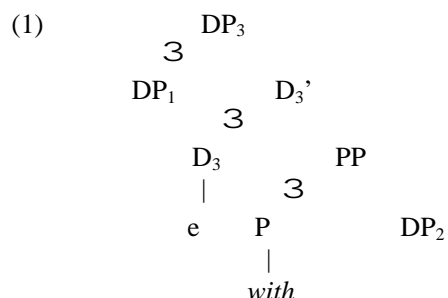


English Comitative PPs Are Not Adjuncts

This talk argues against an adjunct status of English comitative *with* prepositional phrases. I claim that English comitative constructions are derived from (1), where the *with* PP is base-generated as the complement of a null D, rather than an adjunct.



The following seven facts support my claim:

❶ Comitative constructions can satisfy the non-singularity requirement of collective predicates and verbs. In (2b), the non-singularity requirement of *confer* cannot be satisfied by the surface singular subject *John*. If *John* and *Bill* form a DP complex, before *John* moves to the surface subject position, the acceptability contrast between (2b) and (2c) is explained. In (3a), either the coordinate complex *Berlin and Paris* or the comitative complex *Berlin with Paris* can satisfy the non-singularity requirement of the verb *compare*.

❷ Comitative constructions can license the plural number feature of the nominal predicate (Kayne 1994: 66f). If the predicate nominal *friends* in (4a) is the predicate of the coordinate complex [*John with Bill*] at an earlier step of the derivation, the plural form of the predicate is accounted for.

❸ Comitative constructions show unification of theta-roles (Lakoff & Peters 1969: 120). The theta-role unification of *Bill* and *John* in (5a) is explained if the two DPs are base-generated in a DP complex, which has a single thematic relation with *kill*.

❹ The complement of the comitative *with* cannot be a reflexive (Lakoff & Peters 1969: 121). If one conjunct is a pronoun, the other cannot be its binder. The unacceptability of (6a/b) is parallel to that of (6c). In contrast, reflexives can occur in an adjunct *with*-PP, as in (7).

❺ Under certain semantic conditions, the string [DP1 *with* DP2] can occur preverbally in comitative constructions, as in (8a), whereas this is never possible for manner and instrumental adjunction constructions, as shown in (8b) and (8c), respectively:

❻ The comitative *with*-PP can't be stranded in the VP proform *do so*, unlike adverbials. The unacceptability of (9a) is explained if *with fish* is part of a complex object *milk with fish*.

❼ The comitative *with*-PP can't be stranded by gapping, unlike adverbials. The unacceptability of (10a) is explained if *with fish* is part of a complex object *milk with fish*, and thus the gapping does not satisfy Hankamer's (1973: 18) Major Constituent Constraint.

Assuming comitative *with* PP is base-generated as a complement, as in (1), I argue for a DP raising analysis (Kayne 1994), as in (11a). Verbs and objects precede the PP after they are raised to the left of the base-position of subjects (Johnson 1991, a.o.).

I have three arguments against the extraposition analysis in (11b).

❶ Extraposed elements are semantically focused, whereas the *with* PP in comitative constructions is always backgrounded. The extent of participation of the backgrounded partner in the PP in the action is unspecified (Seiler 1974) (*J is in love with M* is vague on whether M is in love with J).

❷ Extraposed elements are phonologically "heavy," whereas the *with* PPs in comitative constructions are not.

❸ Extraposed elements occur at the right edge of sentences. However, the *with* PP in comitative constructions do not need to be at the right edge. In (14a), *with Harry* precedes the subject-oriented depictive *naked*, and in (14c), *with Bill* precedes *about politics*.

- (2) a. John and Bill conferred.
 b. John conferred with Bill.
 c. *John conferred.
- (3) a. Peter compared Berlin {and/with} Paris.
 b. John combined butter {and/with} sugar.
- (4) a. John is friends with Bill.
 b. John and Bill are friends.
 c. John is {a friend/*friends}.
- (5) a. John killed with Bill. (Like John, Bill is a killer)
 b. John was killed with Bill. (Like John, Bill is the victim of a killer)
- (6) a. *John left with himself.
 b. *John killed a man with himself.
 c. *John and himself killed a man.
- (7) Paul analyzed the English passive construction with himself as an informant.
- (8) a. A father with his two children came from there to attend the class.
 b. *John with his good appetite ate the dinner. (without a pause before *with*)
 c. *John with his glasses saw the insects.
- (9) a. *I drink milk with meat and John does so with fish. (object comitative)
 b. John ate the dinner with good cheer, and Harry did so with no cheer. (manner)
- (10) a. *I drink milk with meat and John _ with fish. (object comitative)
 b. John ate the dinner with good cheer, and Harry _ with no cheer. (manner)
- (11) a. *John_i drank beer [t_i with Mary]_i*
 b. *[John t_i] drank beer [with Mary]_i*
- (12) a. *John with Bill will drink beer.
 b. John will drink beer with Bill. "light PP"
- (13) a. John with his two children will drink beer. "heavy PP"
 b. John will drink beer with his two children.
- (14) a. ?John_i ate the fish with Harry naked_i.
 b. John_i ate the fish naked_i with Harry.
 c. John talked with Bill about politics.

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