXICAL DETERMINERS

In Daniel (2000a) and Nakanishi & Tomioka (2003), the relation between the focal referent and the group as a whole is defined as the ‘relation of representation’: the focal referent represents the group. This fitting name implies a strong possibility of inclusion and salience of the focal referent, yet it is vague enough to allow for the variation in the actual nature of association which (in many languages) varies with the context. For example, *Lankotovi* in Slovenian can be interpreted as ‘Lanko and his family’, ‘Lanko and his fellow students’, and, presumably, any other sort of group that Lanko can represent whose identity can be guessed from previous discourse (Lanko Marušič, p.c.).<sup>27</sup>

Associatives are not unique in encoding a vague sort of ‘association’ whose actual content is supplied by the context. As Burton (1995) observes, the content of a possessive relation is determined by the context and by our pragmatic knowledge of the kinds of relations that can link two particular entities. For example, an expression such as *Mary’s cat* can refer to ‘the cat that Mary owns’, ‘the cat that Mary is drawing’, ‘the cat that Mary must feed’, ‘the cat that Mary is in love with’, or ‘the cat that Mary stepped on’, and so forth.<sup>28</sup>

Demonstratives can express various types of association as well. For example, even though English demonstratives generally indicate distance to and from the speaker, they may occasionally indicate other types of association:

Demonstratives like *this* and *that* are deictic because they locate the entity referred to relative to some reference point in the extra-linguistic context. The contrast between *this/these* and *that/those* is to do with distance from the speaker: *this book*

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<sup>27</sup> Moravcsik (2003:472) notes that certain homogeneity is required of the referents of associatives. For example, an associative construction would not be used to group the focal referent with his/her slaves or enemies.

<sup>28</sup> Burton (1995:14-5) gives the following semantic representation of the possessive relation for *Mary’s cat*:

(i) [(the cat:) cat’(x) & R(x,Mary)]...

The cat and Mary stand in some unspecified relationship; this unspecified relationship is represented as a (free) variable over relations. This variable is interpreted in the same way as other free-variables, i.e. via deixis. Whatever mapping relation between individuals and cats happens to be salient in the discourse will potentially furnish a value for the relationship between Mary and the cat.

denotes something closer to the speaker than does *that book*. This distance is not necessarily spatial; it may be temporal (*that day* referring to some past or future occasion, as opposed to *this week*, meaning the present week), or emotional (*there's that awful man here again* '...'). It is possible to relate this distance contrast to the category of person. *This* is used to refer to some entity which is close to or associated in some way with the speaker or with a set of individuals which includes the speaker, so *this article* could be 'the article which I am reading', 'the article which you and I are discussing', among other possibilities. <...> *That* is used where the referent is associated with a set including hearer but not speaker (2<sup>nd</sup> person) or a set including neither speaker nor hearer (3<sup>rd</sup> person): '*Show me that (?this) letter you have in your pocket*'. (Lyons 1999:18)

All three constructions (associatives, demonstratives and possessives) are instances of predication: it is predicated of the nominal referent that it is 'represented by Mary', 'near speaker'<sup>29</sup> or 'possessed by John', respectively. While all three constructions express a relation that is determinable by the context, there is also something of a *default* interpretation. Namely, demonstratives name a locative sort of association, possessives indicate ownership, and associatives express inclusion (group-membership, partitivity, part-whole relation). The nature and source of the default interpretation will be discussed in the next section.

### 2.3.2 DEFAULT INTERPRETATION, PREDICATIVE LINKERS AND GHOST PREPOSITIONS

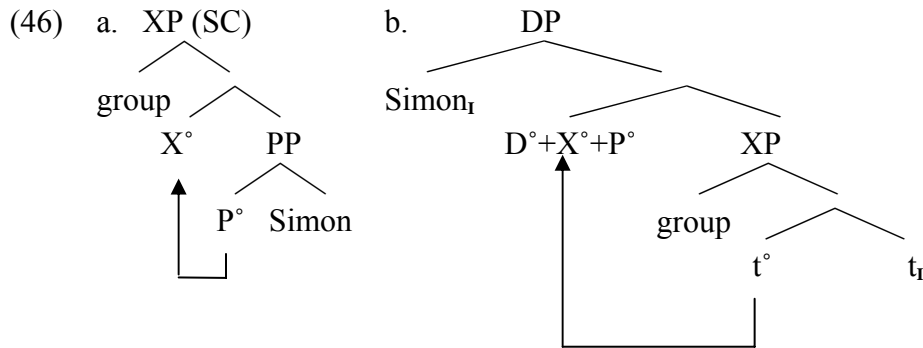
If, as Burton (1995) suggests, the relation R between a possessor and its head nominal is contextually-defined, then what is the source of the preference for a default possessive interpretation when the phrase is used out of context? Burton (1995) hypothesizes that the relation R may carry a default specification which may be overridden by the context.

I suggest that focal referents start out prepositional phrases in a small-clause configuration with the head noun (46a) and then move around it to their prenominal position. The preposition that introduces the focal referents is 'with', so that

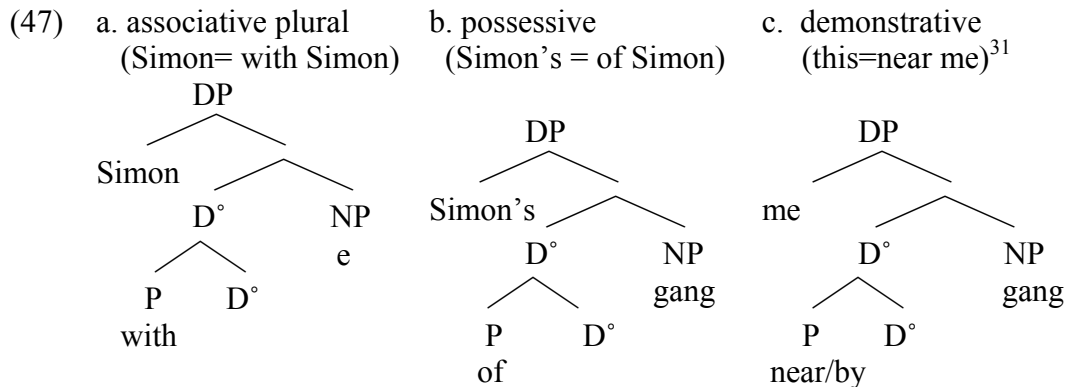
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<sup>29</sup> A demonstrative functions as a predicate over the element whose location (proximity) is defined with respect to the participants in the deictic context.

the interpretation of an associative is something like ‘the group is-with (=includes) Simon’.<sup>30</sup>



Demonstratives are, presumably, introduced by a locative preposition, for example ‘near’, so that ‘this book’ is derived from ‘book near me’. Possessives are derived from *of*-phrases (47)



<sup>30</sup> The structure in (46) is reminiscent of den Dikken's (1988) approach to predicate inversion in possessive constructions and of Larson's (1991) analysis of possessives as arguments chosen by the theta-role assigning determiner D°.

<sup>31</sup> On this analysis, the demonstrative ‘this’ represents a suppletive lexicalization of ‘near/by me’. There are, indeed, languages whose demonstratives transparently encode person (see Lyons 1995 for a discussion of ‘person-based demonstratives; see also chapter 3 for a discussion). I do not know whether there are languages that encode the near/far distinction using the same locative markers as the ones introducing locative prepositional phrases.

The ghost-preposition supplies the core value of the relation, while the subsequent topicalization, apparently allows for discourse-related information to override the default value. For example, while ‘near me’ unambiguously denotes locative association, ‘this’ can express many different kinds of associations.

Note that while *with* may indicate inclusion, it does not require it: it may also indicate accompaniment. The choice of *with* as the ‘associative’ preposition is motivated by its ability to indicate inclusion, but not require it. For example, the comitative preposition’s ‘with’ in Russian may indicate accompaniment (48a) or co-participation/inclusion (48b) when it is used in the so-called comitative coordination.

- (48) a. Ivan pošel v magazin s Mašej.                      RUSSIAN < E. Slavic < IE  
           Ivan went.sg to store        with Masha  
           ‘Ivan went to the store with Masha.’  
       b. Ivan s Mašej pošli v magazin.  
           Ivan with Masha went to store  
           ‘Ivan and Masha went to the store.’

A similar ambiguity is found in associatives: the focal referent is not always<sup>32</sup> interpreted as a member of the group (49).

- (49)     Kerry-tati (Hiroko Yamakido, p.c.)                      JAPANESE < ? Altaic  
           Kerry-PL  
           ‘(Kerry and) his associates/supporters’

My suggested analysis of focal referents as *with*-arguments accounts for the **context-dependency** of their interpretation (via a deictically-specified relation *R* on *D*<sup>o</sup>; cf. Burton (1995)) as well as for the existence of the **default interpretation** (the job of the semantically-appropriate preposition). The remaining property to account for is the preference for **family-interpretation**, which I discuss in the next section.

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<sup>32</sup> Note that in some cases the inclusory interpretation is mandatory rather than optional. For example, in Chinese (Ruiqin Miao, p.c.), Polish (Stefan Dyla, p.c) and Tatar (Daniel 2000a:77) the focal referent must be interpreted as a part of the group.

## 2.3.3 THE PREFERENCE FOR FAMILY-INTERPRETATION

In Bulgarian (50) and some other languages, associatives cannot be used to refer to groups other than families. In Polish, this restriction is strengthened to require that associative refer to married couples (51).

- (50) a. Peš-ovi (Ivan Derzhanski, p.c.) BULGARIAN < S. Slavic < IE  
 P.- ASPL  
 ‘Peter and his wife/family’  
 b. % Na kak-ini im davit zaplata dnes.<sup>33</sup>  
 to elder sister-ASPL to-them give paycheck today  
 ‘My elder sister and her colleagues are getting their paychecks today’.
- (51) Wojtkowie (Stefan Dyla, p.c.) POLISH < E. Slavic < IE  
 Wojtek+aspl  
 i. ‘Wojtek and his wife (? and children)’  
 ii. \* ‘Wojtek and his group/associates/friends’

Not all languages limit their associatives to families or, more broadly, to inherently-related groups. The Basque and Asante examples in (52) show that mere accompaniment or accidental grouping is often possible as well, with no implication of close association between the members.

- (52) a. Miren-eta (Hualde 2003:852) BASQUE < Isolate  
 Miren-and  
 ‘Miren and those with her’  
 b. Owúsu-nõm ASANTE < Akan < Kwa < Niger-Congo  
 Owusu-PLU (Redden & Owusu & et al 1963:183, Moravcsik’s file)  
 i. ‘Owusu and the people with him’  
 ii. ‘Owusu-s’ (more than one person by that name)

I suggest that the preference for family interpretation is related to the lack of descriptive content in the associative NP. There are other constructions with silent nominal heads that show a preference for such an interpretation: plural personal pronouns with singular antecedents (53) and bare possessives (54).

<sup>33</sup> The implication of a family association between the referent and his/her group is very strong in Bulgarian and some very explicit contextual evidence is needed to override it (and even then not all speakers accept it, Ivan Derzhanski, p.c.).

(53) A: And what became of John?

B: Oh, they moved to DC a few years ago. (they = John and family)

(54) (Daniel 2002)

- |    |  |                          |
|----|--|--------------------------|
| a. | Maškin<br>Masha-poss-sg<br>'Mary's husband'    | RUSSIAN < E. Slavic < IE |
| b. | les siens<br>det.pl his<br>'his/her relatives' | FRENCH < Romance < IE    |
| c. | i miei<br>det.pl my.pl<br>'my family'          | ITALIAN < Romance < IE   |

Note, however, that neither bare possessives nor pronouns are ever limited to naming families. Pronouns used anaphorically can refer to previously identified groups of any nature, while bare possessives can be used in elliptic constructions to refer to any object (55).

(55) Ja svoi pirožnye s'jela, a Maškiny na stole tak i ležat.      RUSSIAN < Slavic  
I my cookies ate but Masha's on table still lying  
'I finished my cookies, while Masha's ones are still on the table.'

If pronouns and associatives are semantically and syntactically identical, then why don't we find pronouns limited to naming the speaker's family? The difference is that pronouns can be used anaphorically as well as associatively. In other words, they can either refer to a previously-identified group or they can be used to name a new group (in which case they preferentially express a family association). Associatives, on the other hand, are used primarily to name new groups; one would use a simple pronoun to refer to one that has been identified before, hence the preference for family-interpretation. I will further discuss the differences between anaphoric and associative pronouns in chapter 3.

#### 2.3.4 THE ASSOCIATIVE RELATION: A SUMMARY

This section has focused on certain semantic similarities between associatives, demonstratives and possessives. I have suggested that the three constructions have two arguments linked by a relation R, whose content is determined partially by the context and partially through specification of the default value of



each relation (representation, proximity and ownership, respectively) by means of a ghost-preposition. The preference for family interpretation is results from the lack of lexical content in the nominal head: in the absence of such information, we identify the never-before-mentioned group as being in a close relation with the focal referent.

## 2.4 CONCLUDING REMARKS

My analysis of associatives treats them as bare-headed plural expressions. The focal referent itself is not plural; rather, it is a modifier of a plural (silent) nominal head with group reference. The focal referent is in the part-whole relation with the group. The preposition *with* is the lexical carrier of this relation. Associative plurals start out as GROUP (IS) WITH PETER, but then *Peter* is topicalized by movement to the specifier of DP, so that we end up with PETER('S) GROUP. The focal referent is topicalized because of its role as identifier for the group. The two relations (inclusion and identification) amount to the relation of representation.

The topicalized referent starts out as a modifier of a silent nominal head and moves to the specifier of DP. In this position, associatives pattern with demonstratives and personal pronouns in preceding numeral quantifiers.

The suggested analysis differs from its predecessors in several important respects. First, there is no need for redefining the notion of nominal plurality in order to cover both regular (=uniform) and associative (non-uniform) plurals, as in Nakanishi & Tomioka (2004). The group-referent is a 'normal' plural expression; the focal referent may surface with plural marking because of adjectival concord or clitization, in the absence of the nominal head.

My proposal also differs from other predicative analyses. While Vinokurova (2005) analyzes them as quasi-coordinative constructions, something like 'focal referent plus other(s)', I analyze them as part-whole relations instead: 'focal referent is part of the group'. Although the existence of some additional member(s) is presupposed, they are not syntactic arguments of the construction (see chapter 4 for further discussion). While I follow den Besten's (1997) approach to associatives as partitives, I add topicalization to the analysis, to account for the role of the focal referent as identifier and for its sensitivity to the Animacy Hierarchy.

I set out in this chapter to see whether associatives could be formally analyzed 'as pronouns' and concluded that they do have many properties in common. The difference lies in the nature of the focal referent – associatives use a definite nominal, pronouns have person features. In the next chapter, I will clarify what it means for the person features to function as focal referents / determiners, as well as why pronouns can have a number of other (non-associative) interpretations.

### CHAPTER 3

## ASSOCIATIVE AND PRONOMINAL PLURALITY: A UNIFIED ANALYSIS

This chapter focuses on the following issues: the role of person features as focal referents, the difference between an associative *they* and a regular plural *they*, the non-canonical interpretations of plural pronouns, and, finally, the differences in the morphological manifestations of pronominal and associative plurality. Some of these issues have been sometimes considered as problematic for a unified analysis of pronouns and associatives. I will show that the absence of lexical material in pronouns and the presence of such closed-class features as [+speaker] and [+hearer] accounts for the lack of separate pronominal forms for their different meanings as well as for the frequent morphological differences between pronouns and associatives.

### 3.1. SOME SIMILARITIES BETWEEN PERSONAL PRONOUNS AND ASSOCIATIVE PLURALS: THE MOTIVATION FOR A UNIFIED ANALYSIS

It is a trivial observation that the pronoun ‘we’ is not, semantically, a plural of ‘I’, even though it may look like a plural of ‘I’ morphologically (1-2). While the plural of *chair* refers to a set of objects each of which is a chair, the pronoun *we* refers to a set of people that includes the speaker and other(s).<sup>50</sup>

- (1) a. *watasi* ‘I’ => *watasi-tati* ‘we’ JAPANESE < ? Altaic  
       b. *gakusei* => *gakusei-tati* ‘the students’
- (2) (Cysouw 2003:71) TRUMAI < Isolate (spoken in Brazil)  
       a. *ha* ‘I’ => *ha uan* ‘we’  
       b. *kaki* => *kaki uan* ‘the men’

The unusual reference structure of 1<sup>st</sup> plural pronouns is similar to that of associative plurals, as has been noted by many researchers (Moravcsik 2003, Benveniste (1974), Daniel (2000a,b), Cysouw (2003:69), Wechsler (2004)).

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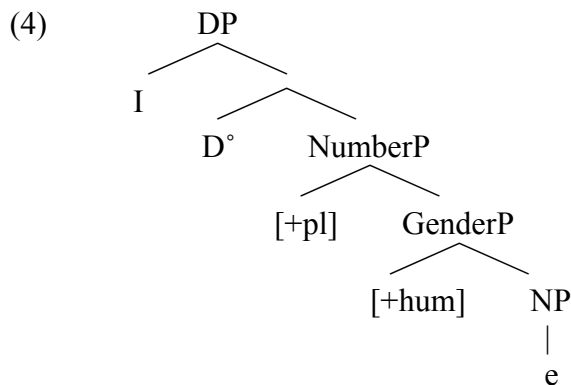
<sup>50</sup> For arguments that *we* is never ‘choral’ (a group of people speaking together, as say, when they say the Pledge of Allegiance) see Cysouw 2003; also Daniel (2000a:121): “In a choral *we*, each of the speakers uses the word *we* to refer to himself and others”.

Moreover, 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> person pronouns can have an associative interpretation as well. *You* may be interpreted as referring to the addressee and others, and so can the pronoun *they* (3).

- (3) A: And what became of Peter?  
 B: Oh, **they** moved to DC ages ago. (they = Peter & wife/family/Co)

Like associative plurals, personal pronouns appear to have a definite, rigidly-referring focal referent, identified uniquely within a discourse situation either as a participant or a salient individual. Like associatives, pronouns refer to groups but do not describe them – they lack descriptive content. Finally, pronouns resemble associatives in their preference for referring to groups inherently associated with the focal referent in situations where these plural pronouns have a singular antecedent (see (3) above). For further parallels between associatives and pronouns, see Moravcsik (2003).

