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# Understanding Kazakh *Men*:

# Comitatives Revisited

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# What are comitatives?

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Comitatives are ‘with’ phrases that include an animate individual and are typically analyzed as adding a participant to the event:

- (1) Alex wrote a paper **with Sam**
- (2) Alex saw Sam **with Taylor**

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# What are NOT comitatives?

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‘With’ phrases that do not include animate individuals:

- (3) A woman **with a green hat** walked down the street.
- (4) Sam hit the wall **with a hammer**.
- (5) I ate a cheeseburger **with bacon**.

# Previous discussions - Russian

(6) a. Maša s Dašej pišet/pišut statju.

Masha with Dasha.INST write.3SG/3PL paper

‘Masha and Dasha are writing a paper.’

b. Maša pišet/\*pišut statju s Dašej.

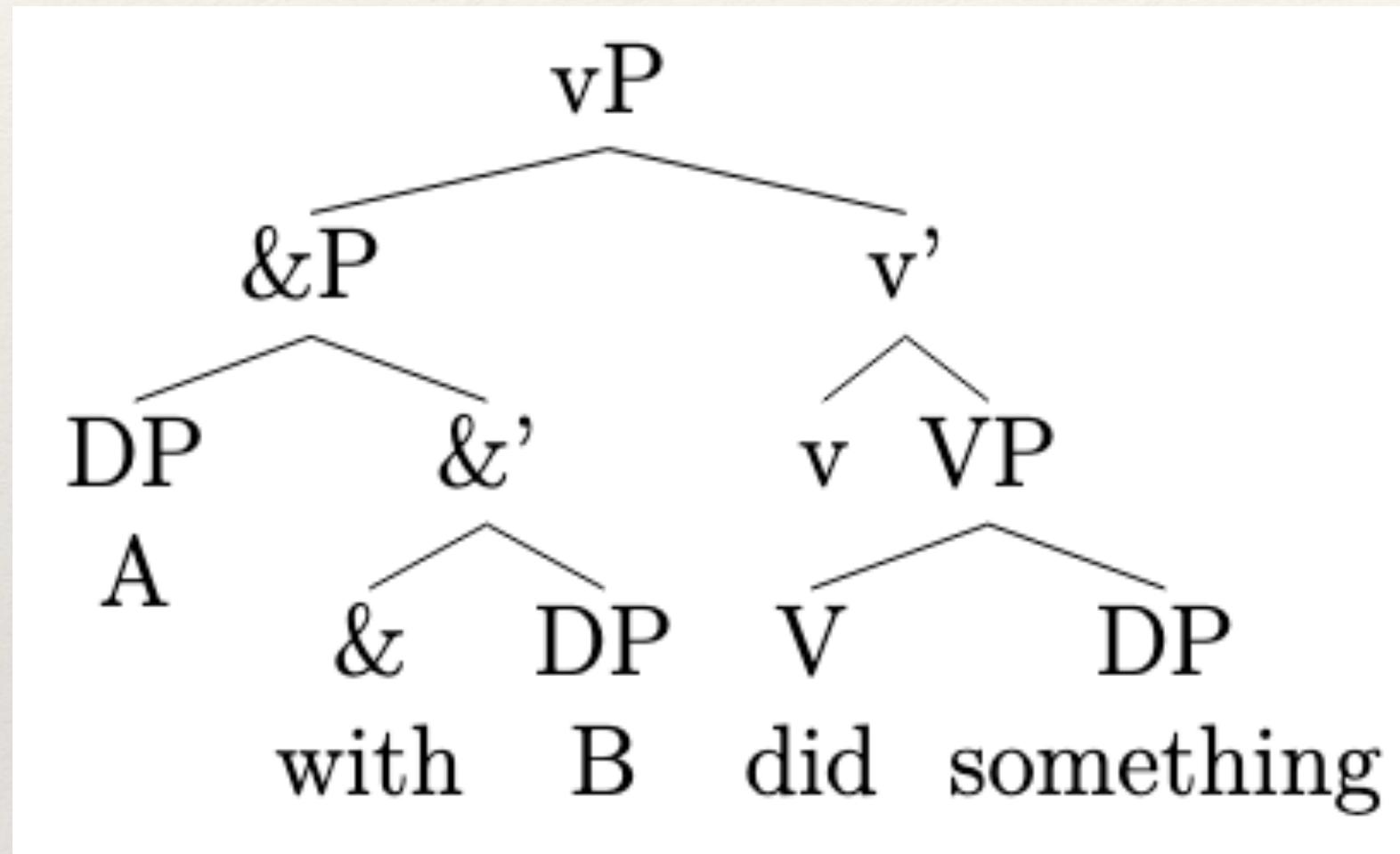
Masha write.3SG/3PL paper with Dasha.INST

‘Masha wrote a paper with Dasha.’

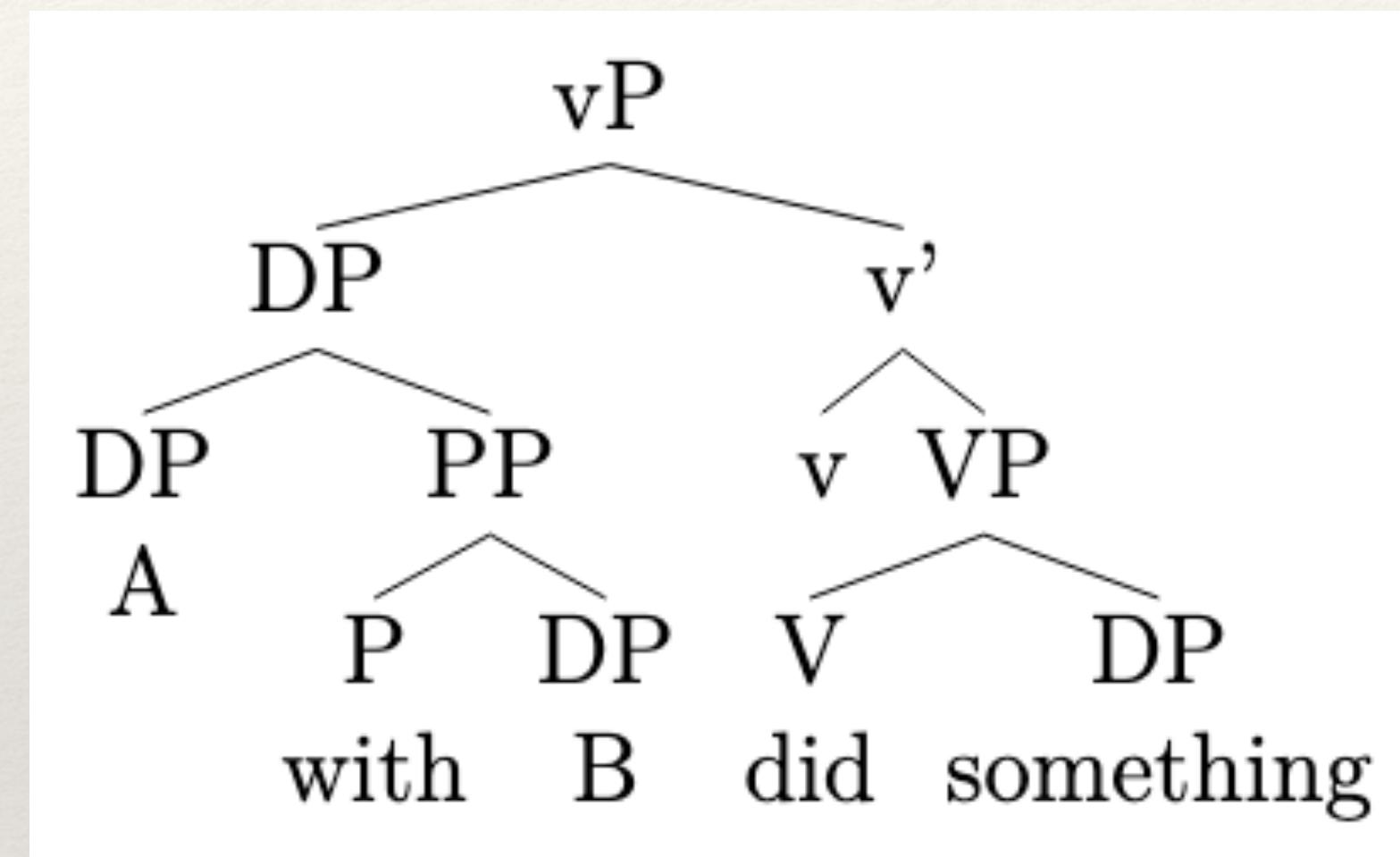
(Burukina 2024; Dyła & Feldman 2008; Ionin & Matushansky 2003; Vassilieva & Larson 2005, a.o.)

