

C-Agree is local subject-verb agreement in Kipsigis

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When C-Agree is upwards-oriented

A number of African languages have been reported to display upwards-oriented complementizer agreement, where C agrees with the matrix subject (Baker 2008, Idiatov 2010, Diercks 2013, Duncan and Torrence 2017, Nformi 2017, Diercks and Rao 2019, Letsholo and Safir 2019)

- (1) Ewe w-a-bol-el-a Nelsoni [CP o-li ba-keni ba-rekukha]
 you 2SGS-PST-say-AP-FV 1.Nelson 2SG-that 2-guests 2S-left
 'You told Nelson that the guests left.' *Lubukusu (Diercks 2013: 369)*

When C-Agree is upwards-oriented

C-agreement raises questions about the directionality and locality of Agree!

Upwards-oriented agreement accounted for via ...

- ▶ extension to long-distance Upward Agree between the embedded C head and the matrix subject (Nformi 2017, Letsholo and Safir 2019, McFadden and Sundaresan 2020)

$$(2) \quad [{}_{\nu}P \text{ SUBJECT}_{[\phi]} \dots [{}_{\text{Force}P} \text{ FORCE}_{[u\phi]} \dots [{}_{\text{Fin}P} \dots [{}_{\text{TP}} \text{ SUBJECT} \dots]]]]$$

- ▶ Downward Agree with an additional (covert) movement step of the embedded complementizer prior to Agree (Carstens 2016, Diercks and Rao 2019, Diercks et al. 2020)

$$(3) \quad [{}_{\nu}P \text{ FORCE}_{[u\phi]} [{}_{\nu}P \text{ SUBJECT}_{[\phi]} \dots [{}_{\text{Force}P} \langle \text{Force} \rangle \dots [{}_{\text{Fin}P} \dots [{}_{\text{TP}} \text{ SUBJ} \dots]]]]]]$$

The agreement pattern in Kipsigis

Kipsigis (Nilotic, Kenya) is a pro-drop language, and it has VSO word order (Bossi and Diercks 2019) and a marked nominative case system (Toweett 1979, Kouneli 2019).

Diercks and Rao (2019), Diercks et al. (2020) argue that the Kipsigis complementizer *le* agrees with the matrix subject. We provide examples with our transcriptions:

- (4) a. \hat{a} :-ŋgén [\hat{a} :-lé Ø-rú-è Kíbê:t]
 1SG-know 1SG-LE 3-sleep-IPFV Kibeet.NOM
 'I know that Kibeet is sleeping.'
- b. Kà-ś-mwá [ò:-lé Ø-rú-è Kíbê:t]
 PST-2PL-say 2PL-LE 3-sleep-IPFV Kibeet.NOM
 'You(pl) said that Kibeet is sleeping.'

Agreement tracks the logophoric source

We observe that the complementizer may agree with non-subject DPs in the matrix clause, if they qualify as the logophoric SOURCE (Sells 1987) of the embedded proposition.

- (5) Ka-**a**-kas-ε:n **Alice** [**à:- lé/ ko-** le ka-kɔ-it là:gô:k]
 PST-1SG-hear-APPL Alice 1SG-LE/3-LE PST-3.PERF-arrive children.NOM
 'I heard from Alice that the children have arrived.'

These data point towards logophoricity and we do find further evidence for a logophoric requirement: Agreement with inanimate sources is not possible (Charnavel and Sportiche 2016, Charnavel 2020a,b). Example (6) serves as a minimal contrast to (5).

- (6) Ka-**a**-kas-ε:n **kurge:t** [**à:- lé/* ko-** le ka-kɔ-it là:gô:k]
 PST-1SG-hear-APPL door 1SG-LE/3-LE PST-3.PERF-arrive children.NOM
 'I heard from the door that the children have arrived.'
Frequent comment by speakers: Doors don't speak.

First claim

Agreement targets a silent *pro* which has to co-refer with the logophoric source of the embedded clause.

C-Agree is local subject-verb agreement

Second claim

The Kipsigis agreeing complementizer is not a complementizer, but a lexical verb (*le* 'say'). C-Agree is in fact agreement between *le* and its local subject.

See also work by others (e.g. Koopman and Sportiche 1989, Özyıldız et al. 2018, Demirok et al. 2020, Major and Torrence 2020).

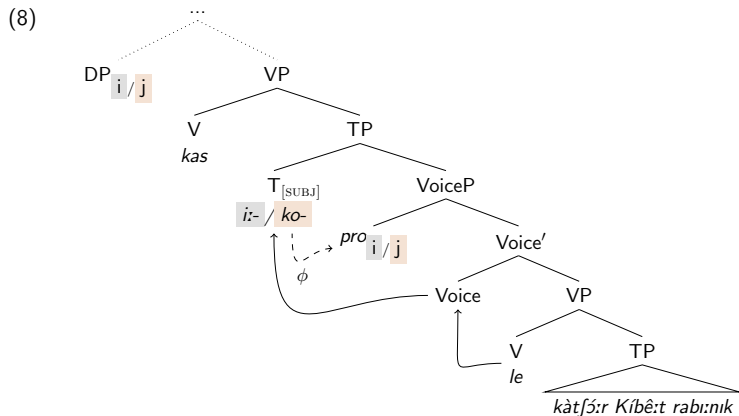
Arguments for the verbal analysis:

- ▶ The forms of *le* consist of the root of the lexical verb *le* 'say' and person/number prefix
- ▶ *le* can be used as a matrix verb
- ▶ *le* is inflected in the indicative mood when used as a matrix verb, but in the subjunctive when used as a "complementizer"
 - ▶ matches the profile of the subjunctive, as it is used in all subordinate clauses (reflected in the descriptive terminology: *subjunctive* for Creider and Creider 1989 and *governed verb form* for Towett 1979)
- ▶ *le* can inflect for aspect
- ▶ *le* can come with applicative and reflexive morphology

Analysis

We now put the pieces together and sketch the analysis for (7) in (8).

- (7) Ka-**i-** kas-ε:n **Kiplàngàt** [**i:-** **le/** **ko-** le kà-Ø-tfó:r Kíbê:t rabı:nık]
 PST-2SG-hear-APPL Kiplangat 2SG-LE/3-LE PST-3-steal Kibeet.NOM money
 'You heard from Kiplangat that Kibeet stole the money.'



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