

Manuscript title:
Restricting person in comitative conjunction

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1 Introduction

The paper discusses comitative conjunction constructions (CCs) in Russian and presents the following puzzle. In Russian, it is possible to have plural agreement on the verb when the subject is singular if the latter is associated with a comitative with-PP, as in (1). As indicated by the English translation, such examples are essentially synonymous to those with AND coordination. Later in the paper I will show that the nominative DP and the with-PP in this construction form a syntactic constituent and that its properties overlap with (but do not perfectly match) those of AND coordination, hence the name *comitative conjunction* or *comitative coordination*. Note that the verb can also bear singular agreement, strictly matching the ϕ -features of the nominative DP. In this case, the reading is different and the with-PP is interpreted as an accompaniment.

- (1) Sergej s Mašej pojdu / pojděť v kino.
 Sergej.NOM with Maša.INST go.3PL go.3SG into cinema
 PL agreement: 'Sergej and Maša will go to the cinema.'
 SG agreement: 'Sergej will go to the cinema with Maša.'

Crucially, if the subject is a 1st or 2nd person singular pronoun followed by a with-PP, plural agreement on the verb is prohibited, (2-a), and such sentences are only acceptable if the verb is singular, (2-b).

- (2) a. Ja s Mašej *pojděm / pojdu v kino.
 I.NOM with Maša go.1PL go.1SG into cinema
 Not available: 'Me and Maša will go to the cinema.'
 Only: 'I will go to the cinema with Maša.'
- b. Ty s Mašej *pojděte / pojděš v kino.
 you.SG.NOM with Maša go.2PL go.2SG into cinema
 Not available: 'You and Maša will go to the cinema.'
 Only: 'You will go to the cinema with Maša.'

I found only a couple of examples in the National Corpus of Russian where the 1SG or 2SG pronominal subject is followed by a with-PP and the verb is marked plural. They are all from colloquial or old Russian and the native speakers that I consulted judged them as ungrammatical or 'weird'. To the best of my knowledge, the person restriction was previously briefly mentioned by Feldman (2002) and Vassilieva (2005), who suggested that it holds for all singular pronouns (see Section 4 for a discussion of CCs with a 3SG pronoun) and did not offer many examples or a detailed discussion.

The restriction does not extend to 1st or 2nd person plural pronominal subjects: all

sentences similar to (3) are accepted by native speakers. The plural pronoun in these examples allow two readings: an inclusive one, where the denotation of the pronoun includes Maša (hence the term Inclusive Plural Pronoun Constructions, IPPCs), and the exclusive one, where it doesn't.¹

- (3) a. Oni s Mašej pojduť v kino.
 they.NOM with Maša go.3PL into cinema
 Inclusive: 'She/he and Maša will go to the cinema.'
 Exclusive: 'They (PL) and Maša will go to the cinema.'
- b. My s Mašej pojedem v kino.
 we.NOM with Maša go.1PL into cinema
 Inclusive: 'Me and Maša will go to the cinema.'
 Exclusive: 'Us and Maša will go to the cinema.'

The goal of the present paper is two-fold: to study the general properties of CCs in Russian by comparing them to AND coordination and to inclusive conjunctions, and to develop an analysis that explains the person-number restriction. I present a uniform structure that brings comitative conjunctions (CCs) and IPPCs together. I argue that in comitative conjunctions the host (i.e. the focal DP) and the with-PP form a constituent that is headed by a single functional head, which I denote as D. The D head probes both conjuncts to acquire two sets of ϕ -features. In this I go against the approaches that group comitative conjunctions that involve a 3SG host with AND coordination and juxtapose them to the Inclusive Plural Pronoun Constructions (IPPCs) (Dyła (1988), Vassilieva & Larson (2001), i.a.).

I further propose that the person restriction stems from a combination of the following two factors: (i) the timing of resolving multiple ϕ -features (in syntax or post-syntactically) and (ii) the inventory of silent pronouns available in a given language, in the spirit of Roberts (2019).

The proposed analysis not only accounts for the behavior of CCs in Russian but further allows us to capture the difference between Russian, a language with no consistent pro-drop, and, for instance, Polish, a fully pro-drop language where no person restriction is imposed on CCs, (4).

- (4) (Ja) z Maria wyjechaliśmy.
 I.NOM with Maria left.1PL
 'Me and Maria left.'

The paper proceeds as follows. Section 2 summarizes the properties of comitative conjunctions comparing them to AND coordination and outlines a single analysis for CCs

¹The PP in such examples can also be interpreted as an accompaniment, as in *They/we will go to the cinema (together) with Maša*, similarly to (1) with SG agreement on the verb.

1 and IPPCs. Section 3 focuses on the person restriction and demonstrates that it holds
 2 only for agreeing nominative subjects and correlates with the (un)availability of consis-
 3 tent pro-drop in the language. Section 4 sketches an analysis, while Section 5 discusses
 4 several predictions made correctly by the proposed account. Section 6 concludes the
 5 paper.

6 2 Comitative conjunction and AND coordination

7 Before addressing the person restriction on comitative conjunction in Russian, let us
 8 discuss briefly the properties of CCs in general. To begin with, it is necessary to demon-
 9 strate that in CCs the nominal host and the PP form a constituent, in contrast to the
 10 examples where the with-PP should rather be analyzed as an adjunct of the main predi-
 11 cate, as in (1) and (2) above with the singular agreement on the verb. Having established
 12 that I will proceed by highlighting the differences between CCs (including the inclusive
 13 comitatives, IPPCs) and AND coordination.

14 2.1 Comitative conjunctions are constituents

15 The defining property of CCs is that they obligatorily trigger plural agreement on the
 16 verb, even when the host DP is singular. Consider an example in (5):² even though
 17 the nominative DP (*Sergej*) is singular, the verb bears a plural inflection, and *Sergej* and
 18 *Maša* are interpreted as equal participants of the main event, similarly to the reading
 19 of the matching AND coordination. In contrast, if the verb bears a singular inflection,
 20 *Maša* can only receive a so-called accompaniment reading. In this particular example an
 21 accompaniment modifier is infelicitous with the main predicate *l'ubit'* 'to love', which
 22 results in a semantic anomaly (marked as #); cf. #*Sergej loves apples with Maša*.

