

Sometimes We Just Can't Agree with Everyone — First Conjunct Agreement in Kiche¹

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1. Introduction

Kiche², a Mayan language spoken in Guatemala, has rich verbal morphology for subject and object agreement. First conjunct (FC) agreement with the coordinate nominal object was noted in Cheung's (2004) preliminary study. Special privilege is given to the first conjunct when the coordinate DP occurs in some contexts, giving rise to asymmetry between the first conjunct and the other conjunct(s). In this paper, the distribution of FC agreement will be examined in a wider range of constructions and contexts such as sentences with different word orders, postverbal subjects in questions and elements that force group reading of coordinate DPs. New findings about FC agreement will be reported. The rest of the paper will be organized as follows. Section 2 will provide an introduction to FC agreement cross-linguistically and the syntactic environment for FC agreement in Kiche. In Section 3, I will discuss how the theoretical implication of Kiche data to the syntactic analysis of FC agreement. It will be followed by a conclusion in Section 4.

2. First Conjunct Agreement in Kiche

2.1 Cross-linguistic Generalization

Many languages have verbal agreement with subjects and/or objects. When the subjects/objects are made up of coordinate DPs, more than one potential controllers can determine the values of agreement features of the target³. I will call the agreement with the entire coordinate DP controller as *full agreement* and the agreement with the first conjunct as *first conjunct agreement*, or FC agreement. The two agreement patterns give rise two different forms of the agreement target. The contrast is shown in the Kiche examples in (1). In (1a), the object agreement prefix *at* agrees with the first conjunct which is a second person singular pronoun. However, the prefix in (1b) agrees with the entire coordinate DP, i.e. first person plural.

1 I am grateful to my Kiche language consultant, Pedro U. Garcia Mantanic, a native speaker of the West Central variety spoken in Cantel city, for his efforts and patience in the elicitation. I would like to thank P. Munro and everyone in Field Methods class who helped me understand many exciting aspects of the language.

2 Kiche is a Mayan language spoken in Guatemala by about 250,000 speakers (Ethnologue). Kiche is a verb initial language, though many other word orders, especially SVO, are also very common (Larsen 1988). It is an ergative language and has rich verbal morphology for subject and object agreement.

3 In this paper, I adopt Corbett's (2000: 178) notion of "controller" and "target" for agreement relation. The controller refers to the element that determines the agreement, e.g. DP; the target refers to the element whose form is determined by the agreement, e.g. the verb that bears the markers that agree with the subject/object DP.

- (1) a Le-n ajtijonel x-at-Ø-uyäj at w-chi'l in.^{4 5} (447-58⁶) [FC agreement]
 DET-1S.A teacher PST-2S.B-3S.A-scold you 1S.A-and I
 'My teacher scolded you and I.'
- b Le-n ajtijonel x-uj-Ø-uyäj at w-chi'l in. (447-60) [Full agreement]
 DET-1S.A teacher PST-1P.B-3S.A-scold you 1S.A-and I
 'My teacher scolded you and I.'

While full agreement seems to be widely used, FC agreement is also a rather common phenomenon cross-linguistically⁷. It has been observed in languages like Arabic (Aoun et al. 1994, 1999; Munn 1999), Czech (Johannessen 1998), Pima (Smith 2003), Russian (Corbett 2000) and (seemingly) English.

- (2) Raah Kariim w Marwaan. (Lebanese Arabic; Aoun et al. 1994: 207)
 left.3MS Kareem and Marwaan
 'Kareem and Marwaan left.'
- (3) Pūjdu tam [já a ty] (Czech; Johannessen 1998: 28)
 will.go-1SG there I and you
 'You and I will go there.'
- (4) Hoa -t -a 'a -ñ pi maac 'aanñ c heg Eric. (Pima; Smith 2003: 11)
 basket -make -NOML AUX -1SG not know 1SG and DET Eric
 'Eric and I don't know how to make baskets.'
- (5) Teper' na nej byl sinij kostjum i novaja belaja bluzka ...
 Now on her was.SG.MASC (dark) blue and new white blouse.SG.FEM
 'She was now wearing a blue dress and a new white blouse ...'
 (Russian; Corbett 2000: 195)

In English *there* existential construction, the verb *to be* agrees with the first conjunct⁸ of the postverbal subject instead of the entire coordinate, as shown in (6)⁹.

