

# Strategies for Complementation in Rere

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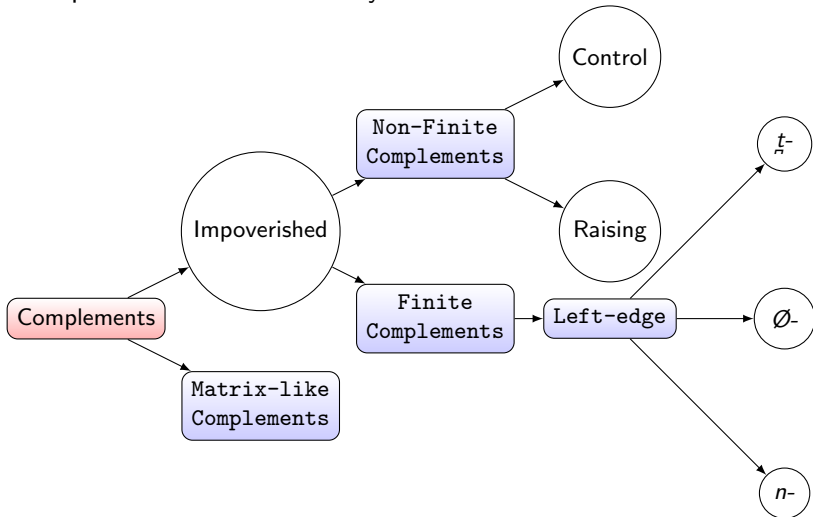
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# Introduction

- ▶ Rere or ḡrÉ:ṙÉ (alternatively Koalib; Quint 2009)
  - ▶ Kordofanian family
  - ▶ Nuba Mountains, Sudan
  - ▶ A special thank you to Titus Kanda
- ▶ I compare the three attested complementation strategies, with a special focus on morphologically impoverished complements. Specifically:
  - ▶ Infinitival complements have two patterns dependent on the matrix verb:
    - ▶ Raising vs. control
  - ▶ Finite complements:
    - ▶ Available only to control predicates
    - ▶ Three left-edge markers sensitive to matrix TAM
    - ▶ Combinations of subject and object pronominal marking

To represent this schematically:



# Matrix Clauses

A basic transitive clause in Rere is *SVO* when the object argument is a lexical NP, shown in the perfective (1).

- ▶ Class agreement with NP subject ( $k^w/l$ - class)
- ▶ ACC-marked NP
- ▶ TAM indicated by tones and final vowel

## (1) Perfective

$k^w$ ór             $k^w$ -è:ʃ-à            ʈìɲén-ù  
CL.kw.man CL.kw-see-PFV CL.ʈ.dog-ACC

'The man saw the dog.'

TK05172019-AR1:08:59.6

# Matrix Clauses

Transitive clause with habitual TAM in (2)

- ▶ Class agreement with pronominal subject ( $k^w/l$ - class)
- ▶ TAM indicated by final vowel
- ▶ TAM also indicated by lexical tones and  $t̩$ -

(2) Habitual

ní-g<sup>w</sup>-t̩-é:ɟ-é                      t̩ò:ròm  
1.SG-CL.kw-HAB-see-HAB   CL.t̩.star

'I (always, habitually) see a star.' TK05172019-YC:14:34.9

# Matrix-Like Complements

Matrix-like clause complements may occur with with factive verbs.  
Characterized by:

- ▶ Class agreement
- ▶ Same TAM marking as matrices
- ▶ No complementizer

## (3) Factive

ɲá-g<sup>w</sup>-òðòðùn-à      [tɔ:ɲòr    \*tì-t-àβìǎì]  
2SG-CL.k<sup>w</sup>-forget-PFV   CL.t.boy   CL.t-HAB-play

'You forgot the boy played (habitually).'

TK05172019-JAFG1:11:20.3

\*Underlying tone is *tì-t-áβìǎì* but H lowered phrase-finally (Chai et al.).

## Matrix-like

Matrix-like complement clauses are also attested with communication verbs, where there's an optional quotative marker *-ŋò* for direct quotation.