- 23 (5) a. *Sergej s Mašej l'ub'at / #l'ubit jabloki.*
 Sergej with Maša love.3PL love.3SG apples
 'Sergej and Maša love apples.' (= b)
 24
 25 b. *Sergej i Maša l'ub'at / *l'ubit jabloki.*
 Sergej and Maša love.3PL love.3SG apples
 'Sergej and Maša love apples.'
 26

27 A similar pattern is observed in (6). In Russian, the verb *sobrat'sja* is ambiguous. In
 28 the meaning 'to gather together' it requires a semantically plural subject and an accom-
 29 paniment interpretation is not expected; this reading is salient in case of a CC subject
 30 or AND coordination when the verb is marked plural. The verb also has the meaning

²The Russian examples presented in the paper were checked with 19 native speakers, 23–35 y.o.

‘to prepare, get ready’, which is compatible with a singular Agent and an accompaniment modifier. This is the only interpretation available for the sentence in (6-a) with a singular agreement on the verb.

- (6) a. Sergej s Mašej sobralis’ / #sobralis’a v sem’.
 Sergej with Maša gathered.PL gathered.SG at seven
 PL agreement: ‘Sergej and Maša gathered at seven.’ (= b)
 SG agreement: ‘Sergej got ready with Maša at seven.’
 b. Sergej i Maša sobralis’ / *sobralis’a v sem’.
 Sergej and Maša gathered.PL gathered.SG at seven
 ‘Sergej and Maša gathered at seven.’

The following base pattern emerges from these data. In case of a singular host DP, CCs trigger plural agreement and receive a coordination-like reading, but when the verb bears a singular inflection the with-PP is interpreted as an accompaniment, a modifier of the main event. Having established this, let us take a closer look at other properties of CCs, AND coordination, and accompaniment PPs, including the obligatory/optional discontinuity, the (im)possibility of sub-extraction, and the (un)availability of distributive interpretations. I will show that, with regard to all of these properties, CCs pattern with AND coordination and accompaniment PPs pattern with other PP modifiers. For comparison I will provide parallel examples with AND coordination; this construction is well-studied and it has been shown that in AND coordination the two conjuncts form a syntactic constituent.

Similarly to AND coordination, CCs show very limited discontinuity. As will be discussed in the next subsection, while some scrambling is allowed, the main predicate marked plural cannot intervene between the host and the PP. This is shown by the unacceptability of the examples in (7) and (8): having the plural agreement on the verb leads to ungrammaticality, but treating the with-PP as an accompaniment (in case of a singular agreement marker on the verb) results in a semantic anomaly. Parallel examples with AND coordination are given in (9) for comparison.

- (7) a. *Sergej l’ub’at jabloki s Mašej.
 Sergej love.3PL apples with Maša
 Intended, not available: ‘Sergej and Maša love apples.’
 b. *Sergej sobralis’ s Mašej v sem’.
 Sergej gathered.PL with Maša at seven
 Intended, not available: ‘Sergej and Maša gathered at seven.’
 (8) a. #Sergej l’ubit jabloki s Mašej.
 Sergej love.SG apples with Maša
 Intended, not available: ‘Sergej and Maša love apples.’
 Only: ‘#Sergej loves apples with Maša.’

- 1 b. #Sergej sobral's'a s Mašej v sem'.
 Sergej gathered.sg with Maša at seven
 2 Intended, not available: 'Sergej gathered with Maša at seven.'
 3 Only: 'Sergej got ready with Maša at seven.'
- 4 (9) a. *Sergej l'ub'at jabloki i Maša.
 Sergej love.3PL apples and Maša
 5 Intended, not available: 'Sergej and Maša love apples.'
- 6 b. *Sergej sobralis' i Maša v sem'.
 Sergej gathered.PL and Maša at seven
 7 Intended, not available: 'Sergej and Maša gathered at seven.'

8 Thus, in CCs that trigger plural agreement the two participants are interpreted as equals
 9 and the nominative DP and the PP must be linearly positioned together on the same
 10 side of the main verb. In contrast to this, accompaniment PPs are usually located to
 11 the right of the verb, separately from the host in the subject position, (10). Placing the
 12 host and the PP together to the left of the verb is possible, but this order is not neutral
 13 and normally signals that the PP is focalized, with the subject DP moving to a higher
 14 Topic position. This behavior is identical to that of PP adjuncts, e.g. instrumental and
 15 temporal modifiers, (11).

- 16 (10) a. Sergej pojdēt (s Mašej) v kino (s Mašej).
 Sergej go.3SG with Maša into cinema with Maša
 17 'Sergej will go to the cinema with Maša.'
- 18 b. Sergej S MAŠEJ pojdēt v kino.
 Sergej with Maša go.3SG into cinema
 19 'It is with Maša that Sergej will go to the cinema.'
- 20 (11) a. Sergej pojdēt / *pojdut v kino s p'atju rubl'ami / vo vtornik.
 Sergej go.3SG go.3PL into cinema with five rubles in Tuesday
 21 'Sergej will go to the cinema with five rubles/on Tuesday.'
- 22 b. Sergej S P'ATJU RUBL'AMI / VO VTORNIK pojdēt / *pojdut v
 Sergej with five rubles in Tuesday go.3SG go.3PL into
 23 kino.
 cinema
 24 'It is with five rubles/on Tuesday that Sergej will go to the cinema.'

25 The combination of the host DP and the with-PP can be dislocated or separated from the
 26 rest of the clause only when the agreement on the verb is plural. This is illustrated in
 27 (12-a) for *eto*-focalization; (12-b) further shows that focalizing the subject together with
 28 an adjunct that it does not form a constituent with is not allowed, and (12-c) shows that
 29 focalizing a single AND coordination phrase is grammatical.

- 30 (12) a. Eto Sergej s Mašej pojdut / *pojdēt v kino (a ne Vova s
 this Sergej with Maša go.3PL go.3SG into cinema and not Vova with

- 1 Lenoj).
 Lena
 2 'It is Sergej and Maša that will go to the cinema (and not Vova and Lena).'
- 3 b. #Eto Sergej vo vtornik pojdēt v kino (a ne Vova v sredu).
 this Sergej in Tuesday go.3SG into cinema and not Vova in Wednesday
 4 Intended, not available: 'It is Sergej on Tuesday that will go to the cinema
 5 (and not Vova on Wednesday).'
- 6 Only: 'It is Sergej that on Tuesday will go to the cinema.'
- 7 c. Eto Sergej i Maša pojduť v kino (a ne Vova i Lena).
 this Sergej and Maša go.3PL into cinema and not Vova and Lena
 8 'It is Sergej and Maša that will go to the cinema (and not Vova and Lena).'