- (6) a There is a boy and three girls in the room.
 b *There are a boy and three girls in the room.

4 See Appendix 1 for the list of gloss abbreviations and Appendix 2 for the list of ergative and absolutive markers on the verb.

5 See Appendix 3 for discussion of the ergative marker on *-chi'l*.

6 Numbers in parentheses are to our notes (Bigelow et al. 2004-5), indicating page numbers and sentence numbers.

7 I want to thank Marcus Smith for pointing out the cross-linguistic generalization to me.

8 First conjunct agreement is also found in Subject-Aux Inversion in English.

a Is John and his son flying to New York tonight?

b *Are John and his son flying to New York tonight?

9 When it functions as a preverbal subject, *a boy and three girls* has to go with a verb that takes plural morphology. This shows that it must be plural syntactically at least when it is in preverbal subject position.

- c There are three girls and a boy in the room.

The environment in which FC agreement is frequently found is when the controller follows the target¹⁰. Aoun et al. (1994) noted that in several varieties of Arabic, FC agreement is possible with the postverbal subject but not with preverbal subject. Smith (2003) found that "[p]artial agreement [i.e. FC agreement] is only possible when the coordinate structure follows the auxiliary [the target]..." The generalization is true for the agreement with postverbal coordinate subject in English. As will be discussed in the rest of this section, the constraint is also obtained in Kiche.

2.2 FC Agreement in Kiche: Cheung (2004)

Verbs in Kiche carry agreement prefixes (see Appendix 2) to indicate person and number agreement with the subject phrase (and also object phrase, if the verb is transitive). As far as I know, there has been no documentation about FC agreement in Kiche before, except my short squib from last year. Cheung (2004) reported that while an verb displays full agreement with the subject, a transitive verb only agrees with the first conjunct (FC) of the coordinate object. Consider (4). Agreement with the first conjunct or the second conjunct is denied in (4a-b).

Subject

- (4) a. *At k-chi'l iyare' x-ø-aw-il le mes. (396-14)
 you 3P.A-and they PST-3S.B-2S.A-see DET table
 'You and they saw the table.'
- b. *At k-chi'l iyare' x-ø-k-il le mes. (399-29)
 you 3P.A-and they PST-3S.B-2S.A-see DET table
 'You and they saw the table.'
- c. La Lawrence w-chi'l in jin k-uj-b'ixonik. (143-1)
 DET Lawrence 1S.A-and I PROG PRS-1P.B-sing
 'Lawrence and I are singing.'
- d. In r-chi'l la Lawrence jin k-uj-b'ixonik. (143-4)
 I 3S.A-and DET Lawrence PROG PRS-1P.B-sing
 'Me and Lawrence are singing.'

Object

- (5) a. Iyare' k-at-k-aj at w-chi'l in. (165-10)
 they PRS-2S.B-3P.G-want you 1S.A-and I
 'They want you and me.'
- b. Iyare' k-n-k-aj in r-chi'l at. (165-11)
 they PRS-1S.B-3P.A-want I 3S.A-and you

10 The generalization does not seem to be absolute because of exceptions noted in Corbett (2000)

'They want me and you.'

In addition to transitive objects, FC agreement is also found in prepositional phrases. The ergative marker on the preposition agrees with the prepositional object in (6).

- (6) K'o ch-r-ij are' w-chil in. (138-7)
have PP-3S.A-behind he 1S.A-and I.
'It is behind him and me.'

A qualification to Cheung's (2004) is necessary here. I argued for a subject/object asymmetry in the possibility of getting FC agreement. While FC agreement with a transitive object or prepositional object is possible, it is evident in (7) and (8) that full agreement is a possible alternative. In other words, coordinate object can trigger both full or FC agreement.