Because of these similarities, I suggest that the internal structure of pronouns is the same as that of associatives. For instance, the personal plural pronoun ‘we’ has a focal referent ‘I’ which has the same syntactic position<sup>51</sup> and the same interpretation as nominal focal referents (4).



The tree in (4) incorporates some fairly mainstream theoretical assumptions about the structure of personal pronouns. Pronouns are generally thought to have the same internal structure as other nominals: they involve a determiner D° that takes an extended NP as its complement (e.g., Abney 1987, Postal 1966, Panagiotidis 2002, 2003). The extended NP includes the usual functional projections such as the Number Phrase and the Gender Phrase (e.g. Ritter 1992, Koopman 1999, Cardinaletti & Starke 1999, Déchaine & Wiltschko 2002), but no descriptive or

<sup>51</sup> To be slightly modified in the next section.

conceptual content, which is why it is interpreted as a variable (Panagiotidis 2002, 2003).

In addition to these functional projections, personal pronouns are traditionally thought to encode person features. These person features are usually analyzed as naming referents who are included into the group denoted by the pronoun. Namely, a pronoun that has a 1<sup>st</sup> person feature is interpreted as including the speaker, and a pronoun that has a 2<sup>nd</sup> person feature is interpreted as including the hearer (but not the speaker). The 3<sup>rd</sup> person (pro)nouns have no person features.

If the inclusive interpretation of plural pronouns is indeed solely the work of the person features, then the availability of the inclusive interpretation of 3<sup>rd</sup> person pronouns in (3) is left unexplained. In the next section, I suggest that person features can function as focal referents because of their inherent definiteness and referential properties. Furthermore, I show that a definite referential feature [def] does not have to encode person in order to function as a focal referent.

### 3.2. PERSON FEATURES AND FOCAL REFERENTS

Person features point to individuals with unique discourse roles, the speaker and the addressee. Yet, pointing to individuals is not an exclusive property of person features – any definite feature does that. For example, in the formalism of Larson and Segal (1995), sentences are assigned truth values with respect to a *context sequence*  $\sigma$  (5a), which is, in essence, a list of the individuals (5b) that are salient in a particular discourse situation and reserves its initial positions for the speaker and hearer (5c).

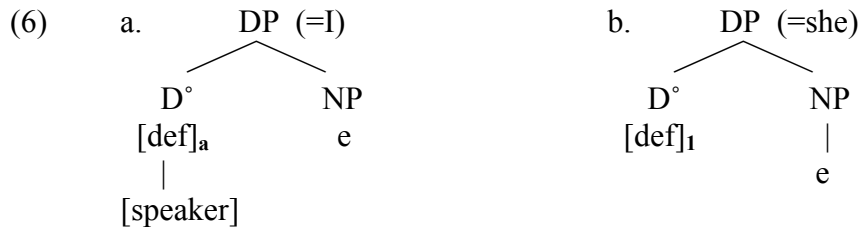
- (5) a.  $\text{Val}(t, S, \sigma)$   
       b.  $\sigma(a)^{52} \quad \sigma(b) \quad \dots \quad \sigma(1) \quad \sigma(2)$   
            $\sigma = \langle \text{speaker, addressee, } \dots, \text{ Millie, Tanya \& Seth, } \dots \rangle$   
       c.  $\text{Val}(x, [D \textit{you}], \sigma) \text{ iff } x = \sigma(b)$

Larson and Segal (1995) as well as Lyons (1999) treat person features as ‘special’ definite features: the difference between them lies in the identity of the entities they point to. Assuming that the definite feature is encoded on D° and bears an index and a person feature, we arrive at the following representation for the

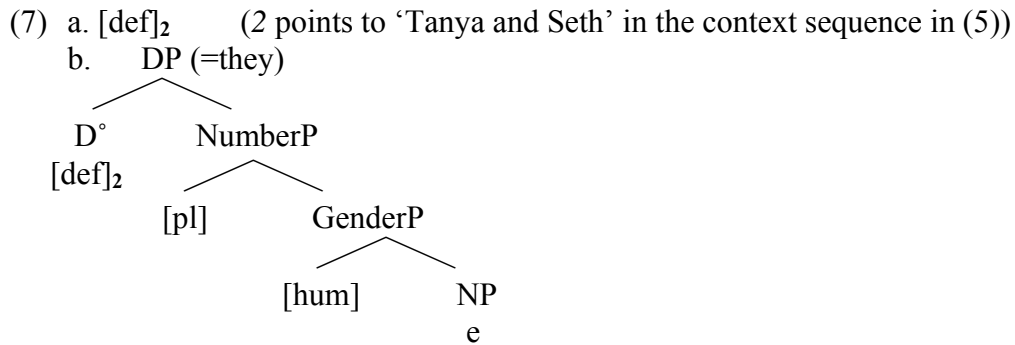
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<sup>52</sup> Larson & Segal (1995) identify the positions of the pronouns by letters and those of the other elements by numerals. The deictics ‘here’ and ‘now’ have indices (c) and (d).

pronouns ‘I’ (6a) and ‘she’ (6b). The indices *a* and *1* refer to the positions in the context sequence in (5).



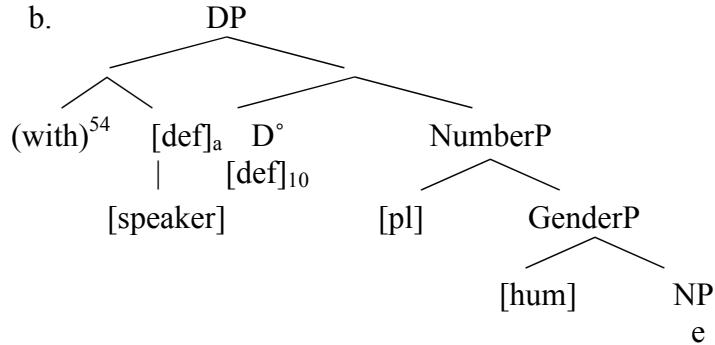
A definite indexed feature on D° may, of course, refer back to a plural individual. Therefore, the pronoun *they* (on its ‘regular-plural’ interpretation) has the structure in (7b).



Like *they*, the pronouns *we* and *you* can refer to plural individuals whose identity has already been established in the discourse. Their structure in this case is identical to that of ‘they’ in (7b) above, except that we need some mechanism to ensure that the morphological component spells out the pronoun *we* differently from the pronoun *they*. The same mechanism would be responsible for the ‘inclusive’ interpretation.<sup>53</sup> The standard assumption is that plural pronouns encode person features; I adopt this with a slight modification: I suggest that the person feature is an argument of an ‘associative’ D (8b).

<sup>53</sup> It is possible that the person feature of singular pronouns is also interpreted ‘inclusively’, so that ‘I’ would be a singleton set that includes the speaker. However, an extension of such analysis to all definite features (cf. Lyons (1999) suggestion that definiteness is ‘inclusion’) is a vast topic worthy of a separate dissertation, and so I set it aside here.

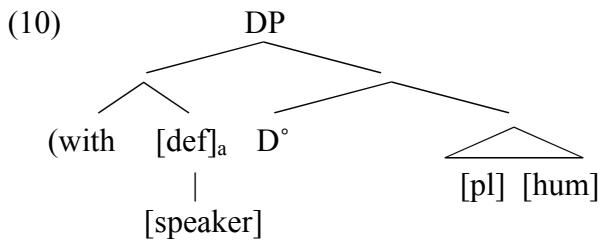
- (8) a.  $\sigma(a) = \text{speaker}$   
 $\sigma(10) = \text{speaker and Mary}$



Let us now turn to the special interpretations of personal pronouns where there is a strong implication of an inherent association between the referents (9).

- (9) a. A: And what became of **John**?  
 B: Oh, **they** moved to DC two years ago. ( they = John & family)
- b. A: **Ty** tak i živěš v Bostone? RUSSIAN < E. Slavic < IE  
 you.sg so and live.2sg in Boston?  
 B: Net, **my** davno pereexali v New-York.  
 No, we long-ago moved to NY  
 ‘Are you (sg) still living in Boston? – No, we moved to NY long ago.’

In (9), the only available antecedent for the plural pronoun is a singular individual from the previous sentence. The identity of the group is not known and is calculated by a presumption of an inherent relation with the identified referent. In these cases I suggest that D° has no index feature (10), since there is no identified plural individual in the context sequence.



<sup>54</sup> To keep the focus on the interpretation of person features and the indices on D°, the trees in this chapter reflect neither the incorporation of P° ‘with’ into D°, nor raising of the focal referent from its original position to the specifier of DP.

My treatment of person features as a referential arguments located in a specifier position may look unusual, but it is not unprecedented. A similar approach has been independently argued for by Van Koppen (2005) for reasons other than pronominal semantics. She argues that the person features of (Hellendoorn Dutch) pronouns are in the specifier of the highest pronominal projection, a position which allows preposed verbs (11b) and complementizers (11c) to agree with the ‘focal referent’ (in my terminology) rather than with the whole pronoun. The marker *-t* in the examples below represents agreement with the whole plural pronoun, while the marker *-e* represents agreement with the 1<sup>st</sup> person singular focal referent. Van Koppen (2005) compares the process to First Conjunct Agreement, which in turn implies a full-fledged argumenthood for the person features in the specifier position.

- (11) (van Koppen, 2005:110) HELLENDOORN DUTCH < W. Germanic < IE
- a. *wiej bin-t/\*-ne den besten*  
we are.agr the best  
‘We are the best’
  - b. *bin-ne/\*-t wiej den besten?*  
are.agr we the best  
‘Are we the best?’
  - c. *darr-e/\*dat wiej den besten bin-t/\*-ne*  
that.agr we the best are.agr  
‘that we are the best’

While my associative analysis of pronouns provides a simple solution for the possibility of an ‘associative’ interpretation of *they* (he+family), which is achieved by treating an indexed [def] feature as an argument of D (12), it gives rise to two new questions. First, if English allows 3<sup>rd</sup> person elements to function as focal referents in ‘They (John + family) moved to Boston’, then why doesn’t English have nominal associative plurals? Second, why don’t we have different words for an associative *they* and a ‘regular’ *they*, in the same way as many languages distinguish between regular plurals and associative plurals?

- (12) a.  $\sigma$  (1) = Millie  
b.
- 
- ```

graph TD
    DP --> with["(with)"]
    DP --> N1
    N1 --> def1["[def]1"]
    N1 --> Dp["D°"]
    Dp --> pl["[pl]"]
    Dp --> N2
    N2 --> human["[human]"]
    N2 --> NP
    NP --> e["e"]
  
```
- they = Millie and Co

The answer to both of these questions has to do, in my opinion, with the nature of pronominal focal referents. The focal referent of ‘we’ is itself a bundle of features and indices, while the focal referent of PETER-ASPL has some lexical material. A language may lack associatives because nominals are banned from moving into positions open to pronouns (in other words, fail to be adjectivized). For example, Italian pronominal possessors can move into a prenominal position, while nominal possessors must be realized post-nominally as prepositional phrases (13).

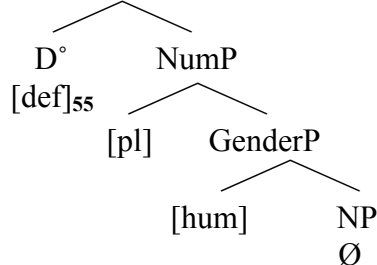
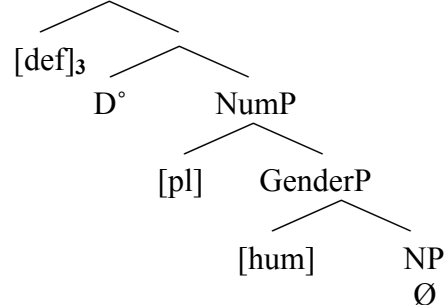
(13)

a. il **mio** libro  
the my book  
‘my book’

ITALIAN < Romance < IE  
b. il libro **di Maria**  
the book of Maria  
‘Mary’s book’

Similarly, if my analysis of demonstratives in Chapter 2 is on the right track, English appears to allow pronominal locatives (*the book near me* => *this book*) to move into a prenominal position (where they are lexicalized as demonstratives), while locative expressions with a nominal point of reference must be encoded by a post-nominal prepositional phrase (*the book near Mary*). Languages that lack associatives (but have plural pronouns) can thus be assumed to preclude their nominal focal referents from moving into positions open to the pronominal focal referents.

As for the lack difference between an associative *they* and a regular plural *they*, it simply results for the lack of difference in the feature sets that they spell out. Consider the difference between (14a) and (14b) which depict the structures of a ‘regular’ *they* and an associative *they*, respectively.

(14) a. DP ( $\sigma(55)$  = John + Mary)b. DP ( $\sigma(3)$  = John)

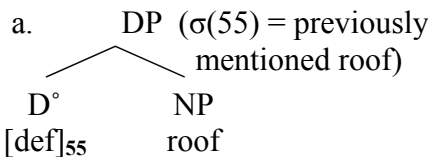
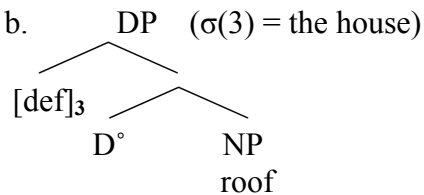
Both versions of *they* spell out the bundle of [+def], [+pl] and [+hum]. Except for the position of the indexed [def] feature, there is not much to distinguish the two, which is, I believe, the reason why no language has separate forms for the two interpretations of this pronoun.



Note that such homophony is not unusual among determiners. For example, its can be spelled out as they in the so-called *associative anaphora*<sup>55</sup> cases (15):

- (15) I saw a house on my way home. The (=its) roof was the brightest orange I've ever seen.

If *the* in (15) is structurally identical to *its*, then it follows that English sometimes does not morphologically distinguish an indexed [def] feature in D° from an indexed definite feature in the specifier of D°. The diagram in (16a) is the structure of 'the roof' when 'the' is a regular definite article; the diagram in (16b) represents an anaphoric definite article used in (15).

- (16) a.  b. 

Further examples of determiner homophony come from Armenian (17), Warlpiri (18) and Basque (19), where speaker-oriented demonstratives have the same form as the so-called 'personal determiners'<sup>56</sup>. The trees in (20) represent the structural difference between the two interpretations of the Armenian example in (17a).

<sup>55</sup> The term 'associative anaphora' applies to 'definite NPs used to designate a referent that has not yet been introduced into the discourse, but that can be presumed accessible by the addressee at the time they are employed. For example, after mentioning a football match an announcer may immediately launch into a discussion of the audience, the referee, the bleachers, or the score without any previous introduction to these entities, under the assumption that they are commonly evoked by such a game' (Charolles & Kleiber 1999:307-310).

<sup>56</sup> Both terms are from Lyons (1999). Person-based demonstratives locate an object relative to its association with the speaker, the hearer, both, or neither (as opposed to distance or proximity-based demonstratives). Personal determiners are pronouns used with a nominal complement, as in *we linguists*. While (Standard) English limits its personal determiners to *we* and *you.pl* (*we linguist*, *you linguists*, *\*them linguists*), other languages allow singular and 3<sup>rd</sup> person personal determiners, as the examples in the text show.

- (17) a. *tēr-s* (Majtinskaja 1968:38) ARMENIAN < IE  
 Sir-1<sup>st</sup>/prox  
 ‘I man’ / ‘this gentleman’  
 b. *tēr-d*  
 Sir-2<sup>nd</sup>/medial  
 ‘You Sir’ / ‘that gentleman’
- (18) (Lyons 1999:145) WARLPIRI < Pama-Nyugan < Australian  
 a. *Ngarka njampu<sup>57</sup> ka-rna purlami*  
 man this AUX-1sg shout  
 ‘\*I man am shouting.’  
 b. *Ngarka njampu ka purlami*  
 man this AUX shout  
 ‘This man is shouting.’
- (19) a. *herri-tarr-ok<sup>58</sup>*  
 country-dweller.prox.pl  
 i. ‘we country dwellers’  
 ii. ‘these country dwellers’  
 b. *herri-tarr-ek* BASQUE < Isolate  
 country-dweller.pl  
 ‘the country-dwellers’
- (20) a.  $\begin{array}{c} \text{DP } (\sigma(a) = \text{speaker}) \\ \swarrow \quad \searrow \\ \text{D}^\circ \quad \text{NP} \\ [\text{def}]_A \quad \mathbf{t\acute{e}r} \text{ ‘man’} \\ \mathbf{-s} \end{array}$   
 b.  $\begin{array}{c} \text{DP } (\sigma(a) = \text{speaker}) \\ \swarrow \quad \searrow \\ [\text{def}]_A \quad \begin{array}{c} \swarrow \quad \searrow \\ \mathbf{-s} \quad \text{D}^\circ \text{ }^{59} \quad \text{NP} \\ \quad \quad \mathbf{t\acute{e}r} \text{ ‘man’} \end{array} \end{array}$

In this section, I suggested an analysis of personal pronouns that reserves two loci for indexed definite features. Pronouns that refer to previously-established plural groups bear an index on D°. First and second person plural pronouns referring to previously-identified groups also have an indexical feature in the specifier of DP. This feature points to a referent which is interpreted as part of

<sup>57</sup> This word is usually spelled as *nyampu*. I kept the orthography of the source.