### (4) Communication

ámámá g<sup>w</sup>-àrò(-ŋò)                      t́ó:ŋòr    t́-ìǎ-ì  
Amma CL.kw-say.PFV(-QUOT) CL.t.boy CL.t-eat-PFV  
fírìm-í                      yèlìyìn  
CL.kw.corn-ACC yesterday

'Amma said that the boy ate the corn yesterday.'

TK04262019-AR1:14:39.5

TK04262019-AR1:14:44.5

# Infinitive Complements

Characterized by:

- ▶ Lack of class agreement and pronominal marking
- ▶ Left-edge àǎ- marker

The àǎ- (5) element surfaces as ǎ- in (6) and t̩- in (7)-.

(5) k<sup>w</sup>ù-ɾìǎí-ɲí                      àǎ-àβìǎ-àlò  
CL.k<sup>w</sup>-prevent-PFV-1SG.OBJ    INF-play-DOWN  
'He prevented me from playing.'  
TK05242019JAFG-1:06:03.9

(6) k<sup>w</sup>ùɾìǎíɲí àǎ-àβìǎ-àlò                      TK05242019JAFG-1:05:44.8

(7) k<sup>w</sup>ùɾìǎíɲí t̩-àβìǎ-àlò                      TK05242019JAFG-1:05:34.5



## Infinitive

Infinitive complements are attested with aspectual predicates (8), desiderative predicates (9), and manipulative predicates, which cross-linguistically are common predicates with less finite complements (Cristofaro 2003).

Matrix and embedded subjects may or may not be co-referential.

- (8) ηά-ηg<sup>w</sup>àt̩à g<sup>w</sup>-ànàηnàt-à      ð-àβìðì  
2SG-still    CL.k<sup>w</sup>-continue-PFV INF-play  
'You still continued to play.'    TK05172019-JAFG3:01:25.5

- (9) t̩ó:ηðr    t̩-ìηàη-á-η      àð-àβìð-àlò  
CL.t̩.boy CL.t̩-want-PFV-1SG.OBJ INF-play-DOWN  
'The boy wanted me to play.' TK09132019JAFG-1:21:04.8

- ▶ Matrix TAM: Final vowels, grammatical vs. lexical tone, TAM prefixes
- ▶ Infinitives: Lexical tone, same final vowel

Verbal root *bubl-* 'wrestle' shows *-e* for matrix perfective

(10) Matrix Perfective

k<sup>w</sup>-bùbl-è                      k<sup>w</sup>ò:r-ò  
 CL.k<sup>w</sup>-wrestle-PFV   CL.k<sup>w</sup>.man-ACC

'He wrestled the man.'

Rose 2020

(11) Infinitive embedded in matrix perfective

K<sup>w</sup>âw                      k<sup>w</sup>-òk<sup>w</sup>àɟ-à                      ʈò:ɲór-á  
 CL.k<sup>w</sup>.woman   CL.k<sup>w</sup>-order-PFV   CL.ʈ.boy-ACC  
 àǎǎ-βùblí      k<sup>w</sup>ò:r-ò  
 INF-wrestle   CL.k<sup>w</sup>.man-ACC

'The woman ordered the boy to wrestle the man.'

TK03092021-2:04:42

## Infinitive

In non-finite complements, we see the lexical tones of the verb.

(12) LH

k<sup>w</sup>âw                      kú-ŋ-émɿ-í                      ðə-βùblí  
CL.k<sup>w</sup>.woman CL.k<sup>w</sup>-2.OBJ-let-FUT INF-wrestle  
ŋòrpò  
tomorrow

'The woman will let you wrestle tomorrow.'

TK02232021:01:01:15

(13) HL

k<sup>w</sup>âw                      kú-ŋ-émɿ-í                      ðə-ɖármà ŋòrpò  
CL.k<sup>w</sup>.woman CL.k<sup>w</sup>-2.OBJ-let-FUT INF-draw tomorrow

'The woman will let you draw tomorrow.'