Transitive Object

- (7) a Le-n ajtijonel x-at-Ø-uyäj at w-chi'l in. (447-58) [FC agreement]
DET-1S.A teacher PST-2S.B-3S.A-scold you 1S.A-and I
'My teacher scolded you and I.'
b Le-n ajtijonel x-uj-Ø-uyäj at w-chi'l in. (447-60) [Full agreement]
DET-1S.A teacher PST-1P.B-3S.A-scold you 1S.A-and I
'My teacher scolded you and I.'

Prepositional Object

- (8) a Lal Pam k'o chunwuch in awchi'l at kmik. (476-3)
DET Pam there.be PREP-1S.A-in.front.of I 2s.a-and you now
'Pam is in front of me and you now.'
b Lal Pam k'o chqwuch in awchi'l at kmik. (476-4)
DET Pam there.be PREP-1P.A-in.front.of I 2s.a-and you now
'Pam is in front of me and you now.'

However, my impression from elicitation work suggests that FC agreement seems to be used more often in the aforementioned cases.

In the following, I would like to present more new findings about where FC agreement can occur.

2.3 Postverbal Subject

Cheung (2005) suggests that the coordinate subject only triggers full agreement. Nevertheless, the cross-linguistic generalization in Section 2.1 makes the following two additional predictions. Postverbal coordinate subjects can potentially trigger FC agreement; preverbal coordinate object can be denied of FC agreement. Interestingly, these predictions turn out to be correct. In the following, several environments involving postverbal subjects and preverbal objects will be examined.

Postverbal Subject

- a. VSO and VOS sentence
- b. wh-question
- c. Yes/No question
- d. existential construction

2.3.1 VSO and VOS sentences

Kiche allows VSO and VOS word order sentences (Larsen 1988). With these two orders, the subject (i.e. controller) occurs after the verb (i.e. target). Unlike preverbal subjects in SVO sentences, the postverbal coordinate subject permits both FC and full agreement.

VSO word order

- (9) a X-ki-loq' iyare' w-chi'l in k'ya wuj. (478-44) [FC agreement]
PST-3P.A-buy they 1S.A-and I many book
'They and I bought many books.'
- b X-q-loq' iyare' w-chi'l in k'ya wuj. (478-45) [Full agreement]
PST-1P.A-buy they 1S.A-and I many book
'They and I bought many books.'

VOS word order

- (10) a X-ki-loq' k'ya wuj iyare' w-chi'l in. (478-42) [FC agreement]
PST-3P.A-buy many book they 1S.A-and I
'They and I bought many books.'
- b X-q-loq' k'ya wuj iyare' w-chi'l in. (478-43) [Full agreement]
PST-1P.A-buy many book they 1S.A-and I
'They and I bought many books.'

2.3.2 Wh-questions

Kiche forms a wh-question by wh-movement. This is accompanied by putting the subject in the postverbal position. (11) shows that both FC and full agreement are possible in wh-questions.

- (11) a Jäs x-ki-lq'-ow iyare' aw-chi'l at? (361-30) [FC agreement]
what PST-3P.A-buy-FOCAPSS they 2S.A-and you
'What did they and you buy?'
 - b Jäs x-i-lq'-ow iyare' aw-chi'l at? (361-31) [Full agreement]
what PST-2P.A-buy-FOCAPSS they 2S.A-and you
What did they and you buy?
- (12) a Jajwe x-at-tkik at w-chi'l in? (Lawrence-05.03.22-13) [FC agreement]
where PST-2S.B-stand you 1S.A-and I
'Where did you and I stand?'

- b Jajwe x-uj-tkik wi¹¹ at w-chi'l in? (Lawrence-05.03.22-14) [Full agreement]
 where PST-1P.B-stand ? you 1S.A-and I
 'Where did you and I stand?'