9 Similarly, notice how in case of subject topicalization of a CC with a resumptive pro-
 10 noun the latter must be plural referring to the fronted part as a single unit, (13-a); the
 11 same pattern is attested with AND coordination (13-d). Accompaniment PPs cannot be
 12 moved together with the subject, similarly to PPs that are adjuncts to the main verb,
 13 (13-b) vs (13-c).

- 14 (13) a. Sergej s Mašej, oni pojduť v kino.
 Sergej with Maša they.NOM go.3PL into cinema
 15 'As for Sergej and Maša, they will go to the cinema.'
- 16 b. *Sergej s Mašej / vo vtornik, on pojdēt v kino.
 Sergej with Maša in Tuesday he.NOM go.3SG into cinema
- 17 c. Sergej, on pojdēt v kino s Mašej / vo vtornik.
 Sergej he.NOM go.3SG into cinema with Maša in Tuesday
 18 'As for Sergej, he will go to the cinema with Maša/on Tuesday.'
- 19 d. Sergej i Maša, oni pojduť v kino.
 Sergej and Maša they.NOM go.3PL into cinema
 20 'As for Sergej and Maša, they will go to the cinema.'

21 Finally, CCs are similar to AND coordination in that they allow either collective or
 22 distributive interpretations, that is, the predicate applies to the individual denoted by
 23 the host and the one denoted by the dependent of the with-PP either together as a
 24 group or separately. In contrast, accompaniment PPs are always interpreted as being
 25 involved in the main event and thus cannot give rise to a distributive interpretation.
 26 This difference is illustrated in (14).

- 27 (14) a. Sergej {s Mašej / i Maša} pojduť v kino.
 Sergej with Maša and Maša go.3PL into cinema
 28 (i) 'Sergej and Maša will go to the cinema together.' (collective)
 29 (ii) 'Sergej and Maša will go to the cinema. He will go on Tuesday, she will
 30 go on Wednesday.' (distributive)
- 31 b. Sergej (s Mašej) pojdēt v kino (s Mašej).
 Sergej with Maša go.3SG into cinema with Maša

Only: ‘Sergej will go to the cinema together with Maša.’ (collective)

- c. Sergej {s Mašej / i Maša} polučili / *polučil po sto
 Sergej with Maša and Maša got.PL got.SG DISTR hundred
 dollarov.
 dollars
 ‘Sergej and Maša received one hundred dollars each.’

These observations point toward the following conclusion. CCs and accompaniment PPs are associated with different structures. In CCs the with-PP forms a syntactic constituent with the host DP: they trigger plural agreement, can only be moved together, and must be substituted by a single plural pronoun. In contrast, an accompaniment PP is separate from the main subject and should be analyzed as a modifier of the main verb.

Despite the fact that in many aspects CCs pattern with AND coordination, in Section 2.2 I will show that the two constructions also differ significantly in their behavior and do not share the underlying structure. I will further suggest that CCs that contain a singular host should be grouped together with the Inclusive Plural Pronoun Constructions (IPPCs), that is, CCs with a plural pronominal host and an inclusive reading, and that a uniform analysis should be proposed for both types of the constructions. Let us check if IPPCs too form a constituent, applying the already familiar tests: discontinuity, dislocation, and substitution by a resumptive pronoun.

In principle, a plural pronoun and a with-PP do not have to be adjacent. However, if the two are separated by the main verb, (16-a), the examples cannot receive an inclusive interpretation and are not true IPPCs but rather involve adjunction on a clausal level. The verbal agreement in Russian shows no difference between dual and plural. Because of this, to control for the inclusive reading, here and later in the paper I use the modifier *vdvoëm* ‘two.ADV’, which requires a dual antecedent and, crucially, cannot refer to a group of more than two people.³ The adjacency requirement also becomes evident when the main predicate is semantically incompatible with an accompaniment modifier: separating the plural pronoun and the PP excludes the conjunction interpretation and leads to a semantic anomaly (compare (16-b) and (16-c)).

- (16) a. My pojdëm s Mašej #vdvoëm v kino.
 we.NOM go.1PL with Maša two.ADV into cinema
 Intended, not available: ‘Me and Maša will go to the cinema.’
 Only: ‘Us and Maša will go to the cinema.’

³Although *vdvoëm* often favors a collective reading, it is not incompatible with a distributive interpretation:

- (15) My polučili vdvoëm po sto dollarov.
 we got two.ADV DISTR hundred dollars
 ‘We received one hundred dollars each, the two of us.’

	coordination	adjunction
syntactically plural	yes	no
semantically plural	yes	no
interpretation	distributive/collective	collective only
constituency	yes	no

Table 1: Coordination vs adjunction

1 b. #My l'ubim s Mašej jabloki.
we.NOM love.1PL with Maša apples

2 c. My s Mašej l'ubim jabloki.
we.NOM with Maša love.1PL apples
3 'Me/us and Maša love apples.' (inclusive or exclusive)

4 As further shown in (17-a) and (17-b), in case of topicalization, the pronoun and the PP
5 must be moved together for the inclusive interpretation to remain available.

6 (17) a. My s Mašej, my pojdēm vdvoēm v kino.
we.NOM with Maša we go.1PL two.ADV into cinema
7 'As for me and Maša, the two of us will go to the cinema.'

8 b. %My, my pojdēm s Mašej #vdvoēm v kino.
we.NOM we go.1PL with Maša two.ADV into cinema
9 Only: 'As for us, we will go to the cinema with Maša.'

10 Finally, similarly to CCs and AND coordination, IPPCs support distributive readings,
11 as shown in (18).

12 (18) My s Mašej polučili (oba) po sto dollarov.
we.NOM with Maša got.PL each DISTR hundred dollars
13 Inclusive: 'Me and Maša received one hundred dollars each.'

14 This subsection brought forward some properties that are common for all coordinate
15 structures (AND coordination, CCs, and IPPCs), such as the semantic and syntactic
16 plurality, the availability of both collective and distributive interpretations, and the
17 syntactic constituency. These are summarized in Table 1; by "coordination" here I mean
18 AND coordination, CCs, and IPPCs, and "adjunction" stands for accompaniment PPs
19 that modify the main verb.