TK02232021:01:07:03

# Infinitive

(14) HH

k<sup>w</sup>âw                      kú-ŋ-émj-í                      ðð-métci  
CL.k<sup>w</sup>.woman CL.k<sup>w</sup>-2.OBJ-let-FUT INF-help  
t̃̀:ŋór-à  
CL.t̃̀.boy-ACC

'The woman will let you help the boy.'

TK02232021:01:15:32

Matrix clauses:

- ▶ Lexical tone: imperfective, habitual, and recent perfect
- ▶ Grammatical tone: perfective, progressive, and remote perfect

Additionally, the infinitive verbal complex **lacks** pronominal marking.

- ▶ No subject marking
- ▶ Pronominal object is independent case-marked pronoun in (15)

(15) tʃ:ŋə̀r    t-ùŋðàð-í-ŋí                      àðə-βùblí    ηά-ηò  
CL.ʃ.boy CL.ʃ-convince-PFV-1.OBJ INF-wrestle 2SG-ACC  
'The boy convinced me to wrestle you.'  
TK11222019-2:05:04

Matrix clauses affix:

- ▶ **Preverbal:** Imperfective, Remote Perfect, Recent Perfect, Habitual
- ▶ **Postverbal:** Imperative, Perfective, Progressive

## Infinitive Complements

Infinitival complements can participate in optional Subject-to-Object raising of lower clause's agent, shown below with a lexical NP:

- (16) tʃ:ŋɔ̀r t-ùɣìðàǎ-ù [ǎǎ-kúláw] ùmí lùrjà]  
CL.t.boy CL.t-hope-PFV INF-CL.k<sup>w</sup>.cat catch CL.l.mouse  
'The boy hoped the cat caught mice.'  
TK09132019JAFG-3:02:52.3

- (17) tʃ:ŋɔ̀r t-ùɣìðàǎ-ù kúlàw(-á) [ǎǎ-ùmí  
CL.t.boy CL.t-hope-PFV CL.k<sup>w</sup>.cat-ACC INF-catch  
lùrjà]  
CL.l.mouse  
'The boy hoped the cat caught mice.'  
TK2212020JAFG-9:00:41.9 TK2212020JAFG-9:01:02.6

# Infinitive

Here, optional Subject-to-object raising is shown with an overt pronoun:

- (18) t-ó:ηòr t-ìyìt̩àǎ-ù [àǎ-ηùηd̩úǵá èrú k-úmbàrà]  
CL.t-boy CL.t-hope-PFV INF-3PL play CL.k-lyre  
'The boy hoped they played the lyre.'  
TK12062019-3:08:20.4
- (19) t-ó:ηòr t-ìyìt̩àǎ-ù ηùηd̩úǵá [àǎ-èrú k-úmbàrà]  
CL.t-boy CL.t-hope-PFV 3PL INF-play CL.k-lyre  
'The boy hoped they played the lyre.'  
TK12062019-3:08:45.3

However, other predicates do not have an option. For predicates whose lower agent is also co-referential with the matrix patient, the lower agent must occur as an object of the matrix clause.

- (20) K<sup>w</sup>âw            k<sup>w</sup>-òk<sup>w</sup>àɟ-à            ɬò:ɲór-á  
CL.k<sup>w</sup>.woman CL.k<sup>w</sup>-order-PFV CL.ɬ.boy-ACC  
àǎ-βùblí    k<sup>w</sup>ò:r-ò  
INF-wrestle CL.k<sup>w</sup>.man-ACC

'The woman ordered the boy to wrestle the man.'

TK03092021-2:04:42

- (21) \*K<sup>w</sup>âw            k<sup>w</sup>-òk<sup>w</sup>àɟ-à            àǎ-ɬó:ɲòr    bùblí  
CL.k<sup>w</sup>.woman CL.k<sup>w</sup>-order-PFV INF-CL.ɬ.boy wrestle  
k<sup>w</sup>ò:r-ò  
CL.k<sup>w</sup>.man-ACC

Intended: The woman ordered the boy to wrestle the man.