2.3.3 Yes/No Question

Like wh-questions, postverbal subjects are often found in Yes/No questions in Kiche. The verb is preceded by a Yes/No question marker, *a*. However, unlike wh-questions, though FC agreement with the subject is always available, full agreement seems not, as shown by (13b) and (14b).

- (13) a A x-Ø-tze'nik la Xwan k-chi'l iyare'? (445-6) [FC agreement]
 YNQ PST-3S.B-laugh DET Xwan 3P.A-and they
 'Did John and they laugh?'

- b *A x-e-tze'nik la Xwan k-chi'l iyare'? (445-7) [Full agreement]
 YNQ PST-3P.B-laugh DET Xwan 3P.A-and they
 'Did John and they laugh?'

- (14) A x-e-ki-loq' iyare' w-chi'l in le wuj? (L-05.03.22-6) [FC agreement]
 YNQ PST-3P.A-3P.B-buy they 3S.A-and DET book
 'Did they and you buy the books?'

- *A x-e-q-loq' iyare' w-chi'l in le wuj? (L-05.03.22-6) [Full agreement]
 YNQ PST-3P.A-1P.B-buy they 3S.A-and me DET book
 'Did they and you buy the books?'

However, a counter-example has also been found. Both agreement patterns can be obtained in (15).

- (15) a A x-at-b'ixonik at r-chi'l la Xwan? (L-05.03.22-9) [FC agreement]
 YNQ PST-2S.B-sing you 3S.A-and DET John
 'Did you and John sing?'

- b A x-ix-b'ixonik at r-chi'l la Xwan? (L-05.03.22-10) [Full agreement]
 YNQ PST-2S.B-sing you 3S.A-and DET John
 'Did you and John sing?'

2.3.4 Existential Construction

The existential verb *k'o* agrees with the first conjunct of the postverbal subject. In (16a), even though "one cat and five dogs" is semantically plural, having a plural prefix on *k'o* results in ill-formed. This is a bit surprising because full agreement is normally a possible alternative. It reminds us of similar effect in English existential.

11 Mr. Mantanic thought that *wi* is necessary in (12b), but not in (12a).

- (16) a Ø-K'o jun mes' r-chi'l job' tz'i'. (255-3) [FC agreement]
 3_{P.B}-there.be one cat 3_{S.A}-and five dog
 'There is one cat and five dogs.'
- b *E-k'o jun mes' r-chi'l job' tz'i'. (255-4) [Full agreement]
 3_{P.B}-there.be one cat 3_{P.A}-and five dog
 'There is one cat and five dogs.'
- (17) E-k'o job' tz'i' r-chi'l jun mes'. (255-5) [FC agreement]
 3_{P.B}-there.be five dog 3_{P.A}-and one cat
 'There is five dogs and one cat.'

2.4 Preverbal Object

Although object can often trigger FC agreement, it could also be due to the fact that an object normally occurs to the right of the verb. OVS sentences are a good case for testing which of the two factors are relevant to FC agreement. In (18), the ergative marker on the verb indicates that the preverbal *in awchi'l at* 'me and you' is the object.

- (18) a *In aw-chi'l at k-n-k-aj iyare'. (Lawrence-05.03.22-38)
 I 2_{S.A}-and you PRS-1_{S.B}-3_{P.A}-want they
 'They want me and you.'
- b In aw-chi'l at k-uj-k-aj iyare'. (Lawrence-05.03.22-40)
 I 2_{S.A}-and you PRS-1_{P.B}-3_{P.A}-want they
 'They want me and you.'

It turns out that agreement with the first conjunct in (18a) is ungrammatical. Only full agreement is available. This again suggests that the relative order between the controller (i.e. coordinate DP) and the target (i.e. verb) is the relevant factor in determining FC agreement.

2.5 Other Constructions with Agreement

In this section, the agreement in possessive construction will be examined. The possessed noun is prefixed with a Set A agreement marker that agrees with the possessor in person and number (Larsen 1988; Munro 2004).

