

## Interpretational variants of the Polish comitative preposition *z*

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This paper discusses the interpretation and semantic representation of the Polish comitative preposition *z*. Comitative prepositions (CPs) are prepositions which, generally speaking, connect two nominal phrases and introduce the comitative content. The corresponding expressions are schematically presented in (1), where NP<sub>1</sub> is an NP modified by the CP and NP<sub>2</sub> is an NP selected by the CP.

(1) NP<sub>1</sub> CP NP<sub>2</sub> V.SG/PL

CPs are common in many languages (Aissen 1989, Comacho 1994, Dyla 1988, Feldman 2002, Ladusaw 1989, McNally 1989, Schwartz 1985, Stolz et al. 2006). The English *with*, German *mit*, French *avec*, Portuguese *com*, Spanish *con* or Russian *s* can be taken as examples. Note, however, that each of these prepositions exhibits a wide range of meanings. The comitative interpretation is merely one of the many possible interpretations available for them. In contrast to the English CP *with* or the German CP *mit*, up to three different interpretations can be identified for the Polish CP *z*, which we will refer to as accompanitive, conjunctive and inclusive. We will demonstrate that the relationship between the modified and the selected NP in Polish expressions involving the accompanitive preposition is such that the individual denoted by the selected NP accompanies the individual denoted by the modified NP in the event denoted by the predicate. The relationship between the selected NP and the modified NP in expressions involving the conjunctive preposition is, in contrast, such that the individual denoted by the modified NP and the one denoted by the selected NP are members of the set of equal participants involved in the event denoted by the predicate. The modified NP and the selected NP, thus, function as conjuncts, being in the same thematic relationship to the predicate. Finally, the relationship between the modified NP and the selected NP in expressions involving the inclusive preposition is such that the denotation of the selected NP is included in the denotation of the modified NP. The crucial denotational differences between the particular types of comitative expressions will be demonstrated, among other things, by their (in)ability to occur in collective and distributive contexts, presuppositional effects, and a number of coreference phenomena. The generalizations made on the basis of the empirical data will be formalized in a Lambda Calculus-based system of semantic representation.

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