TK03092021-2:05:04



The two patterns align with semantic classes: desideratives vs. manipulative/permissive predicates

- ▶ syntactically characterized to be raising and control predicates

(Subject-to-object) Raising predicates:

- ▶ íyítàǎǎ́ 'hope'
- ▶ ínàǎǎ́ 'want'

(Object) Control predicates:

- ▶ óyùǎǎ́ 'convince,'
- ▶ èmǎǎ́ 'let,'
- ▶ ók<sup>w</sup>ǎǎ́ 'order'
- ▶ ìlǎǎ́ 'teach'

# Infinite Complements

To summarize, infinitival complements show:

- ▶ No class agreement
- ▶ An allomorph of àǎ- on left-edge
- ▶ No TAM marking
- ▶ Show lexical tone
- ▶ No pronominal markers in verbal complex
- ▶ Optional raising for raising predicates
- ▶ Obligatorily the lower agent occurs as matrix object for control predicates

# Finite Clauses

Having described infinitive clauses, I now describe the finite complements.

- ▶ No class agreement
- ▶ Three left-edge markers that correlate with matrix TAM
- ▶ Subject and object pronominal marking on verbal complex
- ▶ Predicates that can also employ infinitive à $\checkmark$ -clauses, but not vice versa; only predicates with a control pattern





(26) Recent Perfect

tʃ:ɲɔ̀r t̀ù-mí-ɲ-úyǎ̀ǎ̀-á

CL.t-boy CL.t-REC.PRF-1.OBJ-convince-REC.PRF

nì-ɲ-àβìǎ̀-à̀lò

REA-1.SUBJ-play-DOWN

'The boy (recently) convinced me to play.'

TK09132019JAFG-1:08:36.4

(27) Remote Perfect

g<sup>w</sup>-mí-ɲ-émɲ-á

CL.k<sup>w</sup>-REM.PRF-1.OBJ-let-REM.PRF

nì-ɲ-àβìǎ̀-à̀lò

REA-1.SUBJ-play-DOWN

'He let me play (long ago).'

TK11152019-2:11:1



In finite complements, the lexical tone and the final vowel does not change (LH & *-i* for *bubl-* 'wrestle'), except for the remote perfect.

(31) **Imperative**

èmɟ-é-ŋ            Ø-ŋ-βùblí            ñòrpò  
let-IMP-1.OBJ IRR-1.SUBJ-wrestle tomorrow

'Let me wrestle tomorrow!.'

TK03262021:16:24

(32) **Remote Perfect**

k<sup>w̃</sup>-mì-ŋ-èmɟ-à  
CL.kw-REM.PFV-1.OBJ-let-REM.PRF  
nì-ŋ-βùbl-è                            ñòrpànà  
REA-1.SUBJ-wrestle-REM.PRF morning

'He let (long ago) me wrestle in the morning.'

TK03262021:05:55

Limited TAM marking in finite complement clauses



# TAM

In finite clauses, the left-edge markers tend to co-occur with specific TAM, but have a different TAM organization.

**Table:** Matrix Clause vs. Finite Complement TAM

PFV	LL	<i>ni-</i>	Lexical tone
PROG	LL	<i>ni-</i>	Lexical tone
REM	<i>m</i> -LL	<i>ni-</i>	LL
REC	<i>m</i> -Lexical tone	<i>ni-</i>	Lexical tone
HAB	<i>tí</i> -Lexical tone	<i>tí</i> -	Lexical tone
IPFV	Lexical tone	∅-	Lexical tone
IMP	Lexical tone	∅-	Lexical tone

Open question: Complementizers that agree with matrix TAM vs. independent TAM markers for dependent clauses

# TAM

In spite of the strong tendencies of the left-edge markers to match the matrix TAM, mismatches are available under specific contexts.