<sup>58</sup> Generally, *-ok* is described as ‘proximity plural’ in Basque grammars. I learned about the availability of its inclusive interpretation in Biscayan Basque from the Lingtyp archives, August 1991, week #4; see <http://listserv.linguistlist.org/cgi-bin/wa?A2=ind0108d&L=lingtyp&D=1&F=&S=&P=87>

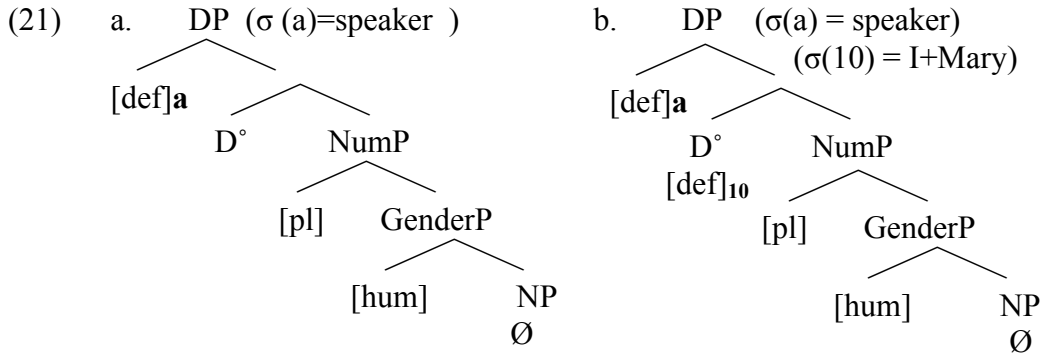
<sup>59</sup> The diagram ignores the preposition ‘near’ which is presumably incorporated into D° (see chapter 2 p. 44).

the group denoted by the pronoun. Associative pronouns, on the other hand, refer to new groups. Their  $D^\circ$  bears no index. The indexical referent in the specifier of DP is interpreted as a focal referent: it names an individual whose inclusion into the group identifies the group.

Languages do not have separate forms for associative and regular plural pronouns because their forms are too close in their featural make-up. Nominal associative plurals, on the other hand, often differ in form from regular nominal plurals. This is because nominal associative plurals have overt lexical material that is located in two different places in these two constructions.

### 3.3 ADDITIONAL INTERPRETATIONS OF PERSONAL PRONOUNS

In the previous section, I have attributed semantic differences between associative and ‘regular’ pronouns to a difference in the location of the indexed definite feature. An associative *we* has an indexed definite feature in the specifier of DP; the feature points to the speaker (21a). A ‘regular’ plural *we*, in addition, has an indexed definite feature in  $D^\circ$ ; this feature points to a previously-identified group (21b).



In addition to these two interpretations, plural pronouns (especially the 1<sup>st</sup> person plural pronoun) have a variety of other uses. In many cases, *we* is used to indicate the speaker’s emotional co-involvement in the situation, rather than equal participation in the action denoted by the verb. For example, the doctor in (22a) is

not interested in his own wellbeing; the parent in (22b) won't be eating soup<sup>60</sup>; the conductor in (22c) isn't going to buy a ticket, and Mr. Filch is not in trouble in (22d). The *we of solidarity* in (22e) shows that the speaker feels himself to be a winner, together with his/her favorite team. Finally, in (22f), the speaker is explicitly not part of the group that is departing; the form *we* indicates habitual association, membership.

- (22) a. How are we feeling today? ENGLISH < W. Germanic < IE  
 b. A teraz będziemy jedli zupkę... POLISH < W. Slavic < IE  
 and now be-Fut.1PL eat-impf.pl.VIR soup (Dyła, p.c.)  
 'And now we'll be eating soup...'  
 c. Ne zabyvaem oplačivat' proezd! RUSSIAN < E. Slavic < IE  
 neg forget -1<sup>st</sup>.pl.prs pay.inf fare  
 'Let us not forget to pay for the tickets!'<sup>61</sup>  
 d. Oh, we are in trouble! (as gleefully uttered by Mr. Filch (the caretaker)  
 when he catches a student misbehaving in the movie 'Harry Potter and  
 Chamber of Secrets')  
 e. We won last night! (spoken by a fan) ENGLISH < W. Germanic < IE  
 f. My idjom, a ja stoju. (Norman 2002) RUSSIAN < E. Slavic < IE  
 we are-going, but I am-standing  
 'We have departed, and I am still standing here' (spoken by a ship's  
 crew's member who was late for boarding and now is watching from  
 the shore as his ship sails away.)

In the examples above, the inclusion of the speaker as the focal referent indicates co-involvement. The speaker is interpreted as associated with the group, but the degree of his/her actual participation varies. We find a similar variation in nominal associatives which often allow their focal referent to be interpreted as excluded from the group (23).

<sup>60</sup> Note that while the speaker (the parent) won't be eating soup, s/he is co-involved in the situation not only emotionally, but also morphologically, as indicated by the virile (masculine-personal) verbal agreement. Namely, the example could be uttered by the father to address a female child.

<sup>61</sup> 'In Tzeltal, a Mayan languages from Mexico, the inclusive pronoun is often used in the same function, namely, to soften requests, as if pretending that the addressee wants the object or action requested as well (Cysouw 2005:13).

- (23) Kerry-tati (Hiroko Yamakido, p.c.) JAPANESE < ? Altaic  
 Kerry-pl  
 i. ‘Kerry and his family/group/supporters’  
 ii. ‘Kerry’s family/supporters’

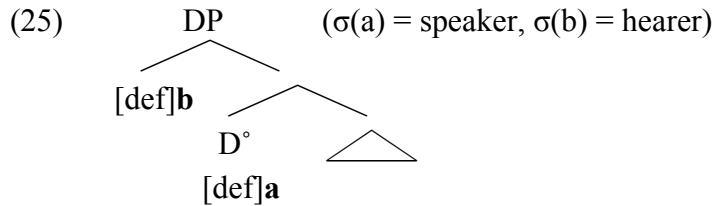
The non-canonical interpretations of plural pronouns discussed so far had to do with the apparent *exclusion* the focal referent. Now we turn to situations where the focal referent appears to be the *only* referent of a plural pronoun. Some of these uses imply aggrandizement of the focal referent (the royal *we* (24a), the honorifics (24b)), others, on the contrary, seem to de-emphasize the focal referent (the *we* of modesty/humility (24c),<sup>62</sup> the authorial *we* (24d)).

- (24) a. My, Nikolaj Vtoroj, ... ROYAL RUSSIAN < E. Slavic < IE  
 we, Nicholas second  
 ‘We, Nicholas the Second...’  
 b. Mixail Sergeevič, - kogda Vy byli prezidentom .... HONORIFIC 2<sup>ND</sup> PL  
 M.S., - when you were president...  
 c. Da net, ničego, my postoi. MODESTY  
 oh no nothing we will-stand  
 ‘No, don’t worry, I can stand.’  
 d. Naš ěksperiment pokazal... AUTHORIAL  
 our experiment demonstrated...

In honorifics and the royal *we*, the speaker is not only the focal referent, but also a socially-dominant one. In (24c-d), on the other hand, the plural form appears to be used in order to de-emphasize the speaker. The authorial *we* fluctuates between giving the illusion of a whole team having worked on the subject (*we have shown*) and drawing the reader in (*in the next section, we will see*). In this latter situation, as well as in *we* of modesty, I believe, the reference to the reader/listener is encoded as a focal referent, while D° carries the indexed definite feature pointing to the speaker.

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<sup>62</sup> In English, self-effacement (modesty) appears to be indicated by using a proper name rather than a plural pronoun; for example, the down-trodden house-elf Dobby in the *Harry Potter* septology always refers to himself by name (e.g., *Dobby has heard of your greatness, sir*). On the other hand, it may be that Gollum of ‘The Lord of the Rings’ uses *we* to indicate self-effacement (*our precious; master loves us*, etc.); however, an (unscientific) poll among my friends showed that not everyone agrees that this is the reason *we* is used by Gollum (5 out of 9 voted for schizophrenia, 1 for a ‘royal’ *we* of self-aggrandizement (Gollum thinks himself to be the Lord of the One Ring), and 3 for *we* of humility).



The dominance of the addressee in (25) is indicated by its focal position; the interpretation is something like ‘your humble servant’, ‘your author’, etc. Note that the structure does not violate the commonly-assumed salience hierarchy between the speaker and the hearer. We need this hierarchy, for example, to account for the fact that 2<sup>nd</sup> person plural pronouns cannot include reference to the speaker. As Daniel (1999) and Harley & Ritter (2002) suggest, the choice of the addressee as the focal referent of the pronoun implies the non-inclusion of the speaker. The speaker is inherently more salient than the addressee<sup>63</sup>; therefore, the speaker must be chosen as the focal referent for any group he is a member of. In (25), on the other hand, the indexed D° makes reference to the speaker *alone*, not to a group represented by the speaker. Therefore, we can keep Daniel’s (1999) and Harley & Ritter’s (2002) person-hierarchy approach to 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> person pronouns and still allow (25) where the hearer outranks the speaker.

My proposal that pronouns can have focal referents can be beneficial for explaining certain stylistically-marked uses of inclusive pronouns. Inclusive pronouns, as Daniel (2000a:141) suggests, do not rank the speaker and the hearer. Rather, they involve a special complex person feature (26), which can also be captured in feature-geometric frameworks as a simultaneous activation of the [+speaker] and [+hearer] node (Harley & Ritter, 2002).

- (26) a.  $\sigma(e) = \text{speaker and hearer}$   
       b. [def]<sub>e</sub>  
           |  
           [speaker-hearer]

The new person feature can be encoded on D°<sup>64</sup> or it can serve as focal referent (27d).

<sup>63</sup> Person hierarchy is part of the Animacy hierarchy (see chapter 2, pp.37-38).

<sup>64</sup> See Hanson et al (2002) for the suggestion that inclusive pronouns can be singular.

(27) (Nguyen 1996)

VIETNAMESE &lt; Mon-Khmer

- a. *tôi* 'I'
- b. *chúng tôi* 'we' (excl)
- c. *ta* 'you and I' (incl)
- d. *chúng ta* 'you and I plus others' (inclusive)

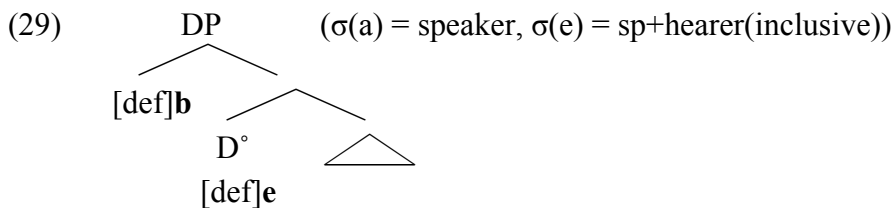
While the new person feature is suggested to imply no ranking between the participants, inclusive pronouns have a variety of non-canonical interpretations similar to the ones that were discussed earlier in this section. For example, the Samoan 'singular' inclusive *'ita* is used as the *we* of modesty (28); Wikipedia<sup>65</sup> describes it as referring to the speaker but with a connotation of appealing or asking for indulgence.

(28) [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Inclusive\\_we](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Inclusive_we)

SAMOAN &lt; Malayo-Polynesian

| <b>Samoan pronouns</b>  | <u>singular</u> | <u>dual</u> | <u>plural</u> |
|-------------------------|-----------------|-------------|---------------|
| <i>Exclusive person</i> | a'u             | 'ima'ua     | 'imatou       |
| <i>Inclusive person</i> | 'ita            | 'ita'ua     | 'itatou       |
| <i>Second person</i>    | 'oe             | 'oulua      | 'outou        |
| <i>Third person</i>     | ia              | 'ila'ua     | 'ilatou       |

The ranking of participants in *'ita* can be explained by extending my analysis of the *modest we* in (25) to the Samoan inclusive form. In (29), D° encodes the complex inclusive person feature; the filled specifier of DP indicates the subordinate position of the speaker. See Cysouw (2005) for a discussion of various other uses of inclusive pronouns where the participants appear to be ranked.



My analysis of pronouns postulates two positions for encoding indexed definite features. One is D°, whose deictic index (if any) determines the reference of the whole pronoun. The other is the specifier of DP, whose deictic index points to the focal referent. In this section I have shown that this additional spec-DP position is useful in explaining some non-canonical (ranked) interpretations of (inclusive) plural pronouns.

<sup>65</sup> [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Inclusive\\_we](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Inclusive_we)

It is an interesting property of pronouns that all these different interpretations are rarely expressed by different forms. It appears that when the bundles of features are delivered to the morphological component of the grammar, the Spell-Out form is largely determined by the presence of the person feature, which distinguishes the bundle from all other words. In the next section, I will suggest that this is precisely the reason why pronouns rarely have the same morphological form as associative plurals.

### 3.4 PRONOMINAL FORM

Several of the issues that have been identified by various researchers as potential problems for a unified analysis of associatives and pronouns have already been addressed in this chapter. The non-universality of associatives (versus the near-universality of pronouns) has been linked to the restrictions on movement of nominal focal referents compared to the pronominal ones. Furthermore, an associative analysis of pronouns is helpful in explaining a variety of their non-canonical (ranked) interpretations. The final remaining objection to a unified analysis is that plural pronouns tend to have no associative morphology. In other words, if associatives and pronouns are the same in structure – why aren't they marked in the same way?

There are some cases when pronominal and associative plurality is signaled by the same element (30-31).

- |                                                                                                                                                                        |                                    |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| <p>(30) a. <i>watasi</i> 'I' vs. <i>watasi-tati</i> 'we'<br/>         b. <i>Hiroko-tati</i> 'Hiroko &amp; Co'<br/>         c. <i>gakusei-tati</i> 'the students'</p>   | <p>JAPANESE &lt; ? Altaic</p>      |
| <p>(31) (Cysouw 2003:117)<br/>         a. <i>ngo-dei</i> 'we'<br/>         b. <i>lei-dei</i> 'you.pl'<br/>         c. <i>ah Ling dei</i> 'Ling and his associates'</p> | <p>CANTONESE &lt; Sino-Tibetan</p> |

Yet, it is far more common to see pronouns that differ in their morphology from plurals and associatives alike (32). Pronouns are often morphologically opaque (cf. 32b), at least from the synchronic point of view. From the diachronic point of view, they often contain old plural markers (33). In some cases, a new plural marker is added to the old opaque plural pronoun, to indicate plurality of reference (34-35).



- (32) a. associative: *Miren-eta* (M-&) ‘Miren & Co’ (Hualde2003:852) BASQUE  
 b. pronoun: *gu* ‘we’ (cf. *ni* ‘I’) (Saltarelli 1988:208)  
 c. plural: *liburu-ak* ‘the books’ (Saltarelli 1988:40)
- (33) a. *ben – biz*<sup>66</sup> (I – we) TURKISH < Turkic < ? Altaic  
 b. *sen – siz* (you – you.pl)  
 c. *at – atlar* (horse – horses)
- (34) *bizler* ‘we’ (Kornfilt 1997:187) COLLOQUIAL TURKISH < Turkic < ? Altaic  
 (cf. *onlar* ‘they’)
- (35) (Robertsein 1984: 201-2)<sup>67</sup>  
 a. STAGE 1 *\*-in* ‘I’, *\*-o’ŋ* ‘we’ COLONIAL GHOLT<sup>68</sup>  
 STAGE 2 *-on* ‘I’, *-onla* ‘we’ (*la* – new plural marker)  
 b. STAGE 1 *\*-in* ‘I’, *\*-oŋ* ‘we’ COMMON TZOTZIL < Mayan  
 STAGE 2 *\*-oŋ* ‘I’, *\*oŋtik* ‘we’ (*\*tik* – plural marker)

Pronouns are closed-class elements. For this reason alone they ‘can afford’ to have different forms from the ones a nominal would take in the same situation. For example, it is quite common for possessive markers to be absent in possessive pronouns (*my* vs. *Peter’s*, similarly in Russian *moj* ‘my’ vs. *Pet-in* ‘Peter’s’). The combination of the person feature with the element that carries the possessive relation differs from the situation where the same morpheme combines with a lexical noun. For the same reason, presumably, pronouns differ from associatives: the combination of the person feature with the element carrying the associative relation has a unique expression, which needn’t be either transparent or productive. Nominal associatives, on the other hand, must be consistent in their morphology in order to be productive.

<sup>66</sup> According to Serebrenikov & Gadzhiev (1986:88), *-z* is an old collective marker.

<sup>67</sup> The forms bear an asterisk in the original, because there were later stages in the development which are irrelevant to the discussion here.

<sup>68</sup> I have not been able to identify the group-affiliation of this language.

### 3.5 CONCLUSIONS: PLURAL PRONOUNS AS ASSOCIATIVE PLURALS

In this chapter, I have suggested that person features (and other deictic definite features) can the role of focal referents in plural pronouns. While the deictic index on  $D^\circ$  (if any) refers to the group as a whole, the indexed definite feature in the specifier of DP points to the speaker, hearer or some other salient individual who is interpreted as the focal referent of the group.

Different interpretations of plural pronouns result from differences in the distribution of the deictic indices. Anaphoric plural pronouns have a deictic index on  $D^\circ$  which points to a previously-established group. The filled indexical specifier indicates whether either the speaker or the hearer is included in the group. There is no preference for interpreting the pronoun as referring to a closely-knit group, because the identity of the group is already known and indicated by the index on  $D^\circ$ . Associative pronouns have no deictic feature on  $D^\circ$ , because they name a new group. The indexical feature in the specifier of DP is interpreted as the group's focal referent, and the group itself is understood as being in some way represented by this referent.

The differences between many pronominal interpretations have no effect on the form of the pronoun, because these forms spell out the same bundles of features and have no lexical content. This is why associative pronouns do not differ in form from regular plural pronouns.

Associative plurals and personal pronouns rarely use the same morphological markers. I suggested that this is because 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> person pronouns are closed-class elements, encoding unique features such as [speaker] and [hearer]. Languages do not need to be productive in forming 'you' and 'we'; they can develop idiosyncratic forms for feature bundles that include [+speaker] and [+hearer]. Other associative expressions, however, need to use a productive and regular morphological marker to express associativity.

## CHAPTER 4

# A COORDINATIVE ANALYSIS OF PLURAL COMITATIVES

### 4.1. INTRODUCTION: THE GROUP, THE FOCAL REFERENT... AND THE ASSOCIATE?

Associative constructions and plural pronouns refer to a group by naming its focal referent. The relationship between the focal referent and the group is two-fold. First, the focal referent is interpreted as a member of the group. Second, the focal referent is interpreted as representing the group. Syntactically, the focal referent is a topicalized partitive modifier (chapters 2-3).

My analysis of plural pronouns provides no place, whether syntactic or semantic, for the specification of the associate member of the group, the group's 'remainder' or 'completer'. It is, of course, assumed that the group includes more than just the focal referent, but there is no explicit encoding of the associate members. In essence, a plural pronoun such as *we* is interpreted as *me-group*, rather than *me and other(s)*.

