COMPLEMENTIZER AGREEMENT IN NAJDI ARABIC

By

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ABSTRACT

This thesis proposes an analysis to account for complementizer agreement in Najdi Arabic. I motivate the clause structure of the left periphery following a cartographical approach initiated by Rizzi (1997, 1999), by which the placement of complementizers is considered with respect to topics and foci. I conclude that there are two distinct positions for the complementizers *in*, *illi,* and *itha*, with the complementizers *in* and *illi*, surfacing in Force^0. Only the complementizer *in* allows agreement to surface. I then turn to an investigation of the effects of topicalization, *wh*-extraction, and focus on complementizer agreement. I also investigate how tense and aspect interact with complementizer agreement, and discuss what coordinated subjects tell us about the nature of complementizer agreement.

Given the facts that I find for complementizer agreement and A' movements, as well as the interaction between tense and aspect and complementizer agreement, I propose a probe-for-closest-goal analysis for complementizer agreement in Najdi along the line of present analyses for complementizer agreement in West Germanic dialects: Carstens (2003) and Haegeman and van Koppen (2012). Specifically, the complementizer has an uninterpretable finiteness feature that must be licensed by either a subject with an interpretable finiteness feature or by an auxiliary/verb moving to Fin^0, following Pesetsky and Torrego (2001).

Furthermore, in this thesis, I expand a typology of complementizer agreement to include Najdi Arabic (Semitic), making direct comparison to complementizer agreement in West Germanic languages (Germanic).

DEDICATION

To Shabbona

It is the glory of God to conceal a matter;
to search out a matter is the glory of kings.
Proverbs 25:2 (NIV)

AKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ACC	Accusative
ADV	Adverb
ASP	Aspect
AUX	Auxiliary
Comp	Complementizer
EXP	Expletive
FEM	Feminine
FIN	Finite
FOC	Focus
IMPERF	Imperfective
INT	Interrogative
MASC	Masculine
NEG	Negation
NOM	Nominative
OBJ	Object
PERF	Perfective
PL	Plural
PST	Past Tense
Q	Quantifier
REF	Referential
SG	Singular
SUBJ	Subject
TOP	Topic

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CHAPTER ONE INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

The goal of this thesis is to propose an analysis for the phenomenon of Complementizer

Agreement (CA) in the Najdi dialect of Arabic. In Najdi Arabic, like other dialects of Arabic,

Modern Standard Arabic, and West Germanic dialects; the complementizer agrees in gender,

number, and person with the subject of the embedded clause that it introduces. Consider the

phenomenon of complementizer agreement in example (1) below.

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

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

          c.   ta-ʕatiqid   inn-**ih**   sawwa   al-akil
              2SG-think   that-3SG.MASC   make.PERF.3SG.MASC   the-food
              'You think that he made the food.'

In (1)a, the complementizer *in* 'that' agrees in person, number and gender with the subject of the

embedded clause. Notice that the agreement marker on the complementizer also agrees with the

person, number, and gender features on the embedded verb. Interestingly, when the number of

embedded subject is changed from singular in (1)a to plural in (1)b, a different agreement marker

surfaces on the complementizer. This agreement marker on the complementizer still matches the

verbal agreement in person, number, and gender. Further, if the embedded subject is changed

from feminine in (1)a to masculine in (1)c, then the agreement marker on the complementizer

changes to match the gender of the embedded verb.

    This thesis argues that the best way to account for complementizer agreement in Najdi

Arabic is under a probe-for-closest-goal analysis, along the lines of work proposed by Carstens

(2003), Chomsky (2008), and Haegeman and van Koppen (2012). I argue for an articulated CP layer with the agreeing complementizer in Force^0.

This thesis contributes to the understanding of the relatively rare phenomenon of complementizer agreement. To the best of my knowledge, complementizer agreement has only been investigated in the Egyptian dialect of Arabic Buell (2009). Therefore, this thesis will contribute to the typology of complementizer agreement by considering new data on complementizer agreement from the Semitic language family. While this thesis is directly focused on complementizer agreement, it also contributes to the understanding of other syntactic processes; like subject-verb agreement, the left periphery of the clause, *wh*-movement, and the nature of presumptive pronouns. Furthermore, this thesis contributes to the description of Arabic dialects.

This thesis is organized as follows: In this chapter, I will give a description of the grammatical features of Najdi Arabic that are relevant to the phenomenon of complementizer agreement. Importantly, this description includes an explanation of how agreement works as a whole in Najdi Arabic, as well as a description of the complementizers that are present in Najdi Arabic which agree as compared to those complementizers that do not agree. In the second chapter, I discuss the ordering of complementizers with respect to the loci of focus and topic, following Rizzi's (1997, 1999) cartographical approach. In the third chapter of this thesis, I will give a description of the properties of complementizer agreement in Najdi Arabic. Chapter four gives a syntactic analysis for complementizer agreement in Najdi Arabic. Chapter five discusses the typological variation of complementizer agreement by looking at properties of CA in West Germanic dialects and comparing the properties of complementizer agreement discussed in chapter three. Chapter six concludes this thesis with some final remarks.

1.2 Najdi Dialect and its Speakers

Najdi Arabic is spoken in Central Saudi Arabia, in a region known as the Najd. The Najd region is bordered by the Hijaz region to the west, the Shammar region to the north, the Eastern region to the east, and the border with Yemen to the south. The Najd region is shaded in red in the map below.

Map 1. Najd Region of Saudi Arabia[1]

According to Ethnologue, there are 9,977,000 speakers of the Najdi dialect; with 8,000,000 speakers living in Saudi Arabia, 900,000 speakers in Iraq, 50,000 speakers in Jordan, and 500,000 speakers in Syria. In general, speakers of the Najdi dialect of Arabic use their dialect only in informal settings. Media, such as print and radio, as well as educational materials are all conducted in the Standard dialect of Arabic. In some cases, formal interviews will be conducted in the dialect.

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[1]Source: http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Najd_Region_in_Saudi_Arabia.svg#filelinks

There are three subdialects of the Najdi dialect: North Najdi, Central Najdi, and South Anjdi. All examples in this thesis, unless otherwise noted, are from the Central Najdi subdialect, as spoken in Riyadh. Impressionistically, speakers of this subdialect of Najdi believe that there are other subdialects than their own, but speakers believe that the differences are small and mainly in the form of word choice and accent. In spite of speaker's impressions, there does seem to be variation in grammatical constructions, such as the form of the future tense marker varies from subdialect to subdialect. Speakers of Najdi Arabic feel, however, that their dialect is mutually intelligible with most other colloquial dialects of Arabic except geographically distant dialects like the Moroccan, Algerian, or Tunisian dialects.

There has been an increasing amount of work done on the Najdi dialect but documentation of the language is still severely limited. A few published works on the dialect include Abboud's (1964) dissertation, which is a short descriptive grammar. Alsweel's (1981) Master's thesis, which focuses on the morphology and phonology of Najdi Arabic; specifically, looking at the phonological processes that involve the verb root. Ingham's (1994) book on Najdi, which is a short reference grammar, mainly focuses on the morphology and syntax of Najdi.

1.3 Grammatical Features of Najdi Arabic

This section discusses a range of grammatical features of Najdi Arabic from the phonemic inventory of sounds to the tensed clause structure.

1.3.1   Sounds of Najdi Arabic

I have adopted Alsweel's (1981) phonetic inventory for Najdi but made slight orthographic changes. There are 23 consonants in Najdi, given in Table 1;

Table 1. The Consonants of Najdi Arabic

		Bilab	Interdent	Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Uvular	Pharay	Glottal
Stops	Voiceless			t T		k			ʔ
	Voiced	b		d D	z	g			
Affricates	Voiceless			ʦ					
	Voiced			ʤ					
Fricatives	Voiceless	f	th	s S	sh		x	ħ	h
	Voiced		TH	z			ɣ	ʕ	
Nasals			m		n				
Liquids				l r					
Glides					y	w			

There are also ten vowels in Najdi Arabic. The vowels are given in the Table 2;

Table 2. The Vowels of Najdi Arabic

	Front	Back
High	i iː	u uː
Mid	e eː	o oː
Low	a aː	

1.3.2   Morphology of DPs

Nouns are interpreted as definite when the definite article *al-* is attached to the beginning of the noun. Without this definite article, the noun is indefinite. Consider the following examples:

(2)   a.   bint   'a girl'
       b.   al-bint   'the girl'
       c.   binaat   'girls'
       d.   al-binaat 'the girls'

In (2)a, the noun *bint* 'girl' is indefinite, but in the example in (2)b, the addition of the definite article *al-* 'the' to the noun *bint* 'girl' makes the noun definite. As the examples in (2)c and (2)d show, this strategy for definiteness is also used with plural nouns.

1.3.3   Pronouns

There are eleven strong pronouns in Najdi Arabic. They are illustrated in Table 3;

Table 3. Strong Pronouns

		SG	PL
1		anna	inna
2	MASC	ant	antu/antum
	FEM	anti	antu/antin
3	MASC	hu	hum
	FEM	hi	hum/hin

The second person plurals and third person feminine plural strong pronouns appear to be defective in gender. That is, the second person plural is interchangeable between the form *antu*, which is used with second person plurals regardless of their gender and two second person plurals *antum* and *antin*, which are gender specific. The third person feminine plural can also either be distinctive in gender, used as *hin*, or it can defect to the masculine pronoun *hum*.

Strong pronouns appear in a number of contexts. For example, strong pronouns can be coordinated.

(3)   hu   wa   Layla   zar-uu-na
        3SG.MASC   and   Layla   visit.PERF-3PL.MASC-1PL
        'He and Layla visited us.'

In (3), the strong pronoun *hu* is coordinated with the DP subject *Layla*. Strong pronouns can be focused:

(4)   a.   (hum)   zarr-uu-na
               3PL.MASC   visit.PERF-3PL.MASC-1PL
               'They visited us.'

        b.   Faħad zarra   HU   mub   Layla
               Faħad visit.PERF.3SG.MASC   3SG.MASC NEG   Layla
               'Fahad visited HIM (not Layla).'

In (4)a, the strong pronoun *hum* surfaces as a subject. In (4)b, the object *hu* is used with contrastive focus.

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Strong pronouns can appear in the left periphery as topics:

(5)   a.   hu   zara-ih
               3SG.MASC   visit.PERF.3SG.MASC-3SG.MASC
               'As for him, I saw him.'

         b.   hi   mumtazza
               3SG.FEM   excellent
               'As for her, she is excellent.'

There are ten weak pronouns in Najdi Arabic that correspond to the strong pronouns. The

weak pronouns are illustrated in Table 4;

Table 4. Weak Pronouns

		SG	PL
1		-ni	-na
2	MASC	-ik	-kum
	FEM	-ki	-kin
3	MASC	-ih	-hum
	FEM	-ha	-hum/hin

The weak pronoun –*hin* often defects in use to the weak pronoun –*hum*.

Weak pronouns appear in a number of contexts. Weak pronouns can cliticize to the verb as

an object after subject agreement, as shown in (6).

(6)   a.   shif-t   il-walid
               see.PERF-1SG   the-boy
               'I saw the boy.'

         b.   shif-t-ih
               see.PERF-1SG-3SG.MASC
               'I saw him.'

In (6)a, when the object surfaces as the DP *il-walid* 'the boy', no weak pronoun surfaces, but in

(6)b, the weak pronoun –*ih* may act as the object by cliticizing to the verb after the person

agreement marker –*t*.

Weak pronouns surface as resumptives when a DP object is a topic.

(7)   a.   shif-t   il-walid
                  see.PERF-1SG   the-boy
                  'I saw the boy.'

         b.   al-walid   shif-t-ih
                  the-boy   see.PERF-1SG-3SG.MASC
                  '(As for) the boy, I saw him.'

In (7)a, the object DP *il-walid* 'the boy' is post verbal and no weak pronoun surfaces. When the

object DP moves to a topic position, as in (7)b, the weak pronoun *–ih* cliticizes to the verb after

the subject marker *–t*.

Weak pronouns appear as possessors in DPs, in which case, they follow the possesum:

(8)   abbu-ha   zar-ni
         father-3SG.FEM   visit.PERF.3SG.MASC-1SG
         'Her father visited me.'

In (8), the weak pronoun *–ha* surfaces as a possessor of the DP subject *abbu* 'father'.

Weak pronouns appear as complements of prepositions.

(9)   a.   marri-t   all-ih
                  pass.PERF-1SG   by-3SG.MASC
                  'I passed by him.'

         b.   saffar-t   mʕa-ih
                  travel.PERF-1SG   with-3SG.MASC
                  'I traveled with him.'

In (9)a, the weak pronoun *–ih* surfaces as the complement of the preposition *all(i)* 'by' and in

(9)b, the weak pronoun *–(i)h* surfaces as the complement of the preposition *mʕa* 'with'.

Weak pronouns may double an object DP.

(10)   a.   shif-t   Faħad
                  see.PERF-1SG   Faħad
                  'I saw Fahad.'

         b.   SHIF-T-IH   Faħad
                  see.PERF-1SG-3SG.MASC   Faħad
                  'I SAW Fahad.'

The sentence in (10)a has a DP object *Faħad* without a weak pronoun object while the sentence in (10)b surfaces with a DP object and the weak pronoun *–ih*. The DP object in (10)b has a topic reading.

1.3.4   Agreement in Najdi Arabic

Adjectives appear to show agreement in definiteness, number, and gender with DPs. Consider the following distribution of DPs in the table below.

Table 5. Adjective Agreement in Najdi

	Masculine NP	Adjective	Gloss	Feminine NP	Adjective	Gloss
Definite	ar-rajal	at-tawiil	'the tall man'	al-bint	at-tawill-a	'the tall girl'
	ar-rajajil	at-tawal	'the tall men'	al-binaat	at-tawal	'the tall girls'
Indefinite	rajal	tawiil	'a tall man'	bint	tawill-a	'a tall girl'
	rajajil	tawal	'tall men'	binaat	tawal	'tall girls'

In table 5, definite and indefinite nouns agree in definiteness with the adjectives that modify them. Adjectives that modify feminine singular nouns show agreement in gender with the noun through the use of the suffix *–a* on the adjective. Gender agreement appears to be null in the plural. That is, for both masculine plural and feminine plural, the adjective does not show overt gender agreement with the noun.

Subject agreement on the verb varies according to the number, gender, and person of the subject. These agreement features are further split into perfective and imperfective. The following data show that agreement on the verb varies according to the features of the subject.

