# The Russian Comitative Construction as Relational-Noun Coordination

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## 1. Russian Comitative construction (RCC)

— Exists in Slavic languages: Russian, Ukrainian, Polish, Czech

(1) $[NP_{NOM}$ [with $NP_{INST}]]$ $V_{PL}$

(2) Vania s Petej guliali po parku. Russian
John$_{NOM}$ with Peter$_{INST}$ walked on park
'John and Peter walked in the park.'

(3) Malchik s devochkoi guliali po parku. Russian
boy$_{NOM}$ with girl$_{INST}$ walked on park
'A boy and a girl walked in the park.'

— Similar constructions:

(4) Comitative VP-adjunct Russian
Vania gulial po parku s Petei.
John$_{NOM}$ walked$_{SG}$ on park with Peter$_{INST}$
John walked in the park with Peter. English

(5) *And*-coordination: Russian
Vania i Petia guliali po parku.
John$_{NOM}$ and Petia$_{NOM}$ walked$_{PL}$ on park
John and Peter walked in the park. English

The comitative construction forms a constituent and only coordinates NPs.

## 2. Interpretation of the comitative construction

— The RCC is very similar to *and*-coordination.

(6) *distributive* / *mixed* / *collective*
a. Masha s Petei ulybnulis / postroili plot / byli paroj / vstretilis. RCC
M$_{NOM}$ with P$_{INST}$ smiled / built raft / were couple / met
'Mary and Peter smiled / built a raft / were a couple / met.'

b. Masha i Petia ulybnulis / postroili plot / byli paroj / vstretilis. *and*
M$_{NOM}$ and P$_{NOM}$ smiled / built raft / were couple / met
'Mary and Peter smiled / built a raft / were a couple / met.'

(7) Intersective:
a. Vania — xudozhnik i poet / *xudozhnik s poetom. *and*-coordination
John artist and poet /*artist with poet
'John is an artist and a poet.'

b. Vania — *xudozhnik s poetom. RCC
John artist with poet

— The RCC is more likely to be interpreted collectively (8) than *and*-coordination or indicates the spatiotemporal proximity of the events in question (9). (As if there is silent *together*.)

(8) Masha s Petei postroili plot. collective
M$_{NOM}$ with P$_{INST}$ built raft
'Mary and Peter built a raft (together).'

(9) Masha s Petei voshli v klass. spatiotemporal
M$_{NOM}$ with P$_{INST}$ entered in class
'Mary and Peter entered the class (together).'

— The RCC is best used when the members of the construction are somehow related (i. e. *siblings*).

(10)
a. ?Eti dva cheloveka — xudozhnik s poetom.
these two persons artist with poet
Intended reading: 'These two people are an artist and a poet.'

b. Eti dva cheloveka — xudozhnik s poetom, kotorye nenavidjat drug druga.
these two persons artist with poet who hate each other
'These two people are an artist and a poet who hate each other.'

— The relation between the members of the RCC can be deduced from the context or introduced in a relative clause (Relatedness Requirement).

## 3. Theories of the comitative construction

McNally, 1993: The RCC is a case of group coordination (Linkian impure atom).
Relatedness Requirement: conventional implicature that the individuals in the denotation of the construction are 'groupable' in some intuitive way.
Predictions: Distributive interpretation is always blocked. —WRONG

Dalrymple et al., 1998: The RCC is a case of sum coordination (like *and*-coordination).
The sum denotation of the RCC is a more salient referent than the individual denotations of the members of the RCC, which blocks the application of distributive operators.
Collectivity and distributivity are interpretational properties that depend on the context, not just on the meaning of the conjoined phrase.
A sentence with the RCC can only be interpreted distributively when the collective interpretation is not available (i.e. *smile*).

## 4. My theory

Goals:
— Achieve better understanding of the relationship requirement
— Get a compositional account of the RCC

I claim that the RCC is a case of reciprocal conjunction, just like relational-noun coordination (i.e. *husband and wife*).

(11) Vania s Petej guliali po parku Russian
John$_{NOM}$ with Peter$_{INST}$ walked on park
'Peter's John and John's Peter walked in the park.'