# 3 structures

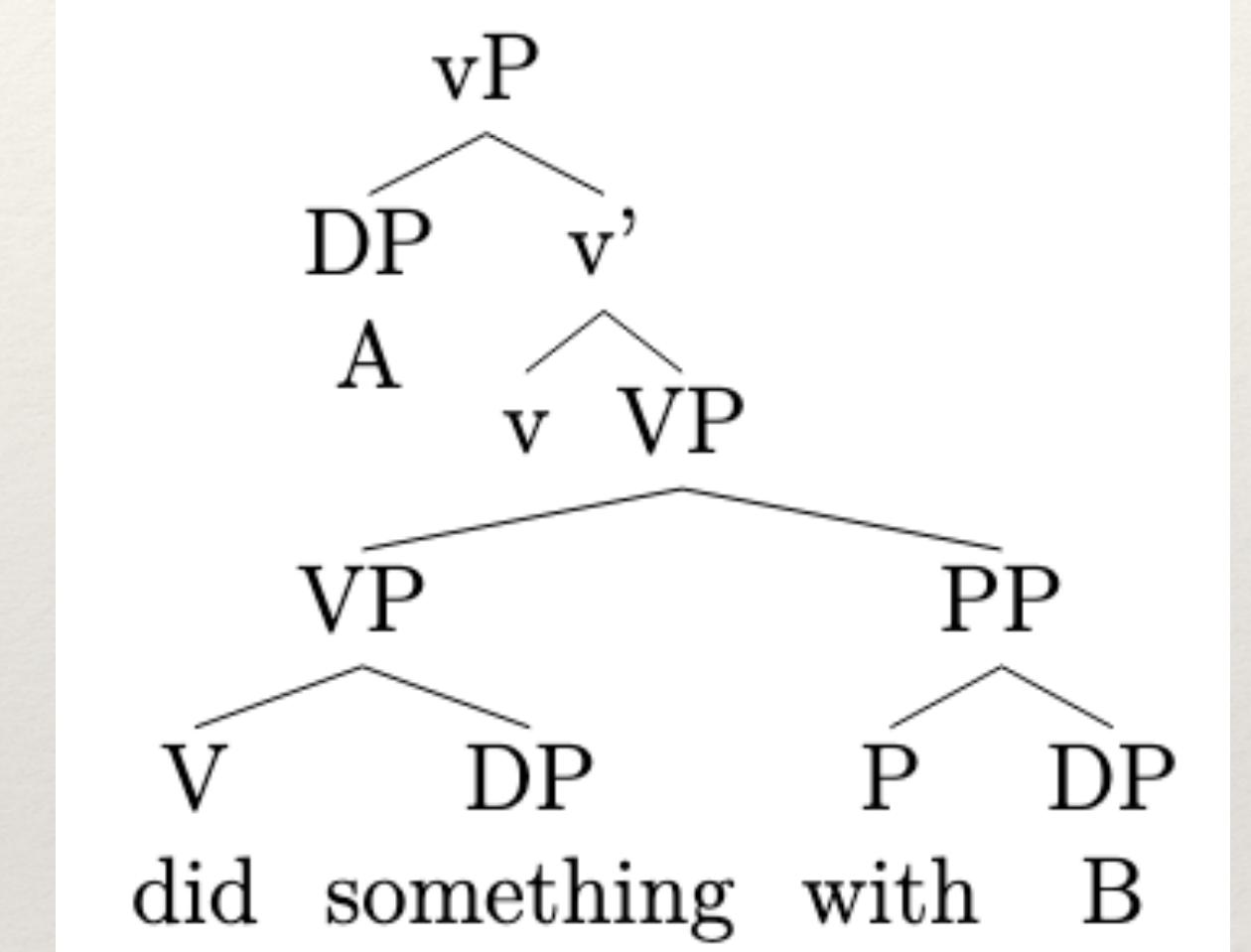
(a) DP conjunction



(b) DP adjunction

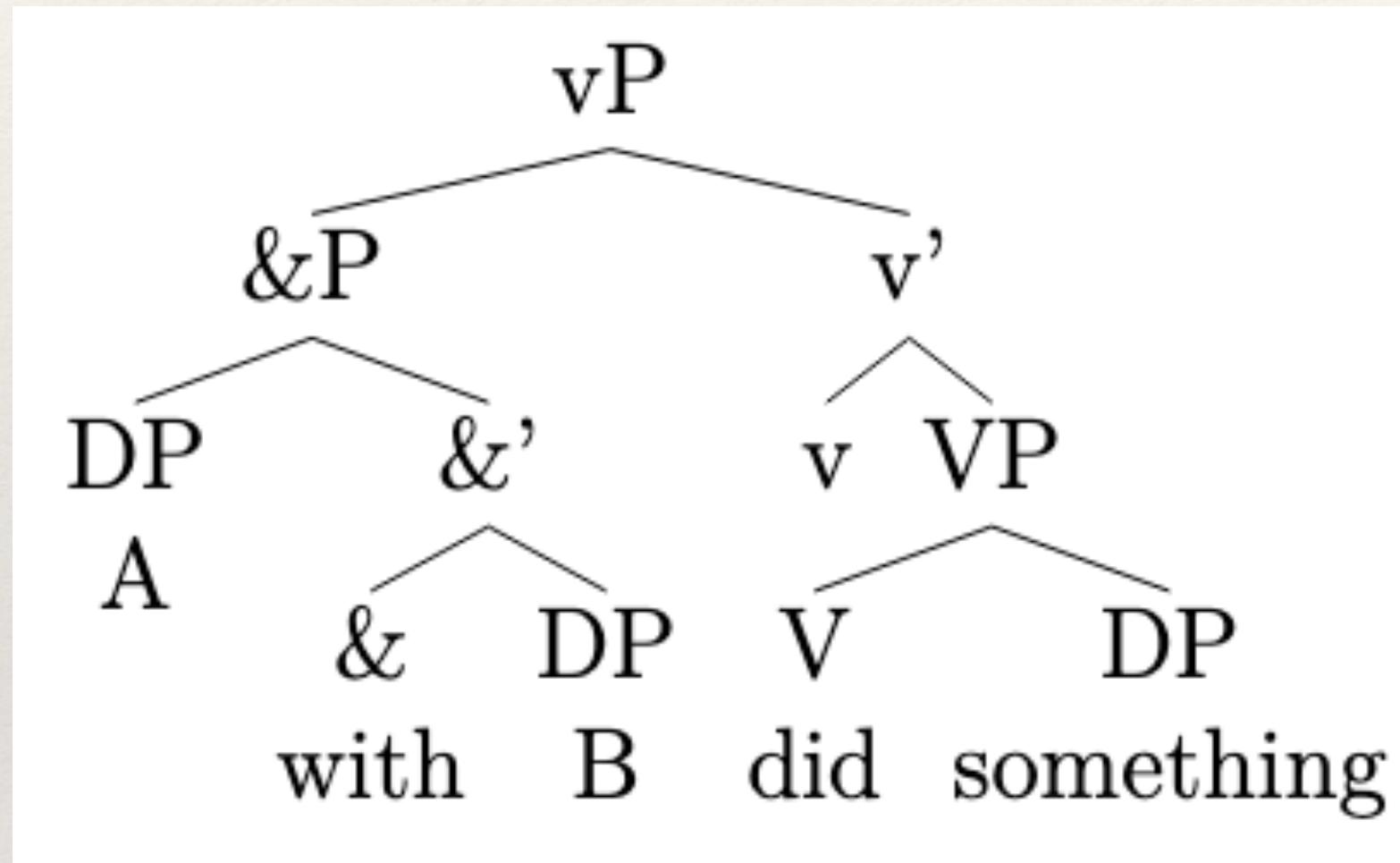


(c) VP adjunction

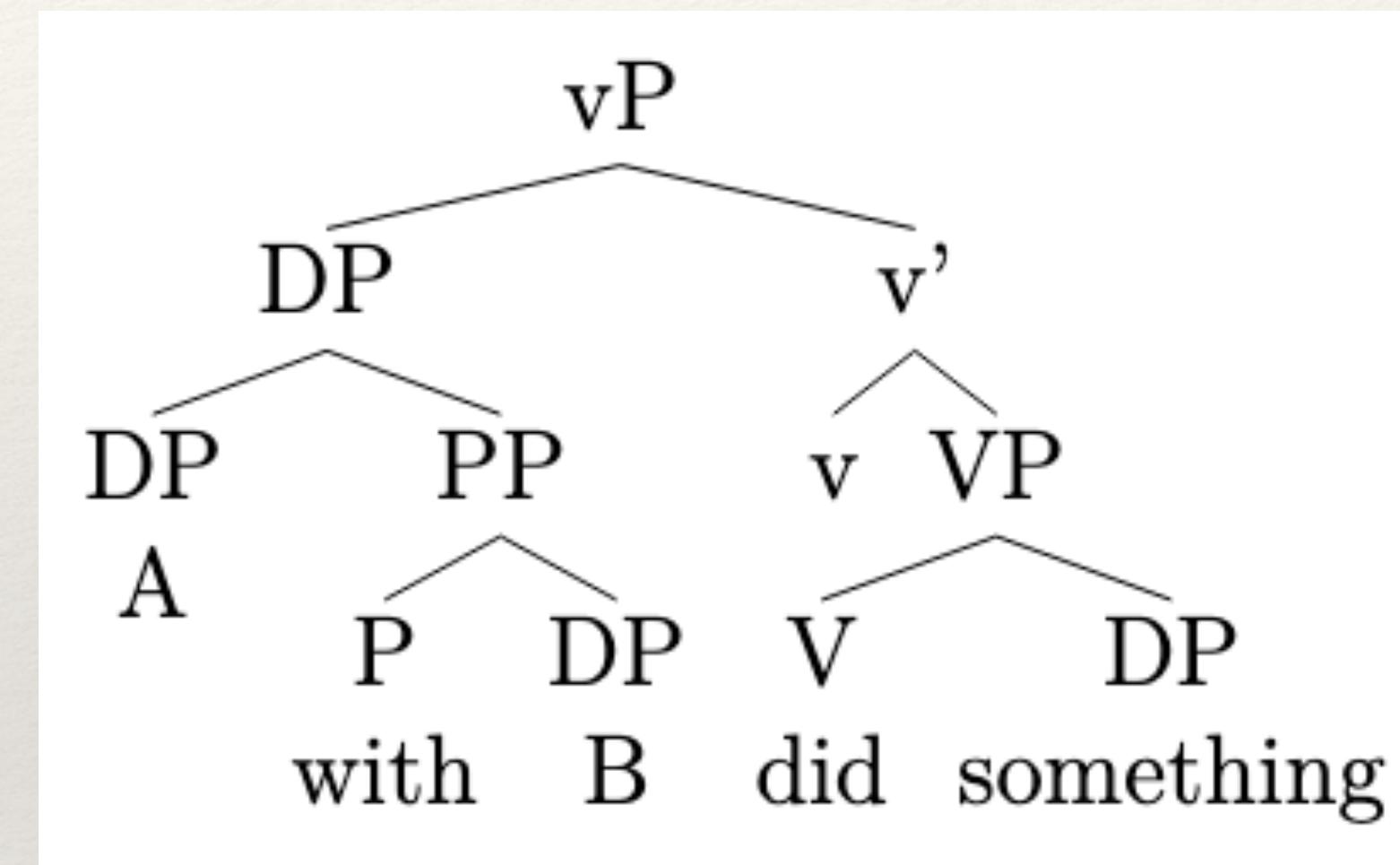


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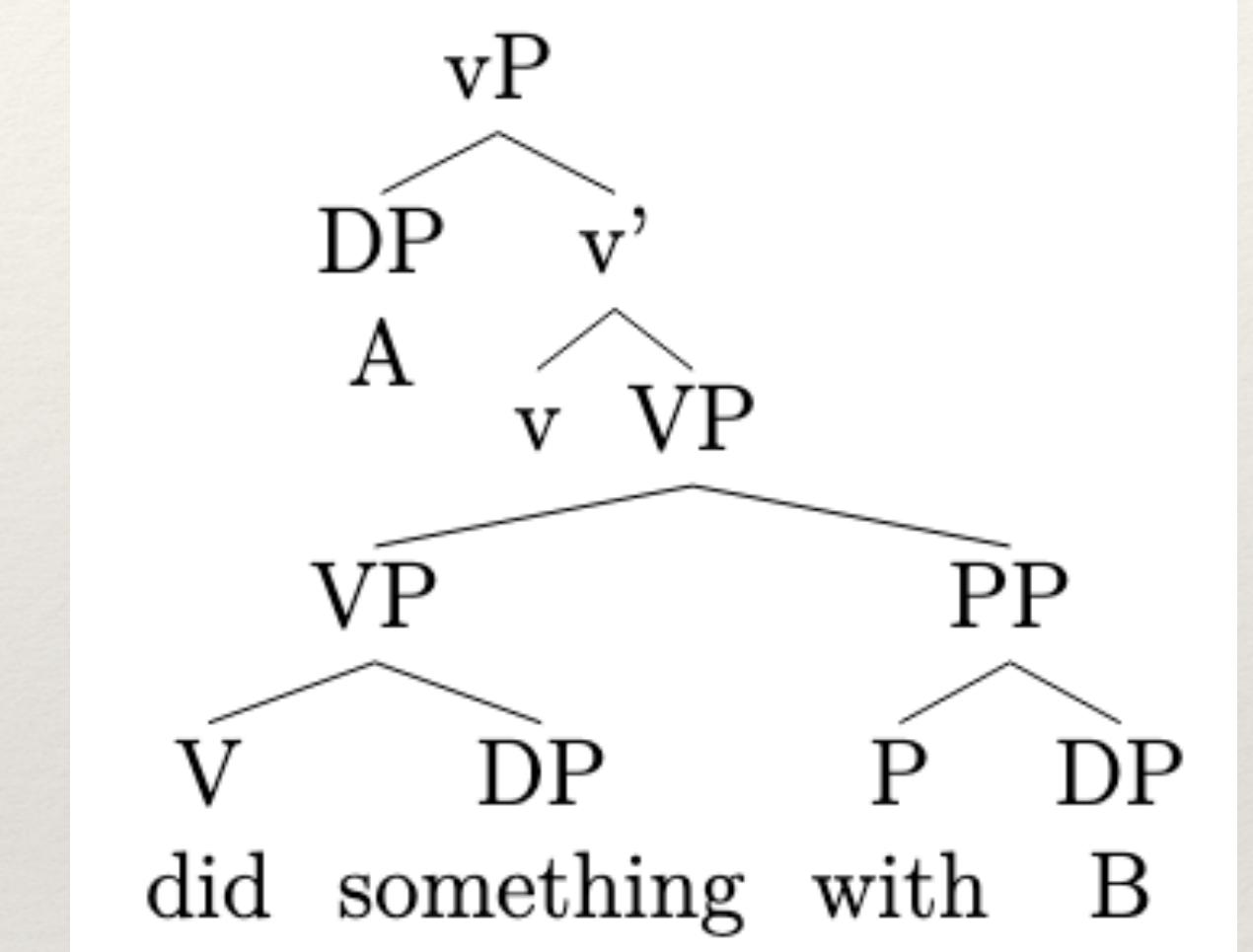
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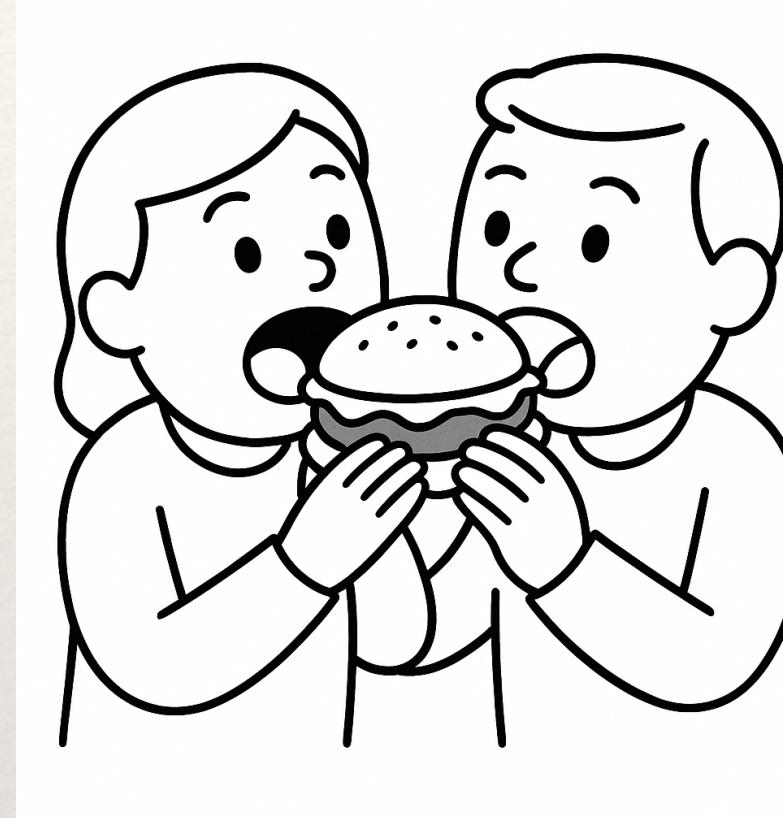


Proposal: all are needed!