20 The next section continues to examine properties of CCs in comparison to those of
21 AND coordination and points out the differences between the two.

22 2.2 Comitative conjunctions, IPPCs, and coordination

23 In the literature, a line is often drawn between CCs that contain only third person
24 conjuncts and those with a plural pronominal host and an inclusive reading (IPPCs);
25 see for instance Vassilieva & Larson (2001) on Russian and Dylā (1988) on Polish. The

	coordination	CCs	IPPCs
discontinuity	no	partial	partial
A-bar movement: host	no	no	no
A-bar movement: 2nd conjunct	no	partial	partial
commutative	yes	no	no
iterative	yes	no	no

Table 2: Types of conjunction

former are grouped together with AND coordination, while the latter receive a separate treatment due to their peculiar interpretational property. An example of an IPPC is given in (19); while in some Slavic languages IPPCs are restricted to first and second person plural pronouns (see Kučerová (2018) on Czech), IPPCs with a third person pronoun are perfectly acceptable in Russian.

- (19) a. My s Mašej vstretims'a (vdvoëm) v sem'.
we.NOM with Maša meet.1PL two.ADV in seven
Inclusive: 'Me and Maša will meet at seven (the two of us).'
- b. Vy s Mašej vstretites' (vdvoëm) v sem'.
you.PL.NOM with Maša meet.2PL two.ADV in seven
Inclusive: 'You (sg) and Maša will meet at seven (the two of you).'
- c. Oni s Mašej vstret'ats'a (vdvoëm) v sem'.
they.NOM with Maša meet.3PL two.ADV in seven
Inclusive: 'She/he and Maša will meet at seven (the two of them).'

Upon closer examination, the division does not match the actual data, as CCs and IPPCs pattern together with respect to their semantic and syntactic distribution. The varying properties of the coordinate constructions are summarized in Table 2; "coordination" stands for AND coordination, "CCs" stands for CCs with third person singular conjuncts, and "IPPCs" stands for conjunctions with a plural pronominal host and an inclusive reading. AND coordination is more restricted when it comes to sub-extraction (a universal restriction known as Coordinate Structure Constraint; see Ross (1967), Grosu (1973), i.a.) and is more flexible when it comes to commutativity.

The first difference concerns discontinuity. The PP conjunct in a CC and an IPPC can undergo scrambling but only if the whole CC/IPPC remains preverbal. In contrast, sub-extraction out of AND coordination is banned.

- (20) a. *Maša navern'aka i Sergej l'ub'at jabloki.
Maša certainly and Sergej love.3PL apples
Intended: 'Maša and Sergej certainly love apples.'
- b. Maša navern'aka s Sergejem l'ub'at jabloki.
Maša certainly with Sergej love.3PL apples
'Maša and Sergej certainly love apples.'

- 1 c. My navern'aka s Sergejem l'ubim vdvoëm jabloki.
 we.NOM certainly with Sergej love.1PL two.ADV apples
 2 'Me and Sergej certainly love apples, the two of us.'

3 Similarly, A-bar movement out of the second conjunct (wh/focus extraction) is also
 4 allowed only in CCs and IPPCs and only when the whole CC is preverbal.

- 5 (21) a. ?S kem Maša l'ub'at jabloki?
 with whom Maša love.3PL apples
 'Maša and who love apples?'
 6
 7 b. %Eto S SERGEJEM Maša l'ub'at jabloki.
 this with Sergej Maša love.3PL apples
 'It is Maša and Sergej who love apples.'
 8
 9 c. ?S kem my l'ubim vdvoëm jabloki?
 with whom we.NOM love.1PL two.ADV apples
 'Me and who love apples, the two of us?'
 10
 11 d. Eto S SERGEJEM my l'ubim vdvoëm jabloki.
 this with Sergej we.NOM love.1PL two.ADV apples
 'It is ME and Sergej that love apples, the two of us together.'
 12

13 Another difference is related to commutativity. The conjuncts in AND coordination
 14 can swap places regardless of their person specification; note that agreement is still
 15 controlled by the 'higher' person. In contrast, CCs and IPPCs must comply with the
 16 Person hierarchy (1 > 2 > *Animate* > *Inanimate*) in that the second conjunct cannot
 17 have a Person feature more prominent than that of the first one. (Notice that, by itself,
 18 having a pronoun in a PP conjunct is not a problem, as shown in (22-d).)

- 19 (22) a. Sergej i ja pojdëm v kino.
 Sergej and I.NOM go.1PL into cinema
 'Sergej and I will go to the cinema.'
 20
 21 b. Sergej so mnoj pojdët / *pojdut / *pojdëm v kino.
 Sergej with me go.3SG go.3PL go.1PL into cinema
 Only: 'Sergej will go to the cinema together with me.' (adjunction)
 22
 23 c. Sergej s nami pojdët / *pojdut / *pojdëm v kino.
 Sergej with us go.3SG go.3PL go.1PL into cinema
 Only: 'Sergej will go to the cinema together with us.' (adjunction)
 24
 25 d. My s nim / nimi pojdëm v kino.
 we with him them go.1PL into cinema
 'Me/us and him/them will go to the cinema.'
 26

27 Finally, unlike AND coordination, CCs are not iterative, (23). The only options avail-
 28 able are to combine two phrases into a CC and then use the result phrase as an AND
 29 conjunct, as shown in (24), or to create an AND coordination first and then use it as a
 30 conjunct in a CC, (25).

- 1 (23) a. Maša (i) Sergej i Oleg pojduť v kino.
 Maša and Sergej and Oleg go.3PL into cinema
 2 'Maša, Sergej, and Oleg will go to the cinema.'
- 3 b. *Maša s Sergejem s Olegom pojduť v kino.
 Maša with Sergej with Oleg go.3PL into cinema
 4 Intended: 'Maša, Sergej, and Oleg will go to the cinema.'
- 5 c. *Oni s Sergejem s Olegom pojduť v kino.
 they.NOM with Sergej with Oleg go.3PL into cinema
 6 Intended (inclusive): 'She/he, Sergej, and Oleg will go to the cinema.'
- 7 (24) a. [Maša / oni s Sergejem] i Oleg pojduť v kino.
 Maša they.NOM with Sergej and Oleg go.3PL into cinema
 8 'Maša/she/he and Sergej and Oleg will go to the cinema.'
- 9 b. Oleg i [Maša / oni s Sergejem] pojduť v kino.
 Oleg and Maša they.NOM with Sergej go.3PL into cinema
 10 'Oleg and Maša/she/he and Sergej will go to the cinema.'
- 11 (25) a. Maša / oni s [Sergejem i Olegom] pojduť v kino.
 Maša they.NOM with Sergej and Oleg go.3PL into cinema
 12 'Maša/she/he and Sergej and Oleg will go to the cinema.'
- 13 b. [Oleg i Maša] s Sergejem pojduť v kino.
 Oleg and Maša with Sergej go.3PL into cinema
 14 'Oleg and Maša and Sergej will go to the cinema.'