(11)   a.   al-bint   thrub-**t**   il-walid
             the-girl   hit.PERF-3SG.FEM   the-boy
             'The girl hit the boy.'

       b.   al-awalid   thrub-**uu**   il-walid
             the-boys   hit.PERF-3PL.MASC   the-boy
             'The boys hit the boy.'

In (11), the perfective aspect is marked by an enclitic, which indicates person, gender, and number. In (11)a, the third person singular subject *al-bint* 'the girl' shows agreement on the verb through the feminine third person singular suffix −*t*. In (11)b, the masculine third person plural subject *al-awalid* 'the boys' shows agreement on the verb through the suffix -*uu*.

Moreover, these patterns of agreement on the verb differ according to aspect. Note how agreement differs from the perfective aspect in (11) to the imperfective examples in (12).

(12) a. al-bint   **ta**-thrub   il-walid
         the-girl   3SG.FEM-hit.IMPERF   the-boy
         'The girl hits the boy.'

      b. al-awalid   **ya**-thrub-**uun**   il-walid
         the-boys   3MASC-hit.IMPERF-PL   the-boy
         'The boys hit the boy.'

In (12)a and (12)b, the imperfective aspect is marked by a prefix and suffix on the verb. The prefix indicates person and gender features while the suffix indicates number features. The following table illustrates how agreement distribution in the perfective and imperfective aspects for the verb *thrub* 'hit'.

Table 6. Perfective and Imperfective Aspect for 'hit'

	Perfective	Imperfective
1SG	thrub-t	a-thrub
1PL	thrub-na	na-thrub
2SG.MASC	thrub-t	ta-thrub
2PL.MASC	thrub-tu	ta-thrub-uun
2SG.FEM	thrub-ti	ta-thrub-iin
2PL.FEM	thrub-uun	ta-thrub-uun
3SG.MASC	tharub	ya-thrub
3PL.MASC	thrub-uu	ya-thrub-uun
3SG.FEM	thrub-t	ya-thrub
3PL.FEM	thrub-an	ya-thrub-uun

The general conclusion that should be taken from the data in this chart is that there is an asymmetry between agreement in the imperfective and perfective aspects. In the imperfective aspect, agreement morphology precedes and follows the verb; while in the perfective aspect,

agreement morphology only follows the verb. Within this thesis, unless there is an overt suffix on the verb, I indicate the number feature with the person and gender features on the prefix for the imperfective aspect.

1.3.5   Word order

(13) shows the permissible word orders for a perfective clause.[2]

(13)   a.   ar-rajajil rkab-uu   al-khail   SVO
                    the-men   rode.PERF-3PL.MASC   the-horse
                    'The men rode the horse.'

           b.   rkab-uu   ar-rajajil al-khail   VSO
                    rode.PERF-3PL.MASC   the-men   the-horse
                    'The men rode the horse.'

           c.   RAKAB-UU   AL-KHAIL   ar-rajajil   VOS
                    rode.PERF-3PL.MASC   the-horse   the-men
                    'RODE THE HORSE, the men did.'

In the neutral SVO word order in (13)a, the subject can be interpreted only as a neutral subject. In the VSO word order in (13)b, the subject can also only be interpreted as a neutral subject. In the VOS word order in (13)c, the predicate must be interpreted as a focused element.

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[2] The permissible word orders in Najdi for an imperfective clause are shown below:

(i)   a.   ar-rajajil   ya-rkab-uun   al-khail   SVO
                   the-men   3MASC-rode.IMPERF-PL   the-horse
                   'The men rode the horse.'

          b.   ya-rkab-uun   ar-rajajil   al-khail   VSO
                   3.MASC-rode.IMPERF-PL   the-men   the-horse
                   'The men rode the horse.'

          c.   ya-rkab-uun   al-khail   ar-rajajil   VOS
                   3.MASC-rode.IMPERF-PL   the-horse   the-men
                   'The men are only the ones who can ride the horse.'

The subject of these SVO and VSO word orders may have a neutral interpretation, as shown in (i)a and b. The VOS word order in the imperfective clause on the other hand, like the VOS word order in the perfective clause has a marked interpretation that involves a manipulation of Najdi Arabic's information structure.

There are several permissible word orders in a matrix clause, but for an embedded clause in the perfective aspect only one word order is allowed. Consider the following word orders in the embedded clauses introduced by the complementizer *in* in example (14) below.

(14)　a.　a-ʕatiqid　　　　in　Layla　gara-t　　　　　　al-kitaab　　SVO
　　　　　1SG-think.IMPERF　that　Layla　read.PERF-3SG.FEM　the-book
　　　　　'I think that Layla read the book.'

　　　b.　*a-ʕatiqid　　　　in　gara-t　　　　　　Layla　al-kitaab　　VSO
　　　　　1SG-think.IMPERF　that　read.PERF-3SG.FEM　Layla　the-book
　　　　　'I think that Layla read the book.'

　　　c.　*a-ʕatiqid　　　　in　gara-t　　　　　　al-kitaab　Layla　　VOS
　　　　　1SG-think.IMPERF　that　read.PERF-3SG.FEM　the-book　Layla
　　　　　'I think that Layla read the book.'

In (14)a, the embedded clause's word order is SVO. The VSO word order in (14)b and the VOS word order in (14)c in an embedded clause are not allowed.

The aspect of the embedded clause seems to dictate the word order of the embedded clause. Consider the following embedded imperfective clauses.

(15)　a.　a-ʕatiqid　　　　in　Layla　ta-gra　　　　　　al-kitaab　　SVO
　　　　　1SG-think.IMPERF　that　Layla　3SG.FEM-read.IMPERF　the-book
　　　　　'I think that Layla reads the book.'

　　　b.　*a-ʕatiqid　　　　in　ta-gra　　　　　　Layla　al-kitaab　　VSO
　　　　　1SG-think.IMPERF　that　3SG.FEM-read.IMPERF　Layla　the-book
　　　　　Intended: 'I think that Layla reads the book.'

　　　c.　a-ʕatiqid　　　　in　ta-gra　　　　　　*(al)-kitaab　Layla　　VOS
　　　　　1SG-think.IMPERF　that　3SG.FEM-read.IMPERF　the-book　　Layla
　　　　　'I think that Layla will read the book.'
　　　　　*'I think that Layla reads the book.'

In (15)a, the embedded clause's word order is SVO. This word order is permissible, but the VSO word order in (15)b is ungrammatical in an embedded clause. Furthermore, VOS word order is permissible but it can only have a future tense reading.

1.3.6   Tense

Some tense particles in Najdi show agreement. Consider first the following sentence without

tense particles.

(16)   a.   ta-gra   al-kitaab
                  3SG.FEM-read.IMPERF   the-book
                  'She is reading the book.'

          b.   gara-t   al-kitaab
                  read.PERF-3SG.FEM   the-book
                  'She read the book'

In (16)a, the verb is in the imperfective aspect. Subject agreement appears as a prefix. On the

other hand, in (16)b, the verb is in the perfective aspect. Subject agreement there appears as a

suffix. Now consider the addition of the auxiliary *zid* in example (17) below.

(17)   a.   zid   gara-t   al-kitaab
                  AUX   read.PERF-3SG.FEM   the-book
                  'She has already read the book.'

          b.   *zid   ta-gra   al-kitaab
                  AUX   3SG.FEM-read.IMPERF   the-book
                  Intended: 'She has already read the book.'

The auxiliary *zid* comes before the verb. The auxiliary *zid* is sensitive to the aspect of the verb.

That is, *zid* may only appear with verbs in the perfective aspect. The auxiliary *zid* does not show

agreement.

    The auxiliary *zid* differs from the use of the past tense auxiliary *kaan*, which is also sensitive

to the aspect of the verb that it takes as a complement.

(18)   a.   *kin-t   gara-t   al-kitaab
                  AUX-1SG   read.PERF-1SG   the-book
                  Intended: 'I have read the book.'

          b.   kin-t   a-gra   al-kitaab
                  AUX-1SG   1SG-read.IMPERF   the-book
                  'I was reading the book.'

The past tense auxiliary *kaan* is restricted from surfacing with a verb in the perfective aspect as indicated by the ungrammatical sentence in (18)a. On the other hand, the grammatical sentence in (18)b shows that the past tense marker *kaan* can surface with a verb in the imperfective aspect.

The present tense auxiliary *gaʔid* is sensitive to the aspect of the verb in the same way as the past tense auxiliary *kaan*.

(19) a. gaʔid   ya-gra   al-kitaab
          AUX   3SG.MASC-read.IMPERF   the-book
          'He is reading the book.'

      b. *gaʔid   gara   al-kitaab
          AUX   read.PERF.3SG.MASC   the-book
          Intended: 'He is reading the book.'

The auxiliary *gaʔid* surfaces with a verb in the imperfective aspect, as indicated by the (19)a. *gaʔid* cannot, however, surface when the verb is in the perfective aspect as in (19)b. Table 7 shows a full agreement paradigm for the auxiliaries *kaan* and *gaʔid* 'be' in Najdi.

Table 7. Agreement Paradigm *kaan* and *gaʔid* 'be'

	Past	Present
1SG	kin-t	gaʔid
2SG.MASC	kin-t	gaʔid
2PL.MASC	kin-tuu	gaʔid-iin
2SG.FEM	kin-tii	gaʔid-ah
2PL.FEM	kin-tuu/tin	gaʔid-iin
3SG.MASC	kaan	gaʔid
3PL.MASC	kan-nuu	gaʔid-iin
3SG.FEM	kanni-t	gaʔid-ah
3PL.FEM	kan-nuu/an	gaʔid-iin
1PL	kin-na	gaʔid-iin

The future tense marker in Najdi is *bi-*. Consider the future tense in example (20) below.

> (20) bi-ta-gra   al-kitaab
>   FUT-3SG.FEM-read.IMPERF   the-book
>   'She will read the book.'

In (20)a, the future tense prefix *bi-* attaches to the verb that is inflected for person agreement using the imperfective aspect.[3] The future tense may also be indicated with the use of the verb *bi*, 'to want'. Consider an example of this pattern in (21).

> (21) ti-bi   ta-gra   al-kitaab
>   3SG.FEM-want.IMPERF   3SG.FEM-read.IMPERF   the-book
>   'She wants to read the book'

In (21), the verb *bi*, 'to want' precedes the verb *tagar*, 'she reads'. Note that the construction in (21) is not a future tense marker with multiple agreements but two separate verbs. A full paradigm of the verb *bi*, 'to want' is given in the appendix 2.

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[3] Ingham (1994) notes that the Najdi verb *bagi/yabi*, 'to want' is on its way to becoming the prefix *bi-* indicating future tense. This observation appears to have come to fruition in the case of the subdialect spoken in Riyadh. The future tense marker *ruħ*, which Ingham notes as a future tense marker, is not used in Najdi dialect as spoken in Riyadh. The tense marker *ruħ* may be of the Shammary or T̲uraif dialect of Arabic (see Al-Shammiry 2007). This future tense marker may be related to the verb *raħ*, 'to go' in the Najdi dialect.

1.3.7   Negation

There are three forms of negation in Najdi Arabic; I will only discuss the negative elements *mub*[4]

and *maa*. These two elements do not distribute in the same way. Consider the form of negation

that is used for copula constructions in example (22) below.

(22)   a.   hu   mudaris
               3SG.MASC   teacher
               'He is a teacher.'

        b.   hu   mub/*maa   mudaris
               3SG.MASC   NEG   teacher
               'He is not a teacher.'

The sentence in (22)a is the typical copular construction in the language. In (22)b, negation has

been added to the copula construction in (22)a. Notice that the negative element *mub* can be used

to negate the copula construction while the negative element *maa* cannot be used to negate the

copula construction. This asymmetry between the two negative elements exists for other

constructions as well.

Consider how the negative elements *mub* and *maa* distribute in the imperfective verbal

clauses in (23). The sentence in (23)a is a typical imperfective verbal clause. In (23)b, the

negative elements *mub* and *maa* are added to the imperfective sentence. Notice that both of the

negative elements are permissible with an imperfective verb. The same facts hold true when the

word order of the imperfective clause is VSO, as shown in (23)d.

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[4] Ingham (1994) calls *mub* a combination of *ma* and *bi*. The element *laa* acts as discourse negation and will not be
discussed here.

(23) a. al-bint   ta-gra   al-kitaab
         the-girl   3SG.FEM-read.IMPERF   the-book
         'The girl reads the book.'

     b. al-bint   mub/maa-ya-gra-in   al-kitaab
         the-girl   NEG-3SG-read.IMPERF-FEM   the-book
         'The girl does not read the book.

     c. ta-gra   (*al-bint)   al-kitaab
         3SG.FEM-read.IMPERF   the-girl   the-book
         'The girl reads the book.'

     d. mub/maa-ya-gra-in   al-bint   al-kitaab
         NEG-3SG-read.IMPERF-FEM   the-girl   the-book
         'The girl does not read the book.

Consider how the negative elements *mub* and *maa* distribute in the perfective clauses in (24).

(24) a. gara-t   al-bint   al-kitaab
         read.PERF-3SG.FEM   the-girl   the-book
         'The girl read the book.'

     b. *mub/maa   gara-n   al-bint   al-kitaab
         NEG   read.PERF-3SG.FEM   the-girl   the-book
         Intended:'The girl did not read the book.'

     c. al-bint   *mub/maa   gara-t   al-kitaab
         the-girl NEG   read.PERF-3SG.FEM   the-book
         'The girl will not read the book.'

The sentence in (24)a is the typical perfective verbal clause. In (24)b, the negative elements *mub*
and *maa* have been added to the perfective sentence. Notice that the negative element *mub* is not
permissible but the negative element *maa* is fine. Therefore, negation is sensitive to the aspect of
the clause in Najdi.

1.4 Analysis

Following the VP internal subject hypothesis (Koopman and Sportiche 1987), I propose that a derivation of the sentence in (25)a begins as a structure like that in (25)b below.

(25) a. al-bint   thrub-**t**   il-walid
          the-girl   hit.PERF-3SG.FEM   the-boy
          'The girl hit the boy.'

      b.   vP
              ╱   ╲
          DP   v'
         al-bint   ╱   ╲
        the-girls v   VP
               thrubt_k ╱   ╲
            ◄ hit   V   DP
                     t_k   il-walid
                            the-boy
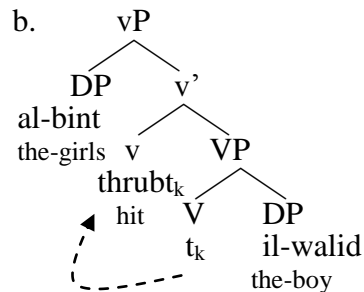
This configuration allows theta roles to be distributed to the arguments of a verb. The agent role is given out to the spec of the vP and the patient role is given out to the complement of the verb.