- (19) L-u chi'ch' la Jeff (71-7)
 DET-3_{S.A} car DET Jeff
 'Jeff's car'

Interestingly, when the possessor is a coordinate DP, neither full agreement nor FC agreement with the possessor is grammatical¹².

- (20) a *L-u chi'ch' la Lawrence aw-chi'l at q'e'l. (FC agreement)
DET-3S.A car DET Lawrence 2S.A-and you old
 'The car of Lawrence's and yours
- b *L-i chi'ch' la Lawrence aw-chi'l at q'e'l. (Full agreement)
DET-3S.A car DET Lawrence 2S.A-and you old
 'The car of Lawrence's and yours

2.6 Summary

Table 1 summarizes the agreement patterns discussed in Section 2. Kiche follows rather nicely the generalization about the directionality of the controller relative to the target.

<i>Construction</i>	<i>FC Agreement</i>	<i>Full Agreement</i>
PREVERBAL SUBJECT (<u>S</u> VO)	*	ok
PREVERBAL OBJECT (<u>Q</u> VS)	*	ok
POSTVERBAL SUBJECT		
a. <u>V</u> OS	ok	ok
b. <u>V</u> SO	ok	ok
c. Wh-question	ok	ok
d. Yes/No question	ok	*
e. Existential construction	ok	*
POSTVERBAL OBJECT		
a. Transitive object	ok	ok
PREPOSITION OBJECT		
OTHERS		
a. Possessive construction	*	*

Table 1. Agreement patterns in various constructions

¹² Mr. Mantanic suggested the following to express the intended meaning of (20).
 L-i ch'ich' ix r-uk la Lawrence r-chi'l at q'e'l.
DET-2P.A car you.guys 3S.A-with DET Lawrence 3S.A-and you old
 'The car o Lawrence's and yours is old.'

3. Analysis of First Conjunct Agreement

3.1 Two Approaches

There are two major syntactic analyses of FC agreement in the literature—biclausal analysis (Aoun et al. 1994, 1999) and special Spec-Head relationship analysis (Munn 1999).

A. BICLAUSAL ANALYSIS: AOUN, BENMAMOUN AND SPORTICHE (1994, 1999)

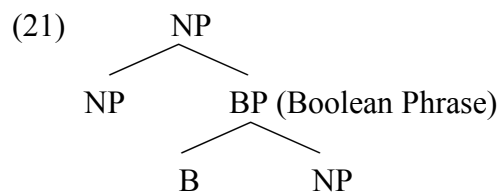
Aoun et al. (1999) claims that FC agreement is apparent. The corresponding underlying structure involves the conjunction of two clauses. With right node raising and across-the-board extraction, they explain how the superficial FC agreement can be derived. Consider (i) to (iii).

- (i) John is sick and Mary is sick.
 - (ii) John is and Mary is, sick. (right node raising)
 - (iii) Is John and Mary sick. (ATB extraction)
- [The above sentences are adapted from Aoun et al. (1999).]

As a result, the verb always agrees with the subject in a conjunct, but not a coordinate subject. Note that the proposal is not explicit about those cases when the verbs in the two underlying clauses have different person, gender and number features.

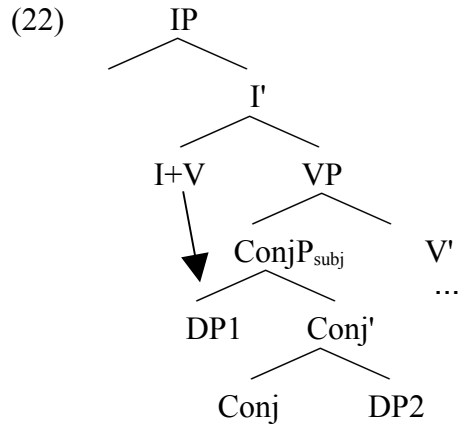
B. AGREEMENT UNDER A SPEC-HEAD RELATIONSHIP: MUNN (1992)

Munn (1993) argues for an asymmetric hierarchical structure of a coordinate structure, or Adjoined BP in Munn's term.