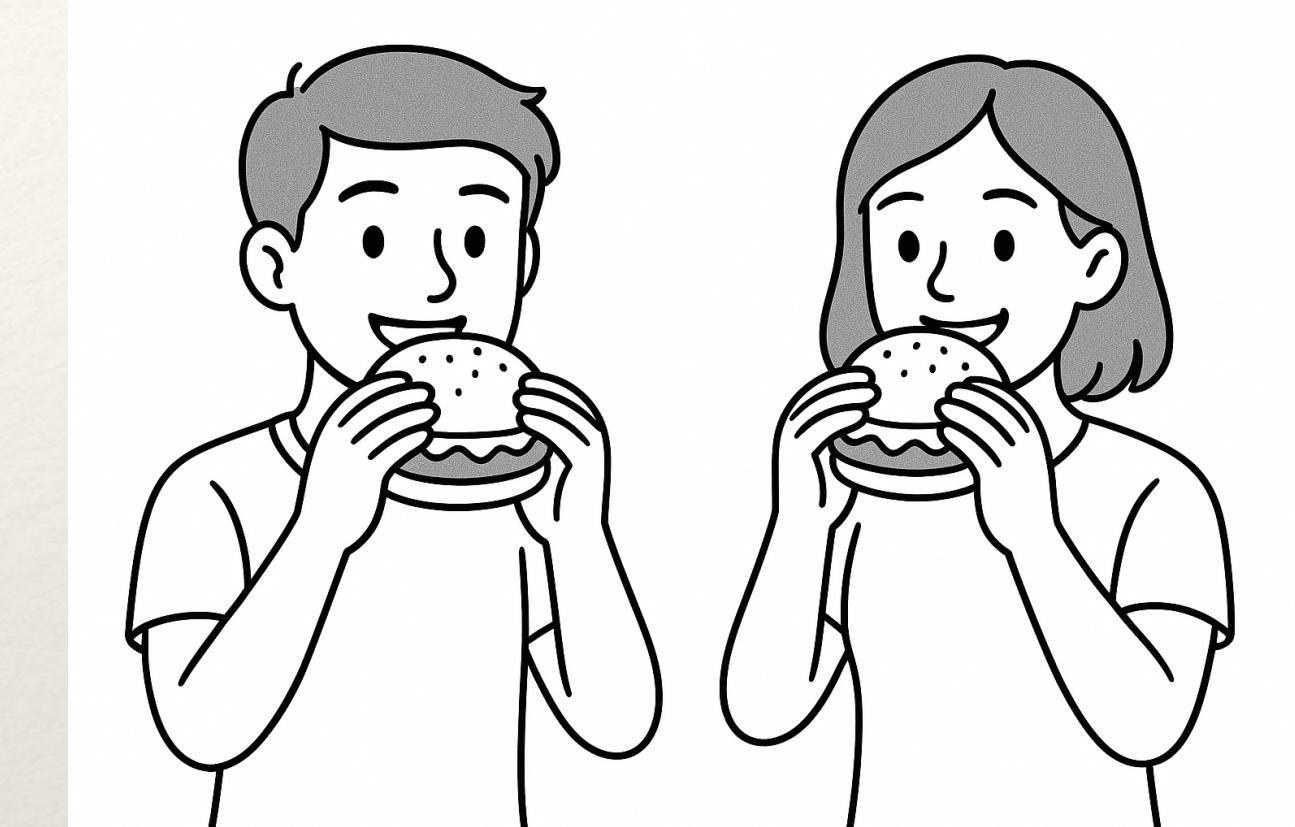
# Proposal: Readings

- symmetric
- asymmetric

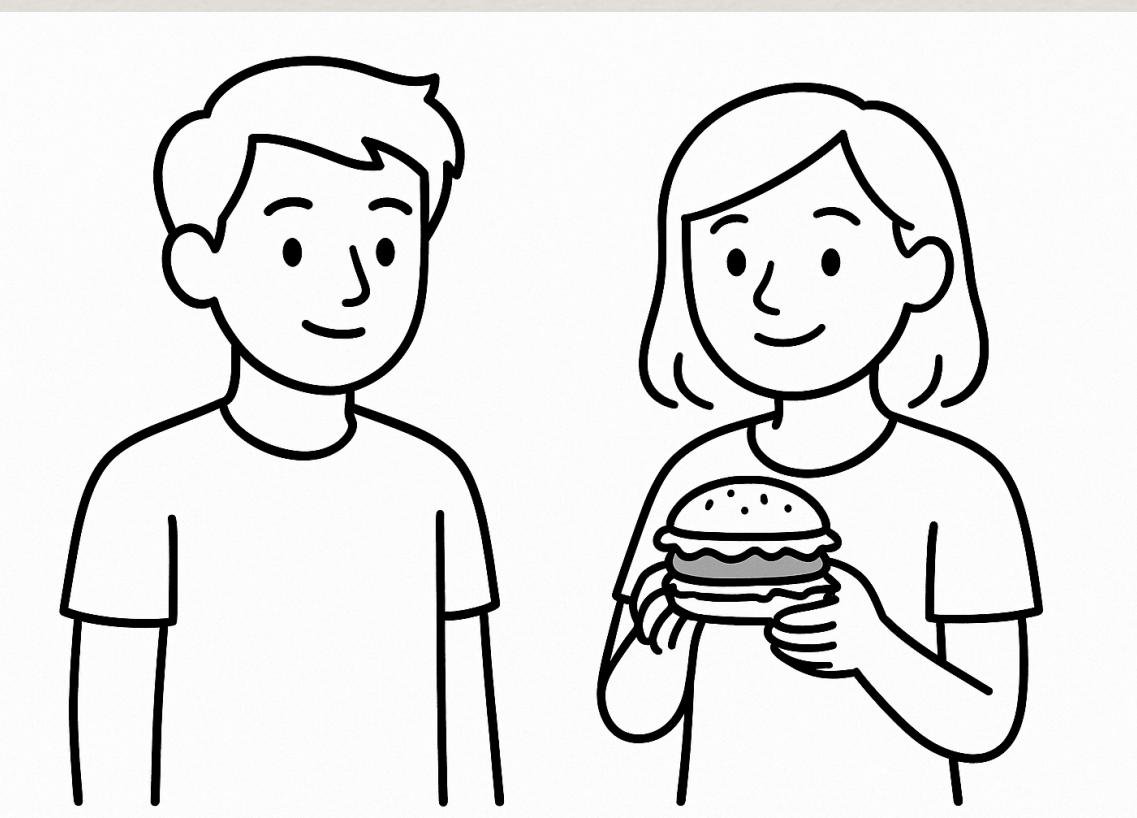
(a) Collective



(b) Proximate-distributive



(c) Accomplice



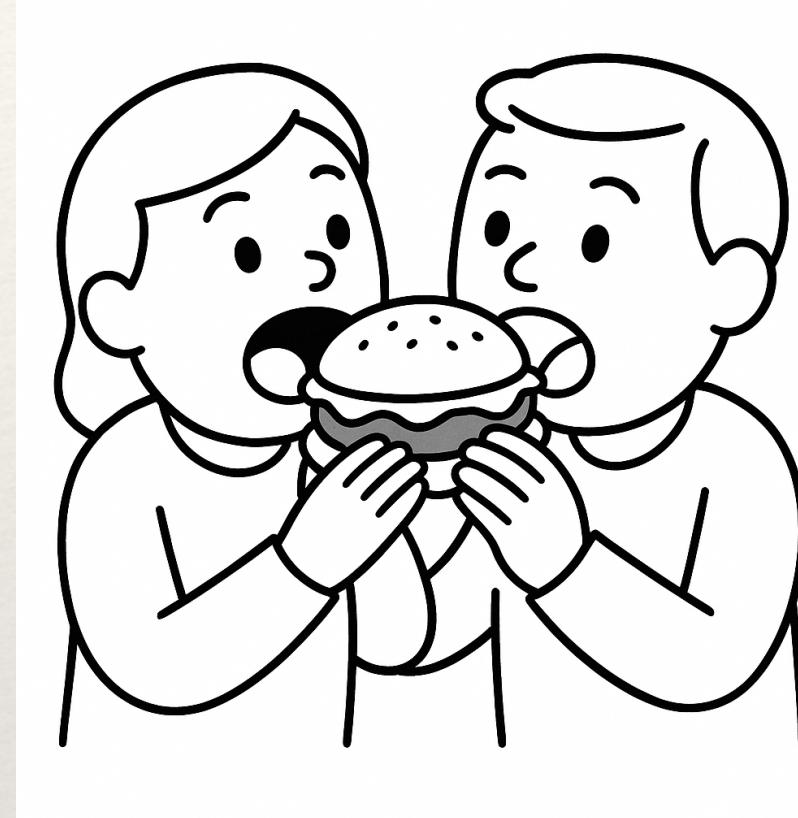
(d) Distal-distributive



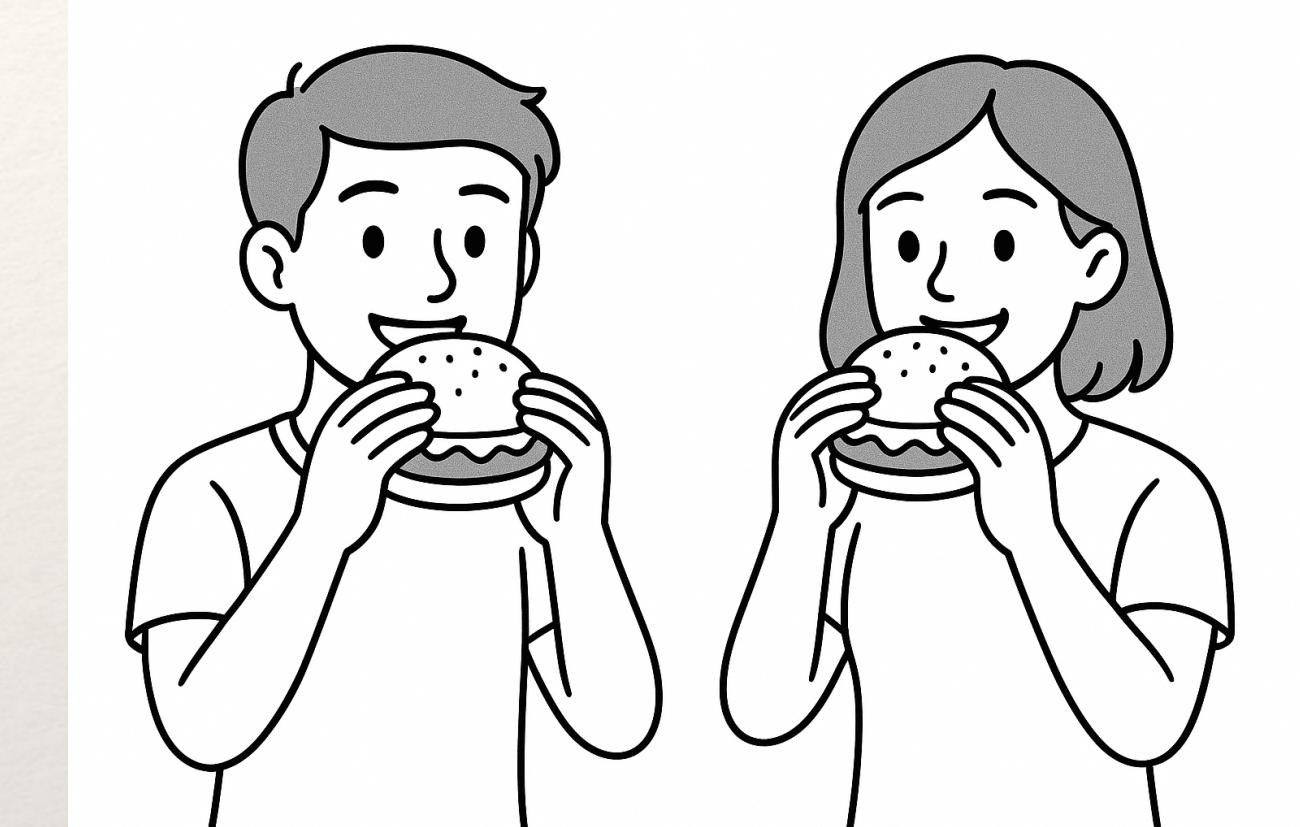
# Comitative readings - “Alex ate a burger with Sam”

- symmetric
- asymmetric

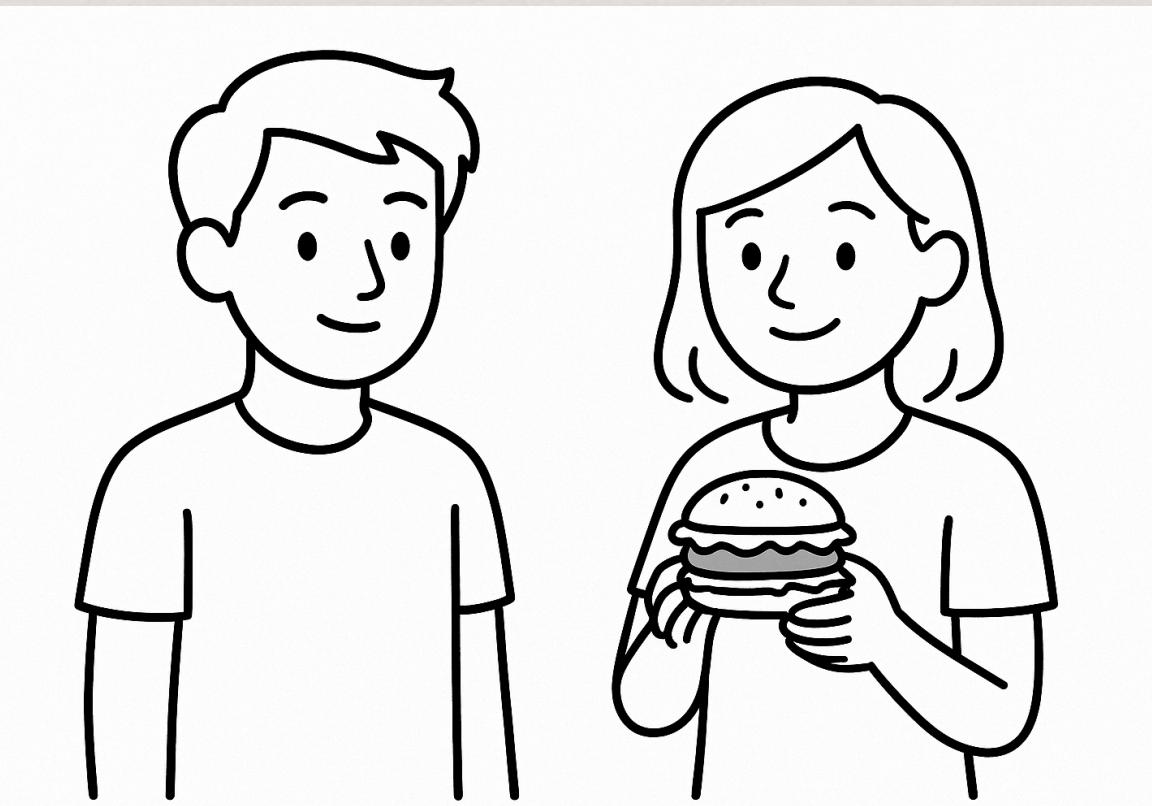
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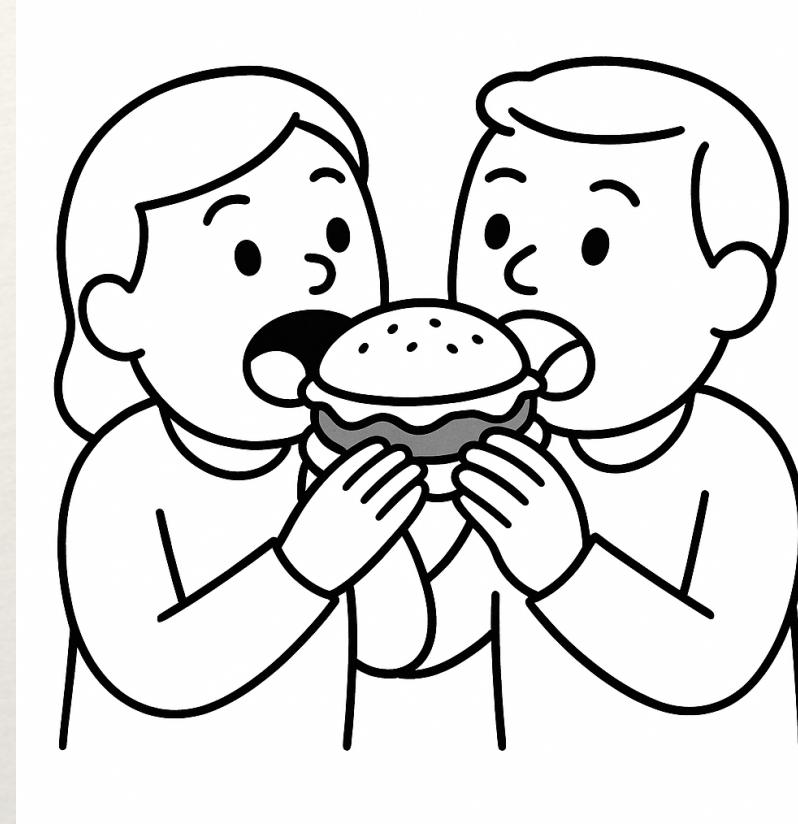
(d) ~~Distal distributive~~



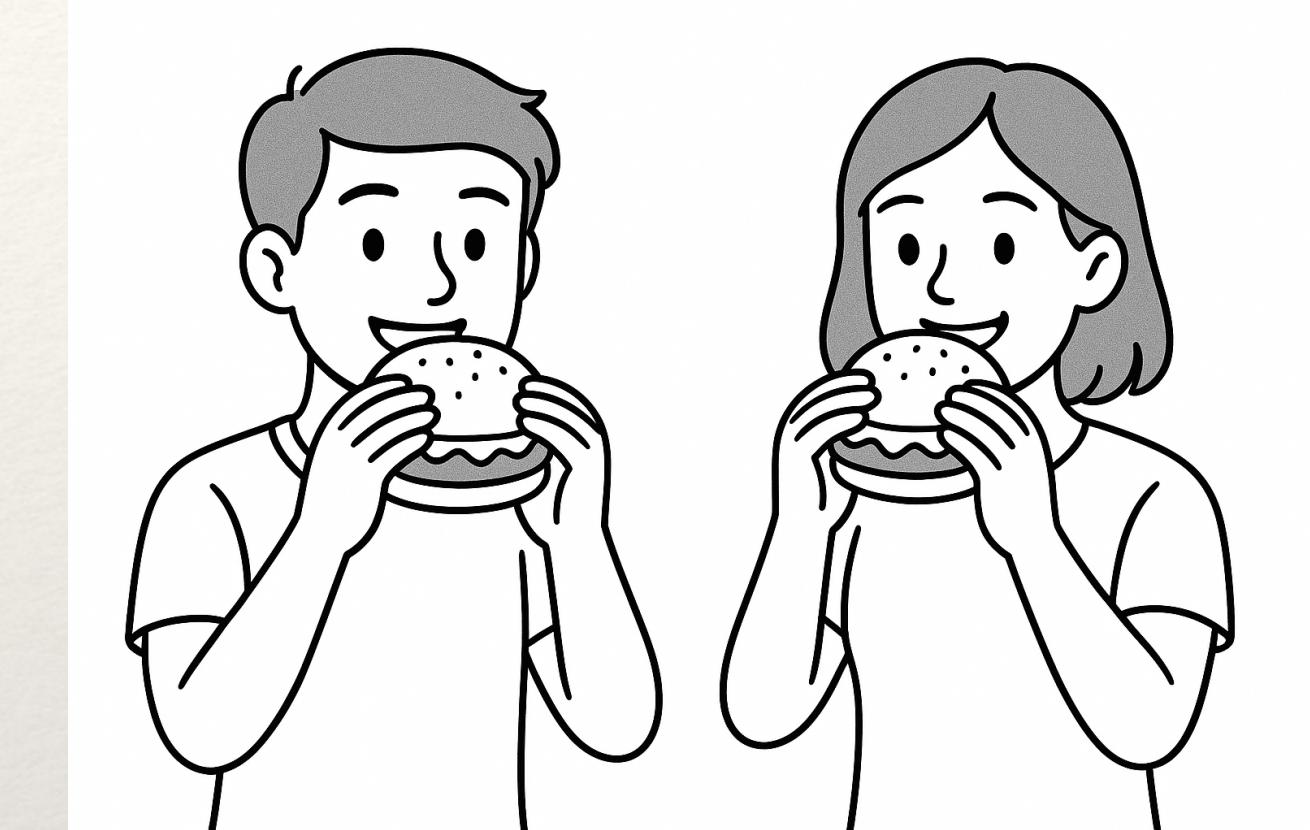
# Conjunction readings – “Alex and Sam ate a burger”

- symmetric
- asymmetric

(a) Collective



(b) Proximate-distributive



(c) Accomplice



(d) Distal-distributive



# The syntax of comitatives

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# English: VP adjuncts only

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(7) a. Alex ate a burger with Sam.  
b. \*Alex with Sam ate a burger.