In this chapter, I will focus on constructions that appear to specify the 'remainder' of the group, such as (1).

- (1) a. **My s Ivanom** nenavidim brokkoli.                      RUSSIAN < E. Slavic < IE  
       we with Ivan    hate-1pl    broccoli  
       'Ivan and I hate broccoli.'
- b. **Vy s Ivanom** nenavidite brokkoli.  
       you.pl with Ivan    hate.2<sup>nd</sup>pl broccoli  
       'You(sg) and Ivan hate broccoli.'
- c. **Oni s Ivanom** nenavidjat brokkoli.  
       they with Ivan    hate.3<sup>rd</sup>pl broccoli  
       'He<sup>1</sup> and Ivan hate broccoli'

The highlighted string in (1) consists of a plural pronoun and a comitative phrase. The construction is interpreted as referring to just two people, Ivan and the speaker. In other words, the plural pronoun appears to include the referent of the comitative. Because of the inclusive interpretation and the presence of the pronoun the two best-known terms for this construction are 'Plural Pronoun

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<sup>1</sup> The plural pronoun is interpreted as having a singular antecedent mentioned in previous discourse.

Construction' (PPC) (Schwartz 1988) and 'Inclusory pronominal' (Lichtenberk 2002).<sup>2, 3</sup>

The *with*-phrase in (1a) clarifies who else is included into the group denoted by *we*, apart from the pragmatically-obvious speaker (see section 4.2). Many of the existing analyses of PPC (summarized in section 4.3) suggest that the role of the comitative<sup>4</sup> phrase is to specify a variable in pronominal semantics. Namely, if 'we' is interpreted as 'speaker plus other(s)', then the comitative tells us who those others are. This approach is incompatible with my analysis of plural pronouns which makes no mention of associate members, completers, unnamed residue or unspecified variables.

In section 4.4, I suggest a coordinative approach to PPC. The construction starts out as a conjunction of the focal referent and the comitative referent. The comitative referent is not a 'completer', it is merely a conjunct. The plurality of the focal referent is the result of its interaction with the conjunction &' which bears a plural feature. The creation of the plural pronoun is optional; its absence creates the so-called comitative coordination (2).

- (2) a. Maša s Ivanom nenavidjat brokkoli. RUSSIAN < E. Slavic < IE  
 Masha with Ivan hate.3pl broccoli  
 'Masha and Ivan hate broccoli.'  
 b. Ewa z Jankiem poszli na spacer. POLISH < W. Slavic < IE  
 Eve with John went.3pl. for walk  
 'Eve and John went for a walk.' (Dyła 1988:387)

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<sup>2</sup> The other two terms are 'Inclusory Coordination' (Haspelmath 2000) and 'Plural pronoun comitative' (Ionin & Matushanski 2002).

<sup>3</sup> While most of this chapter describes properties of PPC in Slavic languages, the construction is widespread and occurs, for example, in Chadic, Niger-Kordofinian, Uralic and Austronesian language families.

<sup>4</sup> The *completer*-phrase in these constructions is not always comitative in form; in some languages it bears the same case as the plural pronoun (i), or some other (non-comitative) case (ii). Because I focus on Slavic languages, I will continue to refer to it as the comitative referent.

- i. skilnaðr okkarr Helga (Payne 1985:35) OLD ICELANDIC  
 parting we.Du.Gen Helga.Gen < W. Germanic < IE  
 'a parting between Helgi and me'  
 ii. mēs ar Jani (Schwartz 1988a:242) LATVIAN < Baltic < IE  
 we.Nom with J.Acc  
 'I and John'

- c. Já s Marií jsme šli do kina. CZECH < W. Slavic < IE  
I with Maria Aux-1pl gone-Pl.masc to cinema  
'Mary and I went to the cinema.' (Skrabalova 2003)
- d. Un hombre con una mujer subieron las escaleras. BOLIVIAN SPANISH <  
a man with a woman climbed/3pl the stairs Romance < IE  
'A man and a woman climbed the stairs.' (Camacho 1996:110)

A unified analysis of *with*-coordination<sup>5</sup> and PPC faces many challenges posed by the differences in their syntactic behavior. In section 4.4, I suggest a solution for many of these problems; two remaining puzzles will be discussed in sections 4.5–4.6. Section 4.7 summarizes the proposal.

## 4.2 THE SEMANTIC ROLE OF THE COMITATIVE PHRASE IN PPC

PPC has been given many different syntactic analyses, but all researchers seem to agree that the referent of the *with*-phrase is *interpreted* as part of the group denoted by the plural pronoun. In section 4.2.1, I review some of the supporting evidence for this analysis. In section 4.2.2, I suggest that the comitative referent is interpreted not merely as included into the group, but names the 'remainder' of the group, the group minus the focal referent.

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<sup>5</sup> Occasional examples of comitative coordination can also be found in English, French and German, although the construction is not used productively in these languages.

- (i) (Shakespeare, Two Gentlemen of Verona 1.3.39) ENGLISH < W. Germanic  
'Tomorrow, may it please you, Don Alphonso with other gentlemen of good esteem **are** journeying to salute the emperor and to commend **their** service to his will.'
- (ii) Le pape avec le cardinal sont retournes FRENCH < Romance < IE  
the Pope with the Cardinal are-pl returned-pl (Urtz 1994:18)  
'The Pope and the Cardinal have returned'
- (iii) (Th. Mann 'Buddenbrooks', in Urtz 1994:41) GERMAN < W. Germanic  
Als Konsul Buddenbrook mit Sigismund Goshch in die Versammlung  
as Consul B. with S.G. into the gathering  
zurückkehrten  
returned.3pl  
'When Consul Buddenbrook and S. Gosch returned to the gathering...'

## 4.2.1 COMITATIVE REFERENT AS CO-PARTICIPANT

In PPC, the referents of comitative phrases are interpreted as part of the group denoted by the plural pronoun, as is evident from (3).

- (3) a. My s Petrom nenavidim brokkoli. RUSSIAN < E. Slavic < IE  
 we with Peter hate.1<sup>st</sup>pl broccoli  
 ‘Peter and I hate broccoli.’  
 b. Midva s Tonckom sva pela. SLOVENIAN < S. Slavic < IE  
 we.Du with Tony Aux.past.1<sup>st</sup>du sing.Du (Lanko Marušič, p.c.)  
 ‘Tony and I sang.’

In languages where subjects agree with the verbs in gender, the gender feature of the comitative affects the agreement marker on the verb. For example, the sentence (4) below can be uttered by a female.<sup>6</sup>

- (4) My z Marcinem pojechaliśmy na zakupu. POLISH < W. Slavic < IE  
 we with Marcin went.1pl.virile shopping (Stephan Dylą 1988:387)  
 ‘Marcin and I went shopping.’

The referent of the comitative, as part of the group denoted by the pronoun, participates in binding of anaphors. In (5a), the cat is interpreted as owned by Simon and the speaker; in (5b) the speaker and the referent of the comitative form the plural antecedent of the reciprocal object pronoun.

- (5) a. My s Sajmonom pomešany na svoej koške. RUSSIAN < E. Slavic  
 we with Simon crazy.pl on self.poss. cat  
 Simon and I are crazy about our (my ’n’ Simon’s)/\*my/\*Simon’s cat’  
 b. My s Sajmonom pomešany drug na druge.  
 we with Simon crazy.pl each on other  
 ‘Simon and I are crazy about each other.’

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<sup>6</sup> One could, perhaps, argue that the verb agrees with the plural pronoun (which refers to the group of Marcin and speaker) rather than with the comitative phrase itself. This may be true for PPC; however, there is independent evidence that the gender of the comitative does affect agreement. For example, in comitative coordination the *with*-phrase must be seen as influencing the verbal agreement:

- (i) Ewa z Jankiem poszli na spacer. POLISH < W. Slavic < IE  
 Eve with John went.3pl.virile for walk (Dylą 1988:387)  
 ‘Eve and John went for a walk.’

Because the referent of the comitative belongs to the group denoted by the plural pronoun, a certain restriction on order of elements in PPC arises: the plural pronoun must ‘outrank’ the comitative with respect to the Person Hierarchy. For instance, while the string [we with him] can be interpreted as ‘I and he’, the string [they with me] cannot be interpreted as [he and I] (6).

- (6) a. My s    nim    nenavidim brokkoli.  
           we with him hate.1pl    broccoli  
           ‘He and I hate broccoli.’  
       b. \* Oni so mnoj    nenavidjat / nenavidim brokkoli.<sup>7</sup>  
           they with me hate.3<sup>rd</sup>pl / hate.1<sup>st</sup>pl    broccoli  
           ‘He and I hate broccoli.’

The grammaticality of dual verbs with PPC subjects, the co-participation of the comitative in the control of anaphors and verbal gender agreement, as well as the sensitivity to the person hierarchy – all these facts suggest that the comitative phrase in PPC names a referent that is included into the reference of the plural pronoun.

#### 4.2.2 COMITATIVE REFERENT AS ‘COMPLETER’ OF THE PRONOUN

While the comitative referent is a member of the group denoted by the plural pronoun, the question is whether it names just one of the non-focal referents of that pronoun or all of them. In other words, do we interpret PPC as (7a) or (7b)?

- (7) a. WE WITH PETER = the group identified by its inclusion of the speaker;  
           the group also includes Peter (i.e. group includes speaker, Peter, and possibly others)  
       b. WE WITH PETER = the group is identified by its inclusion of the speaker  
           AND the group consists of the speaker and the referent of the comitative.

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<sup>7</sup> It is impossible to interpret the strings ‘we with him’ and ‘they with me’ as comitative coordination (*we AND he*, *they AND me*, respectively,) because Russian does not allow *with*-coordination of personal pronouns; this is why the only interpretation of (9a) is as PPC, while (9b) is simply ungrammatical. The verb *nenavidet* ‘to hate’ does not permit comitative modifiers either (cf. # *I hate broccoli with Peter*).

The most natural interpretation for PPC is to include just the focal referent and the comitative into the group. For example, Skrabalova (2003) reports that while the interpretation [we and Maria] is possible in (8), few native speakers accept it as natural.<sup>8</sup>

- (8) (Skrabalova 2003:2) CZECH < W. Slavic < IE  
 My s Marií jsme šli do kina.  
 we with Maria Aux-1pl gone-Pl.masc to cinema  
 ‘Mary and I went to the cinema.’

Similarly, 1<sup>st</sup> person PPC-subjects of Russian non-collective predicates<sup>9</sup> are usually interpreted as [speaker + comitative]:

- (9) My s Petrom ne znali gde tebeja iskat’. RUSSIAN < E. Slavic < IE  
 we with Peter neg knew.pl where you-Acc search-Inf  
 ‘Peter and I/\*? we didn’t know where to look for you.’

Sometimes, however, it is possible to interpret a 1<sup>st</sup> person PPC as referring to more than just the speaker and the comitative referent. For example, the sentence

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<sup>8</sup> It is unclear to me why the string [we with Maria] cannot be interpreted as *with*-coordination here, since Czech allows comitative coordination of pronouns (i).

- (i) Skrabalova (2003) CZECH < W. Slavic < IE  
 Já s Marií jsme šli do kina.  
 I with Maria Aux-1pl gone-Pl.masc to cinema  
 ‘Mary and I went to the cinema.’

Perhaps it has to do with the slight awkwardness of conjoining plural pronouns in general (ii)

- (ii) ??We and he do not like broccoli.

<sup>9</sup> Non-collective predicates are those that force a distributive reading onto their subjects and allow no comitative modifiers (cf. # I know German / love broccoli / hate soup together with Peter’). When the string [we with Peter] is used with one of these predicates, the comitative can only be interpreted as part of PPC (‘I and Peter’). When the string [we with Peter] is used with a predicate that allows collective readings, then the comitative can also be interpreted as a (pre-)verbal adjunct (i-b) (cf. Vassilieva & Larson 2005).

- (i) My s Petrom ušli v kino. RUSSIAN < E. Slavic < IE  
 we with Peter went.pl to cinema  
 a. ‘Peter and I went to the cinema.’ <= PPC-interpretation  
 b. ‘We went to the movies with Peter.’ <= VP-adjunct interpretation



in (10) must be interpreted as referring to three people, because of the non-dual verbal agreement and the presence of the numeral three.

- (10) (Lanko Marušič, p.c.) SLOVENIAN < S. Slavic < IE
- a. mi trije s Tonckom sovrazimo brokoli.  
 we three with T. hate.pl broccoli  
 ‘We and Tony (all three of us) hate broccoli.’
  - b. vidrugi z Micko ste sli domov.  
 you-all with M. aux.pl went.pl home  
 ‘You.pl and Micko went home.’

The interpretation of (10a), however, is not ‘speaker, Tony and somebody else’, but rather ‘us two plus Tony’. The string [mi trije s Tonckom] cannot be analyzed as comitative coordination, because Slovenian has no *with*-coordination.<sup>10</sup> Rather, the string must be interpreted as ‘us three, namely us two plus Micko’. The comitative referent still denotes the rest of the group, in addition to what seems to be a plural focal referent ‘we’.

In the absence of non-dual markers or numerals, the string [we with X] can sometimes be interpreted as including a plural focal referent in situations when the existence of such a plural group is known from previous discourse. For example, in (11) the PPC is interpreted as ‘we, namely us three musketeers plus D’Artagnan’.

- (11) My s Dantan’janom nenavidim kardinala. RUSSIAN < E. Slavic < IE  
 we with d’Artagnan hate cardinal  
 a. ‘I and D’Artagnan hate the Cardinal.’  
 b. ‘We (i.e. Athos, Porthos & Aramis, the three musketeers) and  
 D’Artagnan hate the Cardinal.’

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<sup>10</sup> Slovenian has no comitative coordination. For instance, the following examples (from Lanko Marušič, p.c.) must be interpreted as PPC rather than as coordination of a dual pronoun and a comitative:

- (i) midva s Tonckom sva pela / \*smo peli.  
 we.Du with T. aux.1du sing.du/ aux.pl sing.pl  
 ‘I and Tony sang.’
- (ii) vidva s Tonckom sta pela / \*ste peli  
 you.Du with T. aux.2du sing.du / aux.2pl sing.pl  
 ‘you.sg and Tony sang.’
- (iii) onadva s Tonckom sta pela / \*so peli  
 they.Du with T. aux.3du sing.du / aux.3pl sing.pl  
 ‘He and Tony sang.’

Note that (11) cannot be an instance of comitative coordination because Russian (unlike Czech (cf. footnote. 8) allows no *with*-coordination of pronouns (12).

- (12) \* Ja s nim nenavidim kardinala. RUSSIAN < E. Slavic < IE  
 I with him hate-1pl cardinal  
 'He and I hate the Cardinal'

Another indication that the *with*-phrase completes the reference of the pronoun is that it blocks further comitatives. Although it would be perfectly reasonable in general terms to specify other individuals in the group given by the plural pronoun, multiple comitatives of this kind are not possible (13a). The two comitative elements must be interpreted as forming a constituent together (13b).

- (13)a. \* My [s Petej] [s Ivanom] pojdēm domoj. RUSSIAN < E. Slavic  
 b. My s [&P Petej s Ivanom] pojdēm domoj.  
 we with P.Instr with I.Instr go.1Pl.Fut home  
 'I and [Peter and Ivan] will go home.'

The surface iteration of comitatives in (13) is in fact a case of recursive embedding.<sup>11</sup> The 'completer' itself can be a PPC, as examples in (14) show.

- (14)(Vassilieva & Larson 2005:117-118) RUSSIAN < E. Slavic < IE  
 a. My s [vami s Petej] pojdēm domoj.  
 we with [you-Pl-Instr with P-Instr] go-1Pl.Fut home  
 '[I + [you.sg + Peter]] will go home.'  
 b. My s [nimi s Petej] pojdēm domoj.  
 we with [them-Instr with P-Instr] go-1Pl.Fut home  
 '[I + [he + Peter]] will go home.'  
 c. Vy s [nimi s Petej] pojdēte domoj.  
 you-Pl with [them-Instr with P-Instr] go-Fut home  
 '[You-sg + [he + Peter]] will go home.'

Each comitative in (14) completes the reference of the preceding pronoun. For example, in (14b), *s Petej* 'with Peter' completes the reference of *nimi* 'they' and the whole of *s nimi s Petej* 'with them with Peter' completes the reference of *my* 'we'. Despite the presence of two plural pronouns together with the comitative *s Petej* 'with Peter', the interpretation of (14b) involves only three individuals.

<sup>11</sup> I am grateful to Chris Barker for pointing out the importance of cases like (13-14).

Because the comitative phrase names the ‘rest’ of the group represented by the focal referent, the comitative referent is often understood as being intrinsically associated/connected with the focal referent. Moravcsik (2003:485) quotes several studies suggesting a preference for a close relationship between focal referent and the comitative phrase in PPC:

“... preferred associates are kins, or ‘habitual companions’ (Schwartz 1988a: 67–68). Frequent associates are child, sibling, or spouse (Schwartz 1988a:67–68, McNally 1993:348, 370, Dalrymple et al. 1998:605–609). As an example of the required close relationship between focal referent and associates, Schwartz notes that in the Polish equivalent of the sentence ‘I went to the cinema with the President of the Republic.’, the use of the <1<sup>st</sup> person PPC> would not be appropriate since one’s relationship with a high official does not make for the kind of relationship required between focal referent and associates in inclusory constructions. Schwartz also notes that the Chilean Spanish equivalent of the sentence ‘carries the sense that the speaker may be trying to impress the hearer by suggesting an intimate relationship or habitual mutual activities with a person of prestige’.”

In this section, I offered several arguments in favor of viewing the comitative phrase as completing the reference of the pronoun, as specifying overtly who else is included into the group, besides the focal referent. PPC tends to be interpreted as referring to just the focal referent and the comitative referent, yet when a non-dual interpretation is forced, the comitative is interpreted as completing the group that has a *plural* focal referent. The referent of the comitative is often understood as forming a unit, a group, or a (habitual) pair with the focal referent. The comitatives cannot be iterated, specifying several additional members of the group (the group includes X, the group includes Y, etc.). Rather the comitative completely defines the ‘remainder’ of the group, the group minus the focal referent.