— Combine Staroverov's (2007) theory of reciprocal conjunction & Barker's (2011) theory of possesives:

(12)
a. ⟦John⟧ = j *e*
b. ⟦poet⟧ = λx.poet(x) *et*
c. ⟦husband⟧ = λxλy. husband(x)(y) *<e, et>*
"*y is a husband of x*"

(13) Type shifters:

a. $\pi = \lambda P \lambda x \lambda y.\ P(y) \wedge R(x)(y)$ (Barker, 2011)
$\pi(poet) = \lambda x \lambda y.\ poet(y) \wedge R(x)(y)$

b. $inv = \lambda Y \lambda u \lambda v.\ Y(v)(u)$ (Staroverov, 2007)
$inv(husband) = \lambda u \lambda v.\ husband(v)(u)$

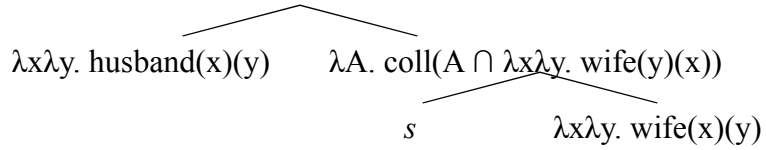
c. $coll = \lambda R \lambda Z \exists x \exists y.\ Z = x \oplus y \wedge R(x)(y)$ (Staroverov, 2007)
$coll(husband) = \lambda Z \exists x \exists y.\ Z = x \oplus y \wedge husband(x)(y)$

also: $\uparrow$, *ident* and $\iota$

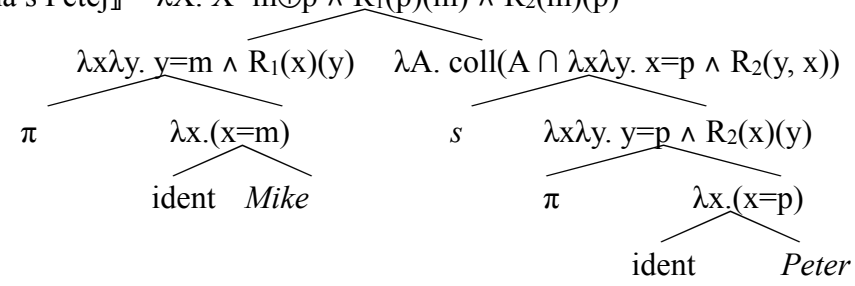
(14)

a. $[\![s]\!] = \lambda A_{<e, et>} \lambda B_{<e, et>}.coll(B \cap inv(A))$

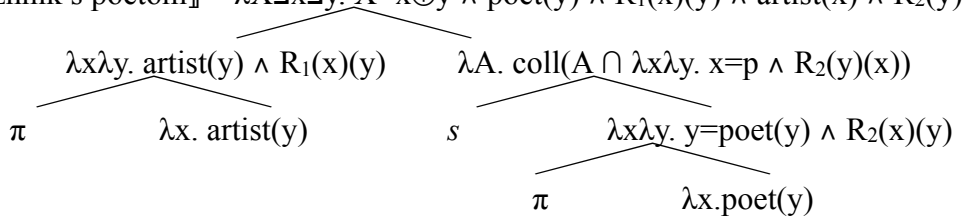
b. $[\![muzh\ s\ zhenoj]\!] = \lambda X \exists x \exists y.\ X = x \oplus y \wedge husband(x)(y) \wedge wife(y)(x)$




c. $[\![Misha\ s\ Petej]\!] = \lambda X.\ X = m \oplus p \wedge R_1(p)(m) \wedge R_2(m)(p)$




d. $[\![xudozhnik\ s\ poetom]\!] = \lambda X \exists x \exists y.\ X = x \oplus y \wedge poet(y) \wedge R_1(x)(y) \wedge artist(x) \wedge R_2(y)(x)$




— The RCC denotes a sum, and the members of the RCC are related by $R_1$ and $R_2$, which are supplied by the context (except for the relational-noun case).