An aspect phrase is expected to dominate the vP; however, recall that the agreement marking in Najdi shows an asymmetric split between perfective and imperfective aspect. Consider the split reproduced below.

(26) a. al-bint   thrub-**t**   il-walid
          the-girl   hit.PERF-3SG.FEM   the-boy
          'The girl hit the boy.'

      b. al-bint   **ta**-thrub   il-walid
          the-girl   3.FEM-hit.IMPERF   the-boy
          'The girl hits the boy.'

Several accounts of the aspectual agreement asymmetry in Arabic have been given. I leave it as an open question as to exactly how this agreement comes about and simply assume that the subject and the verb minimally enter into a specifier head agreement relationship inside the vP. The verb then moves to an aspect head higher in the structure.

(27)

```
                    PerfP
            ┌─────────┴─────────┐
           DP                 Perf'
         al-bint_k        ┌─────┴─────┐
         the-girl      Perf^0         vP
                      thrubt_i    ┌────┴────┐
                        hit      DP        v'
                                 t_k    ┌───┴───┐
                                        v       VP
                                       t_i   ┌──┴──┐
                                             V     DP
                                            t_i  il-walid
                                                 the-boy
```
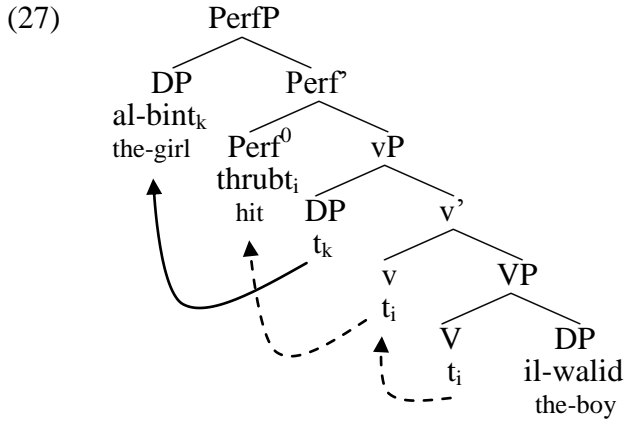
In the structure above for (27), the verb agrees with the subject through specifier head agreement and then the verb moves from its base position as the head of the VP through the v to $Perf^0$ rendering the correct word order for the perfective aspect. On the other hand, when the verb is in the imperfective aspect, the verb moves to $Imperf^0$:

(28)

```
                 ImperfP
          ┌─────────┴─────────┐
         DP_k             Imperf'
       al-bint        ┌──────┴──────┐
       the-girl   Imperf^0          vP
                  tathrub_i     ┌────┴────┐
                    hit        DP         v'
                               t_k     ┌───┴───┐
                                       v       VP
                                      t_i   ┌──┴──┐
                                            V     DP
                                           t_i  il-walid
                                                the-boy
```
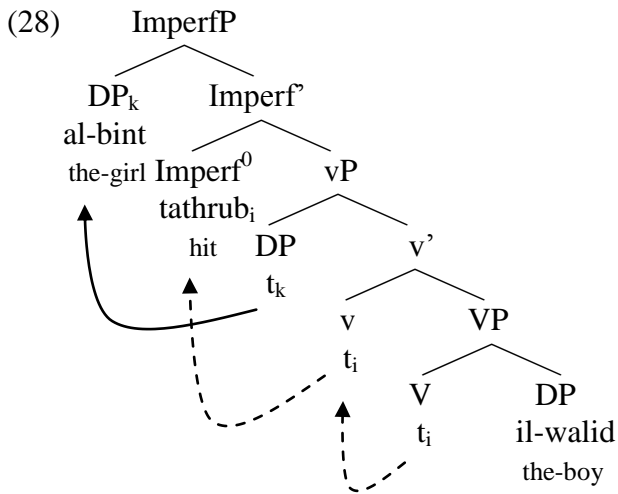
In (28), the verb moves from its base position as the head of the VP to v, where it agrees with the subject through specifier head agreement and then the verb moves to $Imperf^0$.

Taking example (28) into account, as well as, the placement of *kaan* in example (29)a, I assume that example (29)a could be illustrated by the following structure.

(29) a. al-binaat kaann-uu ya-kl-an   it-tammur
       the-girls AUX-3PL 3-eat.IMPERF-PL.FEM the-dates
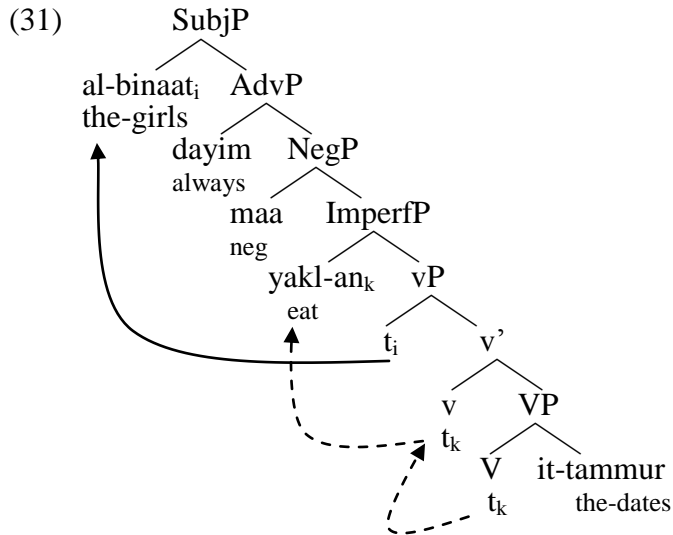   'The girls were eating the dates.'

     b.
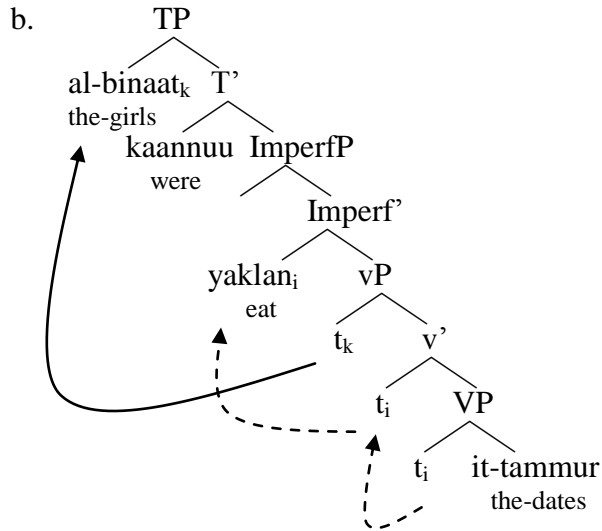
The structure in (29)b shows that the past tense auxiliary *kaan* is in a position higher than the verb. Since *kaan* carries past tense, I place it as the head of TP. By fiat, I place the subject in Spec TP, as there is no other place to put the subject and get the word order SVO. As the verb is inflected, I will not claim that it remains in the VP but moves out of the VP through v to $Imperf^0$.

The following data shows that there must be some position in the clause higher than negation, which frequency adverbs occupy.

(30) a. al-binaat dayim maa ya-kl-an   it-tammur
       the-girls always NEG 3-eat.IMPERF-PL.FEM the-dates
       'The girls always didn't eat the dates.'

     b. *maa al-binaat dayim ya-kl-an   it-tammur
       NEG the-girls always 3-eat.IMPERF-PL.FEM the-dates

The sentence in (30)b is ungrammatical because the subject splits the verb from negation. (30)a can be analyzed as in (31).

(31) SubjP

al-binaat$_i$ AdvP
the-girls
           dayim   NegP
           always
                  maa   ImperfP
                  neg
                       yakl-an$_k$ vP
                       eat
                                t$_i$ v'

                                       v   VP
                                       t$_k$
                                            V   it-tammur
                                            t$_k$ the-dates

In (31), the subject starts out in its base position as the specifier of the vP and then moves up in this structure. The subject is obligatorily higher than the negative element *maa* in the clause; therefore, I place it in the specifier position of SubjP. The verb moves out of the VP through v to Imperf^0. The negative element *maa* and the adverb *dayim* 'always' both appear between the inflected verb and the subject. Therefore, I assume that they occupy specifier positions of their own phrase levels between SubjP and ImperfP.

1.5 Conclusion

In this chapter, I have given a basic description of the grammatical features of Najdi Arabic. The most important of these descriptions is an explanation of how agreement works as a whole in Najdi Arabic and a brief analysis of the tensed clause structure.

CHAPTER TWO COMPLEMENTIZERS AND THE LEFT PERIPHERY IN NAJDI

2.1 Introduction

This chapter explores the types of complementizers in Najdi Arabic and shows which of them allow agreement with embedded subjects. I also show the ordering of complementizers with respect to topic and focus in the left periphery.

2.2 Complementizers

Complementizers in Najdi Arabic fall into one of three classes: declarative particles, conditional/interrogative particles, and a relative particle. The complementizer *illi* 'that' is the only complementizer that surfaces in the matrix clause. Consider an example of the complementizer *illi* in the matrix clause in example (1) below.

(1)   wish   **illi**   sharab-(ah)   Ali
        what   that   drink.PERF.3SG.MASC-3SG.MASC   Ali
        'What did Ali drink?'

In the question in (1), the complementizer *illi* follows the *wh*-word. Within the embedded clause, the complementizers *in*, *itha*, and *illi* all are used. Consider the use of each of these complementizers in example (2) below. The complementizer *in* is used in (2)a and the complementizer *illi* is used in (2)b. The agreement marker *–ni* is used on the conjunction *liʔin* 'because' in (2)c. Note that the particle *liʔin* is composed of the preposition *li-* 'for' and complementizer (*ʔ)in* 'that'. The complementizer *itha* is used in (2)d.

(2)   a.   a-ʕatiqid   **in**   al-bint   gara-t   al-kitaab
             1SG-think.IMPERF   that   the-girl   read.PERF-3SG.FEM   the-book
             'I wonder that the girl read the book.'

       b.   ana   mabsuuT   **illi**   Saad   ja
             I   happy   that   Saad   come.PERF.3SG.MASC
             'I am happy that Saad came.'

       c.   gaa-t   wa'yii   illayiin   waqt   mit ahker   li-**ʔin**-ni
             PST-1SG   stay.up   night   time   late   for-that-1SG

             bgray-t   aħalas   al-wajib
             need.PERF-1SG   finish   the-homework
             'I stayed up late because I needed to finish homework.'

       d.   a-sʔal   **itha**   al-bint   gara-t   al-kitaab
             1SG-wonder.IMPERF   if   the-girl   read.PERF-3SG.FEM   the-book
             'I wonder if the girl read the book.'

Furthermore, note that when the complementizer *in* shows up in an embedded clause with a *pro*

subjects; it agrees with the *pro* subject. Consider example (3) below.

(3)   a.   simʔi-t   **in**   Saad   jaa
             hear.PERF-1SG   that   Saad   come.PERF.3SG.MASC
             'I heard It is good that Saad came.'

       b.   simʔi-t   **in**-ih   jaa
             hear.PERF-1SG   that-3SG.MASC   come.PERF.3SG.MASC
             'It is good that he came.'

       c.   simʔi-t   **in**-hum   ja-w
             heard.PERF-1SG   that-3PL.MASC   came.PERF-3PL.MASC
             'I heard that they came.'

       d.   simʔi-t   **in**-ha   jaa-t
             heard.PERF-1SG   that-3SG.MASC   came.PERF-3PL.FEM
             'I heard that she came.'

       e.   simʔi-t   **in**-hum   ja-w
             heard.PERF-1SG   that-3PL.FEM   came.PERF-3PL.FEM
             'I heard that they came.'

In (3)a, the complementizer *in* does not show overt agreement with the subject of the embedded

clause. In (3)b, the third person singular agreement morpheme *-ih* surfaces on the

complementizer *in* 'that'. The agreement markers used in (3)c-e also matches the φ-features of the embedded subject.

Because the particle *liʔin* is composed of the complementizer *in* and for simplicity's sake, I will disregard the particle *liʔin* and focus only on its primitive subpart, the complementizer *in*. Table 8 shows the distribution of the complementizer *in* and its agreement paradigm in Najdi. See Appendix 1 for an agreement paradigm for another subdialect of Najdi.

Table 8. Complementizer + Agreement in Najdi

	C+agreement
1SG	in-ni
1PL	in-na
2SG.MASC	in-ik
2SG.FEM	in-is/ki
3SG.MASC	in-ih
3SG.FEM	in-ha
2PL.MASC	in-kum
2PL.FEM	in-kin/kum
3PL.MASC	in-hum
3PL.FEM	in-hum/hin

Some of these markers seem to be defective in gender. In particular, the second person plural agreement marker *–kum* is used for both masculine and feminine gender, as well as the third person plural agreement marker *–hum* is used for both masculine and feminine gender. The second person singular feminine agreement marker appears to have two forms in Najdi Arabic: *-is* and *–ki*. The same set of agreement markers are used with the particle *liʔin*. These agreement markers are the same agreement markers used on objects of prepositions, possesums, and resumptive pronouns for topicalization.

There are a number of conditional and temporal particles in Najdi. The conditional particles are *in* 'if' and *ka anna* 'as if', as illustrated in example (4)a and (4)b. The temporal particles are *itha* 'if/when' and *la* 'if/when', as illustrated in example (4)c and (4)d.

(4) a. in-(***ik**)   lii-gayt   ay-rus   f-mahal   ishtarr-ih
         if-2SG.MASC for-find   any-rice   in-store   buy-3SG.MASC
         'If you find any rice at the store, buy it.'

     b. raffa-t   al-alam   al-kuwaitii   ka anna-*(**ha**)   kuwaiti-yaa
         wore.PERF-3SG.FEM   the-flag   the-Kuwaiti   as if-3SG.FEM   Kuwaiti-FEM
         'She wore the Kuwaiti flag as if she were Kuwaiti.'

     c. w-itha-(***k**)   shif-t   abbu-k   bi-gal   salaam-ii
         and-if-2SG.MASC   see.PERF-2SG.MASC   father-2SG.MASC   FUT-say   peace-1SG
         'and if you see your father say hello to him.'

     d. w-la-(***k**)   shif-t   abbu-k   bi-gal   salaam-ii
         and-if-2SG.MASC   see.PERF-2SG.MASC   father-2SG.MASC   FUT-say   peace-1SG
         'and if you see your father say hello to him.'