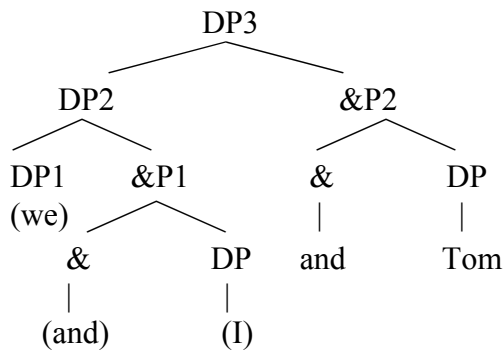
### 4.3 EXISTING ANALYSES OF PPC

In this section, I review four syntactic analyses of Plural Pronoun Constructions. All of these analyses, while differing with respect to syntactic details, seem to agree that plural pronouns inherently contain a reference to a ‘remainder’, whether it is specified (via a *with*-phrase) or not. I review the suggested syntactic structures, as well as the data they (do not) account for.

#### 4.3.1 PROGOVAC (1997)

Progovac (1997) analyzes PPC as a coordinative structure with an ‘abstract’ summarizing plural head (15)

- (15) a. We, I and Tom, arrived late. (Progovac 1997:211)  
 b.



All conjuncts are assumed to be adjoined to a summarizing plural pronoun. The plural pronoun is silent when both conjuncts are overt. In PPC, the first conjunct is silent and the summarizing plural pronoun is overt. The conditions governing the overt/covert realization of the head and the first conjunct are not specified, but perhaps attributable to redundancy considerations.

Because both conjuncts are adjuncts, they cannot c-command into each other; therefore, coordination does not allow internally-bound reflexive modifiers (16):

- (16) Jovan<sub>i</sub> i svoja<sub>i</sub> žena su stigli. (Progovac 1997:209) SERBO-CROATIAN <  
 John and self's wife are arrived < S. Slavic  
 'John<sub>i</sub> and his<sub>i</sub> wife have arrived.'

The lack of c-command explains the ban on reflexive possessives in regular *and*-coordination (17a) and in PPC (17b): without (local) c-command there is no binding of anaphors.

- (17) a. Daša<sub>i</sub> i \*svoj<sub>i</sub> / eë<sub>i</sub> drug pošli na pljaž. RUSSIAN < E. Slavic  
 Dasha and \*self's / her friend went.pl to beach  
 'Dasha and her friend went to the beach.'  
 b. My so \*svoim/moim bratom priexali vovremja.  
 we with \*self's / my brother arrived on-time  
 'My brother and I arrived on time.'

The problem is, however, that *with*-coordination, unmentioned in the study, cannot be accommodated within the same structure, because it does allow reflexive binding (18).

- (18) (Dyła & Feldman (forthcoming)) RUSSIAN < E. Slavic < IE  
 Daša<sub>i</sub> so svoim<sub>i</sub> /\*eë<sub>i</sub> drugom pošli na pljaž.  
 Dasha with self's / \*her friend went.pl to beach  
 'Dasha and her friend went to the beach.'

It is somewhat of a disadvantage that the analysis that assigns a coordinate structure to PPC does not accommodate *with*-coordination. PPC shares far more properties with comitative coordination than it does with *and*-coordination, such as the form of the connector, the restriction to one *with*-conjunct (unlike *and*-coordination), the preference for close association between the participants and the frequent restriction to human (or personified) referents. Even assuming that *with*-coordination involves a completely unrelated structure, the analysis still does not explain the differences between *and*-coordination and PPC: in addition to the unexplained ban on multiple conjuncts in PPC, it is not clear why we have 'we with Peter' and not 'we and Peter'.

In my analysis, developed in 4.4, I adopt Progovac's idea that PPC is essentially coordinative in its structure and interpretation, with the pronominal focal referent having the same role as the first conjunct. However, I will suggest a different syntactic structure to accommodate this quasi-coordinative relation, one that allows for the availability of binding in *with*-coordination and lack thereof in PPC. The differentiation between the quasi-coordinative comitative relation and coordination proper allows me to account for the differences in the number of conjuncts as well.

## 4.3.2 DEN DIKKEN ET AL (2000)

Den Dikken *et al.* suggest that all plural pronouns have quasi-comitative internal structure (19).

(19) [NP ‘we’ [SC *pro* 1sg [PP with° [ x ]]]] (Den Dikken *et al* 2000)

The plural pronoun ‘we’ is the head of the nominal phrase (which can be freely dropped). The nominal phrase is followed by a small clause (it is not specified whether the SC is an NP-adjunct or an NP-complement). The focal referent is the subject of that small clause, and the comitative phrase is its predicate.

The structure in (19) is suggested to accommodate simple unmodified plural pronouns as well as PPC. In principle, it could also be extended to *with*-coordination, assuming that the 1<sup>st</sup> conjunct would be the overt subject of the small clause.

The study is not concerned with syntactic properties of PPC; rather, its purpose is to account for the binding properties of plural pronouns represented in (20).

- (20) a. We (I and he) represent / elect me.  
       b. \* I see/represent us (me and him)  
       c. He represents us (me and him)

The sentence in (20a) incurs no violation of the Binding Condition B because the embedded singular subject of ‘we’ cannot c-command the verbal object. In (20b), on the other hand, the sentential pronominal subject binds the object-internal subject ‘me’ of the small clause and the sentence is ruled out as a Condition B violation. In (20c), the sentential subject ‘he’ is co-indexed with an element within the plural pronoun; because the binding domain for the comitative phrase is assumed to be the small clause, there is no violation of the Condition B there.

While den Dikken’s analysis of PPC is similar in spirit to that of Progovac (1997), the important difference is the hierarchical arrangement of conjuncts. This allows the analysis to account for the ability of the first conjunct (=subject of the small clause) to bind into the comitative. My analysis of PPC and *with*-coordination is very similar to that suggested by den Dikken *et al* in this respect, except that I suggest an additional mechanism that explains why the focal conjunct of PPC does not bind into the comitative.

## 4.3.3 VASSILIEVA &amp; LARSON (2005)

Vassilieva & Larson (2005) begin with a review of syntactic properties of PPC, with-coordination and comitative phrases found in English in sentences like ‘John went home with Mary’ (which they term VP-adjuncts). Because the properties of PPC do not match those of other comitative constructions, a separate analysis is suggested for PPC.

Semantically, the role of the comitative in PPC is seen as specifying the completer. For example, ‘we’ is defined as referring to a group that includes the focal referent and the ‘residue’. In (21), X refers to the total set of referents, while Y specifies the set of individuals – in addition to the speaker, addressee, etc. – referred to by the plural pronouns (=ASSOCIATE). The ‘residue’ is, essentially, an unspecified variable in pronominal semantics whose value is supplied by the comitative.

- (21) Val ( $\langle X, Y \rangle$ , [D we],  $\sigma$ ) iff  $|(\{\sigma(a)^{12} \cup Y\} - X)| = 0$   
       ‘(all of) speaker + others Y’ (Vassilieva & Larson 2005:119)

Syntactically, plural pronouns are treated by Vassilieva and Larson (2005) as determiners ( $D^\circ$ ); the comitative phrase is suggested to be a complement of that determiner. No syntactic position is suggested for the focal referent of the plural pronoun; the determiner  $D^\circ$  is assumed to be a ‘word’ that comes with its own semantic definition, rather than a ‘phrase’ whose interpretation is read off its syntactic structure.

Vassilieva & Larson (2005) leave open the question of how ‘simple’ plural pronouns are ‘detransitivized’ (i.e., is there a *pro*-comitative complement involved?), nor do they suggest a hypothesis of why not all languages have PPC. The analysis, therefore, leaves open the possibility that pronouns used in PPC and ‘simple’ plural pronouns have different (semantic) structures. It is possible, for example, that ‘simple’ pronouns and ‘completed’ pronouns involve a different kind of determiner  $D^\circ$ . I have used Larson’s (1991) approach to D as universal predicative linker for my structure of associatives in chapter 2; this kind of a two-argument  $D^\circ$  may well be different from another kind of  $D^\circ$  (call it ‘di-transitive D’) which selects the group referent, the focal conjunct and the comitative completer. This is, with some modifications, the approach I suggest in section 4.4: the

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<sup>12</sup> The element  $\sigma(a)$  points to the speaker; it refers to a position in a context sequence  $\sigma$  (see also chapter 3 for a discussion of indexical definite features):

- (i)  $\sigma = \langle \text{speaker, addressee, speaker time, speaker location, ...} \rangle$
- (ii) Val ( $x$ , [ $D I$ ], iff  $x = \sigma(a)$ )

relation between the focal referent and the group referent in ‘simple’ associatives and pronouns is different from the relation between the group referent on the one hand and the two conjuncts on the other.

#### 4.3.4 IONIN & MATUSHANSKI (2002)

Ionin & Matushanski’s (2002) study provides a unified semantic and syntactic account of PPC, *with*-coordination and English-style ‘singular comitatives’ (which I referred to earlier as ‘VP-adjuncts’, of the type ‘John went home with Mary’). All *with*-phrases are analyzed as DP-adjuncts.

In *with*-coordination, the comitative adjoins to the nominal and the two are interpreted as ‘forming a unit together’. For example, the phrase *Mary with the monk* is interpreted as a plural individual consisting of Mary and the monk.

When the *with*-phrase combines with a pronoun, the interpretation can be ‘coordinative’ (we plus the monk) or it can be ‘inclusory’ (we, including the monk = ‘I and the monk’). The inclusory interpretation is derived in the following way: the pronoun *we* is a bundle of features [includes speaker] [includes a discourse participant] [plural]. The *with*-phrase can be interpreted as naming the discourse participant.

In order to be interpreted as a plural individual, the elements of *with*-coordination have to stay together. The entire DP, including the adjunct, moves to the specifier of IP where it can induce plural verbal agreement, form a joint antecedent for anaphors and be compatible with non-collective predicates<sup>13</sup> such as ‘to know’ (22).

- (22) Maša s Sajmonom pomešany na svoej koške. RUSSIAN<E. Slavic  
 [Masha<sub>i</sub> with Simon<sub>j</sub>]<sub>k</sub> are-crazy on self<sup>s\*i/\*j/k</sup> cat  
 ‘Masha and Simon are crazy about their cat.’

Once the two noun phrases move together to the specifier of DP, there is no further sub-extraction out of this position because subjects are islands. This is why

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<sup>13</sup> Non-collective predicates denote actions that cannot be performed ‘together’ with someone. For instance, one does not know German together with Peter, nor does one love broccoli together with John. Ionin & Matushanski (2002) suggest that such predicates have a distributive operator taking scope over the subject position (the specifier of IP). If the *with*-referent is not in the spec IP, then it can’t be distributed over.



the elements of *with*-coordination have to stay together, resembling ordinary coordination.

If the main DP in *with*-coordination is separated from its adjunct, we have what Matushanski & Ionin term as ‘singular comitatives’ (23a). If the *with*-phrase does not accompany the head noun to the spec of IP, then neither plural agreement (23a), nor joint control of anaphors (23b) nor collective predicates are possible (23c).

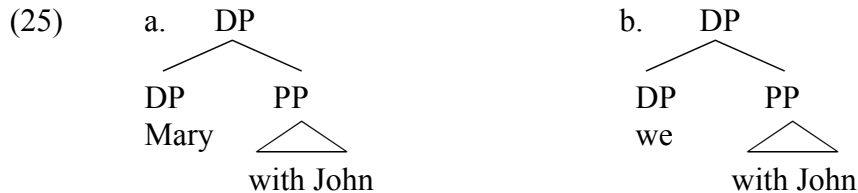
- (23) a. Maša pošla / \* pošli v magazin s Sajmonom. RUSSIAN < E. Slavic  
Masha went.sg/\*pl to store with Ivanom  
‘Masha went to the store with Ivan.’  
b. Maša iščet s Sajmonom svoju košku.  
Masha looks-for with Simon self’s cat  
‘Masha is searching with Simon for her/\*his/\*their cat.’  
c. # Maša ljubiti s Sajmonom brokkoli.  
Masha loves with Simon broccoli.  
# ‘Masha loves broccoli with Simon.’

In PPC, the plural pronoun contains a reference to the comitative. The role of the comitative phrase is to clarify, not to add a referent. The elements of PPC, therefore, do not have to stay together. The plural pronoun can move alone to the specifier of IP, stranding the comitative (24a). The pronoun then agrees with the verb in plural, forms a plural antecedent for anaphors and is compatible with non-collective predicates such as ‘be crazy about’. The stranded comitative can be topicalized (24b) and relativized (24c). The movement is allowed because the *with*-phrase is extracted out of a non-subject position (presumably, it is the spec of IP that cannot be extracted from, not the original vP-internal subject).

- (24) a. My pomešany s Sajmonom na svoej koške. RUSSIAN < E. Slavic  
we are-crazy with Simon on our cat  
‘Simon and I are crazy about our cat.’  
b. S Sajmonom my poznamilis’ v Germanii, v 1995 godu.  
with Simon we met.pl in Germany, in 1995 year  
‘Simon and I met in Germany in 1995.’  
c. Tot paren’, s kotorym my v škole sideli za odnoj partoj .....  
the boy with which we in school sat behind one desk  
‘They boy with whom I shared the classroom table in middle school ....’

While Ionin & Matushanski’s (2002) analysis covers a wider range of data than any other analysis to date, it is not without its problems. One problem is the difference in binding properties between *with*-coordination and PPC which I

discussed in section 4.4.1. If the *with*-phrase is an adjunct in both cases, no binding should be possible in either of the two constructions (25). Yet we know that *with*-coordination allows its first conjunct to bind into the second one.



Furthermore, by suggesting a unified underlying structure for singular and for plural comitatives Ionin & Matushanski (2002) have to provide an explanation of non-universality of plural comitatives. They suggest a mechanism of forced comitative-extrapolation to account for lack of *with*-coordination in English: if the comitative does not move with the host DP to the spec IP, there is no coordination-like behavior for the construction (no plural agreement, no joint control of anaphors, etc.). Neither the reason for this extrapolation, nor its site is suggested. Furthermore, mandatory extrapolation should not prevent a language from having PPC, because its elements do not need to be contiguous (cf. 24a).

There are some minor problems as well. For example, it is not clear what prevents *with*-coordination of singular pronouns in Russian (25). If the string [we with Peter] can be interpreted as coordination of *we* plus *Peter*, then surely there could be no structural objection to coordinating the comitative with a singular pronoun.

- (25) \* Ja s Ivanom rešili pojti v kino.                      RUSSIAN < E. Slavic < IE  
       I with Ivan decided.pl to-go to cinema  
       'Ivan and I decided to go to the cinema.'

The analysis also shares with all its predecessors the inability to explain the relative rarity of 'extended associatives' (26) which are identical to PPC in all respects except that they are headed by an associative plural instead of a plural pronoun.

- (26) (Hoffman 1963:236-8)                      MARGI < Biu-Mandara < Chadic < Afro-Asiatic
- |                                                                                                                                                               |                                                                     |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <p>a. Siapu-yar</p> <p style="margin-left: 20px;">S.-pl</p> <p style="margin-left: 20px;">'Siapu and his followers.'</p>                                      | <p style="text-align: right;">&lt;= <b>associative plural</b></p>   |
| <p>b. Siapu-yar <b>aga</b> mala gənda</p> <p style="margin-left: 20px;">S.-pl      &amp; his wife</p> <p style="margin-left: 20px;">'Siapu and his wife.'</p> | <p style="text-align: right;">&lt;= <b>extended associative</b></p> |

- c. Madu **aga** mwaləny                      <= **with-coordination**  
M. & friend  
‘Madu and his friend’
- d. nay **aga**-ja                                      <= **PPC**  
we &-him  
‘he and I’

Assuming that plural pronouns and associative plurals have the same semantics (i.e. a reference to the ‘completer’ in their semantic definition), why would a language like Polish have PPC as well as associative plurals, but not the extended associatives (27)?

- (27) (Stefan Dyla, p.c.) POLISH <W. Slavic < IE  
 a. Wojtkowie <= **associative plural**  
 Wojtek+aspl  
 ‘Wojtek and his wife.’  
 b. Ja/my z żoną przylecimy w południe. <= **with-&P/ PPC**  
 I/we with wife fly-FUT.1PL at noon  
 ‘I and my wife will arrive (by plane) at noon.’  
 c. \*Wojtkowie z żoną są wysocy. <= \* **extended associative**  
 W.-aspl with wife are.3pl tall.pl  
 ‘Wojtek and his wife are tall.’

It is possible that the problems I have listed could in some way be overcome. However, Ionin & Matushanski's (2002) analysis of PPC crucially relies on the assumption that pronouns inherently contain a completer (we = I + others), so that the *with*-phrase in PPC can be interpreted as naming that completer. Under the analysis I developed in chapters 2 and 3, pronouns do not name a completer; their reference is computed as a relation between the focal referent and the group (we = me-group). There is nothing in the structure of the pronoun that makes an identification of the completer possible. Any combination of 'we' and a *with*-phrase would be interpreted as 'we, including Peter' and there would be no way of forcing *Peter* to exhaust the reference of the group.

Because there is no way of enforcing the right interpretation of PPC by combining a plural pronoun with the comitative, I develop instead a quasi-coordinative approach to PPC in the next section.

#### 4.4 MY ANALYSIS OF PPC AND *WITH*-COORDINATION

In this section, I suggest a unified analysis of PPC and *with*-coordination. Both plural comitative constructions are argued to be coordinative in their semantics, combining the comitative with a focal first conjunct. Syntactically, the two constructions differ with respect to the fate of their focal conjunct; in PPC, it undergoes topicalization, in *with*-coordination, it stays *in situ* (section 4.4.1). The suggested analysis accounts for the binding properties of plural comitatives (section 4.4.2), extractability of the comitative (section 4.4.3), silent pronouns in PPC (section 4.4.4), ban on pronouns in Russian *with*-coordination (4.4.5), person hierarchy effects (4.4.6) and rarity of PPC-like constructions headed by nominal associative plurals (4.4.7).