15 Taking the properties described above into account, I argue that in Russian there
 16 is no empirical support for proposing two strikingly different structures for CCs with
 17 non-pronominal conjuncts and IPPCs. The two could and, for the sake of economy,
 18 should be considered together and contrasted to AND coordination.⁴

19 In what follows, I confine myself to discussing only comitative conjunction, since it
 20 is the focus of the paper. For AND coordination a flat structure can be suggested, as
 21 outlined in (26); see Chomsky (1965), Dik (1968), Wurmbrand (2008), i.e., for other flat-
 22 structure accounts. It captures the commutativity of such examples and the inability of
 23 the first conjunct to bind into the second one illustrated in (27). It also explains why
 24 AND coordination is iterative and does not require grouping the conjuncts, as in *Mary,*
 25 *John, Sam, and Susan received a dollar each*, where the participants are not paired. In
 26 contrast, the hierarchically organized CCs can accommodate only two conjuncts (one
 27 or both of which can be a coordination phrase, as in (25) above).

- 28 (26) [&P [(and) [DP ...]] [(and) [DP ...]]]

- 29 (27) a. Maša_i i eë_i / *svoj_i doktor pošli v kino.
 Maša and her self.POSS doctor went into cinema

⁴See McNally (1993), Feldman (2002), Dylá & Feldman (2003), Trawinski (2005) proposing different structures for CCs or IPPCs and AND coordination, and Ionin & Matushansky (2002) and Vassilieva (2005) arguing that CCs and IPPCs have parallel structures (the analyses proposed in the two papers differ).

1 'Maša and her doctor went to the cinema.'

- 2 b. *Mal'čiki_i i roditeli drug druga_i šxodili v kino.
boys and parents each other.GEN went into cinema

3 For CCs I propose that they all share the structure as outlined in (28): a combination of
4 the two conjuncts (tentatively labeled here as FP) is headed by a single functional head
5 (D) that c-commands XP and YP and establishes a multiple Agree relation with both of
6 them. As a result, the acquired features on D can be spelled out as a personal pronoun,
7 as in 'we, (I) with Sergej'. Alternatively, the D head can also be realized as *pro*, as in '*pro*
8 I with Sergej', if a silent item with an appropriate set of features is available in a given
9 language; I discuss the possible spell-out options in Section 4. A similar idea – that
10 there is a summarizing D head on top of the coordinate structure – was advocated by
11 Cable (2017) for IPPCs in Russian (my [<ja> s Petej]) and by Progovac (1997) for AND
12 coordination in English (we, I and Tom), however these analyses were not explicitly
13 extended to CCs with non-pronominal conjuncts.

14 (28) [DP D [FP XP [PP s YP]]]

15 In the remaining part of the paper I elaborate the proposal and show how it captures
16 the distribution of CCs in Russian and some other Slavic languages and can account for
17 the person restriction.

18 3 Comitative conjunction and personal pronouns

19 The structure in (28) above predicts several patterns of comitative conjunction to be
20 available. They are listed in (29); I provided the translation equivalents instead of the
21 Russian words and put the parts that remain silent in <>. Curiously, as indicated by
22 the ungrammaticality marks, CCs with the 1SG or 2SG pronominal conjunct are ruled
23 out and not attested. Thus, CCs in the language appear to be at least partially affected
24 by the Person hierarchy: [1 > 2] > *Animate* > *Inanimate*.

- 25 (29) a. * [<we/you.PL> [I/you.SG [with Sergej]]]
26 b. [<they> [Maša [with Sergej]]]
27 c. [we/you.PL [<I/you.SG> [with Sergej]]] – IPPCs
28 d. [they [<she/he> [with Sergej]]] – IPPCs

29 Upon closer examination, the person restriction turns out to be more limited. First,
30 it holds only for CCs in the subject position, while CCs used, for example, as direct
31 objects are exempt and can have the 1SG or 2SG pronoun as a host. To show that the
32 with-PPs in (30) and (31) indeed form a constituent with the personal pronoun and thus

cannot be analyzed as stand-alone comitative adjuncts I use plural depictive secondary predicates, as in (30), and reciprocal pronouns, as in (31), which require a syntactically and semantically plural antecedent; again, parallel examples with AND coordination are provided for comparison.

- (30) a. Ty obn'al [men'a [s Sergejem]] pjanymi.
you hugged me.ACC with Sergej drunk.PL.INST
'You hugged me and Sergej when we were drunk.'
- b. Ty obn'al [men'a i Petju] pjanymi.
you hugged me.ACC and Sergej.ACC drunk.PL.INST
'You hugged me and Sergej when we were drunk.'
- (31) a. Ty pokazal [men'a [s Sergejem]] drug drugu.
you showed me.ACC with Sergej each other.DAT
'You showed me and Sergej to each other.'
- b. Ty pokazal [men'a i Sergeja] drug drugu.
you showed me.ACC and Sergej.ACC each other.DAT
'You showed me and Sergej to each other.'

Second, the person restriction on CCs appears to correlate with the (un)availability of full pro-drop in the language. Russian shall be categorized as a partially pro-drop language in which only 3SG/3PL *pro*-s are available, as shown in (32).

- (32) a. Mne zavtra — pozvon'at / *pozvonite / *pozvoniš.
me.DAT tomorrow *pro*3PL/*2PL/*2SG call.3PL call.2PL call.2SG
'Someone will call me tomorrow.'
- Not available: 'You (PL/SG) will call me tomorrow.'
- b. *Tebe zavtra — pozvonim / pozvon'u.
you.DAT tomorrow *pro*1PL/1SG call.1PL call.1SG
Intended, not available: 'We/I will call you tomorrow.'
- c. Dorogu — zametët / *zametëš.
road.ACC *pro*3SG/*2SG block.up.3SG block.up.1SG
'The road will get blocked up by something.'
- Not available: 'You (SG) will block the road.'