In (4)a, the conditional particle *in* introduces a gerund form of the verb *gayt* 'find', as indicated by the use of the preposition *lii-* 'for' before the verb. An agreement marker is not allowed to surface on the conditional particles *in*. In (4)b, the conditional particle *ka anna* introduces an adjective, as well as an agreement marker *–ha* surfaces on the conditional particle *ka anna*. In (4)c and (4)d, the temporal particles *itha* 'if' and *la* 'if' do not occur with agreement marker. In (4)c and (4)d, the agreement marker *–ik* is not able to cliticize to the particles *itha* and *la*. Therefore, the particles *in*, *witha*, and *wla* all do not allow an agreement maker to surface on them.

The second set of conditional and temporal particles shows subject agreement, unlike those in (4):

(5)　a.　in kaan-(**ik**)　li-gayt　ay-rus　f-mahal　ishtarr-ih
　　　　 if- 2SG.MASC　for-find　any-rice　in-store　buy-3SG.MASC
　　　　 'if you find any rice at the store, buy it.'

　　 b.　yom-(**ni**)　kin-t　shab　ma-kin-t　a-hib　ashtagal
　　　　 when-1SG　AUX-1SG　young　NEG-AUX-1SG　1SG-like　work
　　　　 'When I was young, I didn't like to work.'

　　 c.　yumkin-(**ni**)　itha　mishi-t　al-hin　a-lhak　ʕala　al-bus
　　　　 perhaps-1SG　if　leave.PERF-1SG　the-now　1SG-make.IMPERF　on　the-bus
　　　　 'Perhaps if I leave now, I will make the bus.'

In (5)a, the conditional particle *in kaan* optionally allows the agreement marker *–ik* to surface on it. The particle *in* in *in kaan*, itself does not inflect for agreement. Furthermore, note that speakers feel as though *kaan* in *in kaan* is a copula, but the agreement paradigms for *kaan* and *in kaan* differ.[5] The temporal particle *yom* 'when' optionally allow an agreement marker to surface on it, as (5)b shows. In (5)c, *yumkin* 'perhaps' also optionally allows agreement with a *pro* subject to surface.[6]

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[5] Note the *kaan* in *in kaan* is optional:

　(ii)　in　li-gayt　ay-rus　f-mahal　ishtarr-ih
　　　　if　find-2SG　any-rice　in-store　buy-3SG.MASC
　　　　'If you find any rice in the store, buy it.'

[6] There are two adverbs in Najdi *taw* 'just' and *gid* 'since'. Consider the adverbs *taw* 'just' and *gid* 'since' in example (iii) below.

　(iii)　a.　la　ta-sʔil-ih　yejmah　taww-ah　makil
　　　　　　NEG　2SG-ask.IMPERF-3SG.MASC　run　just-3SG.MASC　eat
　　　　　　'Don't ask him to run, he has just eaten'

　　　 b.　hid　hatha　ma-k　dayim　gid-ik　kriar　bayt-ik
　　　　　　take　this　with-2SG.MASC　since-2SG.MASC　go　house-2SG.MASC
　　　　　　'Take this with you, since you are going to your house.'

Table 9 shows the agreement paradigm used with the conditional and temporal particles *in kaan* 'if', *yumkin* 'perhaps', and *yom* 'when'.

Table 9. Conditional/Temporal Particles and Agreement in Najdi

	X+agreement	X+agreement	X+agreement
1SG	in kaan-ni	yumkin-ni	yom-ni
1PL	in kaan-na	yumkin-na	yom-na
2SG.MASC	in kaan-ik	yumkin	yom-ik
2SG.FEM	in kaan-it	yumkin	yom-mis
3SG.MASC	in kaan-ih	yumkin-ih	yom-ih
3SG.FEM	in kaan-ha	yumkin-ha	yom-ha
2PL.MASC	in kaan-kum	yumkin-kum	yom-kum
2PL.FEM	in kaan-kum	yumkin-kum	yom-kum
3PL.MASC	in kaan-hum	yumkin-hum	yom-hum
3PL.FEM	in kaan-hin	yumkin-hin	yom-hum

The forms of agreement are the same for all three particles, save two differences. The conditional particle *yumkin* 'perhaps' does not show agreement in the second person singular forms, and the temporal particle *yom* 'when' shows a different agreement marker from the other two particles for the second person feminine form.

The adverb *taw* surfaces with the a weak pronoun clitic –*ah* in (iii)a. The particle *gid* seems to allow a weak pronoun to cliticize to it, as indicated in (iii)b. The use of the particle *gid* should not to be confused with the auxiliary *zid*, which does not allow agreement.

2.2.1   Conclusion

In this section, I have introduced several particles in Najdi Arabic. I have shown which of these particles make agreement obligatory and which particles optionally use agreement. The following table shows the particles that agree with the subject and those particles that do not agree, as well as optionality of agreement.

Table 10. Agreeing Particles[7]

Particles	Translation	Agree	Optional
in	'that'	Yes	No
liʔin	'because'	Yes	Yes
yom	'when'	Yes	Yes
yumkin	'perhaps'	Yes	Yes
ka in	'as if'	Yes	Yes
in kaan	'if'	Yes	Yes
gid	'since'	Yes	Yes
taw	'just'	Yes	Yes
in/il	'if'	No	N/A
wla	'if, when'	No	N/A
itha	'if, when'	No	N/A
illi	'that'	No	N/A

The particles *illi*, *itha*, *wla*, and *in/il* all pattern together in no allowing agreement via weak pronoun clitics. The other particles *taw*, *gid*, *ka in*, *yom*, *yumkin*, and *li-ʔin* all pattern together in allowing agreement markers to be used but none of these particles make such an agreement strategy obligatory. The declarative particle *in* patterns by itself; this particle obligatorily uses an agreement marker.

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[7] See Qafisheh (1977) and Prochazka (1988) for more agreeing paticles in other dialects of Arabic.

2.3 Topic and Focus

This subsection is concerned with exploring the left periphery of the clause in Najdi Arabic. I first describe the left edge of the clause in Italian following Rizzi's (1997, 1999) cartographic approach. I then move to the ordering of topics and focus in Najdi Arabic with respect to the complementizers *in*, *itha*, and *illi*. I then compare my findings for the ordering of topic and focus in Najdi Arabic to that of Rizzi's for Italian.

2.3.1 Rizzi (1997, 1999)

Rizzi (1997) proposed that the CP, which was assumed to be one position within the clause, is actually split into two layers; a ForceP, which encodes clause type and a FinP, which encodes finiteness of the clause. Further, focus and topic are also housed in the left periphery. Rizzi assumes that these elements are sandwiched between a ForceP above and a FinP below. Rizzi's split CP layer is:

(6)   ForceP
            TopP*
                FocP
                    TopP*
                        FinP
                            IP
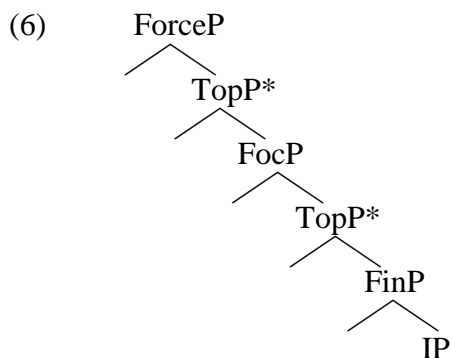
Rizzi assumes that the highest head in the CP layer is $Force^0$, which encodes clause type and is selected by the matrix verb. That is, $Force^0$ encodes information for whether the clause is declarative, interrogative, etc. Below the ForceP, the CP layer then hosts two iterable topic positons ('*' =iterable). A FocP is sandwiched between the two TopPs. The specifier of the FocP

houses *wh*-words. At the bottom end of the CP layer is FinP, which specifies the finiteness of the clause.

The Italian examples in (7) show that *che* takes a finite clause, while *di* takes a non-finite clause.

(7)   a.   Credo   che   loro   **apprezzerebbero**   molto il   tuo   libro.[8]
             I.believe that they   would.appreciate   much the   your   book
             'I believe that they would appreciate your book very much.'

      b.   Credo   di   **apprezzare**   molto   il   tuo   libro
             I.believe of to.appreciate   much   the   your   book
             'I believe of to appreciate your book very much.'

Rizzi notes an asymmetry between the finite complementizer *che* and the non-finite complementizer *di*. Consider the examples below with the use of the finite complementizer.

                    Topic
(8)   a.   Credo   **che**   *il   tuo   libro*,   loro lo apprezzerebbero   molto[9]
             I.believe that the your   book   they it would.appreciate much
             'I believe that your book, they would appreciate it a lot.'

                  Topic
      b. *Credo   *il   tuo   libro*,   **che** loro lo apprezzerebbero   molto
             I.believe the your book   that they it would.appreciate much
             'I believe your book, that they would appreciate it a lot.'

che can appear before a topicalized element, as shown by (8)a, but it cannot appear after a topicalized element, as in example (8)b. The opposite is true of the non-finite complementizer *di*.

                  Topic
(9)   a.   Credo   *il   tuo   libro*, **di** apprezzar-lo   molto[10]
             I.believe the your book of   to.appreciate-it much
             'I believe your book, of to appreciate it a lot.'

                  Topic
      b. *Credo   **di**   *il   tuo   libro*,   apprezzar-lo   molto
             I.believe of   the your book   to.appreciate-it much
             'I belive of your book, to appreciate it a lot.'

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[8] Adapted from Rizzi (1997) example (9); glosses from Harold Torrence (p.c.).
[9] Adapted from Rizzi (1997) example (10); glosses from Harold Torrence (p.c.).
[10] Adapted from Rizzi (1997) example (11); glosses from Harold Torrence (p.c.).

The non-finite complementizer *di* can appear after a topicalized element, as shown by (9)a, but cannot appear before a topicalized element in (9)b.

Rizzi takes these examples as evidence to posit that there are two distinct positions for complementizers in the left periphery; *che* is higher than *di*. The left periphery is illustrated in the structure below.

(10)   ForceP
         /\
     Force⁰ …
      che   /\
          FinP
           /\
        Fin⁰
         di
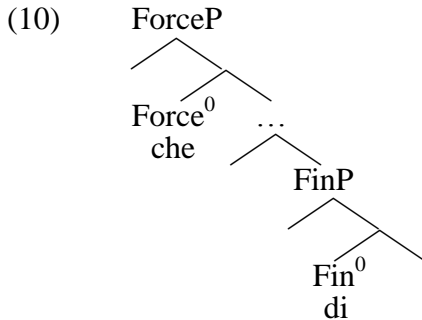
Rizzi assumes that the finite complementizer *che* is the head of a Force Phrase followed by a topic phrase followed by the non-finite complementizer *di* in FinP. Rizzi argues for a second topic position in Italian, based on cases like (11), where two topics flank a focused element:

		Topic	Focus	Topic				
(11)	Credo	**che**	*a Gianni*,	QUESTO,	*domani*,	gli	dovremmo	dire[11]
	I.believe	that	to G.	this	tomorrow	to.him	we.should	say

'I believe that to Gianni, THIS, tomorrow we should say.'

In addition, to flanking the focus element, the topic phrase to the farthest left follows the finite complementizer *che*.
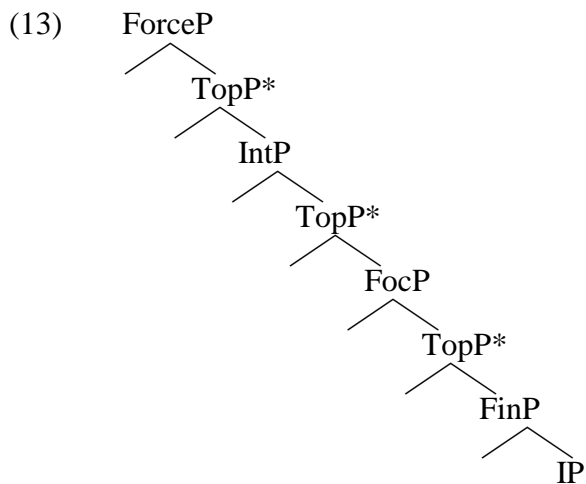
Rizzi (1999) then argued for another head in the CP layer. Consider the following examples of the declarative complementizer *che* and the interrogative complementizer *se:*

---

[11] Adapted from Rizzi (1997) example (23); glosses from Harold Torrence (p.c.).

(12)   a. Credo   **che** a Gianni, avrebbero dovuto dir-gli   la   verita.[12]
             I.believe that to Gianni they.have   should   say-to.him   the   truth
             'I believe that to Gianni, they should have said the truth to him.'

       b. *Credo,   a Gianni, **che**   averebbero dovuto   dirgli   la verita.

       c. Mi   domando **se** questi problemi, potremo   mai affrontar-li.
             myself I.ask   if   these problems   we.can.FUT ever face-them
             'I wonder if these problems, we will ever be able to address them.'

       d. Mi domando, questi problemi, **se** potremo mai affrontarli.

che can appear before a topicalized element, as shown by (12)a, but it cannot appear after a

topicalized element, as in example (12)b. On the other hand, a topic may follow the

complementizer *se*, as shown by (12)c, or it can appear after a topic, as shown in (12)d. Rizzi

(1999) concludes that the structure of the left periphery in Italian is:

(13)   ForceP
         /\
          TopP*
          /\
           IntP
           /\
            TopP*
            /\
             FocP
             /\
              TopP*
              /\
               FinP
               /\
                IP

With the description of Rizzi (1997) in mind, I now consider Najdi Arabic.

---

[12] Adapted from Rizzi (1999) examples (8a-b) and (9c-d); glosses from Harold Torrence (p.c.).

2.3.2   Left Periphery in Najdi

Topicalization targets the left periphery of the clause. Consider several topicalized movements in

example (14) below.