# Russian: DP conjunction and VP adjunction

(8) a. Maša **s** **Dašej** **pišet / pišut** statju.

Masha with Dasha.INST write.3SG/3PL paper

‘Masha and Dasha are writing a paper.’

b. Maša **pišet / \*pišut** statju **s** **Dašej**.

Masha write.3SG/3PL paper with Dasha.INST

‘Masha is writing a paper with Dasha.’

(6a.PL) = DP conjunction

(6a.SG) + (6b) = VP adjunction

# Russian - DP conjunction

## Agreement:

(9) a. Maša **s** Dašej pišut statju.

Masha **with** Dasha.INST write.3PL paper.ACC

‘Masha and Dasha are writing the paper.’

b. Maša **i** Daša pišut statju.

Masha **and** Dasha write.3PL paper.ACC

Against DP adjunction: adjuncts do not contribute to agreement.

# Russian - DP conjunction

## Discontinuity:

(10) a. \*Maša pišut statju **s** **Dašej.**  
Masha write.3PL paper.ACC with Dasha.INST  
Int: 'Masha is writing the paper with Dasha.'

b. \*Maša pišut statju **i** **Daša.**  
Masha write.3PL paper.ACC and Dasha  
Int: 'Masha and Dasha are writing the paper.'

Against DP adjunction: adjuncts can be discontinuous.

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# Russian - DP conjunction

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## Extraction:

(11) S kem Maša napisala/\***napisali** statju?  
with whom Masha wrote.3F.SG/3PL paper.ACC  
'With whom did Masha write the paper?'

# Russian - DP conjunction

## Extraction:

(11) S kem Maša napisala/\***napisali** statju?  
with whom Masha wrote.3F.SG/3PL paper.ACC  
'With whom did Masha write the paper?'

Against DP adjunction: PPs in Russian can be extracted out of DPs.

(12) [Na kakuju temu]**i** včera [doklad **ti**] vsex porazil?  
[on which topic]**i** yesterday [presentation.NOM **ti**] everyone.ACC shocked  
'A presentation on which topic shocked everyone yesterday?'

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# Russian - VP adjunction

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## Agreement:

(8) b. Maša pišet/\*pišut statju s Dašej.  
Masha write.3SG/3PL paper with Dasha.INST  
'Masha is writing a paper with Dasha.'

An adjunctive comitative cannot contribute its phi-features to the agreement process.

# Russian - VP adjunction

## Discontinuity:

(13) a. Maša **s** **Dašej** pišet statju.

Masha with Dasha.INST write.3SG paper  
'Masha and Dasha are writing a paper.'

b. Maša pišet statju **s** **Dašej**.

Masha write.3SG paper with Dasha.INST  
'Masha is writing a paper with Dasha.'

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# Russian - VP adjunction

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## Extraction:

(11) S kem Maša **napisala**/\*napisali statju?  
with whom Masha **wrote.3F.SG**/3PL paper.ACC  
'With whom did Masha write the paper?'

# Novel data - Kazakh

The Kazakh morpheme *men* comes in two forms: as a suffix, it serves as both a comitative marker (14a), and an instrumental case marker, a common pattern cross-linguistically. When *men* is an independent word, it functions as a coordinator combining only nominals (14b), in contrast to the clausal ‘and’ *žæne* (15).

(14) a. ajgøl **men** **fatima** samsa že-dı.

Aygul with Fatima Samsa eat-3PST

‘Aygul and Fatima ate Samsa.’

b. ajgøl **fatima-men** samsa že-dı.

Aygul Fatima-with Samsa eat-3PST

‘Aygul ate Samsa with Fatima.’

(15) fatima sənəp-qa **žæne/\*men** ali keš-ke kel-dı.

Fatima class-LOC and /\*with Ali party-LOC come-3PST

‘Fatima came to class and Ali to the party’



# Kazakh: DP conjunction and adjunction

(14) a. ajgøl **men** fatima samsa že-dı. (DP conjunction)  
Aygul with Fatima Samsa eat-3PST  
'Aygul and Fatima ate Samsa.'

b. ajgøl **fatima-men** samsa že-dı. (DP adjunction)  
Aygul Fatima-with Samsa eat-3PST  
'Aygul ate Samsa with Fatima.'

# Kazakh: DP adjunction

As previously mentioned, the coordinator *men* can only conjoin DPs. If so, (16) provides evidence for a DP-adjunction analysis. The fact that the two phrases in brackets can be conjoined by *men* indicates that they are DPs, and thus the suffixal *-men* comitative phrases inside them must be DP-internal. Since suffixal *-men* comitatives can be extracted, they are DP adjuncts and not conjuncts.

(16) [ajgøl ralija-**men**] **men** [fatima aňan-**men**] tas-tə køter-dı.  
[Aygul Raliya-with] with [Fatima Aizhan-with] rock-ACC lift-3PST  
'Aygul lifted the Rock with Raliya, and Fatima lifted the rock with Aizhan.'

# Kazakh: DP conjunction

A conjunction analysis suggests itself from the distribution and the agreement and ellipsis patterns of *men*. The coordinator *žæne* ‘and’ can occur wherever *men* occurs, both trigger plural agreement when combining DPs (17a), both are iterative (17b) and license ellipsis (17c).

(17) a. sen men/žæne ali bile-dı-ŋ-der.  
you.SG with/and Ali dance-PST-2-PL  
‘You and Ali danced.’

b. ajgøl (men/žæne) fatima men/žæne aižan bile-dı.  
Aygul (with/and) Fatima with/and Aizhan dance-3PST  
‘Aygul (and) Fatima and Aizhan danced.’

c. [yj sat-u] men/žæne [yj sat-əp ał-u].  
[house sell-INF] with/and [house sell-CNV take-INF  
‘House selling and buying’

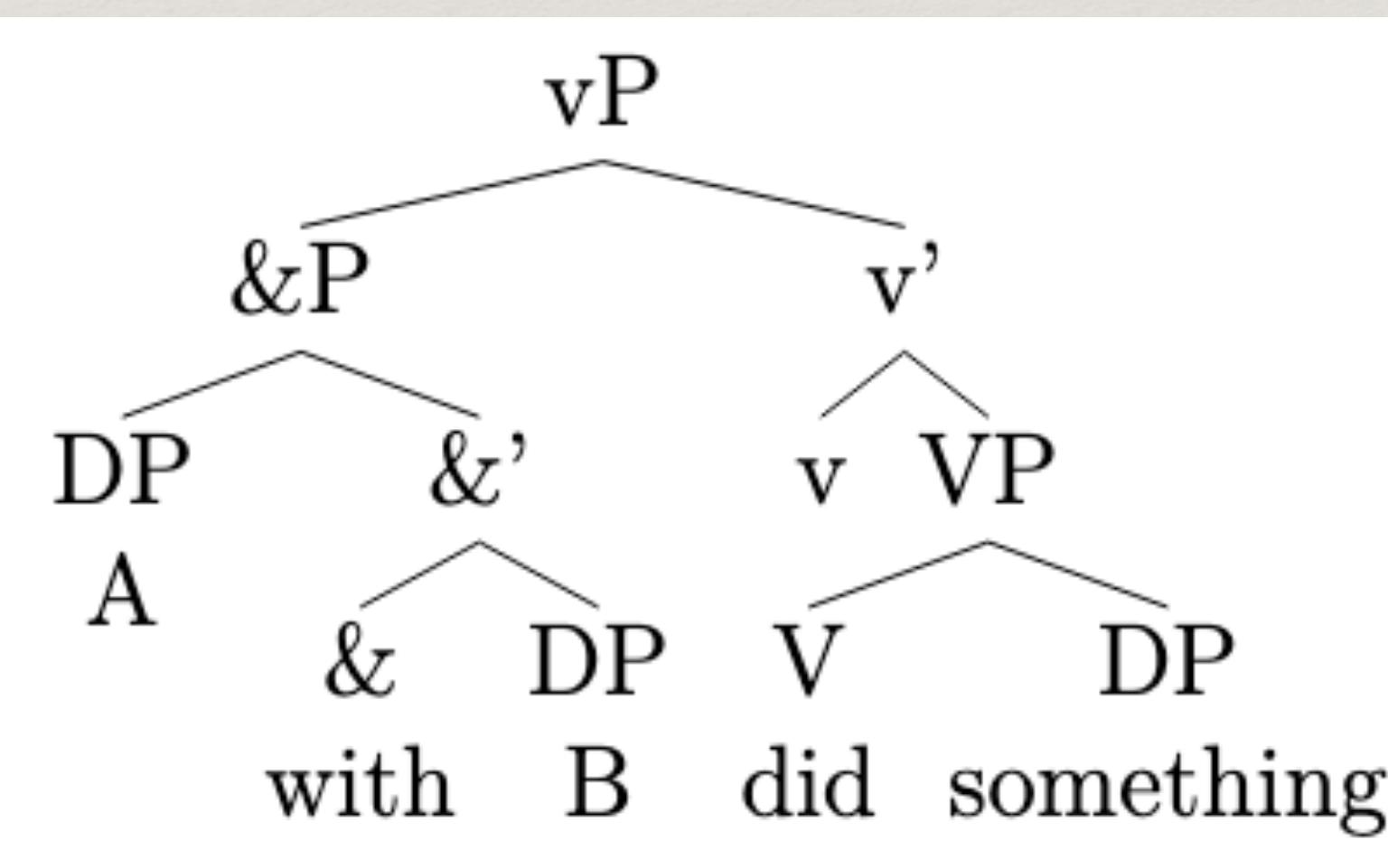
# Structures summarized

English: VP-adjuncts only (Alex ate a burger **with Sam**)

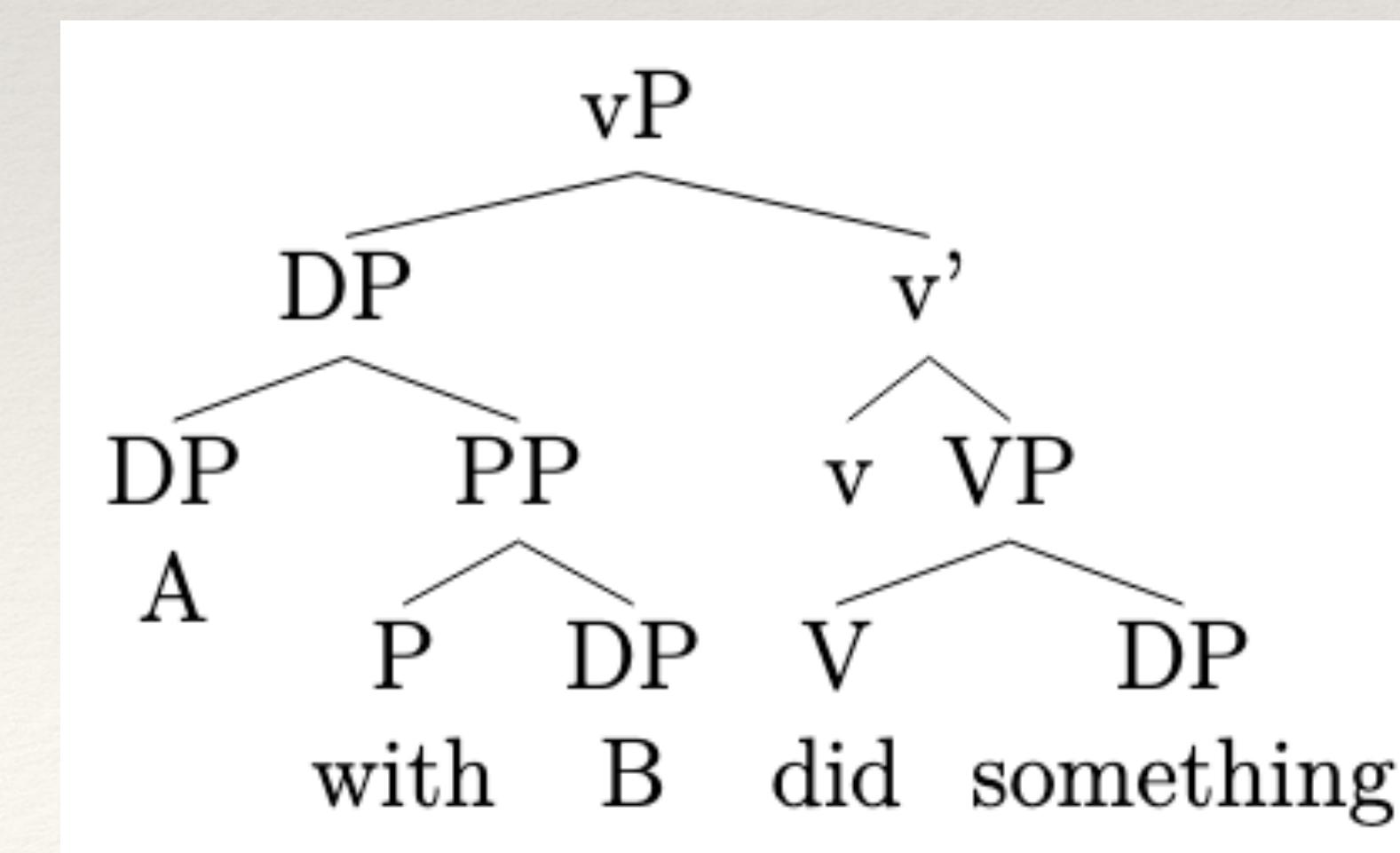
Russian: DP-conjuncts and VP-adjuncts (Maša **s Dašej...**, Maša... **s Dašej**)

Kazakh: DP-conjuncts and DP-adjuncts (Aygul **men Fatima**, Aygul **Fatima-men**)

