

***Coordinated subjects and Single Conjunct Agreement in Polish***  
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The phenomenon of Single Conjunct Agreement in coordinated subjects has been attested in many unrelated languages such as Arabic (Aoun et al. 1994), Slovenian (Marušič et al. 2007), or Hindi (Benmamoun 2010) or Serbo-Croatian (Bošković 2009, 2010). Such agreement may manifest itself as First Conjunct Agreement (FCA), where the verb agrees with the first of the conjuncts in postverbal contexts, or as Last Conjunct Agreement (LCA), where the verb agrees with the last conjunct in pre-verbal contexts.

Polish has been assumed to be a language which allows for the FCA pattern (Citko 2004, Willim 2012, Kallas 1993). The LCA pattern poses, however, more problems. According to Citko (2004), LCA does not exist in Polish, while Willim (2012: 238) and Kallas (1993: 64-66) claim that it is only possible when the conjuncts are abstract or have a single referent.

The aim of this paper is to show that such a pattern does exist in Polish, and that it exhibits some interesting properties. Data from Polish IPI PAN corpus reveals that whenever the verb shows singular agreement in preverbal coordinated subject context, either both nouns must have the same gender, as in (2), or the verb must show no gender agreement, as in (2).

- (1) Deszcz i wiatr przeszkodził w tradycyjnym świątecznym pikniku  
rain<sub>M.SG</sub> and wind<sub>M.SG</sub> interrupted<sub>3.M.SG</sub> in traditional festive picnic  
'The rain and the wind interrupted the traditional festive picnic'
- (2) Śpiew i muzyka rozwesela serca  
singing<sub>M.SG</sub> and music<sub>F.SG</sub> amuses<sub>3.SG</sub> hearts  
'Singing and music amuses the heart'

Moreover, in line with Bošković (2009: 477), agreement with the last conjunct is unavailable in instances where the nouns exhibit natural gender (as in (3)), which in contrast to grammatical gender, is an interpretable feature.

- (3) \*Chłopiec i dziewczynka weszła do pokoju  
boy<sub>M.SG</sub> and girl<sub>F.SG</sub> came<sub>3.F.SG</sub> to room  
Chłopiec i dziewczynka weszli do pokoju  
boy<sub>M.SG</sub> and girl<sub>F.SG</sub> came<sub>3.V.PL</sub> to room  
'A boy and a girl came into the room'

The availability of single conjunct agreement in conjoined phrases significantly increases in situations where numeral phrases are conjoined. More specifically, it becomes possible when one of the conjoined phrases contains a 5< numeral (5), which triggers a default third person singular neuter agreement when used on its own (as in (4)):

- (4) Pięciu mężczyzn weszło do pokoju  
five men<sub>GEN.PL</sub> came<sub>3.SG.N</sub> in room  
'Five men came into the room'
- (5) Pięciu mężczyzn i dwie kobiety weszły do pokoju  
five men<sub>GEN.PL.M</sub> and two women<sub>NOM.PL.F</sub> came<sub>3.PL.F</sub> in room  
'Five men and two women came into the room'

These characteristics can be juxtaposed with another type of singular agreement involving conjuncts in Polish, namely First Conjunct Agreement. FCA occurs in postverbal contexts and is significantly less constrained than LCA. It can involve all types of nouns, regardless of gender, and the form of the verb doesn't necessarily have to be syncretic for both conjuncts.

This paper tries to reconcile Polish data with the available analyses of conjunct agreement. While the unavailability of LCA with nouns exhibiting interpretable gender (3) and the possibility of FCA in the same context seems to show that Polish falls under Bošković (2009, 2010) analysis, the evidence from numerals (5) points to the analysis of Marušič et al. (2007, 2009). On the other hand, the requirement of gender homogeneity and increased availability of singular agreement with syncretic form of the verb cannot be accounted for in the existing analysis and might point to an analysis with a multidominant structure, as proposed in Citko (2011) for ATB *wh*-questions and questions with conjoined *wh*-pronouns.

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