(14)   a.   al-bint   thrub-t   il-walid
            the-girl   hit.PERF-3SG.FEM   the-boy
            'The girl hit the boy'

       b.   [ba-nisba   lii-al-bint   ]   thrub-t   il-walid
            with-regard   for-the-girl   hit.PERF-3SG.FEM   the-boy
            'As for the girl, she hit the boy.'

       c.   [al-bint]   hi   thrub-t   il-walid
            the-girl   she   hit.PERF-3SG.FEM   the-boy
            'As for the girl, she hit the boy.'

       d.   [al-bint]   thrub-t   il-walid
            the-girl   hit.PERF-3SG.FEM   the-boy
            'As for the girl, hit the boy.'

       e.   [il-walid]   al-bint   thrub-t-(ih)
            the-boy   the-girl   hit.PERF-3SG.FEM-3SG.MASC
            'As for the boy, the girl hit him'

The sentence in (14)a, is a typical mono-transitive sentence. In (14)b, the subject has been

topicalized. Accompanying the topicalization of the subject is the use of the prepositional phrase

banisba lii- 'with regard for'; however, the use of the prepositional phrase is not required, as

(14)d shows. Note the same construction can serve as a neutral sentence. There are no overt topic

markers but the topicalization of the subject as in (14)c or of the object as in (14)e, is

accompanied by the use of a resumptive pronoun and the topic is also set off by a small pause.

    The locus of focus is in also the left periphery of the clause in Najdi as well. Consider several

sentences with focus movements in (15) below.

(15) a. al-bint   thrub-t   il-walid
         the-girl   hit.PERF-3SG.FEM   the-boy
         'The girl hit the boy.'

     b. [IL-WALID]   thrub-t   al-bint
         the-boy   hit.PERF-3SG.FEM   the-girl
         'It's THE BOY, the girl hit.'

     c. [THRUB-T   IL-WALID]   al-bint
         hit.PERF-3SG.FEM the-boy   the-girl
         'HIT THE BOY, the girl did.'

     d.*[THRUB-T]   al-bint   il-walid
         hit.PERF-3SG.FEM the-girl   the-boy
         'HIT, the girl, the boy.'

The sentence in (15)a, is a typical mono-transitive sentence. In (15)b, the object is moved to the left edge of the sentence. In (15)c, the whole VP is focused. There are no overt focus markers in Najdi Arabic, but unlike topicalization, no resumptive pronouns accompany focus and the pitch of focus is higher than the rest of the sentence.[13]

A topic may precede a focus. In (16)a, the verb shows agreement with the subject through subject agreement and agreement with the object through a resumptive pronoun, indicating that the object has been topicalized. The sentence in (16)b, patterns the same way, the topicalized object precedes the focused verb.

(16) a. il-walid   THRUB-T-IH   al-bint   **OVS**
          the-boy   hit.PERF-3SG.FEM-3SG.MASC   the-girl
          'As for the boy, she HIT HIM, the girl.'

      b. al-bint   THARUB-HA   il-walid   **OVS**
          the-girl   hit.PERF.3SG.MASC-3SG.FEM   the-boy
          'As for the girl, she HIT HER, the boy.'

Note that the subjects in (16) are neutral.

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[13] There are additional semantic indicators that focus exhibits, following Kiss (1998, 2002) and Rooth (2008). A complement discussion of these differences is beyond the scope of this thesis.

A focus may also precede a topic. In (17)a, the object has undergone topicalization, as indicated by the use of the resumptive pronoun –*ih*. The verb is then focused. The subject can be an overt R-expression. When overt, the subject may be focused with the verb, as in (17)b, or the subject may remain neutral, as in (17)c.

(17)   a.   [SHIF-T-IH]   Faħad
                see.PERF-1SG-3SG.MASC   Faħad
                'I SAW Fahad.'

         b.   [AL-BINT   SHIF-T-IH]   Faħad
                the-girl   see.PERF-3SG.FEM-3SG.MASC   Faħad
                'THE GIRL SAW HIM Fahad.'

         c.   [SHAF-T-IH]   Faħad   al-bint
                see.PERF-3SG.FEM-3SG.MASC   Faħad   the-girl
                'Fahad, The girl SAW HIM

Larger elements can be focused as well. Consider the examples in (18):

(18)   a.   al-bint   thrub-t   il-walid   ams
                the-girl   hit.PERF-3SG.FEM the-boy   yesterday
                'The girl hit the boy yesterday.'

         b.   [THRUB-T   IL-WALID   AMS]   al-bint
                hit.PERF-3SG.FEM the-boy   yesterday   the-girl
                'The girl HIT THE BOY YESTERDAY.'

         c.   [THRUB-T   IL-walid] al-bint   ams
                hit.PERF-3SG.FEM the-boy   the-girl yesterday
                'The girl, yesterday, SHE HIT THE BOY.'

         d.   [THRUBA-T   ]   al-bint   ams   il-walid
                hit.PERF-3SG.FEM the-girl yesterday   the-boy
                'As for the girl, yesterday SHE HIT the boy.'

In (18), the VP and adverb have a focused interpretation. In (18)a, the VP only is focused. I now turn to the ordering of topic and focus with respect to the complementizers *in, itha*, and *illi*.

The position of the complementizer *in* within the left periphery can be established based on its position in relation to the loci of focus and topicalization. I will first discuss the position of *in*

with respect to focus. I then discuss the position of *in* with respect to topicalized elements. I do the same for the complementizers: *itha* and *illi*. Before I discuss their ordering, note that the complementizers *in* and *itha* are selected for by a higher predicate. This fact has certain implications on where these complementizers are in the clause structure. Consider the types of clauses that the verbs *ʕatiqid* 'think' and *sʔal* 'wonder' take in example (19) below.

(19)   a.   a-ʕatiqid   **in**   al-bint   gara-t   al-kitaab
                    1SG-think.IMPERF   that   the-girl   read.PERF-3SG.FEM the-book
                    'I think that the girl read the book.'

              b.   *a-ʕatiqid   **itha**   al-bint   gara-t   al-kitaab
                    1SG-think.IMPERF   that   the-girl   read.PERF-3SG.FEM the-book
                    Intended: 'I think if the girl read the book.'

              c.   *a-sʔal   **in**   al-bint   gara-t   al-kitaab
                    1SG-wonder.IMPERF   that   the-girl   read.PERF-3SG.FEM the-book
                    Intended: 'I wonder that the girl read the book.'

              d.   a-sʔal   **itha**   al-bint   gara-t   al-kitaab
                    1SG-wonder.IMPERF   if   the-girl   read.PERF-3SG.FEM the-book
                    'I wonder if the girl read the book.'

In (19)a, the verb *ʕatiqid* 'think' selects for a declarative statement headed by the complementizer *in*, but cannot select for a interrogative complementizer *itha* as (19)b shows. The verb *sʔal* 'wonder' does not select for the complementizer *in* as (19)c shows. Instead, as (19)d shows the verb *sʔal* 'wonder' selects for an interrogative clause as its complement is headed by the complementizer *itha*. This selectional relation between the higher predicate and the complementizer suggests that these complementizers are high in the left periphery.

    The complementizer *illi* cannot be selected for by most verbal predicates; however, the complementizer *illi* does appear to be able to be selected by adjectival predicates.[14]

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[14] Aldwayan (2008:42) also notes this construction.

(20) a. *a-ʕatiqid   **illi** Ahmed   thrub   il-walid
          1SG-think.IMPERF that   Ahmed   hit.PERF.3SG.MASC   the-boy
          Intended: 'I think that Ahmed hit the boy.'

  b. zeen   **illi**   Saad   shif-ha
      good   that   Saad   saw.PERF-3SG.MASC-3SG.FEM
      'It is good that Saad saw her.'

Consider example (21) below, in which the VP has moved to a focus position in the left periphery.

(21) a. simiʕ-t   **in**   [SHARAB   AL-GAHWA] Ali
          hear.PERF-1SG   that   drink.PERF.3SG.MASC the-coffee   Ali
          'I heard that Ali DRANK COFFEE.'

  b. *simiʕ-t   [SHARAB   AL-GAHWA] **in**   Ali
      hear.PERF-1SG   drink.PERF.3SG.MASC the-coffee   that   Ali

In (21)a, the VP has been moved to a focus position immediately following the complementizer *in*. This focus position must be lower in the structure than the complementizer *in* because when the focused element precedes the complementizer *in*, an ungrammatical sentence results, as shown in (21)b.

The verb may also move to a focus position in the left periphery leaving the object stranded. This movement too shows that the complementizer *in* must be above the focus position. Consider example (22) below.

(22) a. simiʕ-t   **in**   [SHARAB]   Ali   al-gahwa
          hear.PERF-1SG   that   drink PERF.3SG.MASC Ali   the-coffee
          'I heard that Ali DRANK coffee.'

  b. *simiʕ-t   [SHARAB]   **in**   Ali   al-gahwa
      hear.PERF-1SG   drink.PERF.3SG.MASC that   Ali   the-coffee

In (22)a, the verb has been moved to a focus position immediately follow the complementizer *in*. This focus position must be lower in the structure than the complementizer *in* 'that' because when the focused element precedes the complementizer *in*, an ungrammatical sentence results, as

shown in (22)b. The ungrammatical sentence in (22)b shows that there is no position higher than *in* that may host the focused element.

The complementizer *in* appears above a topicalized element, as illustrated in example (23).

(23) a. simʕi-t   **in** [il-walid] al-bint   thrub-t-ih
           hear.PERF-1SG   that   the-boy   the-girl   hit.PERF-3SG.FEM-3SG.MASC
           'I hear that as for the boy, the girl hit him.'

       b. *simʕi-t   [il-walid] **in**   al-bint   thrub-t-ih
           hear.PERF-1SG   the-boy   that   the-girl   hit.PERF-3SG.FEM-3SG.MASC

In (23)a, the subject *il-walid* 'the boy' appears preverbal. As I have shown earlier, the topicalized element triggers the use of a resumptive pronoun clitic on the verb that matches the topicalized element in person, number, and gender. Critically, the topic position must be below the complementizer *in*, as example (23)b shows. In (23)b, when the object precedes the complementizer *in*, an ungrammatical sentence obtains.

The second complementizer that introduces embedded declaratives is *itha* 'if'. Consider the distribution of *itha* in the embedded clause in the following examples.

(24) a. a-sʔal   **itha** [SHARAB   AL-GAHWA]   Ali
           1SG-wonder.IMPERF if   drank.PERF.3SG.MASC the-coffee   Ali
           'I wonder if Ali DRANK THE COFFEE.'

       b. *a-sʔal   [SHARAB   AL-GAHWA] **itha** Ali
           1SG-wonder.IMPERF   drank.PERF.3SG.MASC the-coffee   if   Ali

In (24)a, *itha* can precede a focused element, but as (24)b shows, *itha* cannot be preceded by a focused element. The focused element does not have to be the whole VP. The focused element can be just the verb.

(25) a. a-sʔal   **itha** [SHARAB   ]   Ali   al-gahwa
           1SG-wonder.IMPERF if   drank.PERF.3SG.MASC Ali   the-coffee
           'I wonder if Ali DRANK the coffee.'

       b. *a-sʔal   [SHARAB   ]   **itha** Ali   al-gahwa
           1SG-wonder.IMPERF   drank.PERF.3SG.MASC if   Ali   the-coffee

In (25)a, the focused verb can follow the complementizer *itha*. The focused verb cannot precede

itha, as (25)b shows.

The complementizer *itha* can be preceded and followed by a topic. Consider these

constructions in (26).

(26)   a.   a-sʔal   **itha** [il-walid]   al-bint   thrub-t-ih
             1SG-wonder.IMPERF if   the-boy   the-girl hit.PERF-3SG.FEM-3SG.MASC
             'I wonder if the boy, the girl hit him.'

        b.   a- sʔal   [il-walid] **itha** al-bint   thrub-t-ih
             1SG-wonder.IMPERF the-boy   if   the-girl   hit.PERF-3SG.FEM-3SG.MASC
             'I wonder the boy, if the girl hit him.'

In (26)a, the topic follows *itha* and in (26)b, the topic precedes *itha*. Recall that the

complementizer *in* 'that' could only precede a topic. On the other hand, the complementizer *itha*

'that' seems to allow a topic to both follow and precede it. This suggests that the complementizer

itha occupies a distinct position lower in the structure than the complementizer *in* 'that'. Rizzi

(1999) has shown that this seems to be the case for the complementizer *se* in Italian.

The third and last complementizer that introduces embedded declaratives is *illi* 'that'. [15]

(27)   ana mabsuuT **illi**   al-bint   garra-t   al-kitaab
          I   happy   that   the-girl   read.PERF-3SG.FEM   the-book
          'I am happy that the girl read the book.'

The complementizer *illi* appears above a topic, as shown below.

(28)   a. ana mabsuuT **illi** [al-kitaab] al-bint   garra-t-ih
            I   happy   that   the-book   the-girl   read.PERF-3SG.FEM-3SG.MASC
            'I am happy that, the book, the girl read it.'

        b. *ana mabsuuT [al-kitaab] **illi** al-bint   garra-t-ih
            I   happy   the-book   that   the-girl   read.PERF-3SG.FEM-3SG.MASC

The complementizer *illi* appears above a focused verb, as shown below.

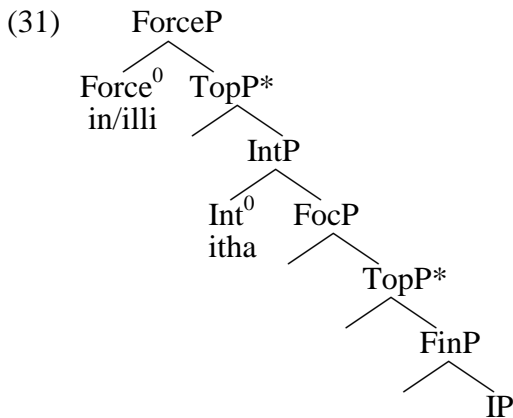[15] The complementizer *illi* is also used to form a relative clause.

(29) a. ana mabsuuT **illi** [GARRA-T] al-bint al-kitaab
I happy that read.PERF-3SG.FEM the-girl the-book
'I am happy that the girl READ the book.'

b. *ana mabsuuT [GARRA-T] **illi** al-bint al-kitaab
I happy read.PERF-3SG.FEM that the-girl the-book

The complementizer *illi* appears above a focused VP, as shown below.