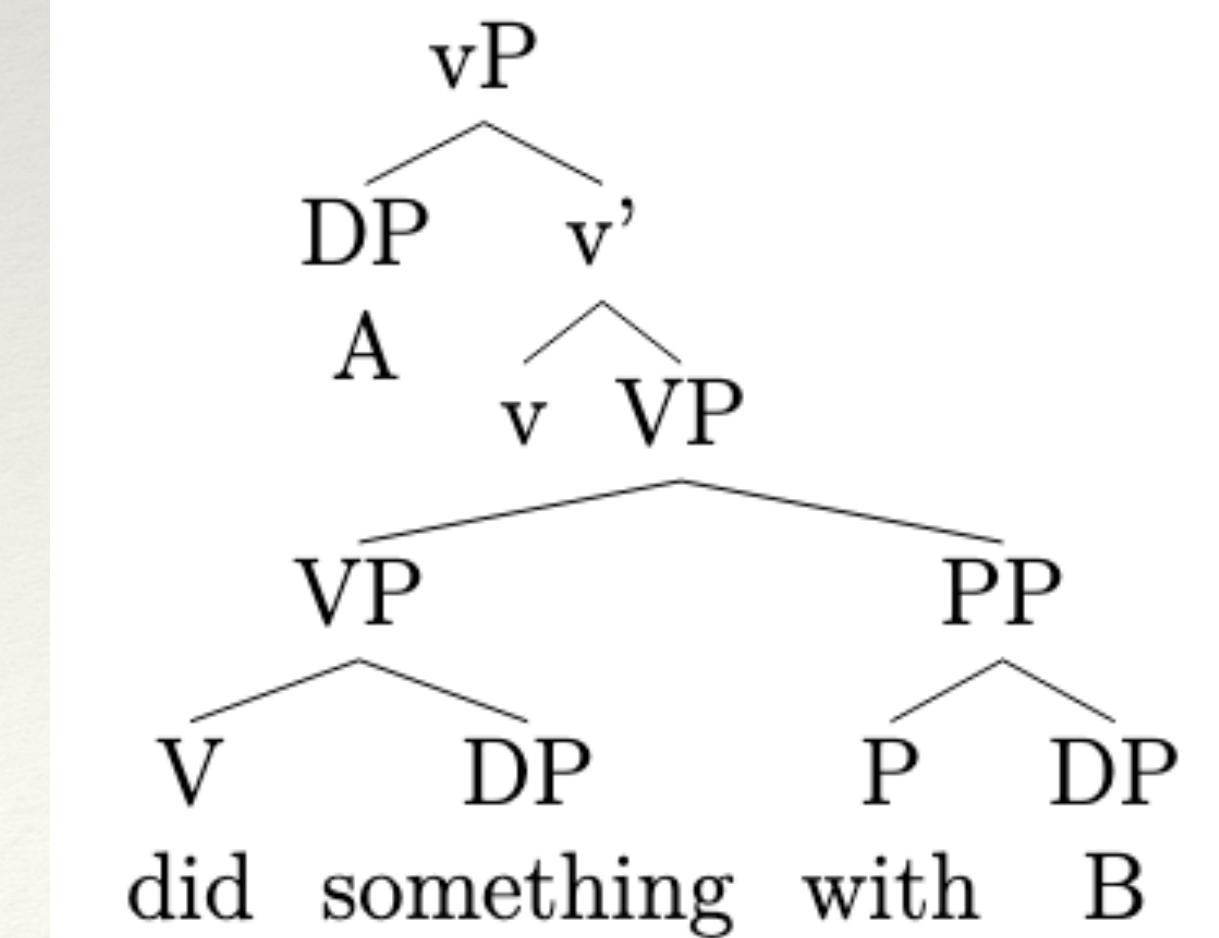
(a) DP conjunction



(b) DP adjunction



(c) VP adjunction



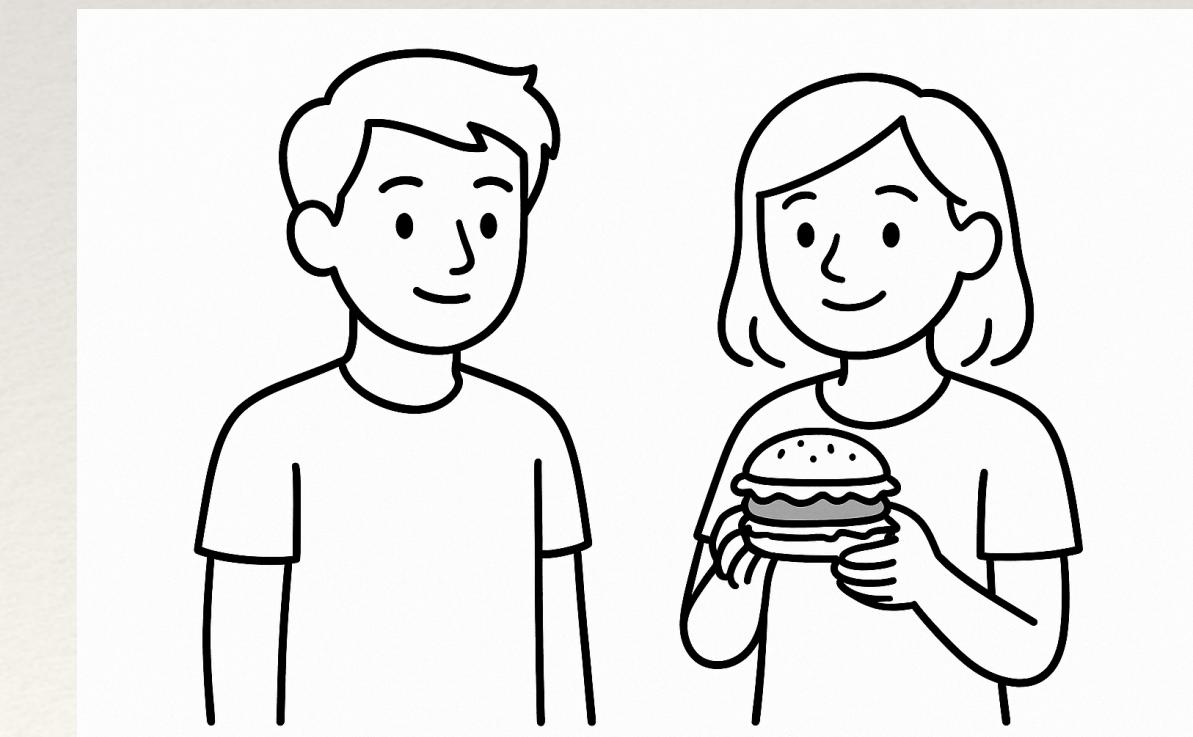
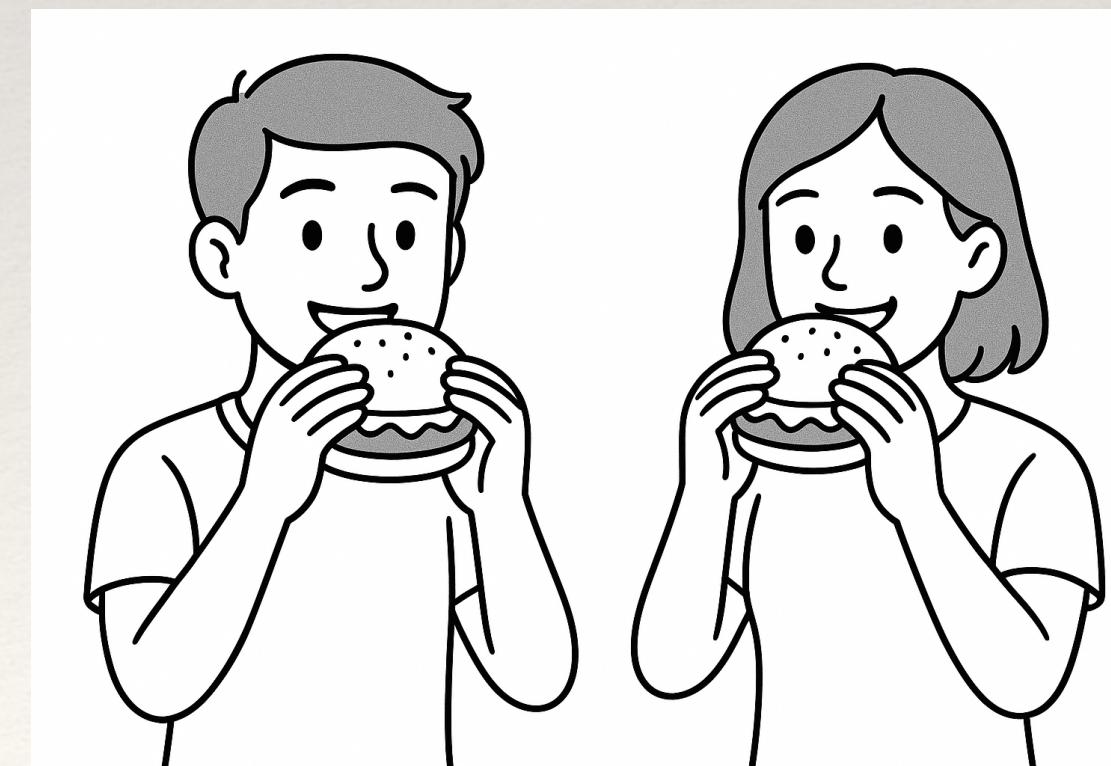
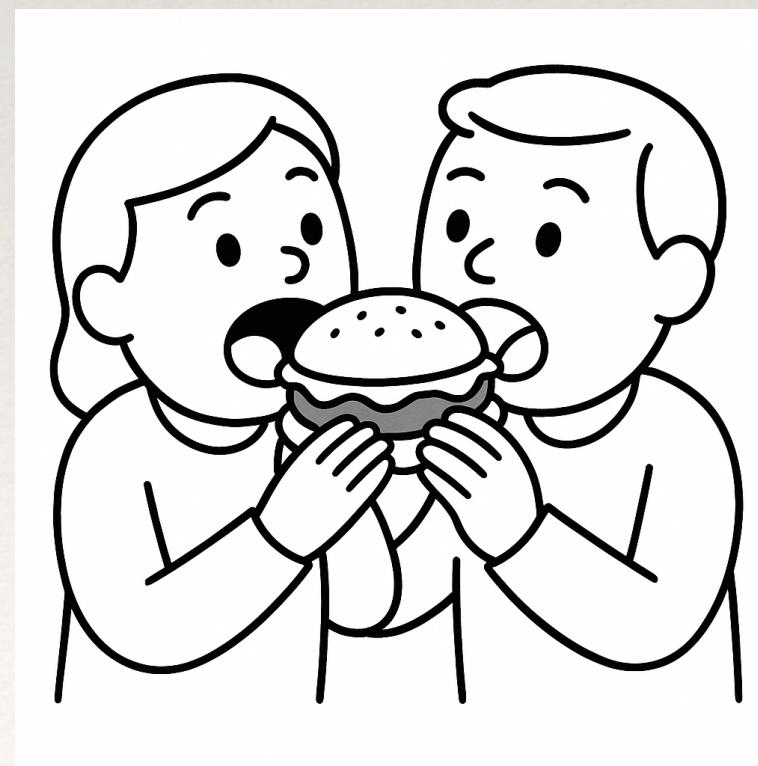
# Structures & Readings

English: VP-adjuncts only (Alex ate a burger **with** Sam)

Russian: DP-conjuncts and VP-adjuncts (Maša **s** Dašej..., Maša... **s** Dašej)

Kazakh: DP-conjuncts and DP-adjuncts (Aygul **men** Fatima, Aygul Fatima-**men**)

(a) Collective (b) Proximate-distributive (c) Accomplice ~~(d) Distal distributive~~



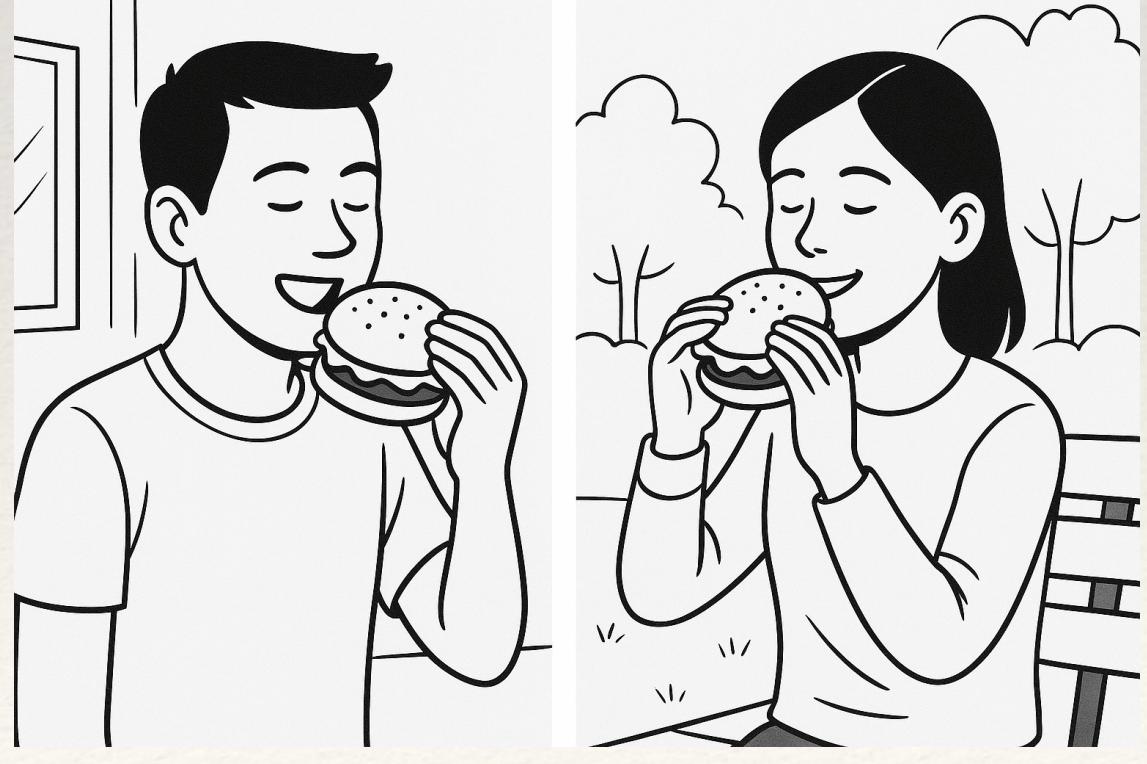
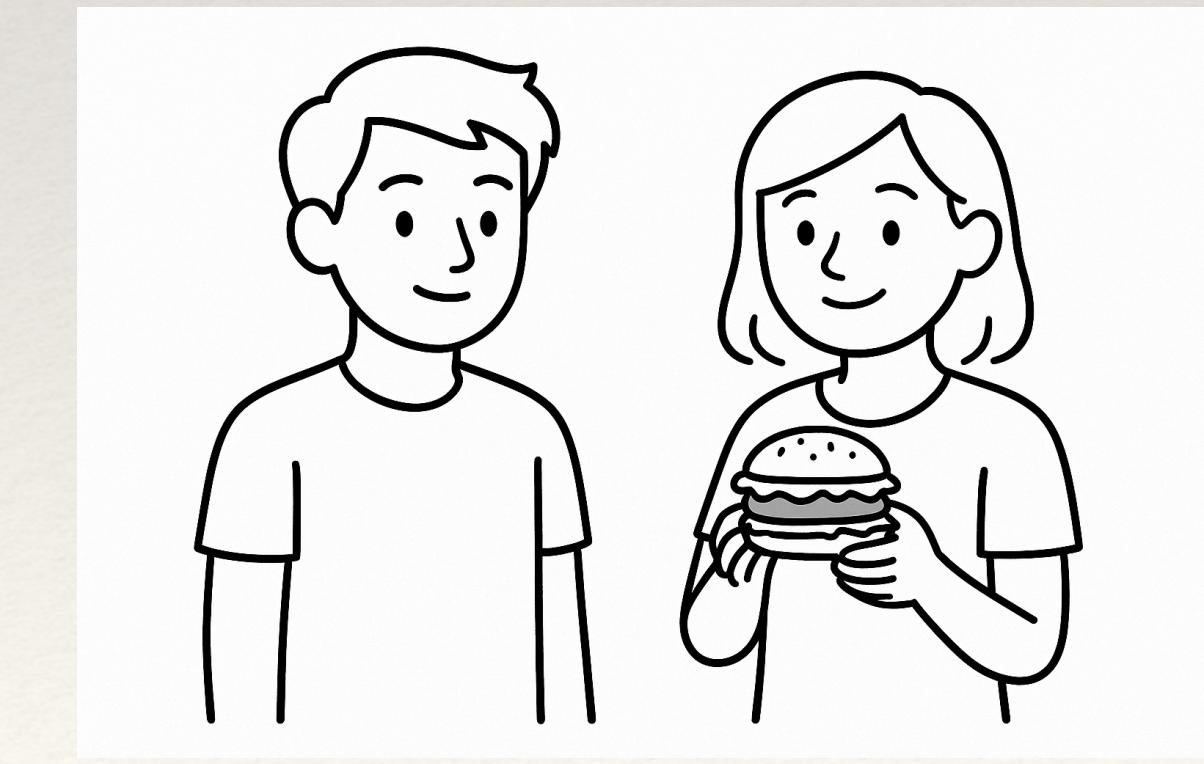
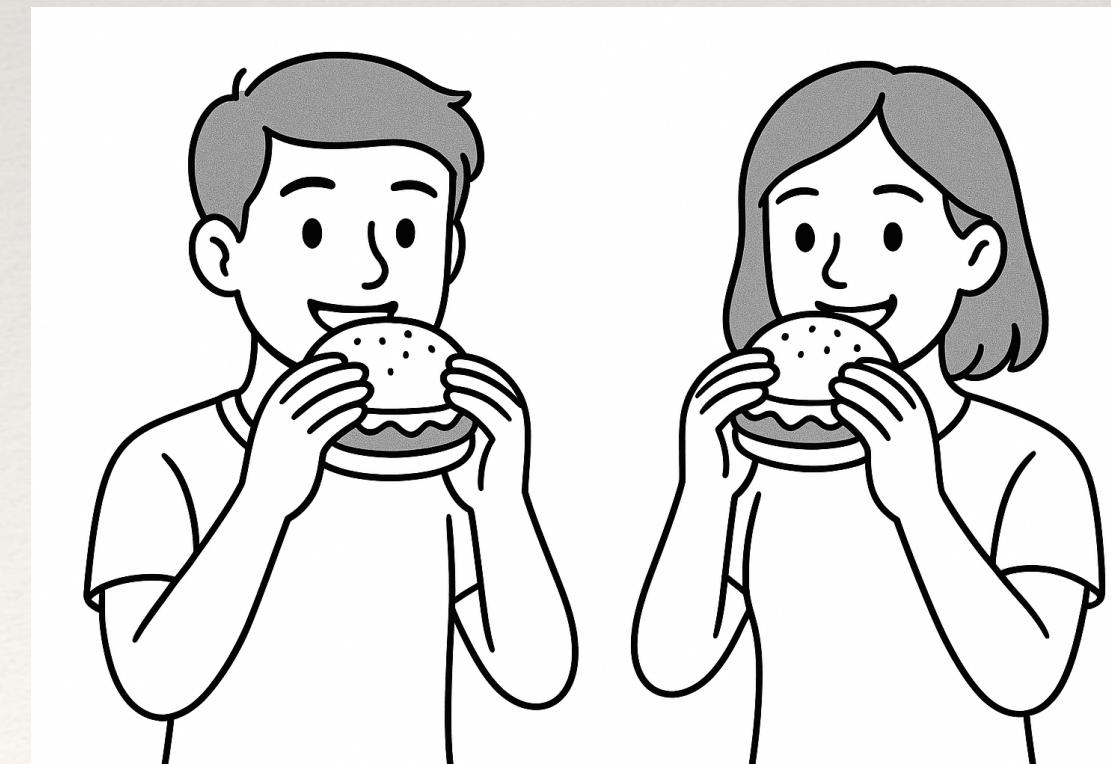
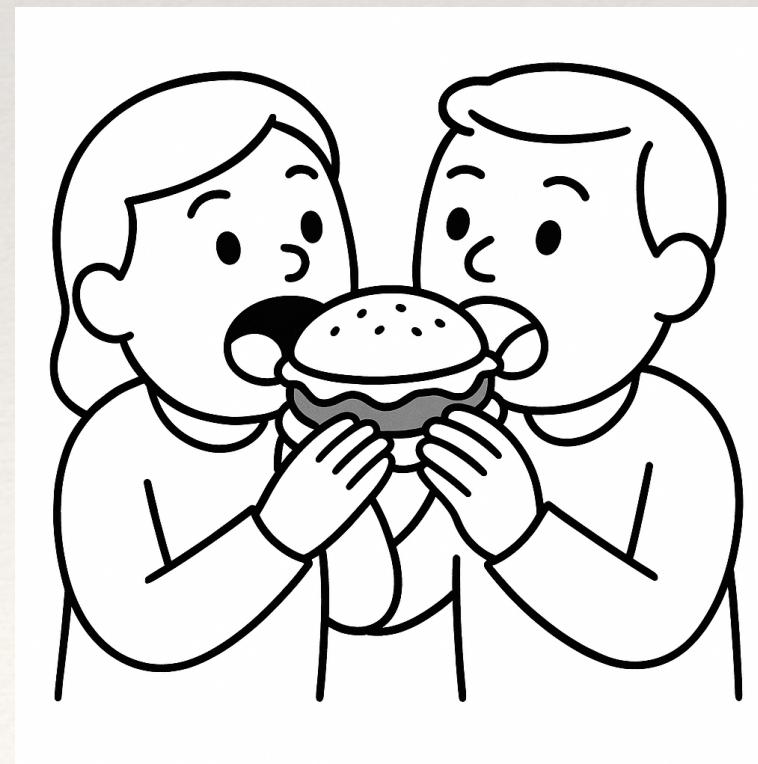
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**(a) Collective** **(b) Proximate distributive** **(c) Accomplice** **(d) Distal-distributive**