Taking advantage of the symmetry between the conjuncts, Munn (1999) assumes further that a head may govern into the specifier of a projection it governs¹³, as illustrated in (22). Such government relation is not obtained when the conjoined DP is in preverbal subject position.

¹³ V governs VP in the diagram.



3.2 Analysis of FC Agreement in Kiche

The Kiche data seems to favor neither Aoun et al.'s analysis nor Munn's.

3.2.1 Forcing Group Reading

Aoun et al. (1993) argues that if coordinate DPs are true the conjunction of DPs, then they should behave like a plural DP semantically. They use 'together', 'meet', relatives and reflexives to force plural subject interpretation, which should rule out the possibility of clausal conjunction. Take (23) as an example. Biclausal analysis predicts that the use of *məzmuçin* 'together' in (23) should be bad because the second clause in "You guys left together and I left together" is semantically ill-formed. Interestingly, Munn (1999) and Aoun et al (1999) gave completely different judgments to (23).

- (23) msitu ntuma w ana məzmuçin (Morocco Arabic)
 left.2PL you.PL and I together
 'You and I left together.'
 (i) Munn (1999) : *ok*
 (ii) Aoun et al. (1999) : *bad*

Here Kiche data can contribute to the discussion here. Some of the tests will be applied to Kiche.

TOGETHER

(24a) should be bad because a singular subject should not go well with *junam* 'together.' Yet, FC agreement in (24) is good. The biclausal analysis does not seem to be borne out.

- (24) X-n-tz'ib'aj in aw-chi'l at junam jun wuj.
 PST-1S.B-write I 2S.A-and you together one paper
 'I and you together wrote a paper.'

Surprising, full agreement is bad although 'I and you together' is semantically plural.

- (25) *X-q-tz'ib'aj in aw-chi'l at junam jun wuj.
 PST-1S.B-write I 2S.A-and you together one paper
 'I and you together wrote a paper.'

REFLEXIVES / PRONOUNS

The Kiche reflexive *kib'* 'themselves' requires a plural antecedent. Aoun et al. (1993) reported that sentences like (26) are bad in Lebanese Arabic. The postverbal coordinate subject cannot serve as the antecedent when the verb agrees only with its first conjunct.

- (26) a *Bihibb Kariim w Marwaan haalun. (=48a) in Aoun et al. 1993)
 love.3s Kareem and Marwaan themselves
 'Kareem and Marwaan love themselves.'
- b Bihibbo Kariim w Marwaan haalun. (=47a) in Aoun et al. 1993)
 love.3P Kareem and Marwaan themselves
 'Kareem and Marwaan love themselves.'

Kiche seems to pattern with Labenese Arabic, which support Aoun et al.'s prediction.

- (27) a *X-u-chäy la Xwan r-chi'l La-miy k-ib'. (Lawrence-05.03.22-33)
 PST-3S.A-wash DET John 3S.A-and DET-Miguel 3P.A-self
 'John and Miguel washed themselves.'
- b X-ki-chäy la Xwan r-chi'l La-miy k-ib'. (Lawrence-05.03.22-34)
 PST-3P.A-wash DET John 3S.A-and DET-Miguel 3P.A-self
 'John and Miguel washed themselves.'

PRONOUNS

In (28), the use of *lawnäb* 'your (pl.) sister' requires a plural antecedent. Interestingly, the coreference relation is available only when the ergative marker on the verb agrees with the entire coordinate subject. This suggests that the use of the plural pronoun forces true coordinate DP. Under such circumstance, only full agreement is possible.

- (28) a K-iw-aj l-i-nan l-aw-näb' aw-chi'l at. (Lawrence-05.03-22-27)
 PST-2P.A-love DET-2P.A-mother DET-2S.A-sister 2S.A-and you
 'Your sister and you love your (pl.) mother.'
- b *K-ɾ-aj l-i-nan l-aw-näb' aw-chi'l at. (Lawrence-05.03-22-28)
 PST-3S.A-love DET-2P.A-mother DET-2S.A-sister 2S.A-and you
 'Your sister and you love your (pl.) mother.'