(30) a. ana mabsuuT **illi** [GARRA-T AL-KITAAB] al-bint
I happy that read.PERF-3SG.FEM the-book the-girl
'I am happy that the girl READ THE BOOK.'

b. *ana mabsuuT [GARRA-T AL-KITAAB] **illi** al-bint
I happy read.PERF-3SG.FEM the-book that the-girl

The following structure represents the ordering of *in* and *itha*:

(31) ForceP
    Force^0 TopP*
    in/illi
            IntP
        Int^0 FocP
        itha
            TopP*
                FinP
                    IP

In the structure above, *in* occupies Force^0. *In* is the highest particle in the clause. It is above topic and focus. *Illi* also occupies Force^0, since a topic can only follow *illi*. Lower down the left periphery *itha* occupies the Int^0. A topic can both precede and follow *itha*. The left periphery of the clause in Najdi appears to have the same ordering of topic and focus with respect to the complementizers: *che* and *se* in Italian. Unlike the complementizer *di* in Italian, Najdi does not show an overt complementizer that occupies Fin^0.

40

2.4 Conclusion

In this section, I have explored the left edge of the clause in Najdi and found that the left periphery is similar to that of Italian as argued for by Rizzi (1997, 1999). I conclude that the complementizer *in* must be higher in the left periphery than any TopP, since no topic may precede *in*, I assume that *in* must occupy Force^0.

CHAPTER THREE COMPLEMENTIZER AGREEMENT IN NAJDI

3.1 Introduction

This chapter examines several properties that are important in accounting for the phenomenon of complementizer agreement in Najdi. I first describe the phenomenon of complementizer agreement in more detail to set up following sections that explore the effects of complementizer agreement with various grammatical movements. I then investigate the effects of topicalization on CA. I turn to CA's sensitivity to tense and aspect. I next move to a discussion of the effect of *wh*-extraction and focus movements on CA. I end with a discussion how CA interacts with a coordinated subject. In this chapter, I focus on the complementizer *in* 'that' because it is the only complementizer for which agreement is obligatory when the embedded subject is *pro*.

3.2 Complementizer Agreement

The first feature of complementizer agreement in Najdi Arabic that sheds light on the workings of the phenomenon has to do with the types of subjects that complementizer agreement may surface with. The complementizer *in* agrees with the subject of the embedded clause that it introduces when the subject is non-overt. In (1), the embedded clause has a *pro* subject and the complementizer of the embedded clause shows obligatory agreement with this *pro* subject through the use of an agreement marker on the complementizer.

(1)   ta-sagd   [inna-*(ha)   ta-sawwii   al-akil   ]
        2SG-mean.IMPERF   that-3SG.FEM   3SG.FEM-make.IMPERF   the-food
        'You mean that she made the food.'

On the other hand, when there is an overt R-expression subject in the embedded clause the complementizer cannot agree with the embedded subject. As (2) shows, CA cannot surface when

there is an overt R-expression subject, no matter whether the subject is preverbal as in (2)a, or postverbal as in (2)b.

(2) a. ta-sagd   [inna-(*ha) Fatima ta-sawwii   al-akil]
      2SG-mean.IMPERF that-3SG.FEM Fatima 3SG.FEM-make.IMPERF the-food
      'You mean that Fatima made the food.'

    b. ta-sagd   [inna-(*ha) ta-sawwii   Fatima al-akil]
      2SG-mean.IMPERF that-3SG.FEM 3SG.FEM-make.IMPERF Fatima the-food
      'You mean that Fatima made the food.'

This restriction on CA surfacing with an overt R-expression subject suggests that agreement in Najdi Arabic is *pro* sensitive. While most overt subjects restrict the use of CA, a pronominal subject may optionally occur with complementizer agreement. In (3), the third person feminine pronoun is used as the subject of the embedded clause and the complementizer shows agreement that matches the features of the pronoun.

(3) ta-sagd   [inna-(ha) hi ta-sawwii   al-akil]
    2SG-mean.IMPERF that-3SG.FEM she 3SG.FEM-make.IMPERF the-food
    'You mean that she made the food.'

Therefore, the exact characterization of CA in Nadji Arabic may be more accurately called pronominal sensitive. CA also occurs with the first XP of a coordinated subject. I will save a discussion of coordinated subjects and CA for section 3.2.4.

CA also surfaces with an expletive *pro* subject. Note that expletives in Najdi show agreement with the complementizer through a default third person singular masculine agreement marker –*ih*. The raising particles *sin* and *shakil* are used to form an expletive construction. In (4)a, the expletive subjects must agree with the complementizer through the agreement marker –*ih* on the complementizer. In (4)a, the grammatical sentence surfaces with the agreement marker –*ih*, but if the agreement marker is not overt, as in (4)b, the sentence is ungrammatical. In (4)c, even though CA surfaces on the complementizer, the sentence is still ungrammatical. I attribute the

ungrammaticality of this sentence and the ungrammaticality of (4)b to the unwarranted use of the resumptive pronoun on the raising particle.[16]

(4) a. simʕi-t   inn-**ih**   sin/shakil   biyt-ah   kbiir
      hear.PERF-1SG   that-3SG.MASC   seems   house-3SG.MASC   big
      'I heard that it seems his house is big.'

   b. *simʕi-t   in   sin-**ih**/shakil-**ih**   biyt-ah   kbiir
      hear.PERF-1SG   that   seems-3SG.MASC   house-3SG.MASC   big

   c. *simʕi-t   inn-**ih**   sin-**ih**/shakil-**ih**   biyt-ah   kbiir
      hear.PERF-1SG   that3SG.MASC   seems-3SG.MASC   house-3SG.MASC   big

The agreement marker used on the complementizer is the same agreement marker used on raising particles in Najdi. Consider this parallel in example (5) below. In (5)a, the subject of the embedded clause is an overt proper name *Ali.* The subject is changed from an overt proper name in (5)a to a *pro* subject in (5)b. When the *pro* subject is used in (5)b, the raising particles show the same agreement marker as the complementizer that introduces the embedded clause.

(5) a. a-ʕatiqid   in   sin   Ali   ya-gra   f-l-muktaba
      1SG-think.IMPERF   that   seems   Ali   3SG.MASC-read.IMPERF   in-the-library
      'I think that Ali seems to read in the library.'

   b. a-ʕatiqid   inn-**ih**   sinn-**ih**   ya-gra
      1SG-think.IMPERF   that-3SG.MASC   seems-3SG.MASC   3SG.MASC-read.IMPERF

      f-l-muktaba
      in-the-library
      'I think that it seems he reads in the library.'

The use of the agreement marker is warranted here because Ali was an argument of the verb *ya-gra* 'he reads/ing'.

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[16] Regardless of the gender of the predicate, the masculine agreement marker is still used with the raising verb *sin*:

(iv) simʔi-t   inn-ih   sin   siyarraht-ah   kbiira
      hear.PERF-1SG   that-3SG.MASC   seem   car.FEM-3SG.MASC   big.FEM
      'I hear this it seems his car is big.'

Any reservations that this marker, which surfaces on the complementizer, might not be true agreement can put aside. The first reason to do so is because there may be multiple agreements within a clause as illustrated in (6). In (6)a, a weak pronoun clitic *–ih* surfaces on the complementizer *in*, as well as a weak pronoun clitic *–(i)h* surfaces on the adverb *taw*. The two sentences above have different meanings. Example (6)b has a focused interpretation on the time.

(6) a. a-ʕatiqid   [inn-**ih**   taww-**ah**   jay   ]
         1SG-mean.IMPERF that-3SG.MASC just-3SG.MASC   come.3SG.MASC
         'I think that he has just arrived.'

     b. a-ʕatiqid   [inn-**ih**   jay   taww-**ah**   ]
         1SG-mean.IMPERF that-3SG.MASC come.3SG.MASC just-3SG.MASC
         'I think that he has JUST arrived.'

With this discussion of the feature of complementizer agreement as background, I now turn to a discussion of the effects of topicalization on complementizer agreement.

3.2.1   Topics and Complementizer Agreement

This section explores the effects of topicalization on complementizer agreement. I will look at three different types of topicalization: subject, object, and long distance topicalization.

Subject extraction of a DP requires an obligatory agreement marker be used on the complementizer.[17] Consider the extraction of the DP subject in example (7) below. In (7)a, the embedded clause is a SVO word order. The subject of the embedded clause is extracted (7)b-c to the left periphery of the matrix clause. This movement is allowed when CA surfaces on the complementizer, as in (7)b, but not allowed without CA, as in (7)c.

(7)   a.   a-ʕatiqid   [in   **al-bint**   gara-t   al-kitaab]
             1SG-think.IMPERF   that   the-girl   read.PERF-3SG.FEM   the-book
             'I think that the girl read the book.'

       b.   **al-bint**   a-ʕatiqid   [inna-ha   gara-t   al-kitaab]
             the-girl   1SG-think.IMPERF that-3SG.FEM   read.PERF-3SG.FEM   the-book
             'I think that the girl read the book.'

       c.   ***al-bint**   a-ʕatiqid   [in   gara-t   al-kitaab]
             the-girl   1SG-think.IMPERF that   read.PERF-3SG.FEM   the-book
             'I think that the girl read the book.'

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[17] Extraction of the subject to the left edge of the matrix clause works the same way for other R-expressons.

(v)   a.   a-ʕatiqid   in   Fatima gara-t   al-kitaab.
             1SG-think.IMPERF   that   Fatima read.PERF-3SG.FEM   the-book
             'I think that Fatima read the book.'

       b.   * Fatima   a-ʕatiqid   in   gara-t   al-kitaab
             Fatima   1SG-think.IMPERF   that   read.PERF-3SG.FEM   the-book
             'Fatima, I think that (she) read the book.'

       c.   Fatima   a-ʕatiqid   inna-**ha**   gara-t   al-kitaab
             Fatima   1SG-think.IMPERF   that-3SG.FEM   read.PERF-3SG.FEM   the-book
             'Fatima, I think that (she) read the book.'

In (v)a, the embedded clause is a SVO word order. The subject of the embedded clause is extracted in (v)b to the left periphery of the matrix clause. This movement is allowed with a weak pronoun clitic on the complementizer.

On the other hand, the intervention of a topicalized object between the subject and the complementizer inhibits agreement from surfacing on the complementizer. In (8)a, the use of a *pro* subject in the embedded clause requires that the complementizer be inflected with a weak pronoun clitic. Note that the object is post verbal in this sentence. If the object is topicalized to the left edge of the embedded clause then a resumptive pronoun clitic must be attached to the verb. In addition, the complementizer must not show an agreement marker. This contrast is gleaned from comparing the sentences in (8)b to the sentence in (8)c and (8)d.

(8)　　a.　a-ʕatiqid　　　　　　[inna-*(ha)　　gara-t　　　　　　　**al-kitaab**]
　　　　　　1SG-think.IMPERF　　that-3SG.FEM　read.PERF-3SG.FEM　　the-book
　　　　　　'I think that she read the book.'

　　　　b.　a-ʕatiqid　　　　　　[in　　　　**al-kitaab**　　gara-t-ih　　　　　　　　　　　]
　　　　　　1SG-think.IMPERF　　that　　　　the-book　　　read.PERF-3SG.FEM-3SG.MASC
　　　　　　'I think that the book, she read it.'

　　　　c.　*a-ʕatiqid　　　　　　[inna-ha　　**al-kitaab**　　gara-t-ih　　　　　　　　　　　]
　　　　　　1SG-think.IMPERF　　that-3SG.FEM　the-book　　read.PERF-3SG.FEM-3SG.MASC
　　　　　　'I think that the book, she read it.'

　　　　d.　*a-ʕatiqid　　　　　　[inn-ih　　　**al-kitaab**　　gara-t-ih　　　　　　　　　　　]
　　　　　　1SG-think.IMPERF　　that-3SG.MASC　the-book　　read.PERF-3SG.FEM-3SG.MASC
　　　　　　'I think that the book, she read it.'

Topicalizion of an object with the same gender as the subject makes topicalization of the object to the edge of the embedded clause dispreferred. Note that object *al-kitaab* 'the book' is masculine and the *pro* subject is also masculine. The sentence in (9)a, is the typical construction for an embedded clause with a *pro* subject. Given the sentence in (9)b, when the object is moved to left edge of the embedded clause, a resumptive pronoun must cliticize to the verb and complementizer agreement cannot surface. This generalization is only true if the subject and objects show a gender match. This generalization may be too strong. For example, I have not

tested for number mismatches because such a test is beyond the scope of this thesis. Still the use

of complementizer agreement in (9)c obtains an ungrammatical sentence.

(9) a. a-ʕatiqid   inn-*(ih)   gara   **al-kitaab**
         1SG-think.IMPERF that-3SG.MASC   read.PERF.3SG.MASC the-book
         'I think that the book, he read.'

     b. ? a-ʕatiqid   in   **al-kitaab** gara-h
         1SG-think.IMPERF that   the-book   read.PERF.3SG.MASC-3SG.MASC
         'I think that the book, he read.'

     c. * a-ʕatiqid   inn-ih   **al-kitaab** gara-h
         1SG-think.IMPERF that-3SG.MASC   the-book   read.PERF.3SG.MASC-3SG.MASC
         'I think that the book, he read.'

Extraction of an object from an embedded clause to the left periphery of the matrix clause

when the subject is an overt DP does not affect the agreement on complementizers. In (10)a, the

embedded clause is a SVO word order. The direct object is extracted in (10)b to the left edge of

the matrix clause.

(10) a. a-ʕatiqid   in   Fatima gara-t   **al-kitaab**
          1SG-think.IMPERF that Fatima read.PERF-3SG.FEM   the-book
          'I think that Fatima read the book.'

      b. **al-kitaab** a-ʕatiqid   in   Fatima   gara-t-ih
          the-book   1SG-think.IMPERF that Fatima   read.PERF-3SG.FEM-3SG.MASC
          'The book, I think that Fatima read (it).'

Extraction of the object does not occur with agreement surfacing on the complementizer, as

was the case for extraction of the subject. Moreover, extraction of an object to the left periphery

when the subject of the embedded clause is a *pro* has no effect on CA. In (11)a, the embedded

clause has a *pro* subject and an overt DP object. In addition to the *pro* subject of the embedded

clause, the complementizer shows agreement with the weak pronoun *–ha*. Extraction of the

object to the left edge of the matrix clause, once again does not affect the agreement marker used

on the complementizer, as indicated in (11)b with the weak pronoun *–ha* being required over no

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agreement or the agreement marker –*ih*, which would correspond to the object in number, gender, and person features.[18,19]

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[18] Extraction of plural subjects to the left edge of the matrix clause requires that a plural agreement marker appear on the complementizer.