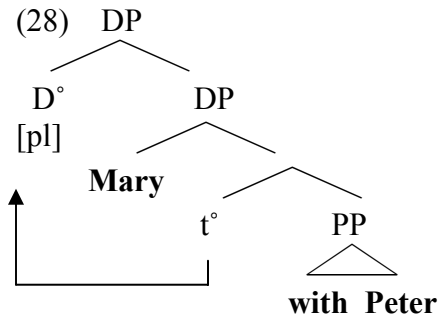
The analysis focuses on the properties of plural comitatives in Russian, Polish, Czech and Slovenian. The last section discusses comitative constructions not found in Slavic languages; the data discussed in this section come from Chadic languages (HAUSA, TERA, MARGI, MIYA), Algonquian (PASSAMAQUODDY), Niger-Congo (KPELLE), Austronesian (TO'ABAITA) and Nilo-Saharan (LUGBARA).

##### 4.4.1 SYNTAX OF PLURAL COMITATIVES: PROPOSAL

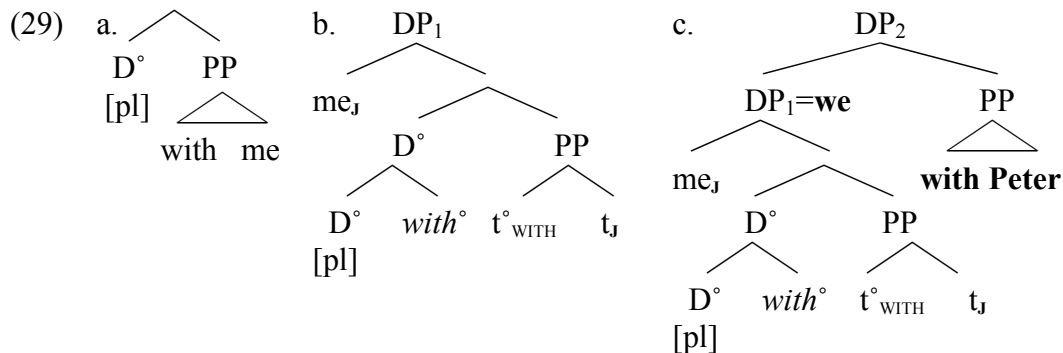
Taking my inspiration from Progovac (1997) and den Dikken et al (2002), I suggest that plural comitatives are quasi-coordinate structures. Assuming, as in Larson (1991) & (2005) that determiners ( $D^\circ$ ) are universal predicative linkers, I take both constructions to start out as two conjuncts linked by a quasi-coordinative predicative linker  $D^\circ$ .<sup>14</sup> One of these conjuncts is the comitative PP. I suggest that the conjunction-like  $D^\circ$  carries a plural feature, similarly to how the regular conjunction & $^\circ$  probably carries the plural feature needed in order for the plural verb agreement with a coordinated subject. It is possible that conjunction later raises up within the DP-shell as in (28) which is reminiscent of Munn's (1993) analysis of quantifier-like raising of conjunctions. The raising of  $D^\circ$  and whether it happens will be irrelevant for our discussion.

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<sup>14</sup> See den Dikken (2006) for a view of coordination as an asymmetric predicative structure.



The derivation of PPC starts out in a similar way: we merge  $D^\circ$  with a *with*-phrase (29a). The next step, however, is different. The preposition ‘with’ incorporates into (is absorbed by)  $D^\circ$ , in much the same way as I suggested in my analysis of associative formation in chapter 2. The focal referent now moves to the specifier of DP (29b). The second conjunct is projected as an adjunct (29c) (cf. chapter 2).<sup>15</sup> Note that the *with*-phrase in (29c) is the second conjunct of  $D^\circ$ ; in other words, it combines with ‘I’, not with ‘we’.



<sup>15</sup> See Larson (1991:37-9) for a similar approach to the derivation of prenominal possessives. Following Larson (1991) I assume that right adjunction is possible. As an alternative approach (also inspired by Larson 1991), the  $DP_1$  could be re-analyzed as  $D^\circ$  that takes a complement PP in (29c). The adjunct structure (29c) is necessary to explain the extractability of  $DP_1$  as well as the lack of c-command between the focal referent *me* and the comitative (see sections 4.4.2 – 4.4.3).

Semantically,  $D^\circ$  behaves as a conjunction  $\&^\circ$ .<sup>16</sup> the resulting interpretation in both (28) and (29) is ‘a group that consists of me/Mary and Peter’. The difference between the two constructions is that in PPC one of the conjuncts interacts with the plural  $D^\circ$  in the same way as it does in pronoun formation, so that a plural pronoun (or an associative) is formed. When the preposition ‘with’ of the first conjunct is absorbed by  $D^\circ$ , the second conjunct is projected as a *with*-phrase.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>16</sup> Some support for the idea that *with* is not the conjunction comes from Polish and Romanian (i-ii); I have no information about Romanian, but in Polish *i* ‘and’ is optional. See also Dylą (1988) for an analysis of *z* ‘with’ as part of the conjunct rather than as a conjunction.

- (i) Maria **i** **z** Jankiem pojechali POLISH < E. Slavic < IE  
 Maria and with John went.PL (Urtz, 1994:255)  
 ‘Maria and John went away.’
- (ii) Ion **si** **cu** Bill au venit. ROMANIAN < Romance < IE  
 John and with Bill have.PL come (Payne, 1985:34)  
 ‘John and Bill have come.’

<sup>17</sup> Languages, of course, might differ in this respect; for example, in some languages *with*-coordination looks like *with-Mary with-John* (i-iv); apparently, the comitative-conjunctive  $D^\circ$  in this language takes two *with*-conjuncts.

- (i) Esman-dān Ali-dān tagoran. NUBIAN < East Sudanic < Nilo-Saharan  
 E.-with A.-with come-3pl.perf  
 ‘Esman and Ali have come.’ (Stassen 2000:33)
- (ii) ñoka-wañ kam-wañ wasi-yki-mañ risu-ntšix. CUZCO QUECHUAN  
 1sg-with 2sg-with house-your-to go-1pl.fut  
 ‘You and I will go to your house.’ (Stassen 2000:33)
- (iii) (da) Dauda da Audu sun je kasuwa HAUSA < W. Chadic  
 (with) Dauda with Audu Aux.3pl go market (Schwartz 1989, cited in  
 ‘Dauda and Audu went to the market.’ Progovac 1997:219)
- (iv) (nde) xuzu-ku nde nushu-ku wa ka ce sapar-a ku. TERA < Biu-  
 (with) men with women perf do the-dance pl Mandara < Chadic  
 ‘Men and women do the dance.’ (Newman 1970:57)

The Quechuan example is quoted from an old source (von Tschudi 1884:467); according to Lucinda Hart-Gonzales (p.c.), the 1<sup>st</sup> *wan* is redundant, and the pronouns ‘I’ and ‘you’ should have a post-velar ‘q’ instead of the velar ‘k’. According to Ethnologue.com, ‘Nubian’ is a term used for a *group* of East Sudanic languages, as well as for Niger-Congo languages of an ethnic group living along the Nile.

## 4.4.2 BINDING

The difference in the relative position of the conjuncts in PPC and *with*-coordination accounts for the differences in the availability of binding into the comitative conjunct. In *with*-coordination, the first conjunct is capable of binding into the second conjunct (see (28)). This is why the comitative phrase may include a reflexive possessive modifier which is locally bound by the 1<sup>st</sup> conjunct (30). The non-reflexive pronoun is impossible in the comitative because it would violate the condition B.

- (30) (Dyła & Feldman (forthcoming)) RUSSIAN < E. Slavic < IE  
 Daša<sub>i</sub> so svoim<sub>i</sub> /\*eë<sub>i</sub> drugom pošli na pljaž.  
 Dasha with self's / \*her friend went.pl to beach  
 'Dasha and her friend went to the beach.'

In PPC, the first conjunct (=focal referent) is embedded in the DP and does not c-command the *with*-conjunct (cf. (29)). This is why the focal referent in PPC cannot bind into the comitative in (31).

- (31) My so svoej sestroj pošli na pljaž. RUSSIAN < E. Slavic < IE  
 we with self's sister went to beach  
 (i) \* 'I and my sister went to the beach.' <= PPC  
 (ii) \* 'We and our sister went to the beach.' <= *with*-coordination  
 (iii) 'We went to the beach with our sister.' <= VP-adjunction<sup>18</sup>

The possibility of DP-internal binding in *with*-coordination is, of course, subject to language-specific conditions. For example, Polish does not allow DP-internal elements to serve as antecedents of anaphors (32a) which is, presumably, why Polish can't have internally-bound reflexives in its *with*-coordination (32b). In Russian, on the other hand, DP-internal binding of anaphors is OK (33).

- (32) (Dyła & Feldman, forthcoming) POLISH < W. Slavic < IE  
 a. \* Ciągłe upokazanie przez Janka swojej żony  
 constant humiliation by John self's. wife.Gen  
 'John's constant humiliation of his wife'

<sup>18</sup> The *with*-phrase in (31-iii) has been analyzed by Vassilieva & Larson (2005), Feldman (2001) and Skrabalova (2003) as being adjoined to VP and, therefore, capable of being bound by the sentential subject.

- b. \* Dorota ze svym chłopakiem poszli na plażę.  
 Dorota with self's boyfriend went to beach  
 'Dorota and her boyfriend went to the beach.'

- (33) Postojannoe uniženie Ivanom svoej ženy. (cf. 40a) RUSSIAN < E. Slavic  
 constant humiliation Ivan.Instr self's wife.Gen  
 'John's constant humiliation of his own wife'

Note that the non-reflexive possessive is banned in the comitative in both Russian (34a) and Polish (34b), which seems to indicate that the DP is indeed a binding domain for pronouns, but some additional requirements need to be met before a phrase can serve as an antecedent for an anaphor within its binding domain.<sup>19</sup>

- (34) a. Ivan s ego bratom pošli v magazin. RUSSIAN < E. Slavic < IE  
 Ivan<sub>i</sub> with his \*<sub>i</sub>/j brother went to store  
 'Ivan<sub>i</sub> and his \*<sub>i</sub>/j brother went to the store.'  
 b. \*Dorota<sub>i</sub> ze jej<sub>i</sub> chłopakiem poszli na plażę.  
 Dorota<sub>i</sub> with her<sub>i</sub> boyfriend went to beach  
 'Dorota and her boyfriend went to the beach.'

#### 4.4.3 DISCONTINUITY IN PPC

*With*-coordination and PPC differ with respect to the contiguity of elements. Namely, the elements of *with*-coordination must stay together, while the comitative in PPC can be stranded (35a), topicalized (35b) and relativized (35d).

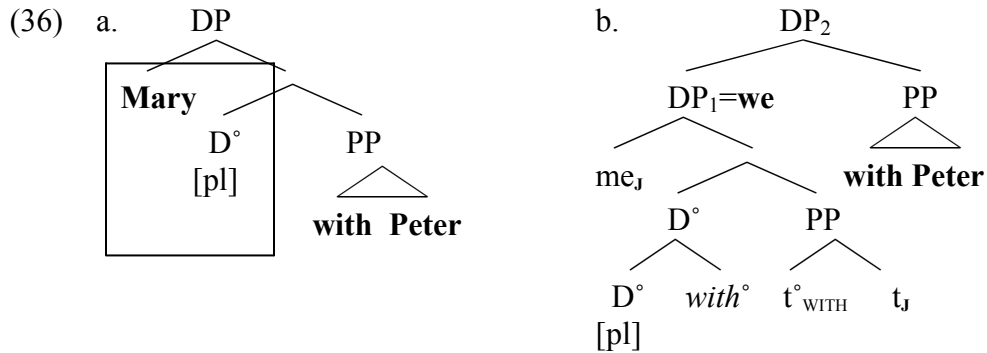
- (35) a. My pomešany s Sajmonom na svoej koške. RUSSIAN < E. Slavic  
 we are-crazy with Simon on our cat  
 'Simon and I are crazy about our cat.'  
 b. S Sajmonom my poznačomilis' v Germanii, v 1995 godu.  
 with Simon we met.pl in Germany, in 1995 year  
 'Simon and I met in Germany in 1995.'  
 c. Tot paren', s kotorym my v škole sideli za odnoj partoj .....  
 the boy with which we in school sat behind one desk  
 'They boy with whom I shared the classroom table in middle school ....'

<sup>19</sup> In some languages, possessive reflexives are subject-oriented; Polish might be among them.



To account for the difference in contiguity, I adopt Ionin & Matushanski's (2002) suggestion that the *with*-phrase must be stranded before it can be extracted. Namely, if the whole DP moves to the specifier of IP, no extraction out of this DP will be possible because it would induce an island violation. If, however, the comitative is left behind in its vP-internal base-generated position, then it can be targeted by further movement.

The structure I have suggested for *with*-coordination (36a) does not make it possible for the boxed part of DP to move up without the PP, because extraction of a sub-constituent is impossible. The conjunct *Mary* may, perhaps, be capable of moving alone to the specifier of IP, but then *Mary* would be the singular subject of the sentence (see Ionin & Matushanski's (2002) discussion of singular comitatives). In PPC (36b) we can move the constituent DP<sub>1</sub>, leaving the adjunct comitative behind (36b).



If stranding of comitatives is possible only in PPC, and if stranding is a necessary condition for later extraction of the *with*-phrase (as Ionin & Matushanski (2002) suggest), then it follows that relativization and topicalization of the comitative is only possible in PPC, but not in *with*-coordination.

#### 4.4.4 DISCONTINUITY AND *PRO*-DROP IN PPC

In *pro*-drop languages, the pronoun cannot be overt when the *with*-phrase is stranded, topicalized or relativized. The only situation when the pronoun is overt is when the PPC is contiguous. Consider, for example, some data from Polish and Slovenian, two *pro*-drop Slavic languages. In (37a) and (38a), we can see that the

plural pronoun is overt when the elements of PPC are together.<sup>20</sup> When the *with*-phrase is stranded, only a silent pronoun is possible (37b-c, 38b-c).

(37) (Stefan Dylą, p.c.)

POLISH < W. Slavic < IE

- a. **My z Piotrem** wiemy kiedy zostanie opublikowany następny HP.  
we with Peter know.1pl when will-be publised next HP
- b. \* **My** wiemy **z Piotrem** kiedy zostanie opublikowany następny HP.  
we know.1pl with Peter when will-be published next HP
- c. **Ø** wiemy **z Piotrem** kiedy zostanie opublikowany następny HP.  
*pro* know.1pl with Peter when will-be published next HP  
'Peter and I know when the next Harry Potter book will be published.'

(38) (Lanko Marušič, p.c.)

SLOVENIAN < S. Slavic < IE

- a. **Midva (skupi) s Tinckom** sovraziva brokoli.  
we-two (together) with T. hate.1du broccoli
- b. \* **Midva** sovraziva **(skupi) s Tinckom** brokoli.  
we-two hate.1du (together) with T. broccoli
- c. Brokoli **Ø** sovraziva **(skupi) s Tinckom**.<sup>21</sup>  
broccoli *pro* hate.1du (together) with T.  
'Tony and I hate broccoli.'

In sentences with relativized comitatives, the plural pronoun must be silent as well (39-40).

<sup>20</sup> One may ask whether the pronoun may be *pro* when the entire DP moves to the spec of IP. The example in (ii) suggest that the string [*pro* with Peter] is impossible as a subject.

- (i) **My z Piotrem** wierzymy w Boga.  
we with Peter believe.1pl in God
- (ii)\* **Z Piotrem** wierzymy w Boga.  
with Peter believe in God  
'Peter and I believe in God.'

The topicalization interpretation in (ii) is also impossible, because non-collective predicates such as 'believe in God', 'love broccoli', 'hate Mozart' and 'know German' do not allow their comitatives to be topicalized and relativized (see section 4.6). If the sentence in (ii) had a [*pro* with Peter] subject, then it should have been grammatical.

<sup>21</sup> According to Lanko Marušič (p.c.), Slovenian does not allow sentences to start with a verb; this is, presumably, why (38c) begins with a topicalized object.

- (39) (Dyła, p.c.) POLISH < W. Slavic < IE  
 Moja mama nie lubiła (tego) chłopca, z którym (**\*my**)  
 my Mum neg liked-3sg (this) boy with whom (**\*we**)  
 przyjaźniliśmy się w szkole średniej.  
 were-friends-1PL refl in school middle  
 ‘My Mom didn’t like the boy with whom I was friendly in high school.’
- (40) (Lanko Marušič, p.c.) SLOVENIAN < S. Slavic < IE  
 Moja žena s katera (**\*midva**) sva se locila ze lansko leto  
 my wife with whom (weDu.) aux.Du refl divorced.Du just last year  
 ‘My wife whom I divorced just last year...’

Finally, topicalized comitatives also require a silent pronoun (41-42).

- (41) (Stefan Dyła, p.c.) POLISH < W. Slavic < IE  
 Z Joanną (**\*my**) poszliśmy na plażę.  
 with J. (**\*we**) went.1pl to beach  
 ‘Joanna and I went to the beach.’
- (42) (Lanko Marušič, p.c.) SLOVENIAN < S. Slavic < IE  
 Z Matijem (**\*midva**) sva sla na pivo.  
 with M. (**\*we.Du**) aux-1<sup>st</sup>.Du go on beer  
 ‘Matias and I are going for a beer.’

Pronouns are silent in *pro*-drop languages when they are topics. Emphatic or and/or focused pronouns are overt. We must, therefore, assume that only a topical pronoun can move up alone, stranding the comitative. Why should this be the case? I suggest that this is because the elements of the comitative DP must have the same discourse status. Suppose the entire DP is marked as [+focus]. Moving the lower DP won’t satisfy the requirements of the head of the focus projection: it targets the *whole* DP. On the other hand, the Topic head might be satisfied by attracting the lower DP, because there is an element in it that has the [+topic] feature, namely, the referent in the spec of DP (recall that I suggested topicalization to be the process that drags the conjunct into the specifier of DP after its preposition is absorbed by D°).

## 4.4.5 SELECTIONAL PROPERTIES OF THE COORDINATIVE D°

In Russian, personal pronouns cannot occur in *with*-coordination (43a). In Czech and Polish, on the other hand, they can (43b).