It is not clear why Munn's analysis cease to work in (27) and (28). The reflexive and pronoun tests seem to favor Aoun et al.'s analysis. They correctly predict that when FC agreement occurs,

there exists a biclausal structure, which denies the availability of a plural antecedent for the pronoun and reflexive.

To summarize, the evidences presented in this section does not seem to favor either analysis. More detailed investigation is needed in the future.

3.2.2 FC Agreement Beyond Postverbal Subjects

Aoun et al.'s (1999) discussion focuses on FC agreement with canonical subjects. Mechanisms such as right node raising and ATB extraction have to be utilized to derive the FC agreement. However, as mentioned in Section 3, FC agreement in Kiche can be found in transitive objects and prepositional objects, as illustrated in (29).

(29) a La Xwan x-ø-chäy r-mal la Sameer r-chi'l la Jeff. (Lawrence-05.03.22-1)
DET John PST-3S.B-hit 3S.A-by DET Sameer 3S.A-and DET Jeff
'John was hit by Sameer and Jeff.'

b La Xwan x-ø-chäy k-mal la Sameer r-chi'l la Jeff. (Lawrence-05.03.22-2)
DET John PST-3S.B-hit 3P.A-by DET Sameer 3S.A-and DET Jeff
'John was hit by Sameer and Jeff.'

It is not clear how the syntactic machinery put forth by Aoun et al. may work for transitive objects or prepositional objects. For example, assuming their analysis, it is necessary to claim that (30) is the underlying representation of (31). On the other hand, what needs to be right node raised or ATB-extract is the string "John was hit by", which is not a constituent by itself.

(30) a John was hit by Sameer and John was hit by Jeff.

The dilemma does not seem to be easily reconciled.

3.3 Distributive vs. Group Interpretations

Throughout the discussion, we assume that there is no semantic difference between full agreement and FC agreement. Even though both full agreement and FC agreement with a postverbal subject are possible, they result in different interpretations. In (30a), distributive interpretation is available under FC agreement with postverbal subject in VSO order. "They" and "I" are considered to be separate groups. Two buying events took place. In (30b), however, only group reading is possible under full agreement. "They" and "I" together as a group purchased the books.

VSO word order

(30) a X-ki-loq' iyare' w-chi'l in k'ya wuj. (478-44) [FC agreement]

PST-3P.A-buy they 1S.A-and I many book

'They and I bought many books.'

[distributive reading: ok; group reading: *]

b X-q-loq' iyare' w-chi'l in k'ya wuj. (478-45) [Full agreement]

PST-1P.A-buy they 1S.A-and I many book

'They and I bought many books.'

[distributive reading: *; group reading: ok]

Nevertheless, the interpretations are reversed when the word order changes to VOS.

VOS word order

(31) a X-ki-loq' k'ya wuj iyare' w-chi'l in. (478-42) [FC agreement]

PST-3P.A-buy many book they 1S.A-and I

'They and I bought many books.'

[distributive reading: ok; group reading: *]

b X-q-loq' k'ya wuj iyare' w-chi'l in. (478-43) [Full agreement]

PST-1P.A-buy many book they 1S.A-and I

'They and I bought many books.'

[distributive reading: *; group reading: ok]

The above preliminary findings suggest that the two agreement possibility may involve more complicated structures.

4.4 Summary

The Kiche data presented show both support and challenge to the both syntactic analyses of FC agreement. Kiche has provided new data concerning FC agreement with transitive objects and prepositional objects, which previous studies did not consider. Indeed, because of the new possibility in FC agreement, the biclausal hypothesis seems to be harder to be maintained. However, much more research work on Kiche and FC agreement is needed to explain the agreement patterns in Section 3 and 4.