(vi) a. ar-rajajil   simʕi-t   in-**hum**   rkab-uu   al-khail.
          the-men   hear.PERF-1SG that-3PL.MASC   rode.PERF-3PL.MASC the-horse
          'The men, I heard that all of them rode the horse.'

      b. ar-rajajil   simʕi-t   inn-***ih**   rkab-uu   al-khail.
          the-men   hear.PERF-1SG that-3SG.MASC   rode.PERF-3PL.MASC the-horse
          'The men, I heard that all of him rode the horse.'

In (vi) above, extraction of the plural subject to the left edge of the matrix clause is only allowed when there is an identification focus interpretation for the subject *al-rajajil* 'the men'. In (vi)a, the subject *ar-rajajil* 'the men' moves from its in-situ position as the subject of the embedded clause up to a focus position in the matrix clause. The sentence is grammatical with the use of plural weak pronoun *–hum*, but as (vi)b shows the use of the singular weak pronoun *–ih* is ungrammatical. Interestingly, as (vii) shows, extraction from a quantified phrase can trigger either the use of a singular or plural weak pronoun on the complementizer.

(vii) a. ar-rajajil   simʕi-t   in-**hum**   kill-hum   rkab-uu   al-khail
          the-men   hear.PERF-1SG that-3PL.MASC   all-3PL.MASC   rode.PERF-3PL.MASC the-horse
          'The men, I heard that all of them rode the horse.'

      b. ar-rajajil   simʕi-t   inn-**ih**   kill-hum   rkab-uu   al-khail
          the-men   hear.PERF -1SG that-3SG.MASC   all-3PL.MASC   rode.PERF-3PL.MASC the-horse
          'The men, I heard that they all rode the horse.'

The same does not appear to be true for feminie plural subjects:

(viii) a. al-binaat   simʕi-t   in-**hum**   kill-hum   rkab-uu   al-khail
           the-girls   hear.PERF -1SG that-3PL.MASC   all-3PL.MASC   rode.PERF-3PL.MASC the-horse
           'The girls, I heard that all of them rode the horse.'

       b. al-binaat   simʕi-t   inn-**ih**   kill-hum   rkab-uu   al-khail
           the-girls   hear.PERF -1SG that-3SG.MASC   all-3PL.MASC   rode.PERF-3PL.MASC the-horse
           'The girls, I heard that they all rode the horse.'

       c. * al-binaat   simʕi-t   inn-**ha**   kill-hum   rkab-uu   al-khail
           the-girls   hear.PERF -1SG that-3SG.FEM   all-3PL.MASC   rode.PERF-3PL.MASC the-horse
           'The girls, I heard that they all rode the horse.'

[19] I will quickly note that optionality is not unexpected since there is evidence that the gender and number features are defective in Najdi. Note post verbal subjects are often associated with defective agreement.

(11)   a.   a-ʕatiqid   [in-(*ih)/*(ha)   gara-t   **al-kitaab**]
                1SG-think.IMPERF that-3SG.MASC/3SG.FEM read.PERF-3SG.FEM the-book
                'I think that she read the book.'

        b.   **al-kitaab**   a-ʕatiqid   [in-(*ih)/*(ha)
                the-book   1SG-think.IMPERF   that-3SG.MASC/3SG.FEM

                gara-t-ih   ]
                read.PERF-3SG.FEM-3SG.MASC
                'The book, I think that she read (it).'

I end with a brief summary of two features that have become obvious when the effect of topicalization on complementizer agreement is looked into. The first is that topicalization of the subject make the use of an agreement marker on the complementizer stronger. The second is that topicalization of the object blocks an agreement marker on the complementizer. I now turn to the effects of tense and aspect on complementizer agreement.

(ix)   a.   gara   al-binaat   al-kitaab
                read.PERF.3SG.MASC   the-girls   the-book
                'The girls read the book.

        b.   al-binaat   gara-n   al-kitaab
                the-girls   read.PERF-3PL.FEM   the-book
                'The girls read the book.'

The pair of sentence above shows that defective number/gender agreement is available in Najdi. In (ix)a, the subject follows the verb. The verb is only inflected for the person of the subject, the number and gender features agreed. On the other hand, the verb shows full agreement in person, number, and gender features with the subject when the subject preceeds the verb.

3.2.2 Tense, Aspect, and Complementizer Agreement

This section explores sensitivity of complementizer agreement to tense and aspect.[20]

Complementizer agreement is not sensitive to the aspect of the verb. In (12)a, agreement is obligatory on the complementizer when the verb in the embedded clause is in the perfective aspect and has a *pro* subject. In (12)b, agreement is also obligatory on the complementizer when the verb in the embedded clause is in the imperfective aspect and has a *pro* subject.

(12)   a.   ta-sagd   inna-*(ha)   sawwa-t   al-akil
              2SG-mean.IMPERF   that-3SG.FEM   made.PERF-3SG.FEM   the-food
              'You mean that she made the food.'

        b.   ta-sagd   inna-*(ha)   ta-sawii   al-akil
              2SG-mean.IMPERF   that-3SG.FEM   3SG.FEM-made.IMPERF   the-food
              'You mean that she is making the food.'

Therefore, since agreement on the complementizer follows the same pattern for the perfective aspect as it does for the imperfective aspect, aspect does not play a role in the agreement of subject in embedded clauses with the complementizer.

Complementizer agreement is also not sensitive to tense. In (13)a, agreement is obligatory on the complementizer when the future tense is used in conjunction with a verb in the imperfective aspect that has a *pro* subject. In (13)b, agreement is obligatory on the complementizer when the past tense is used in conjunction with a verb in the imperfective aspect that has a *pro* subject. In (13)c, agreement is obligatory on the complementizer when the present tense auxiliary is used with a verb in the imperfective aspect.

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[20] See Hoekstra & Smits (1998) about complementizer agreement's interaction with tense. Also, see Zwart (2006) for a discussion of tense and complementizer agreement.

(13) a. ta-sagd   inna-*(ha)   bi-ta-sawwii   al-akil
          2SG-mean.IMPERF   that-3SG.FEM   FUT-3SG.FEM-made.IMPERF   the-food
          'You mean that she will make the food.'

      b. ta-sagd   inna-*(ha)   kanna-t
          2SG-mean.IMPERF   that-3SG.FEM   AUX-3SG.FEM

          ta-sawwii   al-akil
          3SG.FEM-made.IMPERF   the-food
          'You mean that she was making the food.'

      c. a-ʕatiqid   inna-*(ha)   gaʔid-ha
          1SG-think.IMPERF   that-3SG.FEM   AUX-3SG.FEM

          ta-sawwii   al-akil
          3SG.FEM-make.IMPERF   the-food
          'I think that she is making the food.'

Therefore, since the complementizer agreement distributes the same way for the future, past, and present tense, it can be concluded that tense does not play a role in agreement on complementizers with embedded subject.

Complementizer agreement is not sensitive to the use of a string of verbs as for future tense readings with the verb *bi* 'want' in (14) below.

(14) ta-sagd   inna-ha   ta-bi   ta-sawwii   al-akil
      2SG-mean.IMPERF that-3SG.FEM 3SG-want.IMPERF 3SG-make.IMPERF   the-food
      'You mean that she wants make the food.'

The auxiliary *zid* may also be used in conjunction with other auxiliaries. Consider the use of the auxiliary *zid* with *kaan* in example (15) below.

(15) a-ʕatiqid   inna-ha   kanna-t   **zid** sawwa-t   al-akil
      1SG-think.IMPERF that-3SG.FEM AUX-3SG.FEM AUX make.PERF-3SG.FEM the-food
      'I think that she had already made the food'

As (15) shows, CA can surface when both the auxiliaries *kaan* and *zid* are used.

The auxiliary *zid* interacts with complementizer agreement. Consider the distribution of the auxiliary *zid* in example (16).

(16)　a.　a-ʕatiqid　　　　inna-ha　　　**zid**　sawwa-t　　　　　　al-akil
　　　　　1SG-think.IMPERF　that-3SG.FEM　AUX　3SG.FEM-make.PERF　the-food
　　　　　'I think that she always makes the food.'

　　　b.　a-ʕatiqid　　　　in　　　**zid**　sawwa-t　　　　　　al-akil
　　　　　1SG-think.IMPERF　that　　AUX　3SG.FEM-make.PERF　the-food
　　　　　'I think that she always makes the food.'

　　　c.　a-ʕatiqid　　　　inna-*(ha)　**zid**　kana-t　　　　dayim
　　　　　1SG-think.IMPERF　that-3SG.FEM　AUX　PST-3SG.FEM　always

　　　　　ta-sawii　　　　　　al-akil
　　　　　3SG.FEM-make.IMPERF　the-food
　　　　　'I think that she has been always making the food.'

In (16)a, the auxiliary *zid* is used in conjunction with the perfective verb. In addition, agreement surfaces on the complementizer. Notice that the use of agreement on the complementizer is not obligatory as shown in (16)b. Locality plays a part in complementizer agreement. In (16)c, complementizer agreement becomes obligatory when the auxiliary *kaan* and the frequency adverb *dayim* appear between the verb and the agreeing complementizer.

The use of an overt R-expression with the auxiliary *zid* restricts agreement from surfacing on the complementizer in most cases. Consider first when an overt R-expression is pre verbal but preceding the auxiliary *zid*.

(17)　a.　a-ʕatiqid　　　　in　**zid**　al-bint　sawwa-t　　　　　al-akil
　　　　　1SG-think.IMPERF　that　AUX　the-girl　make.PERF-3SG.FEM　the-food
　　　　　'I think that the girl has made the food.'

　　　b.　*a- ʕatiqid　　　　inna-ha　　**zid**　al-bint　sawwa-t
　　　　　1SG-think.IMPERF　that-3SG.FEM　AUX　the-girl　make.PERF-3SG.FEM

　　　　　al-akil
　　　　　the-food
　　　　　'I think that the girl has made the food.'

The grammatical sentence in (17)a is constructed with an overt R-expression subject *al-bint* and no agreement marker is used on the complementizer. This sentence contrasts with the ungrammatical sentence in (17)b, which uses an agreement marker on the complementizer.

The same pattern is followed when the subject is post verbal.

(18) a. a-ʕatiqid   in   **zid** sawwa-t   al-bint al-akil
      1SG-think.IMPERF that   AUX make.PERF-3SG.FEM the-girl the-food
      'I think that the girl has made the food.'

      b. *a- ʕatiqid   inna-ha   **zid** sawwa-t   al-bint al-akil
      1SG-think.IMPERF that-3SG.FEM AUX make.PERF-3SG.FEM the-girl the-food
      'I think that the girl has made the food.'

The grammatical sentence in (18)a is constructed with an overt R-expression subject *al-bint* and no agreement marker on the complementizer. This sentence contrasts with the ungrammatical sentence in (18)b, which uses an agreement marker on the complementizer.

Thus, it would seem that the use of an agreement marker is restricted on a complementizer when an R-expression is used with the auxiliary *zid* just as is the case when an R-expression is used without the auxiliary *zid*; however, when an R-expression appears before the auxiliary *zid*, then the agreement marker may be used. Consider this construction in example (19) below.

(19) a. a-ʕatiqid   in   al-bint **zid** sawwa-t   al-akil
      1SG-think.IMPERF that   the-girl AUX make.PERF-3SG.FEM the-food
      'I think that the girl has made the food.'

      b. a- ʕatiqid   inna-ha   al-bint **zid** sawwa-t   al-akil
      1SG-think.IMPERF that-3SG.FEM the-girl AUX make.PERF-3SG.FEM the-food
      'I think that the girl has made the food.'

The sentence in (19)a, shows no agreement marker on the complementizer, as we would expect given the sentences in (17) and (18), where overt R-expression subjects dictate that there be no agreement marker on the complementizer. However, as (19)b shows, it is perfectly grammatical to use an agreement on the complementizer when the overt subject follows the complementizer.

Note though that (19)a is more natural. In section 3.3, I give analysis that accounts for this optionality, which is dependent on the uninterpretable φ-features of the complementizer being checked.

Even without an overt R-expression subject, the use of the auxiliary *zid* allows the complementizer to optionally agree with the *pro* subject.

(20) a. a- ʕatiqid   inna-ha   **zid** sawwa-t   al-akil
          1SG-think.IMPERF that-3SG.FEM AUX   make.PERF-3SG.FEM the-food
          'I think that the girl has made the food.'

     b. a-ʕatiqid   in   **zid** sawwa-t   al-akil
          1SG-think.IMPERF that   AUX   make.PERF-3SG.FEM the-food
          'I think that the girl has made the food.'

Since the auxiliary *zid* allows the complementizer to optionally agree with the *pro* subject, I now will investigate how robust this optional agreement is by subjecting those optional constructions to extraction of the object. In the last section, I also showed that the subject could be post or pre verbal in these constructions. Consider now the topicalization of the object to left edge of the embedded clause accompanying the use of an overt subject.

(21) a. *a-ʕatiqid   inna-ha   al-akil   **zid** al-bint
          1SG-think.IMPERF that-3SG.FEM the-food   AUX   the-girl

          sawwa-t-ih
          make.PERF-3SG.FEM-3SG.MASC
          'I think that the girl has made the food.'

     b. a-ʕatiqid   in   al-akil   **zid** al-bint
          1SG-think.IMPERF that   the-food   AUX   the-girl

          sawwa-t-ih
          make.PERF-3SG.FEM-3SG.MASC
          'I think that the girl has made the food.'

    c.   a-ʕatiqid   in   al-akil   **zid**
        1SG-think.IMPERF   that   the-food   AUX

        sawwa-t-ih   al-bint
        make.PERF-3SG.FEM-3SG.MASC   the-girl
        'I think that the girl has made the food.'

In (21)a, with the use of an overt DP object moved to the left periphery of the embedded clause, the use of an agreement marker is not allowed on the complementizer. The same construction is grammatical without the use of an agreement marker, as shown in (21)b. Note that even if the subject does not move to a position before the verb, a restriction on the use of an agreement marker still holds.

    The subject may also appear before the auxiliary *zid* in an embedded clause. When an object is topicalized in such a construction, the use of complementizer agreement is still restricted.