CONTEXT: *I am the teacher who grants permission to whom can and cannot play at school and when. A group of boys wants to form a soccer team and play every day. They only had to ask me for permission one time.*

- (33) nù-g-èmf-è      nò:ɲór-á      t̩-r-ákàǎí      kùrà  
1SG-kw-let-PFV CL.p.boy-ACC HAB-3.PL-pass CL.k<sup>w</sup>.ball  
'I let the boys (habitually) play soccer.' TK03092021:30:30

## Pronominal Marking

Finite complements have no class agreement, but unlike infinitives, subjects can be referenced with subject pronominals, attested below with 1INCL.

- (34) kwâw                      k<sup>w</sup>í-ŋ-j-úk<sup>w</sup>áj-í  
CL.k<sup>w</sup>.woman CL.k<sup>w</sup>-1.OBJ-PL.OBJ-order-PFV  
Ø-ŋ-βùblí                      ŋòrpò  
IRR-1INCL.SUBJ-wrestle tomorrow  
'The woman will order us (all) to wrestle tomorrow'  
TK02232021:01:34:07

## Pronominal Marking

In matrix clauses and matrix-like complements, subject pronominals may occur when the class agreement references the object.

(35)  $k^{w\acute{i}}-j\text{-}b\acute{u}bl\text{-}\acute{i}$   
CL.kw-1.OBJ-wrestle-FUT  
'He will wrestle me' (Rose 2020)

(36)  $k^{w\grave{i}}-j\text{-}b\grave{u}bl\text{-}\acute{i}$   
CL.kw-1.SUBJ-wrestle-FUT  
'I will wrestle him' (Rose 2020)

- ▶ Subject and object pronominals never co-occur in matrix clauses and matrix-like complements because class agreement is available

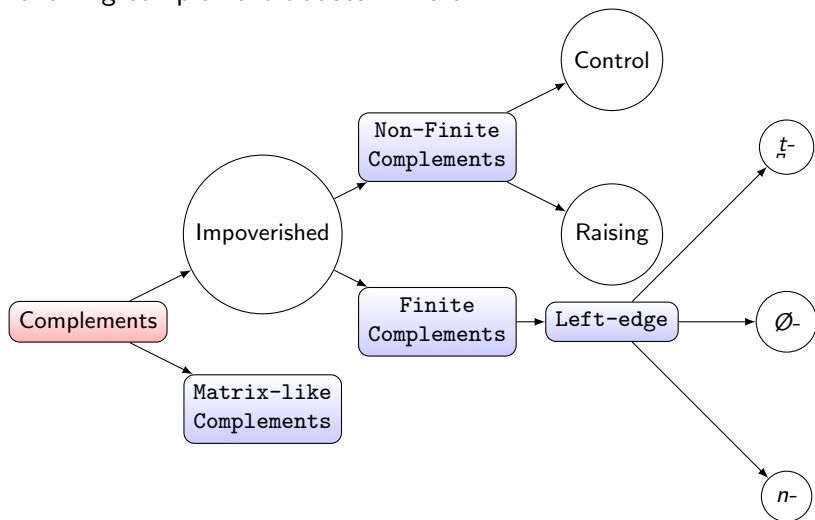
In finite complements, however, both subject and object may be marked via pronominal prefixes on the dependent verb.

- (37) t̪ò:ŋ̀òr    t̪-òk<sup>w</sup>àj-á-j̪-jí  
CL.t.boy CL.t-order-PFV-1.OBJ-PL.OBJ  
n-rí-ŋ̀á-βúblí                      yìliyìn  
REA-1INCL.SUBJ-2.OBJ-wrestle yesterday  
'The boy ordered us to wrestle you yesterday.'  
TK03182021:00:25:48

- ▶ Co-occurring subject and object pronominals are never available in matrix verbs or matrix complements.

# Conclusion

In sum, I have described the distribution and the properties of the following complement clauses in Rere.



# Conclusion

Some further directions:

- ▶ Syntactic status of left-edge markers:
  - ▶ Finite complements: *ni-*,  $\emptyset$ -,  $t_i$ -
  - ▶ Non-finite complements:  $\grave{a}\check{s}$ -
- ▶ Distribution of pronominal marker combinations in finite complements
- ▶ Co-occurrence of subject and object pronominal markers: clausal adjuncts, narrative register

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