- (43) a. My / \*ja s Petrom nenavidim Buša. RUSSIAN < E. Slavic < IE  
 we / \*I with Peter hate.1pl Bush.Acc  
 ‘Peter and I hate Bush.’  
 b. My /já s Marií jsme šli do kina. CZECH < W. Slavic  
 we / I with Maria Aux.1pl gone-Pl.masc to cinema (Skrabalova 2003)  
 ‘Mary and I went to the cinema.’

Apparently, the quasi-coordinative D° differs in its selectional properties from language to language. In Russian, merging a pronoun as D°’s first constituent results in a mandatory preposition incorporation and subsequent adjectivization / topicalization of the pronoun. Czech, on the other hand, does not require the pronoun to be topicalized.

Polish differs from both Russian and Czech. Unlike Russian, it allows personal pronouns in *with*-coordination (44a). Unlike Czech, it allows no pronouns in the comitative phrase (44b-c).<sup>22</sup>

- (44) a. Ja z Tomkiem przylecimy w południe. POLISH < W. Slavic < IE  
 I with Tomek fly.FUT.1pl at noon (Dyła, p.c.)  
 ‘Tomek and I will arrive (by plane) at noon.’  
 b. \* Ja z nią poszliśmy do kina. POLISH < W. Slavic < IE  
 I with her went.1pl to cinema (Dyła, p.c.)  
 ‘I went to the movies with her’  
 c. Ty s níe budete dělat oheň. CZECH < W. Slavic < IE  
 you.sg with her will.2pl make fire (Skrabalova 2003:8)  
 ‘You and she will build a fire.’

<sup>22</sup> Stefan Dyła (p.c.) suggests that the ban on the pronominals in the comitative phrase may have appeared in Polish in the late 19<sup>th</sup> or early 20<sup>th</sup> century; he also informs me that Józef Muczkowski’s grammar of Polish (*Gramatyka języka polskiego przez Józefa Muczkowskiego*, Petersburg: B. M. Wolff, 1860 (4<sup>th</sup> edition), originally published in 1830s) cites examples with pronouns in both the host NP and the comitative phrase.

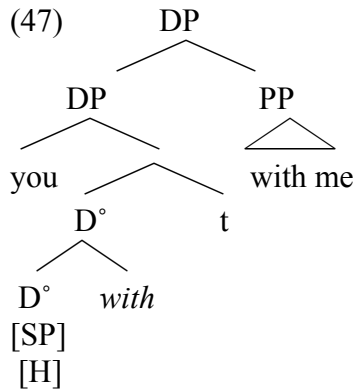
The specifier of DP appears to be the only allowed position for Polish pronouns. In PPC, the pronoun moves to the specifier of DP, while in *with*-coordination it is base-generated there. It appears then that whenever a pronoun is merged as an argument of the quasi-coordinative D° in Polish, it must be topicalized.

#### 4.4.6 THE PERSON HIERARCHY IN PPC

One of the properties of conjunctions is that they appear to ‘pool’ the properties of their conjuncts, or at least to choose the dominant feature for the purposes of external agreement. For example, when we join a 1<sup>st</sup> person singular pronoun to a 2<sup>nd</sup> person singular pronoun, the verbal is marked as 1<sup>st</sup> person plural (45). Similarly, when we join a masculine personal (=virile) noun and a feminine noun in Polish, the verb will be masculine personal (46).

- (45) a. Ty i ja oba nienawidim brokkoli. RUSSIAN < E. Slavic < IE  
 you.sg and I both hate.1pl broccoli  
 ‘I and he hate broccoli.’
- b. Ja z Tomkiem przylecimy w południe. POLISH < W. Slavic < IE  
 I with Tomek fly.fut1pl at noon  
 ‘Tomek and I will arrive (by plane) at noon.’  
 (Dyła, p.c.)
- (46) (Dyła & Feldman, forthcoming) POLISH < W. Slavic < IE
- a. Dorota i jej mąż poszli na plażę.  
 Dorota and her husband went.virile to beach  
 ‘Dorota and her husband went to the beach.’
- b. Dorota z Mirkiem poszli na plażę.  
 Dorota with Mirek went.virile.pl to beach  
 ‘Dorota and Mirek went to the beach.’

In PPC, the ‘feature-pooling’ property of D° results in what is sometimes described as the ‘Person Hierarchy Effect’: the plural pronoun must be ‘higher’ on the person hierarchy than the comitative. Consider the following derivation. First, we merge D° with a comitative phrase containing the 2<sup>nd</sup> person singular pronoun *you*. The preposition gets absorbed by D°, the pronoun *you* moves to the specifier of DP. What would happen if the *with*-phrase we adjoin to the DP in the next step contained a 1<sup>st</sup> person pronoun (47)?



At this point, the conjunction-like  $D^\circ$  contains the person features of both of its conjuncts. Now we form the plural pronoun. The only way of spelling out a bundle that contains [+speaker] is as *WE*. The resulting string is [WE WITH ME], which is, presumably, grammatically correct, but pragmatically useless,<sup>23</sup> since it does not do its pragmatical job of specifying who is included in ‘we’ apart from the obviously-included speaker.

#### 4.4.7 THE RARITY OF EXTENDED ASSOCIATIVES

If pronouns and associatives are structurally identical, and if pronouns can participate in a construction that specifies the associate (PPC), then we should be able to find languages with PPC-like constructions headed by associative plurals. Such constructions (henceforth ‘extended associatives’) do indeed exist (48-50).

<sup>23</sup> Goldenberg (1978:140) cites several examples from Amharic where the string [WE WITH ME] is interpreted as ‘you and I’. Some examples are below (the source does not provide glosses):

- (i) *käbete mäṭṭäw mähedäwon bäsäma kalä qäṭaro hono ane gar balämä gänañätaččän əḡḡəg azzänku* ‘when I heard that you had come to my house and went away, I was very sad about your (lit. our) failure to meet with me—because it was without appointment’

Goldenberg (1978:140) also quotes Russian imperatives such as (ii) as a possible example of [WE WITH ME] construction:

- (ii) *pojďem so mnoj*  
 go.fut.1pl with me  
 ‘Come with me’/ ‘Let us go with me’

- (48) (Crazzolara 1960:339) LUGBARA(Uganda) > Nilo-Saharan  
 a. Odiri pi (diacritics are omitted) <= **associative plural**  
 Odiri pl  
 ‘Odiri and his followers’  
 b. Odiri pi etsa Miria be ama-ri akua <= **extended associative**  
 Odiri apl arrive Miria-with our village  
 ‘Odiri and Miria arrived at our village.’
- (49) (Hoffman 1963:236-8) MARGI < Biu-Mandara < Chadic < Afro-Asiatic  
 a. Siapu-yar <= **associative plural**  
 S.-pl  
 ‘Siapu and his followers.’  
 b. Siapu-yar **aga** mala gənda <= **extended associative**  
 S.-pl & his wife  
 ‘Siapu and his wife.’  
 c. Madu **aga** mwaləny <= **with-coordination**  
 M. & friend  
 ‘Madu and his friend’  
 d. nay **aga**-ja <= **PPC**  
 we &-him  
 ‘he and I’
- (50) (Schuh 1998:252,252,276,277) MIYA < W. Chadic < Afro-Asiatic  
 a. niy Kasham <= **associative plural**  
 aspl K.  
 ‘Kasham and the others, Kasham and his compatriots’  
 b. niy buwun ‘enaa muwun <= **extended associative**  
 aspl father-my with mother-my  
 ‘my father and mother’ (lit. my fathers with my mother)  
 c. Kasham ‘enaa Vaziya dem aacam <= **with-coordination**  
 K with V did work  
 ‘K and V did work’  
 d. miy bama ‘enaa fiy. <= **PPC**  
 we go-ICP with you.M.Sg (ICP=intransitive copy pronoun)  
 ‘You.sg and I went.’

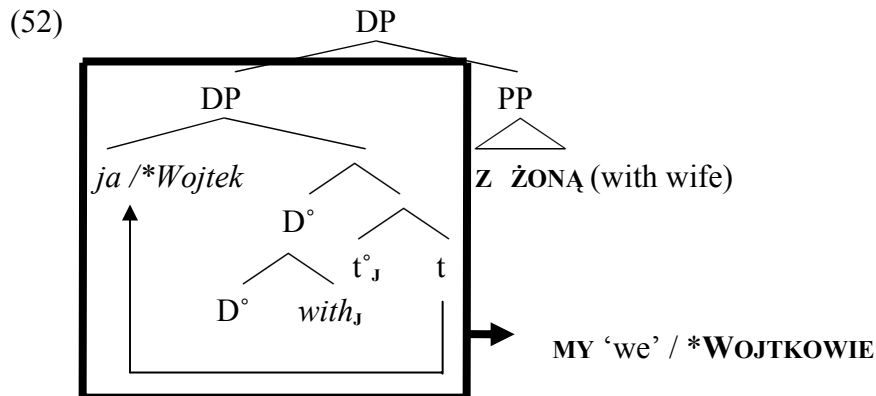
Extended associatives are rare; many languages lack them even though they have both PPC and nominal associatives (51).

- (51) (Stefan Dylą, p.c.) POLISH < W. Slavic < IE  
 a. Wojtkowie <= **associative plural**

- Wojtek+aspl  
 ‘Wojtek and his wife.’
- b. Ja/my z żoną przylecimy w południe. <= **with-&P/ PPC**  
 I /we with wife fly-FUT.1PL at noon  
 ‘I and my wife will arrive (by plane) at noon.’
- c. \*Wojtkowie z żoną są wysocy. <= \* **extended associative**  
 W.-aspl with wife are.3pl tall.pl  
 ‘Wojtek and his wife are tall.’

Under my analysis of PPC, the formation of the plural pronoun (or an associative) in this construction is different from the pronoun/associative formation described in chapter 2. In PPC, we have a different determiner  $D^\circ$ ; furthermore, there is no *group*-referent; finally, there is no need for one of the conjuncts to identify the group as a whole, since all its members are named overtly. In short, the process that makes a plural pronoun out of the first conjunct in PPC is different from the process that makes a ‘normal’ plural pronoun; therefore, formation of ‘normal’ associatives and formation of associative-like forms in ‘extended associatives’ are two different processes and the existence of one in a language does not presuppose the existence of another.

There are, therefore, several factors at play that determine that lack of associative formation in Polish (52), cf. (51b-c).



First, the coordinative  $D^\circ$  may not be able to ‘adjectivize’ nouns. Second, if the incorporation of the preposition is triggered by the presence of the [+topic] feature of the conjunct, then probably the first conjunct is not marked [+topic] in most languages: it does not have to be, after all, since it does not identify the group.

There is some support for the idea that the interaction between  $D^\circ$  and its topicalized conjunct in extended associatives is somewhat different from that used



in ‘real’ associative plurals. For example, what looks like a moved conjunct in Kpelle is different from a normal associative plural.

- (53) KPELLE <Mande < Niger-Congo
- a. yalõn-ni (Moravcsik’s file) <= *associative*  
Yalong-PLU  
‘Yalong and his companions’
  - b. kwà Sumo kú pà (Stassen 2000:49)<sup>24</sup> <= *PPC*  
1Pl Sumo aux.1pl come  
‘Sumo and I came.’
  - c. surɔŋ ‘tà nɛnî ‘tí pà <= *extended associative ?*  
man 3pl.incl woman aux.3pl come (Stassen 2000:49)  
‘A man and a woman came.’

The element *-ni* in (53a) is the associative marker; the element ‘*ta* in (53c) possibly spells out the conjunction-like determiner D°.

The lack of interaction between the topicalized conjunct and the conjunctive plural D° can be observed in the so-called *split coordination*, found in Hausa (54), Tera<sup>25</sup> (55) and Passamaquoddy (56).

- (54) (Schwartz 1988:70) HAUSA < W. Chadic < Afro-Asiatic
- a. **Kande da Ladi** sun haihu. <= *with-coordination*  
K. with L. Aux.3pl give-birth  
‘Kande & Ladi give birth.’
  - b. **Kande** sun haihu **da Ladi.** <= *split coordination*  
K. Aux.3pl give-birth with L.  
‘Kande & Ladi give birth.’
  - c. Ø mun jee kaasuwa **da kaneen-a.** <= *PPC*  
*pro* Aux.1pl go market & younger-brother-my  
‘My younger brother and I went to the market.’
  - d. **su Mūsā** sun dāwō dà sāfe. <= *associative plural*  
they Musa aux.perf.3pl return with morning (Newman 2000:460)  
‘Musa and others returned in the morning.’

<sup>24</sup> Some diacritics are omitted.

<sup>25</sup> I do not know whether associative plurals exist in Tera.

- (55) (Newman 1970:51-55) TERA < Biu-Mandara < Chadic < Afro-Asiatic
- a. **Ali ndə Dala** a kərma mato:ku (ku)<sup>26</sup>. <= **with-coordination**  
 Ali with Dala asp.repair cars pl  
 ‘Ali and Dala are repairing cars.’
  - b. **Ali** a kərma mato:ku ku **ndə Dala**. <= **split coordination**<sup>27</sup>  
 Ali asp. repair cars pl with Dala  
 ‘Ali and Dala are repairing cars.’
  - c. **Tem wà də Kanu ndə Dala**.  
 we perf. go-to Kanu with Dala  
 ‘I & Dala went to Kanu.’ <= **PPC**
- (56) (Bruening 2004:2–4) PASSAMAQUODDY < E. Algonquian (Maine)
- a. Piyel ali-wiciyew-t-uwok Mali-wol <= **split coordination**  
 P. around-go.with-recip-3pl M.-obviative  
 ‘Piyel & Mali are going around each other.’
  - a. Kiluwaw k-itap ktolinomiyuti-pa kehlik. <= **PPC**  
 you.pl your-friend there-see.recipr.2pl Calais-loc  
 ‘You (sg) and your friend saw each other in Calais.’
  - b. Pesqon te etut-ek cihkonaqc. <= **PPC**  
 same emph IC.such.extent-walk.1pl turtle (**pro-drop + stranding**)  
 ‘I and turtle walk at the same speed’

Split coordination can be analyzed along the same lines as stranded PPCs. The topicalized conjunct moves to the specifier of DP, the second conjunct is projected as an adjunct and can be stranded when the lower DP moves to the specifier of IP (or the specifier of Topic Phrase). When the topicalized conjunct moves to the specifier of DP, no associative plural is formed (57).<sup>28</sup>

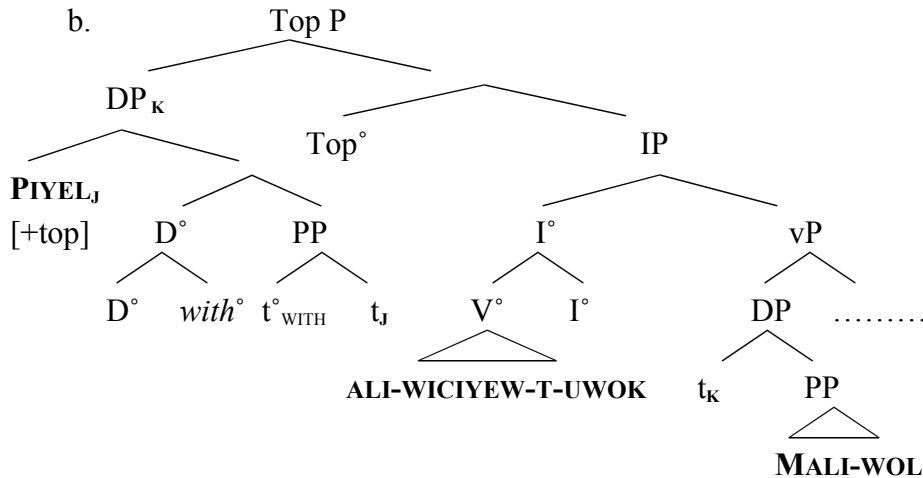
<sup>26</sup> *Ku* is a predicate-final marker with plural subjects. Its appearance is mandatory in split coordination and optional otherwise (Newman 1970:49).

<sup>27</sup> Split coordination is preferred to contiguous coordination (Newman 1970:55)

<sup>28</sup> In some languages, of course, ‘regular’ associative plurals have no special associative marking as well (see chapter 1 p. 14):

- (i) Brian gew (Corbett 2000:191) MALTESE < Semitic < Afro-Asiatic  
 Brian came.**PL**  
 ‘Brian and his family/friend(s) came.’
- (ii) Moj brat tam tože žili. TALITSK DIALECT OF RUSSIAN  
 my brother.**SG** there also lived.**PL** < E. Slavic < IE  
 ‘My brother and his family also lived there.’ (Bogdanov 1968:69)

- (57) a. (Bruening 2004:2–4) PASSAMAQUODDY < E. Algonquian (Maine)  
 Piyel ali-wiciyew-t-uwok Mali-wol <= **split coordination**  
 P. around-go.with-recip-3pl M.-obviative  
 ‘Piyel & Mali are going around each other.’



Split coordination and PPC have many properties in common. Namely, they co-occur with non-collective predicates, allow relativization, topicalization and even *wh*-extraction<sup>29</sup> of the comitative<sup>30</sup>. However, the structure in (57b) as a *possible* rather than a *definitive* analysis because there are a few differences between split/stranded PPC and split coordination which I have not yet been able to account for. First, PPC is possible in *any* syntactic role, while split coordination only occurs with *subjects*.<sup>31</sup> Second, while PPC can be either split or contiguous,

<sup>29</sup> See section 4.5 for a discussion of *wh*-extraction out of plural comitatives.

<sup>30</sup> The ‘comitative’ is obviative in Passamaquoddy.

<sup>31</sup> Schwartz (1988a:241): ‘There are languages where PPCs are preferred or obligatory as subjects while they may be dispreferred or diallowed in other positions’. I do not know what may be restricting the use of PPC in non-subject positions. Camacho (2001) suggests that Spanish *with*-phrases must be interpreted collectively and are restricted to the subject position because true collectivity is a property of subjects (see the section 4.6). This approach won’t work for Passamaquoddy because its PPC and split coordination are OK with non-collective predicates. A better understanding of what may limit PPC and extended associatives to the subject position may help us understand the restriction in Passamaquoddy.

coordination *must* be split.<sup>32</sup> Third, split coordination is possible only with intransitive verbs. Bruening (2004) suggests that the stranded obviative element in split coordination sits in the EPP specifier of vP, a position involved in licensing objects. If the obviative phrase is indeed in the specifier of vP, then it remains unclear how it gets there, why the stranded phrase of PPC does not move there, and why a topicalized pronoun of PPC is capable of pied-piping the whole DP to the topic projection, while a topicalized noun is not.