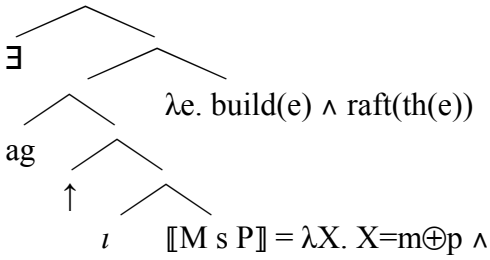
— I claim that the tendency of the RCC to be interpreted collectively, indicate spatiotemporal proximity or the relationship between the members of the construction is the manifestation of the Relatedness Requirement.

The Relatedness Requirement can be met in a number of ways:

— Collective strategy

(15) a. Misha s Petej postroili plot.
$M_{NOM}$ with $P_{INST}$ built raft
'Mike and Peter built a raft (together).'

b. ∃e. build(e) ∧ raft(th(*e*)) ∧ ag(e) = ↑[$\iota$X. X=m⊕p ∧ $R_1$(p)(m) ∧ $R_2$(m)(p)]




c. Relatedness Requirement: $R_1 = R_2 = \lambda x \lambda y.\exists e\ ag(e) = \uparrow(x \oplus y)$
in terms of relational nouns: $R_1 = R_2 = \lambda x \lambda y.$ colleague(x)(y)

— Relational strategy

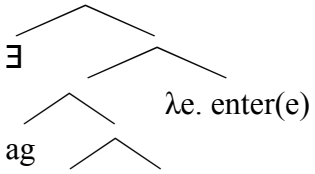
(16) Previous knowledge: Mike is Peter's father
a. Misha s Petej postroili plot.
$M_{NOM}$ with $P_{INST}$ built raft

b. ∃e. build(e) ∧ raft(th(*e*)) ∧ ag(*e*) = [$\iota$X. X=m⊕p ∧ $R_1$(p)(m) ∧ $R_2$(m)(p)]
c. Relatedness Requirement: $R_1 = \lambda x \lambda y.$ father(x)(y), $R_2 = \lambda x \lambda y.$ son(x)(y)

— Spatiotemporal strategy:

(17)
a. Misha s Petei voshli v klass.
$M_{NOM}$ with $P_{INST}$ entered in class
'Mike and Peter entered the class (together).'

b. $\exists e.\ enter(e) \wedge ag(e) = [\iota X.\ X=m\oplus p \wedge R_1(p)(m) \wedge R_2(m)(p)]$




$[\![M\ s\ P]\!] = \lambda X.\ X=m\oplus p \wedge R_1(p)(m) \wedge R_2(m)(p)$

c. $\exists e_1, e_2.\ enter(e_1) \wedge enter(e_2) \wedge ag(e_1) = m \wedge ag(e_2) = p \wedge R_1(p)(m) \wedge R_2(m)(p)$
d. Relatedness Requirement: $R_1 = R_2 = \lambda x\lambda y\exists e_1, e_2.\ ag(e_1) = x \wedge ag(e_2) = y \wedge \tau(e_1) = \tau(e_2)$
in terms of relational nouns: $R_1 = R_2 = \lambda x\lambda y.$ companion(x)(y) (*poputchik*)

— Contrastive strategy:

(18) Dalrymple et al.:
a. Misha s Petei pechatalis v NLLT, a ja tol'ko v LI
$M_{NOM}$ with $P_{INST}$ published in NLLT, but I only in LI
Collective ✓ Distributive ✓

b. Misha s Petei pechatalis v NLLT
$M_{NOM}$ with $P_{INST}$ published in NLLT
Collective strongly preferred

Collective: The boys collectively published a paper in NLLT.
Distributive: Misha published paper A in NLLT and Peter published paper B in NLLT.

Distributive interpretation is triggered by the contrastive clause: Mike and Peter are the only people who published in NLLT.

## 4. Summary:

— The RCC is a case of reciprocal conjunction
— The RCC denotes a sum, and the members of the RCC are related by $R_1$ and $R_2$, which are supplied by the context (except for the relational-noun case).
— The tendency of the RCC to be interpreted collectively, indicate spatiotemporal proximity or the relationship between the members of the construction is the manifestation of the Relatedness Requirement.

## 5. English: bare noun coordination

Bare noun coordination:
(19) He had pad and pencil to picture the whole event.
(20) Charles went to a wedding. Bride and groom looked happy.

Le Bruyn & de Swart (2014)'s matchmaking semantics

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