Occasional 1st and 2nd person implicit subjects in matrix clauses result from topic drop or ellipsis licensed at the left periphery, (33). Occasional 1st and 2nd person implicit subjects in embedded clauses must have a nominative antecedent in the main clause and should be analyzed as nominative chains, (34), hence the ungrammaticality of (34-b) with a non-nominative 'you' in the main clause; see Tsedryk (2015) for a detailed discussion.

- (33) A: Ty gde? B: Ja/— u seb'a v komnate, ja/— delaju uroki.
you where I/ec at self in room I/ec do.1SG homework
'Where are you? I am in my room, I am doing the homework.'

- (34) a. Ty skazal, čto ty/___ budeš delat' uroki.
 you..SG.NOM warned that you.SG.NOM/ec will.be.2SG do homework
 'You said that you would be doing the homework.'
- b. Oni uslyšali ot teb'a, čto ty/*___ budeš delat' uroki.
 they heard from you.SG.GEN that you.SG.NOM/ec will.be.2SG do homework
 'They heard from you that you would be doing the homework.'

In this respect Russian can be compared to other East Slavic languages with limited pro-drop, on the one hand, and to West Slavic languages with full pro-drop, such as Polish (McShane (2009), Roberts (2019)). To the best of my knowledge, Ukrainian and Belarusian allow CCs with a non-pronominal host but prohibit CCs with the 1SG and 2SG pronominal host (Bukatevič et al. (1958), Comrie & Corbett (1993)). Crucially for the present discussion, Polish also allows CCs but they are not restricted in terms of the person specification of the host, (35).⁵

- (35) a. (Ja) z bratem poszlimy do kina.
 I.NOM with brother went.1PL into cinema
 'Me and my brother went into cinema.'
- b. (Ty) z bratem poszlicie do kina.
 you.SG with brother went.2PL into cinema
 'You and your brother went to the cinema.'
- c. (On) z bratem poszli do kina.
 he with brother went.3PL into cinema
 'He and his brother went to the cinema.'

To summarize, the restriction on CCs in Russian 1) complies with the Person hierarchy, 2) holds only for subject CCs, and 3) correlates with the unavailability of full pro-drop in the language. The combination of these factors points towards an account in terms of agreement, feature resolution, and null pronouns.

4 Proposal

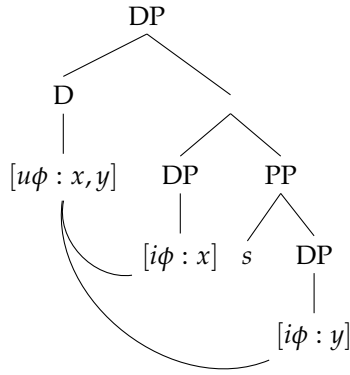
As outlined in Section 2, to account for the similarities between CCs and IPPCs and to distinguish them from AND coordination, I propose that all CCs involve a functional head, which I tentatively take to be D, that heads the combination of the two conjuncts: [DP D [FP XP [PP s YP]]]. As I describe in more detail below, this head can be manifested as a plural personal pronoun (either an overt one or *pro*).

I assume that the D head is equipped with unvalued ϕ -features.⁶ It probes into both conjuncts, which results in its acquiring two sets of features, as schematized in (36).

⁵I am grateful to Paulina Lyskawa for the help with the Polish examples.

⁶For the sake of simplicity, at this point I leave the gender feature aside.

1 (36)



2

3 To capture the peculiar restriction on CCs presented above I propose that the com-
 4 bination of the features acquired by D can but does not have to be resolved in syntax.
 5 I follow Citko (2018) and Al Khalaf (2022), among others, and assume that agreement
 6 with multiple Goals can be either simultaneous or non-simultaneous. In the former
 7 scenario the features are acquired at the same time and must immediately be resolved
 8 in narrow syntax, based on the language-specific resolution rules (Corbett (1991, 2006)).
 9 In the latter scenario the features are acquired separately as two distinct sets and their
 10 resolution is postponed until PF, where it is done based on the linear order (cf. the first
 11 conjunct agreement pattern attested in many Slavic languages). Let us see how this
 12 mechanism captures the behavior of CCs in Russian.

13 First, let us discuss what happens when the result CC is **not** probed by a matrix head
 14 for agreement in ϕ -features. The following two derivations are possible. If D agrees
 15 with the two conjuncts non-simultaneously, the combination remains intact until after
 16 syntax. Then the feature conflict is resolved based on proximity and only the value
 17 of the linearly closest conjunct is realized. In the result string D essentially doubles
 18 the following conjunct, and I assume that only one of them is pronounced, to avoid
 19 haplology; this is schematized in (37).

- 20 (37) *syntax*: [DP D[ϕ :__] [XP[ϕ : 1SG] [PP s YP[ϕ : 3SG]]]]
 21 \rightarrow [DP D[ϕ : 1SG; 3SG] [XP[ϕ : 1SG] [PP s YP[ϕ : 3SG]]]]
 22 *PF*: D[ϕ : 1SG] XP[ϕ : 1SG] s YP[ϕ : 3SG] \rightarrow (spell-out) ‘I with Sergej’

23 Alternatively, D can probe the two Goals simultaneously. The combination of the two
 24 sets of features is then resolved in syntax.⁷ During the spell-out, D already has only

⁷I assume that the feature resolution is rule-based. Alternatively, it may be suggested that the Person that is higher on the person hierarchy and the more specified number remain, and this can be modeled in terms of feature geometries. For example, the Person feature may be articulated as a more complex combination of PERS-PART-SPKR (person-participant-speaker); cf. Harley & Ritter (2002), Béjar & Rezac (2003), Coon & Keine (2021). In this case feature resolution essentially means removing from the complex Probe the feature whose geometric representation is contained within that of the other. To be compatible with the proposed analysis

one set of features and a corresponding personal pronoun is inserted, as schematized in (38).

