Complementizer Agreement

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In some languages, a complementizer agrees with the embedded subject in $\phi$-features.

CA is mainly found in continental West-Germanic, some Bantu languages and Arabic.
In Najdi Arabic, the complementizer agrees with the embedded subject in person, number and gender:

(1) a. ta-ʃatiqid inna-ha sawwa-t
   2SG-think that-3sg.fem make.PERF-3SG.FEM
   al-akil
   the-food
   'You think that she made the food.'

b. ta-ʃatiqid inna-hum saww-aw
   2SG-think that-3pl.masc make.PERF-3PL.MASC
   al-akil
   the-food
   'You think that they made the food.'

(Lewis 2013)
Katwijk Dutch has complementizer agreement with plural subjects:

(2)  a.  ...dat ik zuinig leef.
that I frugal live.sc
'...that I live frugally.'

b.  datt-e we/jullie/hullie gewoon lev-e.
that-pl we/you.PL/they normal live-PL
'...that we/you/they live normally.'

(Barbiers et al. 2006)
The complementizer in Limburgian agrees with an embedded 2SG-subject

When the subject consists of two conjuncts, the complementizer still agrees with the 2SG while the finite verb shows plural agreement

(3)  

(a) Ich denk de-s doow Marie ontmoet-s  
I think that-2sg you.sg Maie meet-2sg  
'I think that you will meet Marie.'

(b) Ich dink de-s [toow en Marie] kump.  
I think that-2sg you.sg and Marie come.pl  
'I think that you and Marie will come.'
Complementizer agreement with 2SG-subjects is also found in Bavarian:

(4) a. (I frog’ me) ob-sd ned du des mocha
    I ask myself whether-2sg not you this make
    kands
    could-2sg
    ’I ask myself whether you could not make it.’

(Weiss 2005)
Complementizers and embedded subjects in West Flemish agree only in number:

(5) …omda-n die venten toen juste gebeld een because-pl those guys then just phoned have-pl ’...because those guys called just then.’

Like in Limburgian, the φ-features spelt out on the complementizer and the finitite embedded verb do not necessarily need to be the same
External possessor agreement pattern

(6)  ...omda-n die venten toen juste underen computer because-pl those guys then just their computer kapot was broken was.sg
’...because those guy’s computer broke just then.’

- The subject is split into a higher possessor subject and a lower possessee subject
- The complementizer agrees with the plural possessor die venten
- The finite verb agrees with the singular possessee underen computer
Data Nformi (2017)

In Limbum, Complementizers agree in Person and Number with the matrix subject:

(7) a. yì kwà’cì yì-ne mámá bí vù 2PL think 2PL-COMP grandmother FUT1 come “You think that the grandmother will come.”
   b. mámá kwà’cì i-ne yì bí vù grandmother think 3SG-COMP 2PL FUT1 come “The grandmother thinks that you will come.”
Agreement is with the most local subject:

(8) Nfor à mū la í-ne bì ó
Nfor 3SG.AGR PST2 say 3SG-COMP people 3PL.AGR
ci суŋ *í-/ó-ne wē vù
PROG tell 3SG-/3PL-COMP 2SG come
“Nfor said that people are reporting that you have come.”
Agreement is blocked by a matrix direct object:

(9) Paul à mū sūḥ me *í-/me-ne wē dò Paul 3SG.AGR PST2 tell 1SG 3SG/1SG-COMP 2SG go rdjèr journey “Paul told me that you have travelled.”
However, other intervening matrix DPs such as indirect objects and causees in the causative construction do not block agreement with the subject:

(10)   a. Shey à mū là nī bō fo
Shey 3SG.AGR PST2 say to children DET
*ó-/í-ne ó bí dòsí
3PL-/3SG-COMP 3PL FUT1 go
“Shey said to the children that they will go.”

   b. mē mū nəŋ-sí bō *ó-/mē-ne
1SG PST2 lie.down-CAUS children 3PL-/1SG-COMP
ó būmī
3PL sleep
“I made the children lie down so that they can fall asleep.”
References