5. Conclusion

Kiche displays FC agreement when the controller occurs to the right of the target, which is typical of FC agreement cross-linguistically. The agreement pattern is usually observed in postverbal subjects, postverbal objects, and prepositional objects. Nevertheless, full agreement is usually a possible alternative when FC agreement is available. Theoretically, the Kiche data has provided new input into the syntactic analyses of FC agreement. Although neither Aoun et al. (1999) nor Munn (1999) are well supported by the data, the former seems to be more

problematic because their proposal has not considered the derivation of FC agreement with the object. Finally, the preliminary observations about group and distributive reading, which has not been found in previous studies, also deserve more attention in future research.

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Appendix 1

Here is the list of gloss abbreviations used in this squib.

1s	1st person singular	1P	1st person plural
2s	2nd person singular	2P	2nd person plural
3s	3rd person singular	3P	3rd person plural
A	Set A / ergative verbal agreement		
B	Set B / absolutive verbal agreement		

FOCAPSS Focus anti-passive marker

DET	Determiner
NEG	Negation marker
PRS	Present tense
PROG	Progressive aspect
PST	Past tense
PREP	Preposition

Appendix 2

	<i>Ergative (Set A)</i>		<i>Absolutive (Set B)</i>
	<i>Pre-consonantal</i>	<i>Prevocalic</i>	
<i>1s</i>	n	w ~ nw	n
<i>2s</i>	a	aw	at
<i>3s</i>	u	r	ø
<i>1P</i>	q	q	uj
<i>2P</i>	i	iw	ix
<i>3P</i>	ki	k ~ kr ~ kir	e

Table 1. Ergative and absolutive agreement markers in Kiche

Appendix 3. Agreement Marker on Coordination Marker -chi'l

In Kiche, the conjunctive marker *-chi'l* is used to form a coordinate nominal structure (Shilman 2004). *-chi'l* often takes an ergative (Set A) prefix that agrees with the second conjunct.

- (1) a. Iyare' w-chi'l in k-uj-kikotik. (138-12)
 they 1s.A-and I PST-1P.B-happy
 'They and I are happy.'
- b. Iyare' aw-chi'l at jin k-ix-b'ixonik. (144-17)
 they 2s.A-and you PROG PRS-2P.B-sing
 'They and you are singing.'

- c. In k-chi'l iyare' jin k-uj-b'ixonik. (144-19)
 I 3P.A-and they PROG PRS-1P.B-sing
 'I and they are singing.'

However, an additional agreement pattern has also been observed, as in (2a) and (2b).

- (2) a Lamiy r-chi'l in jin k-uj-achknik. (447-55)¹⁴
 Lamiy 3S.A-and I PROG PRS-1S.B-dream
 'Miguel and I are dreaming.'
- b Lamiy w-chi'l in jin k-uj-achknik. (447-54)
 Lamiy 1S.A-and I PROG PRS-1S.B-dream
 'Miguel and I are dreaming.'

Although the only expected set A marker on *-chi'l* is "w" (as in (2b)) instead of "r", the third person singular marker "r" is also grammatical. A plausible explanation of (2) is that "r" is a default agreement marker that can be used alongside with the "proper" agreement marker that agrees with the second conjunct. However, "r" does not seem to be possible all the time, as shown in (3).

- (3) a *Ix r-chi'l uj uj-kosnāq. (447-47)
 you-guys 3S.A-and we 1P.B-tired
 'You guys and we are tired.'
- b Ix q-chi'l uj uj-kosnāq. (447-48)
 you-guys 1P.A-and we 1P.B-tired
 'You guys and we are tired.'

The basic generalization that Mr. Mantanic and I came up with is that the alternative "r" agreement marker can be used only when the second conjunct is singular. However, the difference in the ergative marker is sometimes rather subtle. I have come across some exceptions to the rule before.

14 Note that Mr. Mantanic considered the sentence bad the first time I elicited the sentence. However, Pedro confirmed with me in another session that it is good.