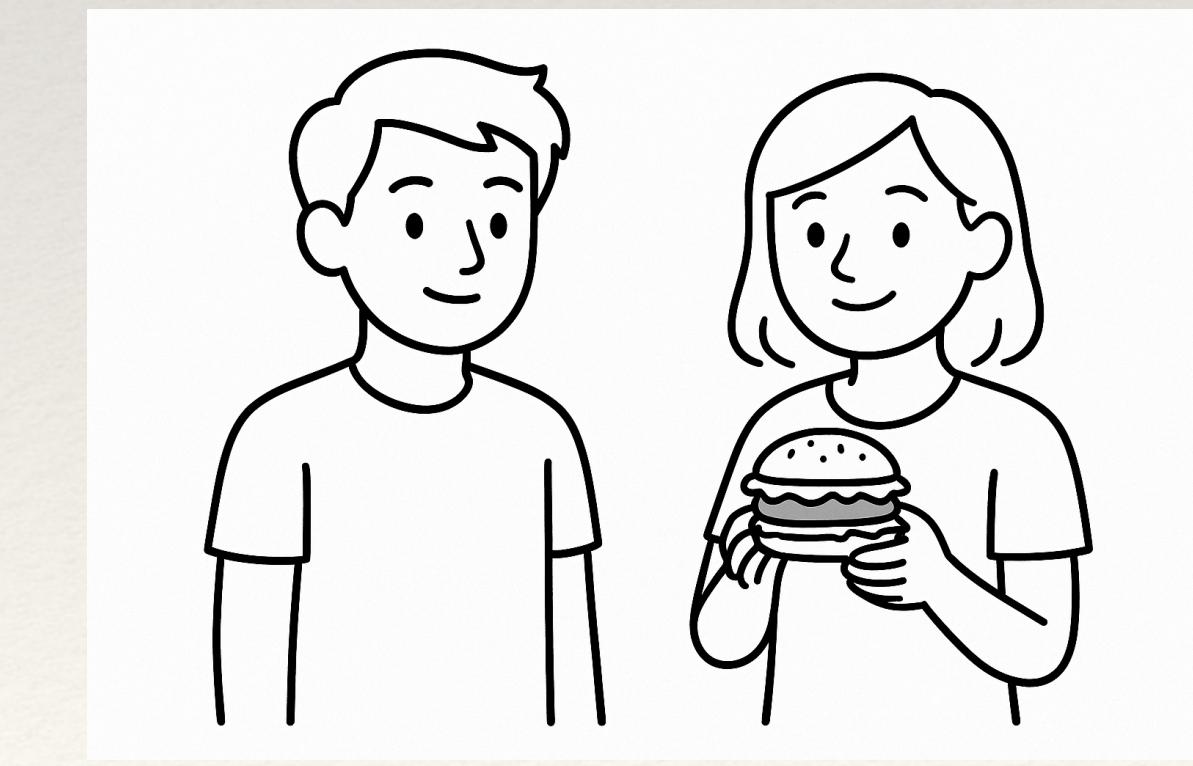
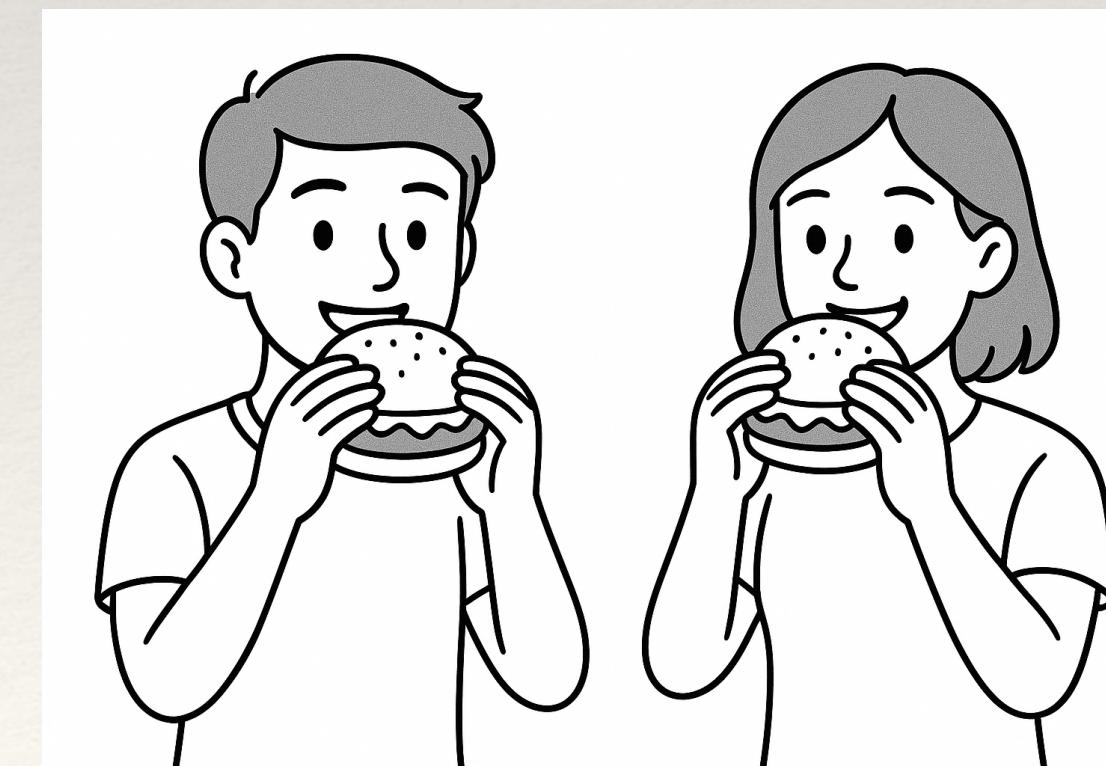
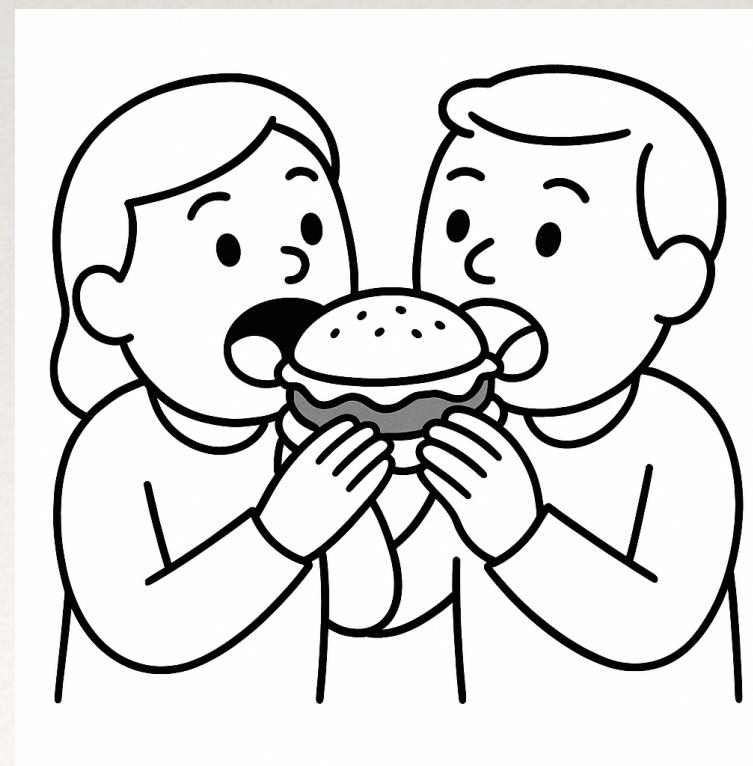
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~~(a) Collective (b) Proximate distributive (c) Accomplice (d) Distal distributive~~