- (38) *syntax*: [DP D[ϕ :__] [XP[ϕ : 1SG] [PP s YP[ϕ : 3SG]]]]
 → [DP D[ϕ : 1SG+3SG] [XP[ϕ : 1SG] [PP s YP[ϕ : 3SG]]]]
resolution: [DP D[ϕ : 1PL] [XP[ϕ : 1SG] [PP s YP[ϕ : 3SG]]]]
PF: (spell-out) ‘we (I) with Sergej’

When the first conjunct in a CC is a personal pronoun it can incorporate into the main D head, because all its features are a sub-set of those of D, and thus it becomes phonologically null (Roberts (2019)). The second conjunct cannot do that, since the PP is opaque for head movement; thus, ‘we, __ with Sergej’ is grammatical but ‘we, I with __’ is not. The two scenarios outlined in (37) and (38) correspond, for instance, to CCs in the direct object position.

Let us now consider what happens when the CC is targeted by a c-commanding probe that has unvalued ϕ -features, such as the finite T head. I argue that in this case only a derivation where D agrees simultaneously with the two conjuncts (similarly to (38)) is successful. It is reasonable to assume that, while agreement with multiple goals is possible (Coon & Keine (2021)), getting multiple sets of features from the same goal is not allowed. Therefore, T cannot establish a proper agreement relation with a D head that has two unresolved separate sets of ϕ -features, as the result of non-simultaneous agreement with the conjuncts.⁸ Only after the features on D have been resolved in syntax can an agreement relation with the matrix probe be established. As in (38), the result D head is spelled out as a plural pronoun; see (39).

- (39) *syntax*: [TP T[ϕ :__] [DP D[ϕ :__] [XP[ϕ : 1SG] [PP s YP[ϕ : 3SG]]]]
 → [TP T[ϕ :__] [DP D[ϕ : 1SG+3SG] [XP[ϕ : 1SG] [PP s YP[ϕ : 3SG]]]]
resolution: [TP T[ϕ : __] [DP D[ϕ : 1PL] [XP[ϕ : 1SG] [PP s YP[ϕ : 3SG]]]]
agreement with T: [TP T[ϕ : 1PL] [DP D[ϕ : 1PL] [XP[ϕ : 1SG] [PP s YP[ϕ : 3SG]]]]
PF: (spell-out) ‘we (I) with Sergej’

To explain the correlation between the (un)availability of full subject pro-drop and the restriction on CCs, I further argue that both of these phenomena depend on the inventory of silent *pro* items in a given language. The core assumption here is that the

for CCs, such a manipulation of features should only be available in syntax.

⁸A reviewer asked what would happen if T tried to probe a D head with two unresolved sets of ϕ -features. The data suggest that such a derivation should crash. One possible reason for that is the unvalued features on T; see, however, Preminger (2014) who argues that default agreement is a viable option in such a scenario. An alternative would be to assume that if T does not probe the subject DP the latter does not receive nominative Case and cannot be Case-licensed. Note that in Russian clauses with seemingly default agreement typically involve dative subjects that are plausibly base-generated within an applicative phrase and receive Case from Appl.

strategy outlined in (38) and (39) allows for the plural D head to be pro-dropped. In partially pro-drop languages, such as Russian, only third person silent pronouns are available (cf. Roberts (2019)) and can be inserted as D (40). In contrast, a D head with a resolved 1st or 2nd person feature has to be overt, (39).

- (40) *syntax*: [TP T[ϕ :_] [DP D[ϕ :_] [XP[ϕ : 3SG] [PP s YP[ϕ : 3SG]]]]
 → [TP T[ϕ :_] [DP D[ϕ : 3SG+3SG] [XP[ϕ : 3SG] [PP s YP[ϕ : 3SG]]]]
 → [TP T[ϕ : 3PL] [DP D[ϕ : 3PL] [XP[ϕ : 3SG] [PP s YP[ϕ : 3SG]]]]
PF: (spell-out) ‘*pro* Maša with Sergej’

No such problem arises in Polish (Section 3). It is a language with full pro-drop that has a complete set of silent pronouns equipped with a [Person] feature; at the post-syntactic insertion stage they can be used instead of overt personal pronouns as an exponent of the D head in CC subjects.

Before I proceed by discussing possible predictions made by the proposed approach, I would like to briefly touch upon the behavior of the 3SG personal pronouns *ona* ‘she’ and *on* ‘he’ in CCs. As indicated by the variation mark in (41-a), while some native speakers do not object to sentences with a 3SG pronominal subject, a with-PP and plural agreement on the verb, some speakers consider these examples marginal or unacceptable. (Recall that sentences with a subject-CC with non-pronominal third person conjuncts are perfectly fine. As shown in (41-b), AND coordination with the 3SG pronouns is also allowed.)

- (41) a. %Ona/on s Mašej l’ub’at jabloki.
 she/he.NOM with Maša love.3PL apples
 ‘She/he and Maša love apples.’
 b. Ona/on i Maša l’ub’at jabloki.
 she/he.NOM and Maša love.3PL apples
 ‘She/he and Maša love apples.’

The question arises as for how to account for the variation in (41-a). I propose that the answer lies in the properties of the third plural *pro* that is available in Russian. The 3PL *pro* appears to be indefinite; this was already suggested by (32) above and is further shown in (42), where the subject in the second clause cannot be silent because it is interpreted as definite.

- (42) Ja vstretil ix_i vera. Oni_i / *___i mne zavtra pozvon’at.
 I met them yesterday they *pro*3PL me.DAT tomorrow call.3PL
 ‘I met them yesterday. They will call me tomorrow.’

I would like to suggest that in the grammar of those speakers who find (41-a) unacceptable the D head in the subject CC agrees with the two conjuncts not only in ϕ -features

but also in another feature that is characteristic of overt personal pronouns; for now, I neutrally denote it as [P] and I leave it to be identified by future research. I suggest that the feature is present on all overt personal pronouns, but that it is absent on referential nominal expressions and on the inherently indefinite *pro*. Thus, if in (41-a) one of the two sets of features acquired by D contains [P], which survives the rule-based feature resolution, inserting *pro* at PF becomes impossible. If, however, the grammar requires agreement only in ϕ -features, (41-a) with the silenced D head is allowed.

5 Predictions

The analysis sketched in the previous section allows us to make the following prediction. CCs with the 1SG or 2SG pronoun used as non-nominative subjects are expected to be acceptable, under the assumption that only nominative subjects are probed by the T head, requiring the combination of the ϕ -features to be resolved in syntax and making spelling out the plural D head obligatory. The prediction is borne out. First, CCs used as dative experiencers that are argued to be in Spec,TP but do not control agreement do not fall under the person restriction, as shown in (43). In these examples I again use the reciprocal pronoun *drug druga* ‘each other’ to ensure that the combinations of a pronoun and a with-PP should be analyzed as conjunction and not adjunction.

