In a syntactic construction (...) where two members (...) can potentially be affixed for the same inflectional categories (number, person and number of possessor, case), only the second is, but the first isn’t.


In Tzotzil (Mayan), plural agreement with subjects, objects and possessors is expressed through a series of suffixes which are distinct from the morphology which indexes person. While number agreement with 1st and 2nd person plurals is usually obligatory, plural agreement morphology can be absent if the plurality of the same referent is indexed elsewhere –further to the right – in the clause. For example, in (1), plural agreement with the 1st person plural subject may be omitted on the verb if the internal argument is inflected for the plurality of the same referent by virtue of its function as possessor.

(1)  J-sa’-(tutik) j-ve’el-tutik.
    ERG1-seek-1PL.EXC GEN1-meal-1PL.EXC
    ‘We (exclusive) are looking for our meal.’

For Tzotzil, I propose (2):

(2)  Suspended affixation is the morphological reflection of φ feature sharing on multiple heads.

Morphophonologically, omission of agreement morphology on non-final heads results from delinking of the plural feature, followed by SPELL-OUT. Thus, it is, in part, a PF phenomenon. However, feature sharing is possible only in certain syntactic contexts, as a result, I speculate, of AGREE. Under this analysis then, the distribution of suspended affixation should be sensitive to syntactic conditions on AGREE. This paper will present evidence that this is correct.