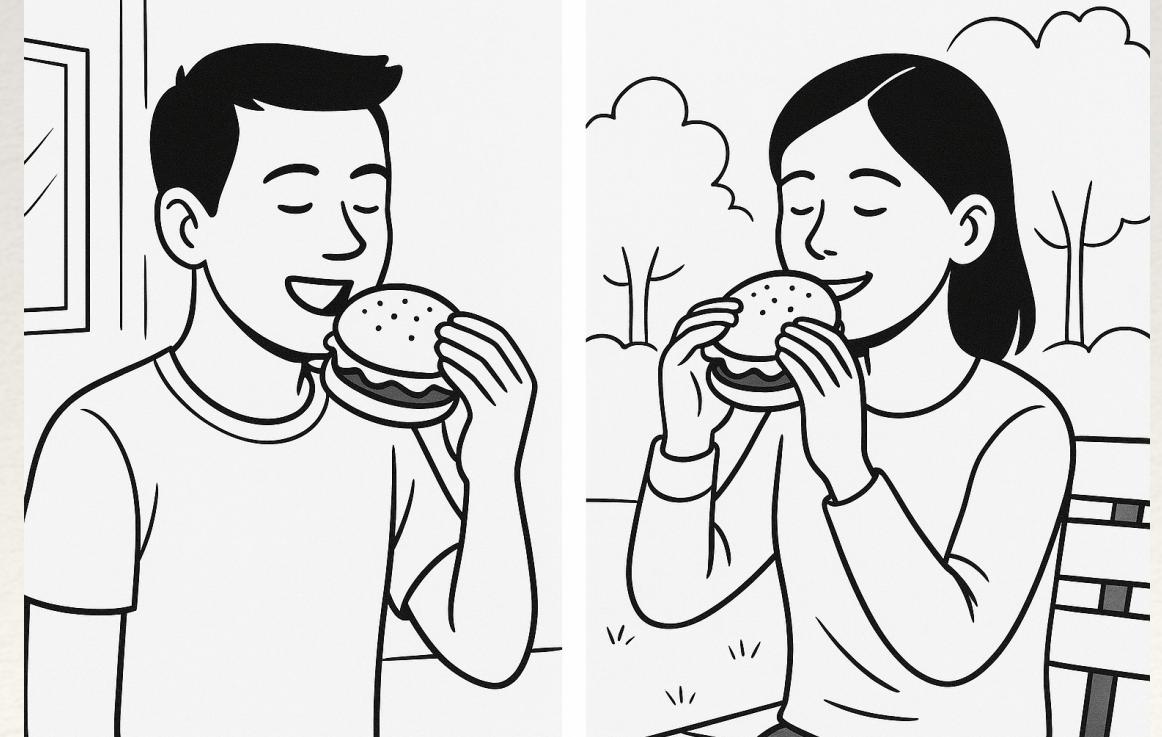
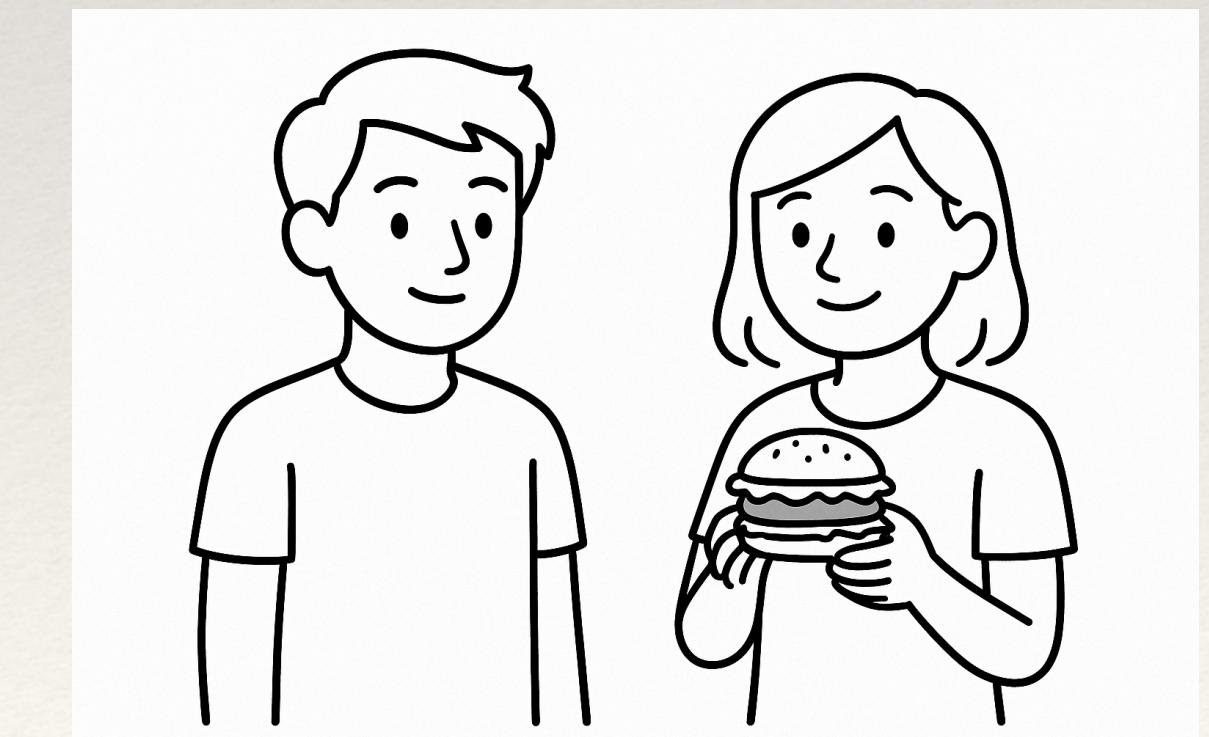
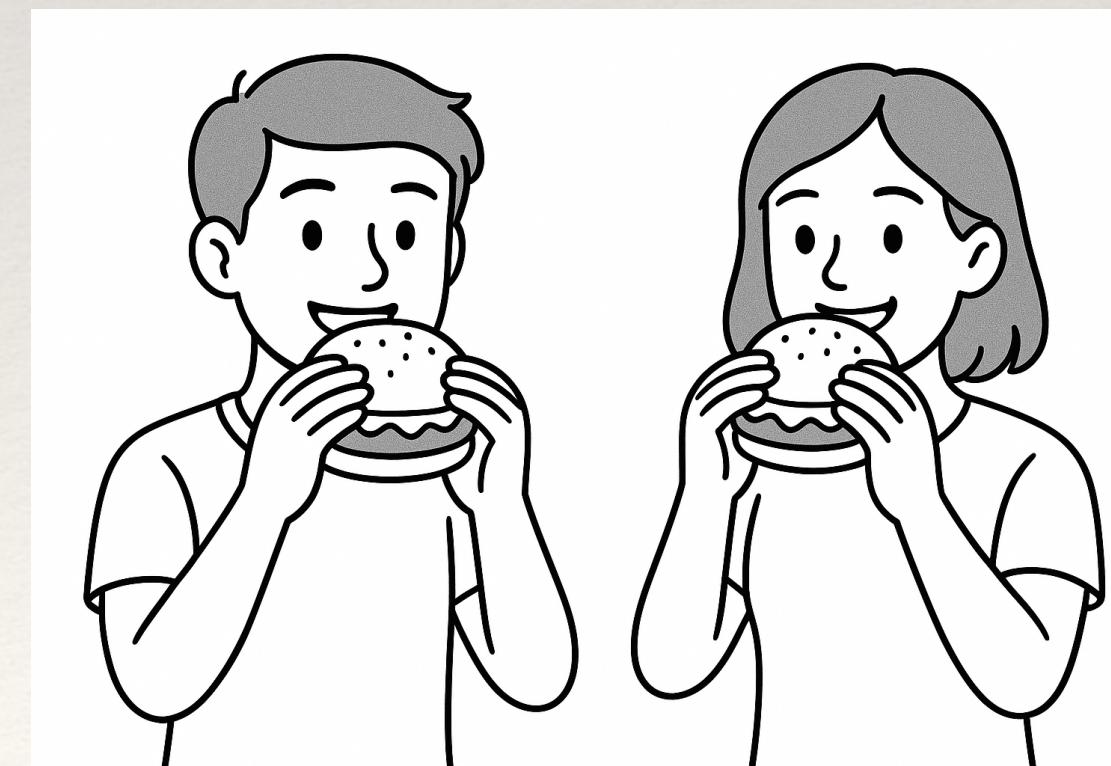
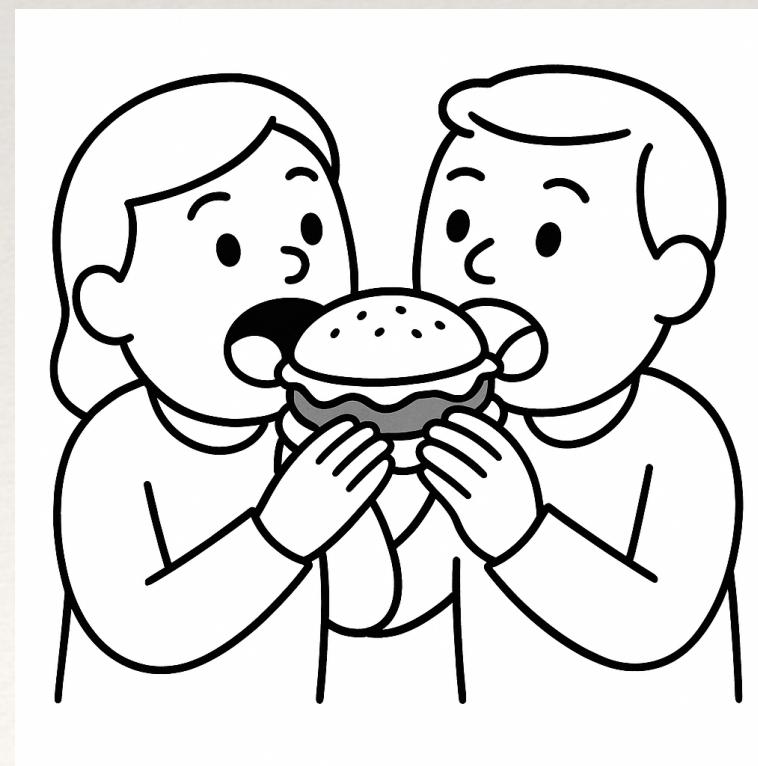
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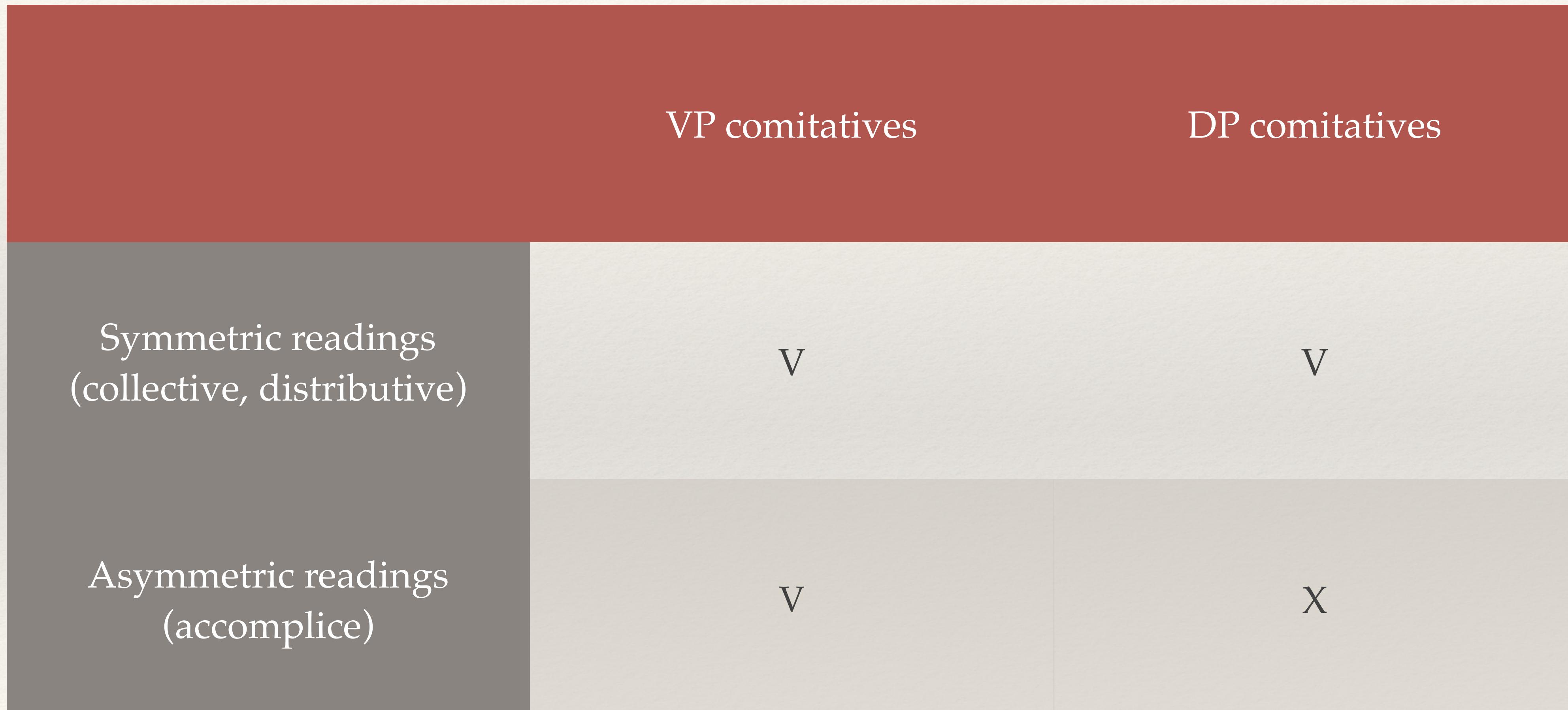
(a) Collective (b) Proximate-distributive (c) ~~Accomplice~~ (d) Distal distributive



# Structures & Readings summary

	English	Russian	Kazakh
Structure	VP-adjunct	VP-adjunct	DP-adjunct DP-conjunct
Reading	Collective Proximate-distributive Accomplice	Accomplice	Collective Proximate-distributive
Structure		DP-conjunct	
Reading		Collective Distal-distributive	

# Structures & Readings summary



# Challenges: Uniform semantics

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- DP comitatives and VP comitatives cannot have the same semantics.
- Only VP comitatives allow accomplice readings.
- Accomplice readings are asymmetric, all other readings are symmetric.  
DP comitatives are syntactically symmetric, VP comitatives are asymmetric.  
English comitatives have both symmetric and asymmetric readings, but only VP syntax.
- Russian DP conjuncts allow a distal-distributive reading, yet Kazakh DP conjuncts do not.

# Previous semantic accounts: Kasyanenko (2017)

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Comitatives form a plurality whose individuals are required to be related (groupable in some intuitive way).

$$[\![\text{Maša s Dašej}]\!] = \lambda X. X = m \oplus d \wedge R_1(m)(d) \wedge R_2(d)(m)$$

# Previous semantic accounts: Kasyanenko (2017)

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Comitatives form a plurality whose individuals are required to be related (groupable in some intuitive way).

$\llbracket \text{Maša s Dašej} \rrbracket = \lambda X. X = m \oplus d \wedge R_1(m)(d) \wedge R_2(d)(m)$

## Issue:

- Only compatible with DP comitatives. Specifically, only with DP conjuncts, as in DP adjuncts (Kazakh) the individuals are not required to be related.

# Previous semantic accounts: Schein (1999)

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‘With’ introduces an accomplice whose participation is essential to the agent’s completion of the action.

$$\exists e \exists e' \exists e'' (\text{Agent}(e, m) \ \& \ \text{With}(e, e', d) \ \& \ \text{Cause}(e', e'') \ \& \ \text{write}(e'') \ \& \ \text{Patient}(e'', p))$$

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## Issues:

- Unclear what ‘with’ does.
- The comitative’s participation is entailed, an undesirable result for sentences like “*Alex melted the chocolate with Sam*”, as Sam could have contributed nothing to the chocolate melting.
- The comitative is not given an agent role, so symmetric readings cannot be captured by this semantics (only compatible with accomplice VP comitatives).

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# Proposal: semantic analysis

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DP comitatives:  $\llbracket \text{with Sam} \rrbracket = \lambda x \lambda P_{\langle e, \langle v, t \rangle \rangle} \lambda e. P(x \oplus s)(e)$

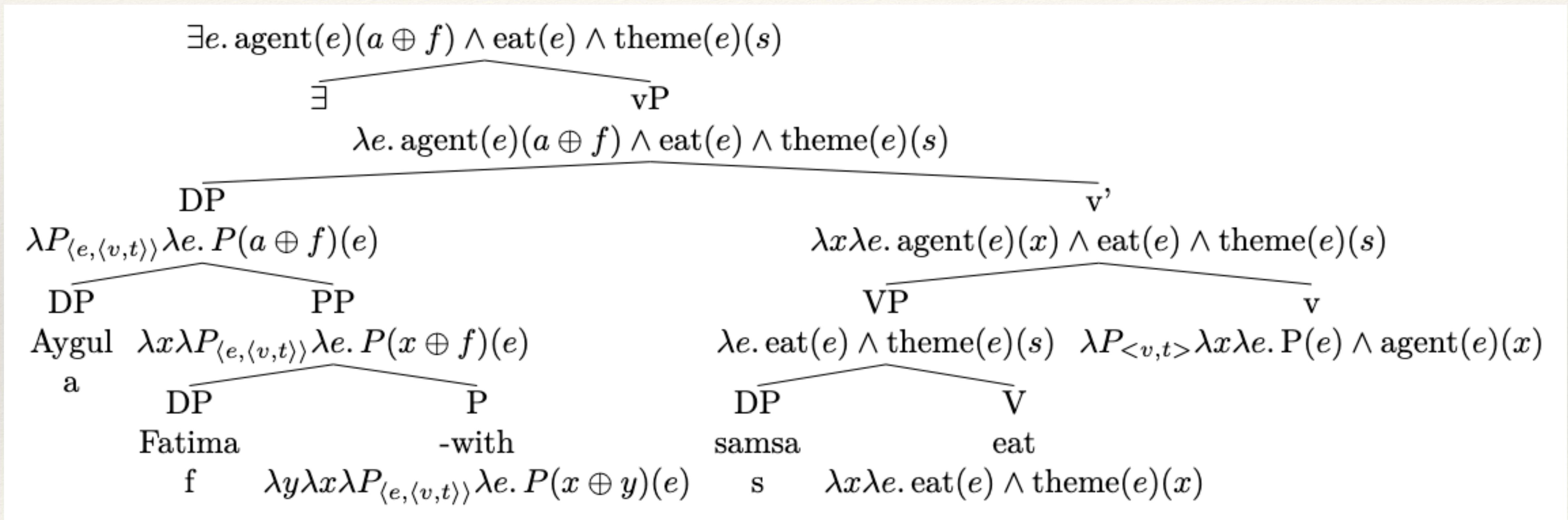
VP comitatives: **asymmetric**: a.  $\llbracket \text{with Sam} \rrbracket = \lambda P_{\langle e, \langle v, t \rangle \rangle} \lambda x. \lambda e. P(x)(e) \wedge \text{With}(e)(x)(s)$