- (43) a. %Mne s Sergejem žalko drug druga.
me.DAT with Sergej feel.sorry.3SG each other.ACC
‘Sergej and I feel sorry for each other.’
- b. Nam s Sergejem žalko drug druga.
us.DAT with Sergej feel.sorry.3SG each other.ACC
Inclusive: ‘We – Sergej and I – feel sorry for each other.’

Second, there are several predicates in Russian that require a preverbal dative experiencer and also take a nominative agreeing object; those include *nravits’a* ‘be liked’, (*byt’*) *nužnym* ‘be necessary’, etc. Similarly to the examples in (43), we expect dative CCs with the 1SG or 2SG pronoun to be allowed in such sentences, while nominative object CCs with the 1SG or 2SG pronoun should be banned. This is corroborated by the data, as shown in (44).

- (44) a. [My / *ja [s toboj / Sergejem]] ponravims’a mal’čikam.
we.NOM I.NOM with you Sergej be.liked.1PL boys.DAT
‘The boys will like me and you/Sergej.’
- b. Mal’čikam ponravims’a [my / *ja [s toboj / Sergejem]].
boys.DAT be.liked.1PL we.NOM I.NOM with you Sergej
‘The boys will like me and you/Sergej.’

In addition to this, my proposal relies heavily on the assumption that there is a direct link between the availability of full pro-drop in a language and grammaticality of CCs with the 1SG or 2SG pronoun, which I justify by contrasting Russian with Polish. Interestingly, the correlation appears to be noticeable even within a single language. Stepping outside of the Indo-European family, comitative conjunction is also allowed in many Uralic languages, including Meadow Mari. An example of a CC from Mari is given in (45): the host forms a constituent with the PP headed by the postposition *dene* ‘with’, as indicated by the plural agreement on the verb.⁹

- (45) [Sergej [Maša dene]] kinoško kajat.
 Sergej Maša with cinema.ILL go.3PL
 ‘Sergej and Maša (will) go to the cinema.’

Examining conjunction in Mari, I consulted two native speakers and observed the following pattern of interspeaker variation. Speaker A allows all plural pronominal constructions (with an inclusive or exclusive reading, (46)) but only CCs with a 3rd person singular pronoun, while Speaker B is much more permissive and not bound by the person constraint, (47).

- (46) a. %[Təj [Sergej dene]] kinoško kajeda. – A: *, B: OK
 you.SG.NOM Sergej with cinema.ILL go.2PL
 ‘You and Sergej go to the cinema.’
 b. %[Məj [Sergej dene]] kinoško kajena. – A: *, B: OK
 I.NOM Sergej with cinema.ILL go.1PL
 ‘Me and Sergej go to the cinema.’

- (47) [Me [Sergej dene]] kinoško kajena.
 we.NOM Sergej with cinema.ILL go.1PL
 (i) ‘We – me and Sergej – go to the cinema.’ (inclusive)
 (ii) ‘We – me, Sergej, and someone else – go to the cinema.’ (exclusive)

Importantly, Speaker A was also restrictive when it came to pro-drop and only accepted the sentences that could be analyzed as contextually conditioned topic drop (cf. the examples from Russian in Section 3). In contrast, Speaker B suggested that any pronominal subject could be dropped as long as it was cross-referenced by the corresponding agreement suffix on the verb. While more speakers need to be consulted to confirm the correlation, I believe that this preliminary observation should already be taken into account. It mirrors the inter-language variation between Russian and Polish, and therefore is of high interest for the present study.

⁹I am grateful to Elena Vedernikova and Tatiana Jefremova for the help with the Meadow Mari examples.

6 Concluding remarks

The present paper discussed comitative conjunction constructions in Russian and introduced the following person restriction: comitative conjunctions with the 1SG or 2SG pronoun are prohibited. I showed that the restriction does not extend to CCs with plural pronouns and to AND coordination and that it holds only for agreeing nominative subjects. I proceeded by suggesting that the restriction correlates with the unavailability of full pro-drop in the language and argued that the same mechanisms are involved in pro-drop and insertion of a silent D that heads all CCs. Since person appears to play a crucial role in both cases, I outlined an account for both phenomena in terms of agreement, the timing of feature resolution, and the inventory of *pro* items that are available in a given language.

The paper leaves open several questions for future research, including comparison of the Russian data to those from other Slavic languages. One issue that remains to be addressed concerns the distribution of CCs and IPPCs across the subgroups of Slavic. Both types of constructions are available in East Slavic (Ukrainian, Belarusian, and Russian) and West Slavic languages (e.g. Polish and Czech). However, in South Slavic languages, such as Bulgarian, Croatian, and Slovene, only IPPCs with a plural or dual pronominal host are attested, while examples with a singular subject, a with-PP and a plural inflection on the main verb are ungrammatical, regardless of whether the host is a personal pronoun or a non-pronominal DP.¹⁰ This seemingly undermines the idea that CCs and IPPCs share the structure, as proposed in the present paper. However, the challenge is not insurmountable. Although for some reason the structure [_{DP} D [_{FP} XP [_{PP} with YP]] is not available in South Slavic, these languages can employ a different strategy that derives IPPCs (but not CCs). Consider, for instance, an analysis for IPPCs in Hungarian proposed by Dékány (2009). She also analyzes IPPCs as constituents, more specifically, as DPs that contain a with-PP modifier. However, building upon Vassilieva & Larson (2005), she proposes that the D head comes with its own features and is essentially a plural pronoun. This pronoun is a complex head that includes an element whose content is specified via co-indexation with the nominal phrase inside the with-PP. In the case of Russian and Polish it is more advantageous to have a single uniform analysis for IPPCs and CCs, and it is difficult to extend Dékány's approach to the latter while also capturing the person restriction. At the same time, I do not exclude the possibility that some languages (e.g. South Slavic) use Dékány's pattern of derivation. The present paper contributes to the general discussion of comitative

¹⁰I am very grateful to Ekaterina Georgieva, Iva Kovač, Adrian Stegovec, and an anonymous reviewer for bringing these data to my attention.

1 conjunction and opens the door to comparing the various strategies of coordination
 2 focusing on the variation within a language family.

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