Therefore, a better understanding of what is responsible for the PPC's restriction to the subject position and of the mechanisms involved in mandatory comitative-extraposition will be required before a definitive answer can be given to the question of whether Passamaquoddy split coordination should be analysed as split PPC.

The puzzles presented by some properties of Passamaquoddy split coordination is not the only topic I'll leave for future analysis. The next two sections outline two other areas in which more research is needed.

#### 4.5 PUZZLE #1 : *WH*-EXTRACTION OF COMITATIVE PHRASES

*Wh*-extraction of comitative out of PPC is usually impossible; for Russian, the lack of *wh*-extraction out of plural comitatives has also been noted by McNally (1993) and Feldman (2001) (58a); Dylá (p.c.) notes a similar restriction for Polish (58b); Skrabalova (2003:5), for Czech (58c); and Camacho (1996), for Spanish (58d).

- (58)a. S    kem    my poedem v Moskvu?                      RUSSIAN < E. Slavic < IE  
          with whom we will-go    to Moscow?  
          'With whom will we / \*I go to Moscow?'

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<sup>32</sup> A similar mandatory split must be posited for Spanish PPC as well, because it does not allow overt pronouns. If my analysis is correct in suggesting that plural pronouns in PPC are overt only when the whole phrase (including the comitative) moves to the specifier of IP, then it follows that the elements of PPC in Spanish must be split. It is possible that Ionin & Matushanski's (2002) hypothesis of mandatory comitative extraposition could be used to account for Spanish and Passamaquoddy split constructions; it is possible that the *with*-phrase must move out the vP-internal subject DP in some situations, so that the remaining plural pronoun (or associative) would always move alone.

- b. (Dyła, p.c.) POLISH <W Slavic < IE  
 S kim wczoraj poszliście na plażę?  
 with whom yesterday went.2pl to beach  
 ‘With whom did we/\*I go to the beach yesterday?’
- c. (Skrabalova 2003:5) CZECH < W. Slavic < IE  
 S kým jste včera byli v kine?  
 with whom Aux.2pl yesterday be in cinema?  
 ‘With whom did you.pl/\*sg go to the movies yesterday?’
- d. (Camacho 1996:118) SPANISH < Romance < IE  
 ¿Con quién fuimos al cine?  
 with whom went.1pl to movies  
 ‘With whom did we/\*I go to the movies?’

Yet in some cases (59), Russian allows *wh*-extraction of the comitative out of PPC (the abbreviation DP stands for *discourse particle* in the glosses):

- (59) a. S kem (že) eto vy tam tak dolgo boltali?  
 with whom DP DP you.pl there so long chatted.pl  
 ‘Who were you.sg talking to for so long over there?’
- b. ? Slušaj – s kem eto my sejčas tancevali? – on mne vse nogi  
 Listen – with whom DP we now danced – he me.Dat all feet  
 otdavil!  
 crushed  
 ‘Listen, - who was it I just danced with? – he totally crushed my feet!’
- c. ? I s kem-(že) eto oni tam tak uvlečënno boltajut?  
 and with whom-DP DP they there so animatedly chat.pl  
 ‘So, who is he chatting with over there so animatedly?’

All of the examples in (59) are colloquial and used in a situation when we ask for the identity of a deictically-salient person (the deicticity is indicated by the discourse particle *eto* = that over there). In (59a), the plural pronoun can be interpreted as referring to the singular addressee if, for instance, I had been watching my friend talk to someone and then came over to ask her who she had been talking to. The example in (59b) could be addressed to the hostess who knows everybody invited. The interpretation of (59c) depends on the presence of a contextually-salient individual, as in all 3<sup>rd</sup> person PPC constructions. For example, my friend and I could be standing together observing her husband chatting to one of the guests. All of these sentences involve a contextually-salient referent of the comitative whose existence is presupposed, but whose identity is now known.

Russian is not the only language that (occasionally) allows *wh*-extraction out of PPC. Lichtenberk (2000:28) suggests that *wh*-extraction is possible in

Toqabaqita PPC as well. Prior to the exchange in (60), speaker A asked B about the whereabouts of a child, to which B replied that the child was with somebody. The conversation then followed:

- (60) A: Tei keeroqa?                      TOQABAQITA<sup>33</sup> < Malay-Polynesian < Austronesian  
           who they.Du  
           ‘Who (is he) with?’  
       B: Keeroqa Qaisik.  
           They.Du Qaisik  
           ‘He (is) with Aisik.’

In Passamaquoddy, the ‘comitative’ element can be questioned in PPC as well as in split coordination (61).

- (61) (Bruening 2004: 17,18,5)                      PASSAMAQUODDY < E. Algonquian  
       a. Wen kiluwan eliy-ayeq?                      <= PPC, OVERT PRONOUN  
           who you.pl go-2pl  
           ‘You (sg) and who are going?’  
       b. Wen api-nis-arihw-ieyq?                      <= PPC, COVERT PRONOUN  
           who go-and-back-two-watch.2pl  
           ‘You and who are going to the movies?’  
       c. Wen-il Mali ali-wiciyew-ti-htic-il?                      <= SPLIT COORDINATION  
           who-obv M. around-go.with-recip.3pl-obv  
           ‘Mary and who are going around with each other?’

Ionin & Matushanski (2002) suggest that *wh*-extraction is generally impossible out of PPC because of the resulting conflict in information status (pronouns are ‘old information, hence topics, while *wh*-phrases are inherently focalized). Yet other *wh*-expressions (e.g. relative pronouns) are not necessarily focused. I’ll tentatively assume that the *wh*-phrases in the Russian examples in (59) do not have a [+focus] feature and undergo movement to CP to check the *wh*-feature.

#### 4.6 PUZZLE #2: SENSITIVITY TO THE TYPE OF VERB

In Russian and many other languages, PPC and *with*-coordination are insensitive to the type of predicate; namely, they can occur as subjects of verbs that allow no *with*-modifiers. For instance, such verbs as *to know* or *to hate* denote

<sup>33</sup> The Ethnologue name for the language is To’abaita.

actions that cannot be performed together with someone else (62), yet these verbs co-occur with plural comitatives (63). The *with*-phrase in (63) forms part of a plural subject and, like other plural subjects, plural comitatives are possible with non-collective predicates.

- (62) a. # Maša nenavidit brokkoli s Petrom. RUSSIAN < E. Slavic < IE  
 Masha hates.3sg broccoli with Peter  
 # 'Masha hates broccoli with Peter.'  
 b. # Maša znaet nemeckij s Petrom. RUSSIAN < E. Slavic < IE  
 Masha knows German with Peter  
 # 'Maša knows German with Peter.'
- (63) a. Maša s Petrom nenavidjat brokkoli. RUSSIAN < E. Slavic < IE  
 Maša with Peter hate.3pl broccoli  
 'Masha and Peter hate broccoli.'  
 b. My s Petrom nenavidim brokkoli. RUSSIAN < E. Slavic < IE  
 we with Peter hate.1pl broccoli  
 'Peter and I hate broccoli.'

Bolivian Spanish<sup>34</sup> differs from Russian in that it does not allow its plural comitatives to co-occur with distributive predicates and operators (64).

- (64) (Camacho 2000:367-8) BOLIVIAN SPANISH < Romance < IE
- a. \* Con Daniel somos de Bogotá.  
 with D. are.1pl from Bogota  
 'Daniel and I are from Bogota.'  
 b. \* Con Juan vimos dos películas respectivamente.  
 with Juan saw.1pl two movies respectively  
 'Juan and I saw two movies, respectively.'

<sup>34</sup> This restriction does not hold in all varieties of Spanish. For example, Chilean Spanish behaves just like Slavic languages in allowing non-collective predicates.

- (i) (Schwartz 1988: 66,69) CHILEAN SPANISH < Romance < IE
- a. Somos felices con mi esposa.  
 be.1pl happy with my wife  
 'My wife and I are happy.'  
 b. Somos altos con mi hermano.  
 be.1pl tall with my brother  
 'My brother and I are tall.'

Camacho (2000) explains this restriction as a semantic property of ‘with’, namely, that its arguments must be interpreted collectively<sup>35</sup>. He links this restriction to the fact that these constructions only occur as subjects in Bolivian Spanish (65a), while in Slavic languages they can occur in any position (65b). Because true collectivity, as he argues, is found only with subjects, comitatives occur only in the subject position.

- (65) a. \*Les<sub>i</sub> hablé a [Juan con María]<sub>i</sub> (Camacho 2000:367) SPANISH < Romance  
 cl.pl talked to [Juan & Maria]  
 ‘I talked to Juan and Maria.’  
 b. Ja govoril s [Ivanom / nimi s Mašej] RUSSIAN < E. Slavic < IE  
 I talked to [Ivan/them with Masha]  
 ‘I talked to Ivan/him and Masha.’

While Slavic plural comitatives in general appear to be insensitive to the type of predicate, neither relativization nor topicalization of the comitative appears to be possible with predicates like *to know* and *to hate*.<sup>36</sup>

- (66) (Stefan Dyla, p.c.) POLISH < W. Slavic < IE  
 a. \*/?Z Piotrem wiemy kiedy zostanie opublikowany następny H Potter  
 with Peter know.1pl when will-be published next Harry Potter  
 ‘Peter and I know when the next Harry Potter book will be published.’  
 b. \* Z Piotrem wierzymy w Boga.  
 with Peter believe in God  
 ‘Peter and I believe in God.’  
 c. \* Chłopak, z którym nie znosiłmy brokułów, jest teraz wegetarianinem  
 boy with whom neg like-1PL broccoli is now vegetarian  
 ‘The boy who, like me, used to hate broccoli is now a vegetarian.’

<sup>35</sup> The ban on distributive interpretation applies to *with*-coordination as well as to PPC (Camacho 2000). *With*-coordination is less common than PPC in contemporary Spanish, but it definitely exists (i).

(i) (Camacho 1996:110) BOLIVIAN SPANISH < Romance < IE  
 Un hombre con una mujer subieron las escaleras  
 a man with a woman climbed/3pl the stairs  
 ‘A man and a woman climbed the stairs.’

In Puerto-Rican Spanish, *with*-coordination is perfectly ordinary, according to my informants Enectali Figueroa-Feliciano and Barbara Algarin; Puerto-Rican, like Bolivian Spanish, bans non-collective predicates with all comitatives.

<sup>36</sup> As far as I know, these facts have not yet been discussed in linguistic literature.



One possibility is that the movement (fronting, in both cases) removes the *with*-phrase<sup>37</sup> from under the scope of the distributive operator. If the Distributive Phrase is lower within the split CP than the Topic Phrase and the Focus Phrase, then this might have something to do with why such fronting is outlawed with predicates that impose a distributive reading onto their plural subjects.

The situation is even more complicated in that Russian allows relativization in some sentences with non-collective predicates and bans it in others. For example, the sentence in (67a) is ungrammatical, but (67b) is not (cf. its ungrammatical Polish equivalent in (67c)).

- (67) RUSSIAN < E. Slavic < IE
- a. \* Mal'čik, s kotorym my nenavidim brokkoli, rešil stat' vegetariancem.  
 boy with whom we hate broccoli decided become vegetarian  
 'The boy who, like me, hates broccoli, decided to become a vegetarian.'
- b. Mal'čik, s kotorym my nenavideli brokkoli, stal vegetariancem.  
 boy with whom we hated broccoli become vegetarian  
 'The boy who, like me, used to hate broccoli became a vegetarian.'
- c. Tot paren', s kotorym my nenavideli fiziku v škole, teper' direktor NASA.  
 that boy with whom we hated physics in school now director of NASA  
 'The boy who, like me, used to hate physics in school is now the director of NASA'

Further acceptable examples show that the verb 'to hate' is not an isolated case (68). Furthermore, they show that the past/present tense contrast of (67a-b) is not necessarily what determines the (un)grammaticality of relativization.

- (68) RUSSIAN < E. Slavic < IE
- a. Moja podrug, s kotoroj my byli edinstvennymi blondinkami vo vsej škole, rešila togda, čto nam nužno perekrasit' volosy.  
 my girlfriend with whom we were only blondes in all school, decided then, that us.Dat needed dye hair  
 'My girlfriend — she and I were the only blondes in the entire school — decided then that we needed to dye our hair.'

<sup>37</sup> It is immaterial for the discussion at hand whether *ktory* relatives are derived via head-raising or operator movement; in both cases the referent of the comitative clause won't be in the scope of the distributive operator.

- b. Moja podrugā, s kotoroj my – edinstvennye blondinki vo vsej škole,  
 My girlfriend with whom we – only blondes in all school  
 sčitaet, čto nam nado perekrasit'sja.  
 thinks that we need change-color  
 'My friend — she and I are the only blondes in the whole school, —  
 reckons that we ought to change our hair color.'

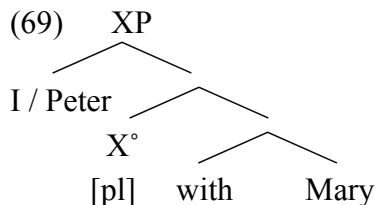
The idea that topicalized / relativized comitatives are banned with non-collective predicates because they are outside the scope of the distributive operator might begin to explain the Polish facts in (66). At present, I do not have any suggestions as to why Russian differs from Polish in this respect and why there is so much variation within Russian itself.

#### 4.7 SUMMARY OF THE COORDINATIVE APPROACH TO PLURAL COMITATIVES

The quasi-coordinative analysis of PPC that I have suggested in this chapter is not wholly new. PPC had been analyzed as an instance of coordination by den Dikken et al (2001) and Progovac (1997); Haspelmath's (2000) term for the construction is 'inclusory coordination'. My approach differs from these studies in the mechanism suggested for the formation of the plural pronoun. My plural pronoun is neither one of the conjuncts nor the summarizing head of the coordination. Rather, it is a combination of one of the conjuncts and the plural feature of the conjunction &°/D° itself.

An analysis of PPC as coordination could not be done without considering and comparing the properties of a closely-related construction, namely, the comitative coordination. The idea that the two constructions differ only with respect to the interaction between one of the conjuncts and the &° forms the cornerstone of my analysis.

The difference in binding properties between *with*-coordination and PPC presented a particular challenge for a unified account. For example, the simplest coordination analysis would be as in (69), assuming that the pronoun *I* interacts with the conjunction-like X° and is spelled out as 'we'.



The differences in contiguity between PPC and *with*-coordination could then be accounted for in terms of the 1<sup>st</sup>-conjunct movement. If the singular conjunct moved alone to the specifier of IP in *with*-coordination, it would not be capable of inducing plural agreement. In PPC, on the other hand, the first conjunct would have acquired a plural feature from D° (via concord), so that its movement to the spec of IP would not compromise plural agreement in any way.

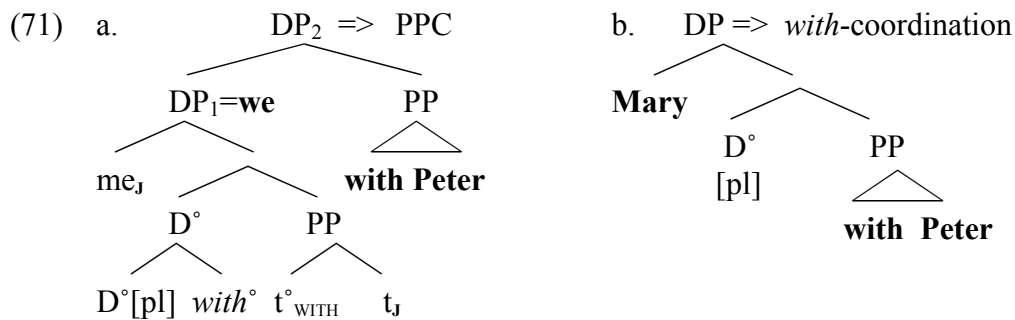
Still, this simple approach to plural comitatives was impossible because of the difference in binding properties between the two constructions. Both ‘I’ and ‘Peter’ in (69) should be able to c-command into the comitative, yet binding of reflexives is possible only in *with*-coordination. The proper structure for PPC needed to have the focal conjunct embedded in a position from which it couldn’t c-command the comitative.

One way of placing ‘Peter’ and ‘I’ in different structural positions while keeping the structure of the two plural comitatives relatively uniform is as in (70).



In (70b) the pronoun ‘I’ is effectively kept from c-commanding Mary. However no unified semantic interpretation can be suggested for (70a) and (70b) as long as the pronoun is interpreted as ‘X’s group’. There is no residue in ‘we’ to be defined by ‘Mary’.

I needed, therefore, to form a construction similar to (70b) which would be interpreted as coordination of Mary and I. This is what is achieved with my suggested structure of PPC in (71a): the first (pronominal) conjunct fuses with the conjunction-like D° and the *with*-phrase is projected as an adjunct. The *with*-phrase is selected by the same D that selects ‘I’. The interpretation of both (71a) and (71b) is as a coordination of Mary/I and Peter.



While (71a) and (71b) have the same semantics, they have different positions for *I* and *Mary*, respectively. In PPC, *I* is embedded in DP and is incapable of binding the comitative, a desirable result. In *with*-coordination, *Mary* c-commands the comitative and should be able to bind it, as long as DP-internal binding is allowed in a given language. This explains the availability of internal reflexive binding in comitative coordination. Finally, the difference in contiguity between PPC and *with*-coordination can be accounted for along the same lines as suggested in Ionin & Matushanski (2002): in PPC, we have the option of moving the DP<sub>1</sub>, stranding the adjunct comitative. In *with*-coordination, we might be able to move the first conjunct, but then the sentence would be interpreted as having *Mary* as its singular subject.

In my discussion of PPC and *with*-coordination I have brought up a number of issues and restrictions that have not been previously analyzed. While further developments of my proposal for explaining these issues and restrictions are possible, I believe that this general approach is very promising in unifying a wide range of related phenomena. At the very least, I have introduced a new level of complexity into the discussion of plural comitatives and other inclusory expressions.

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