**symmetric**: b.  $\llbracket \text{with Sam} \rrbracket = \lambda P_{\langle e, \langle v, t \rangle \rangle} \lambda x. \lambda e. P(x \oplus s)(e)$

$\text{With}(e)(x)(y) = y$  is present at the location and time as individual  $x$  during the runtime of event  $e$

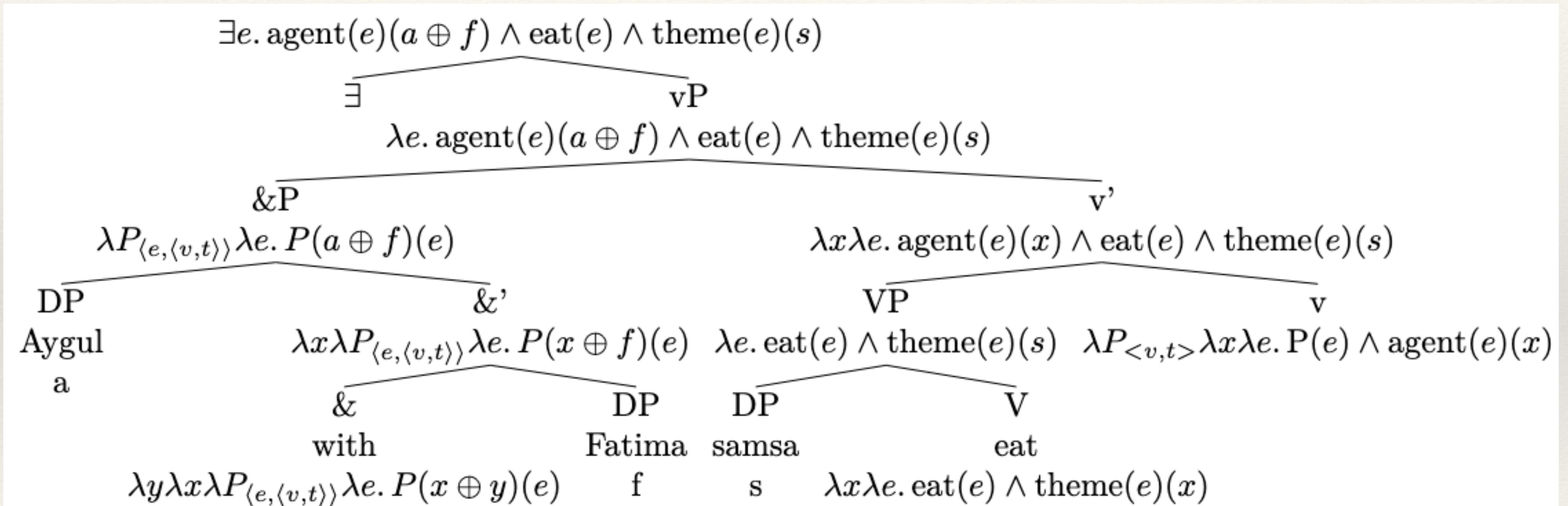
# DP adjuncts (Kazakh)

DP comitatives:  $[\text{with Fatima}] = \lambda x \lambda P_{<e, <v, t>>} \lambda e. P(x \oplus f)(e)$



# DP conjuncts (Kazakh)

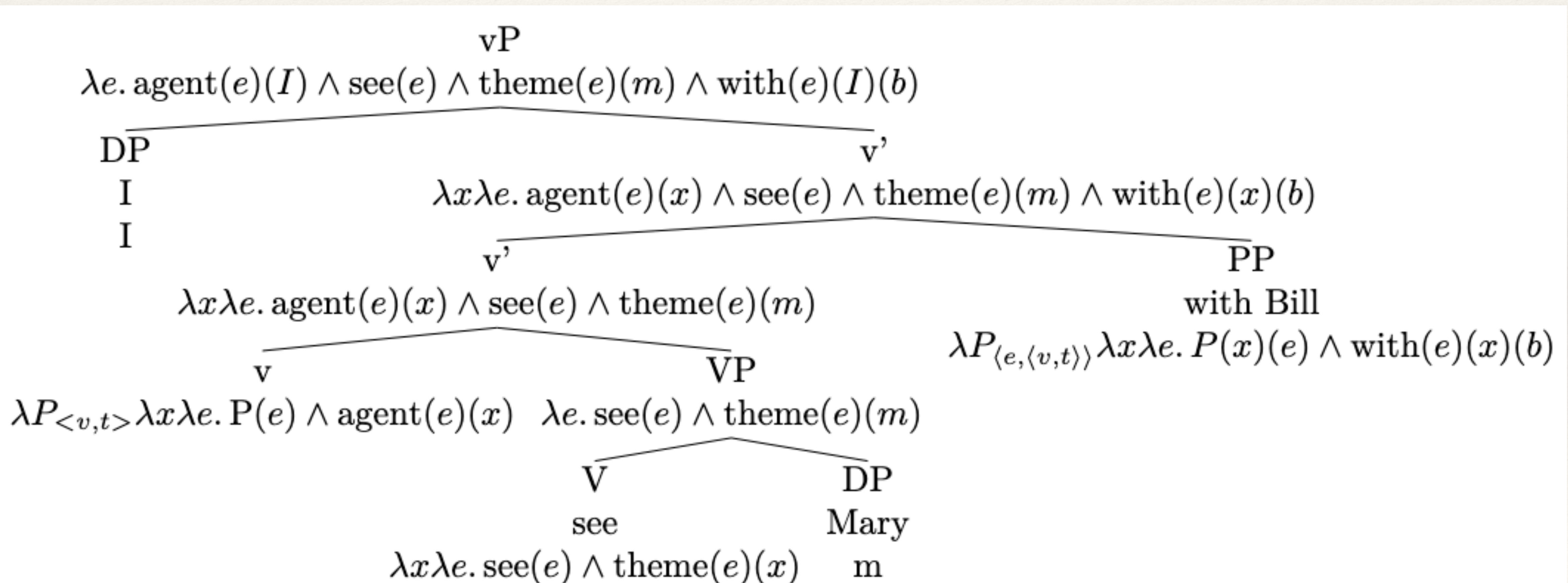
DP comitatives:  $\llbracket \text{with Fatima} \rrbracket = \lambda x \lambda P_{\langle e, \langle v, t \rangle \rangle} \lambda e. P(x \oplus f)(e)$



# Accomplice VP adjuncts

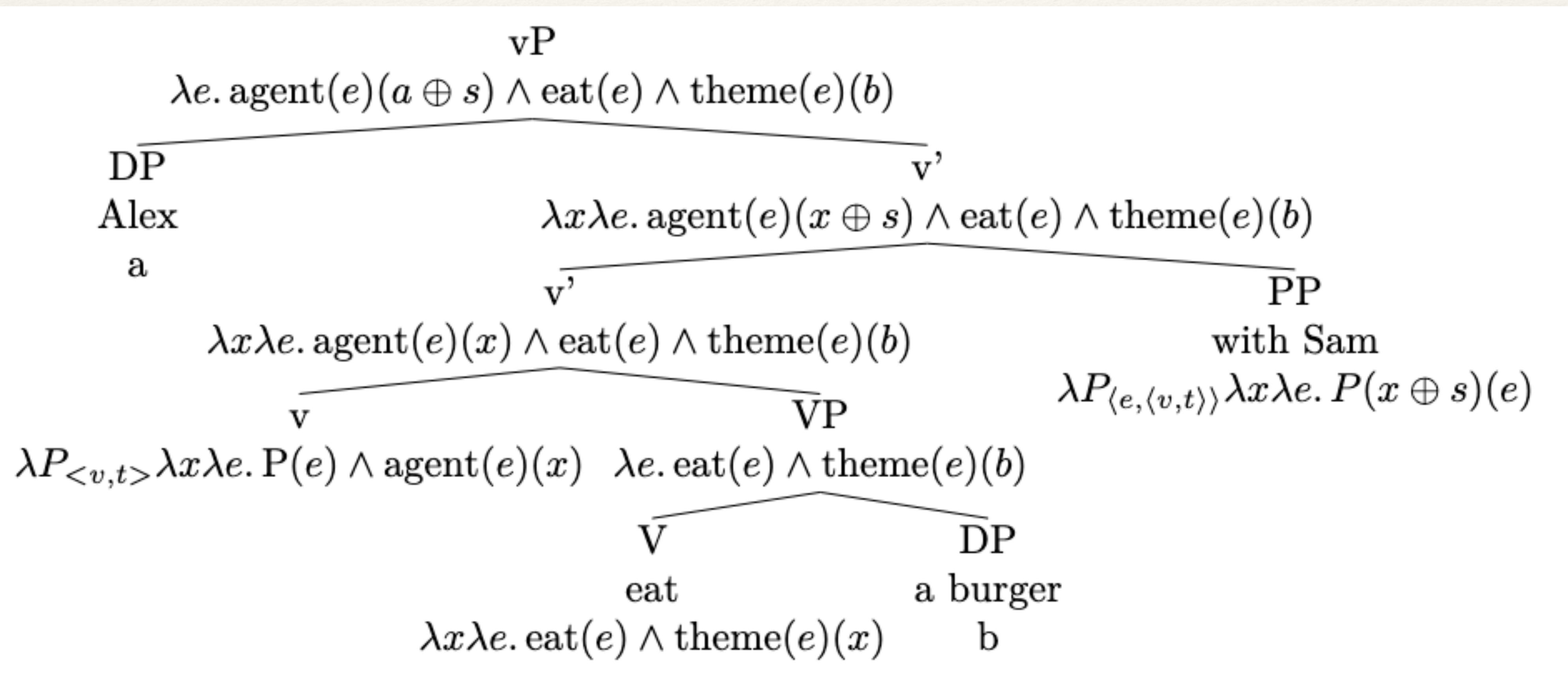
VP comitatives: **asymmetric**: a.  $[\text{with } \text{Sam}] = \lambda P_{\langle e, \langle v, t \rangle \rangle} \lambda x. \lambda e. P(x)(e) \wedge \text{With}(e)(x)(s)$

With( $e$ )( $x$ )( $y$ ) =  $y$  is present at the location and time as individual  $x$  during the runtime of event  $e$



# Symmetric VP adjuncts

VP comitatives: **symmetric**: b.  $\llbracket \text{with Sam} \rrbracket = \lambda P_{\langle e, \langle v, t \rangle \rangle} \lambda x. \lambda e. P(x \oplus s)(e)$



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# Theme- vs. Agent-related VP adjuncts

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- (18) a. Theme: I saw [Mary with Bill]  
      b. Agent: I saw Mary [with Bill]
- (19) a. Theme: I killed [Mary with Bill]  
      b. Agent: I killed Mary [with Bill]

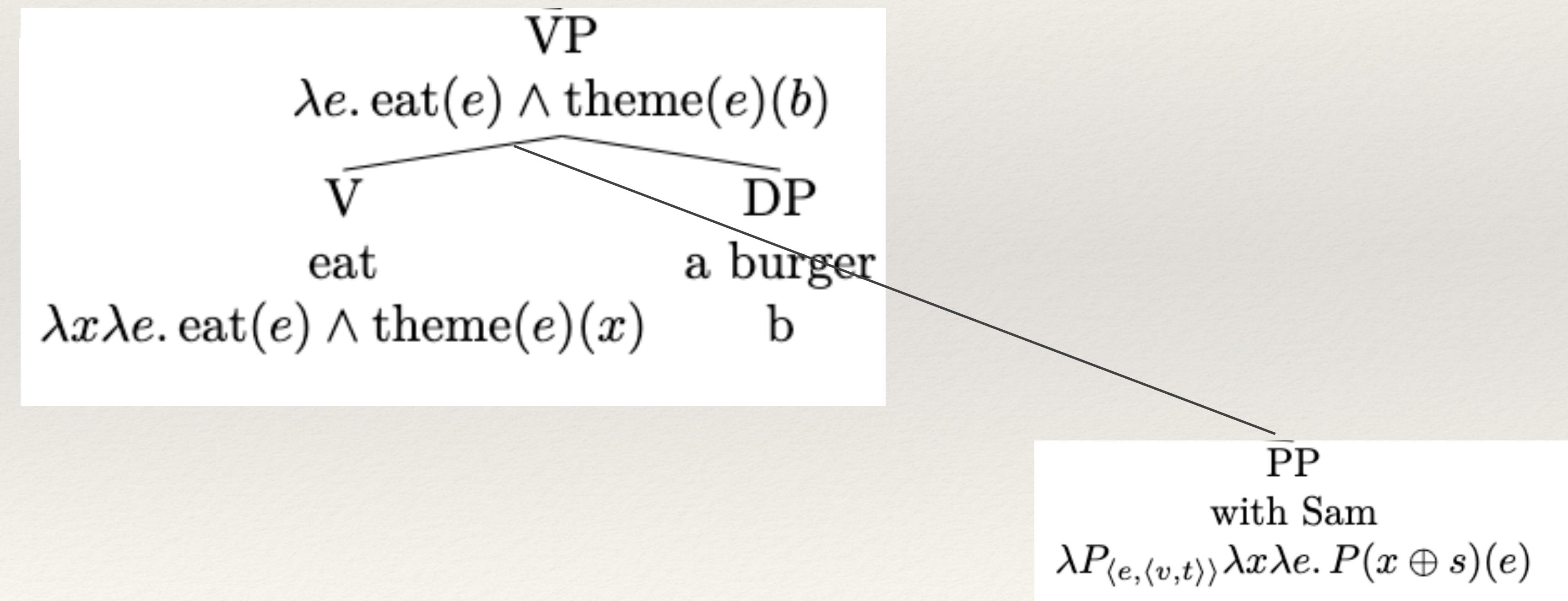
# Theme- vs. Agent-related VP adjuncts

(18) a. Theme: I saw [Mary with Bill] (Bill can**NOT** be an accomplice)  
b. Agent: I saw Mary [with Bill] (Bill can be an accomplice)

(19) a. Theme: I killed [Mary [BE with Bill]] (Bill can**NOT** be an accomplice)  
b. Agent: I killed Mary [with Bill] (Bill can be an accomplice)

# Theme-related VP adjuncts - problem

The comitative must be introduced before the theme individual but after the theme argument is presented into the structure.



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# Summary

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- Data from Kazakh, English and Russian suggests that comitatives may be DP-conjuncts, DP-adjuncts and VP-adjuncts.
- Comitatives may have collective and proximate-distributive readings, with only conjuncts allowing distal-distributivity and VP-adjuncts allowing accompaniment.
- Comitatives have two functions:
  - (1) Forming a plural individual (symmetric).
  - (2) Adding an accomplice to an event (asymmetric).
- Challenges to a uniform semantics arise from type mismatches between DP and VP comitatives, and from their different functions.
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# Open questions

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- Why do Russian DP conjuncts allow a distal-distributive reading, yet Kazakh DP conjuncts do not?
- If symmetric readings are available for VP comitatives, why aren't asymmetric readings available for DP comitatives?
- How are agent- vs. theme-related comitatives derived?
- Why can't theme-related comitatives be accomplices?

Thank you!

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