    (22)   a.   a-ʕatiqid   in   al-akil   al-bint   **zid**
               1SG-think.IMPERF   that   the-food   the-girl   AUX

               sawwa-t-ih
               make.PERF-3SG.FEM-3SG.MASC
               'I think that the girl has made the food.'

           b. *a-ʕatiqid   inna-ha   al-akil   al-bint   **zid**
              1SG-think.IMPERF   that-3SG.FEM   the-food   the-girl   AUX

              sawwa-t-ih
               make.PERF-3SG.FEM-3SG.MASC
              'I think that the girl has made the food.'

           c. *a-ʕatiqid   inn-ih   al-akil   al-bint   **zid**
              1SG-think.IMPERF   that-3SG.MASC   the-food   the-girl   AUX

              sawwa-t-ih
               make.PERF-3SG.FEM-3SG.MASC
              'I think that the girl has made the food.'

In (22)a, the subject appears in a position before the auxiliary *zid* and the object has been moved to a position in the left edge between the complementizer and the subject. The use of

complementizer agreement in this construction is restricted. No matter if a feminine agreement

marker –*ha* matching the φ-features of the subject, as in in (22)b, or a masculine agreement

marker –*ih* matching the φ-features of the topicalized object, as in in (22)c.

Consider also that this phenomenon is subject oriented; note what happens when an object is

moved in front of *zid*.

(23)   a. *a- ʕatiqid   inna-ha   [al-akil   ]   **zid**
              1SG-think.IMPERF   that-3SG.FEM   the-food   AUX

                sawwa-t-ih
                make.PERF-3SG.FEM-3SG.MASC
                Intended: 'I think that, the food, she has made it.'

    b. a-ʕatiqid   in   [al-akil   ]   **zid**
              1SG-think.IMPERF   that   the-food   AUX

                sawwa-t-ih
                make.PERF-3SG.FEM-3SG.MASC
                'I think that, the food, she has made it.'

Thus, when the object intervenes between the complementizer and the auxiliary *zid*, the

complementizer cannot have an agreement marker.

A focused VP moved before *zid* also blocks complementizer agreement from surfacing.

(24) a.   a-ʕatiqid   in [**zid**   garra-t   al-kitaab]   al-bint
            1SG-think.IMPERF   that AUX   read.PERF-3SG.FEM   the-book   the-girl
            'I think that the girl HAS READ THE BOOK.'

     b. *a-ʕatiqid   in   [garra-t   al-kitaab] **zid**   al-bint
            1SG-think.IMPERF   that   read.PERF-3SG.FEM   the-book   AUX   the-girl
            'I think that the girl has READ THE BOOK.'

     c. *a-ʕatiqid   inna-ha   [garra-t   al-kitaab]
            1SG-think. IMPERF   that-3SG.FEM   read.PERF-3SG.FEM   the-book

            zid   al-bint
            AUX   the-girl
            'I think that the girl has READ THE BOOK.'

Note that the VP cannot be focused to the exclusion of the auxiliary *zid*, as shown in (24)b-c. The complementizer is unable to be inflected because, as Carstens (2003) claims, the verb is in Fin^0, thus preventing the φ-features of the subject from being associated with the complementizer. I will discuss these facts further in my analysis in section 3.3. I now turn to the effects of *wh*-extraction and focus on complementizer agreement.

3.2.3   *Wh*-Extraction, Focus, and Complementizer Agreement

This section investigates complementizer agreement's sensitivity to *wh*-extraction and focus.

Complementizer agreement is sensitive to *wh*-extraction and focus. Consider first how complementizer agreement is affected by *wh*-extraction. Matrix *wh*-questions are formed in example (25). Note that both in situ *wh*-questions, as in (25)a, b, and c, and *wh*-moved questions, as in (25)d and e are options for forming matrix *wh*-questions in Najdi Arabic.

(25)   a.   min   sharab   al-gahwa
             who   drank.PERF.3SG.MASC the-coffee
             'Who drank the coffee?'

        b.   Yahiya   sharab   wish
             Yahiya   drank.PERF.3SG.MASC   what
             'Yahiya drank what?'

        c.   wish   illi   Yahiya   sharab-(ih)
             what   that   Yahiya   drank.3SG.MASC-3SG.MASC
             'What did Yahiya drink?'

        d.   Yahiya   sharab   al-gahwa   wayn
             Yahiya   drank.PERF.3SG.MASC   the-coffee   where
             'Where did Yahiya drink the coffee?'

        e.   wayn   (*illi)   Yahiya   sharab   al-gahwa
             where   that   Yahiya   drank.PERF.3SG.MASC the-coffee
             'Where did Yahiya drink the coffee?'

Consider now *wh*-questions in the embedded clause. In the embedded clause, the *wh*-word can remain in situ, as shown in (26)a-c; however, if the *wh*-word is in subject position, then the complementizer cannot show agreement, as indicated by (26)d.

(26) a. t-ʔatiqid   in   Rima shaafa-t   min
          2SG-think.IMPERF   that Rima saw.PERF-3SG.FEM   who
          'Who do you think Rima saw?'

      b. t-ʔatiqid   in   Rima shaafa-t   Ahmed   wayn
          2SG-think.IMPERF   that Rima saw.PERF-3SG.FEM   Ahmed   where
          'Where do you think Rima saw Ahmed?'

      c. t-ʔatiqid   in   min   shaafa-t   Ahmed
          2SG-think.IMPERF   that who   saw.PERF-3SG.FEM   Ahmed
          'Who do you think saw Ahmed?'

      d. *t-ʔatiqid   inna-ha   min   shaafa-t   Ahmed
          2SG-think.IMPERF   that-3SG.FEM   who   saw.PERF-3SG.FEM   Ahmed
          'Who do you think saw Ahmed?'

The *wh*-words can also undergo *wh*-movement to the matrix clause. The subject can be extracted, as in the following sentence for *min,* 'who'. In this case, if the *wh*-word is an argument of the embedded verb, it must show an agreement marker relating to the location it was moved from. An object agreement marker must be used on the verb for the object *wh*-questions and an agreement marker must be used on the complementizer for the subject *wh*-question.

(27) a. min   t-ʔatiqid   in   Rima   shaafa-t-(ih)
          who   2SG-think.IMPERF   that   Rima   saw.PERF-3SG.FEM -3SG.MASC
          'Who do you think Rima saw?'

      b. wayn   t-ʔatiqid   in   Rima   shaafa-t   Ahmed
          where   2SG-think.IMPERF   that   Rima   saw.PERF-3SG.FEM   Ahmed
          'Where do you think Rima saw Ahmed?'

      c. min   t-ʔatiqid   inna-(ha)   shaafa-t   Ahmed
          who   2SG-think.IMPERF   that-3SG.FEM   saw.PERF-3SG.FEM   Ahmed
          'Who do you think saw Ahmed?'

Extracted *wh*-subjects require that complementizer agreement be used on the complementizer.

(28) a. min   simʕi-t   [inn-ʔ(ih)   rakab   al-khail]
          who   hear.PERF-2SG   that-3SG.MASC   rode.PERF.3SG.MASC   the-horse
          'Who did you hear rode the horse?'

      b. min   simʕi-t   [in-*(hum)   rkab-uu   al-khail]
          who   hear.PERF-2SG   that-3PL.MASC   rode.PERF-3PL.MASC   the-horse
          'Who did you hear rode the horse?'

In (28)a, the *wh*-word *min* is extracted from the embedded clause to the matrix clause. As (28)b

shows, only the third person plural agreement marker may be used on the complementizer in this

case.[21]

     The subject can be extracted from the embedded clause to the left edge of a matrix clause.

When this is the case, the agreement marker used on the complementizer must match the φ-

features of the extracted subject.

(29) a. *ay-walid   ta-ʕatiqid   inna-ha   gara   al-kitaab
          which-boy   2SG-mean.IMPERF   that-3SG.FEM   read.PERF.3SG.MASC   the-book
          'Which boy do you think that she said read the book?

      b. ay-walid   ta-ʕatiqid   inn-ih   gara   al-kitaab
          which-boy   2SG-mean.IMPERF   that-3SG.MASC   read.PERF.3SG.MASC   the-book
          'Which boy do you think that she said read the book?

In (29)a, the singular feminine singular weak pronoun *–ha* is ungrammatical because it does not

match the gender feature of the *pro* subject; instead, if the masculine singular weak pronoun *–ih*

is used, then the sentence is grammatical, which is the case in (29)b.

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[21] Consider now long adistance A' movement with extraction of subjects from the embedded clause to the left edge
of the matrix clause, the weak pronoun used on the complementizer is defective in number when a quantifier is
stranded in the subject base position. The same pattern holds for *wh*-extration in Najdi, as illustrated in (x).

(x)   a. **min** simʕi-t   inn-ih   kill-*(hum)   rkab-uu   al-khail
          who hear-2SG   that-3SG.MASC   all-3PL.MASC   rode-3PL.MASC   the-horse
          'Who did you hear all rode the horse?'

      b. **min** simʕi-t   in-hum   kill-*(hum)   rkab-uu   al-khail
          who hear-2SG   that-3PL.MASC   all-3PL.MASC   rode-3PL.MASC   the-horse
          'Who did you hear all rode the horse?'

The object may undergo long distance A' movement from the most embedded clause to a position in the left periphery of the matrix clause. This movement does not disrupt the agreement marker on the complementizer.

(30)   a.   ay-kitaab   ta-ʕatiqid   [inna-**ha**
               which-book   2SG-think.IMPERF   that-3SG.FEM

               gala-t   il-walid   gara-h   ]
               read.PERF-3SG.FEM   the-boy   read.PERF.3SG.MASC-3SG.MASC
               'Which book do you think that she said the boy read?

        b. *ay-kitaab   ta-ʕatiqid   [in
               which-book   2SG-think.IMPERF   that

               gala-t   il-walid   gara-h   ]
               say.PERF-3SG.FEM   the-boy   read.PERF.3SG.MASC-3SG.MASC
               'Which boy do you think that she said read the book?

In (30)a, the object of the most embedded clause is moved to the left periphery of the matrix clause. In addition, a grammatical sentence is yielded when the third person feminine agreement marker is used on the complementizer. This contrasts with the ungrammatical sentence in (30)b, in which no agreement marker is used on the complementizer.

The following three sentences also have long distance A' movement of the object of the most embedded clause. Given that I have shown in most cases that an overt R-expression subject will not allow agreement to show up on the complementizer, I first use embedded clauses to test for the complementizer's sensitivity to A' extraction.

(31) a. ay-binaat   ta-ʕatiqid   in   Layla   gala-t
          which-girls   2SG-think.IMPERF   that Layla   said.PERF-3SG.FEM

          in   Ali   tharub-ha
          that Ali   hit.PERF.3SG.MASC-3SG.FEM
          'Which girl do you think that Layla said that Ali hit?

      b. ? ay-binaat   ta-ʕatiqid   inn-ih   Layla   gala-t
          which-girls   2SG-think.IMPERF   that-3SG.MASC Layla   say.PERF-3SG.FEM

          in   Ali   tharib-ha
          that Ali   hit.PERF.3SG.MASC-3SG.FEM
          'Which girl do you think that one Layla said that Ali hit?

      c. * ay-binaat   ta-ʕatiqid   inna-ha   Layla   gala-t
          which-girls   2SG-think.IMPERF   that-3SG.FEM   Layla   say.PERF-3SG.FEM

          in   Ali   tharib-ha
          that Ali   hit.PERF.3SG.MASC-3SG.FEM
          'Which girl do you think that Layla said that Ali hit?'

In (31)a, the most embedded object undergoes long distance A' movement to the left edge of the clause. In (31)b, I attempt to inflect the highest complementizer with the weak pronoun –ih, which surfaces in a construction with an arbitrary *one* reading, but this proves to be dispreferred. Changing the gender of the weak pronoun to –ha in (31)c also proves to yield an ungrammatical sentence.

Similar results are obtained from forcing complementizer agreement marker on the most embedded complementizer when the most embedded object has undergone long distance A' movement. Consider example (32) below.

(32) a. ay-binaat   ta-ʕatiqid   in   Layla   gala-t
          which-girls   2SG-think.IMPERF   that Layla   said.PERF-3SG.FEM

          in   Ali   tharub-ha
          that Ali   hit.PERF.3SG.MASC-3SG.FEM
          'Which girl do you think that Layla said that Ali hit?'

      b. *ay-binaat   ta-ʕatiqid   in   Layla   gala-t
          which-girls   2SG-think.IMPERF   that Layla   said.PERF-3SG.FEM

          in-ih   Ali   tharub-ha
          that-3SG.MASC Ali   hit.PERF.3SG.MASC-3SG.FEM
          'Which girl do you think that Layla said that Ali hit?'

      c. *ay-binaat   ta-ʕatiqid   in   Layla   gala-t
          which-girls   2SG-think.IMPERF   that Layla   said.PERF-3SG.FEM

          in-ha   Ali   tharub-ha
          that-3SG.FEM   Ali   hit.PERF.3SG.MASC-3SG.FEM
          'Which girl do you think that Layla said that Ali hit?'

In (32)a, the most embedded object undergoes long distance A' movement to the left edge of the clause. In (32)a and (32)b, I attempt to add the weak pronoun clitics –*ih* and –*ha* to the most embedded complementizer but this yields an ungrammatical sentence for both examples.

The sentences in (31) and (32) would seem to indicate that long distance object A' movement does not trigger CA; but that is not the whole story. There are some curious uses of agreement markers on the complementizers in long distance A' movement. Consider example (33) below.

(33) a. wish   ta-ʕatiqid   in   Layla   gala-t
          what   2SG-think.IMPERF   that   Layla   said.PERF-3SG.FEM

          in   Ali   gara
          that   Ali   read.PERF.3SG.MASC
          'What do you think that Layla said that Ali read?

      b. ? wish   ta-ʕatiqid   inn-ih   Layla   gala-t
          what   2SG-think.IMPERF   that-3SG.MASC Layla   said.PERF-3SG.FEM

          inn-ih   Ali   gara
          that-3SG.MASC   Ali   read.PERF.3SG.MASC
          'What do you think that it Layla said that it Ali read?

In (33)a, the most embedded object undergoes long distance A' movement to the left edge of the clause. The weak pronoun *–ih* is then used on the complementizers in (33)b. The resulting sentence has a dispreferred expletive *it* reading but is an option.[22]

Consider now how long distance A' movement interacts with agreeing complementizers when an embedded clause has only a *pro* subject.

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[22] Note that in general this use of agreement on the complementizer results in an ungrammatical sentence.

(xi) a. * wish   simʔa-t   inn-ih   Layla   nasaHa-t   inn-ih
            What   heard.PERF-2SG.MASC that-3SG.FEM Layla   advised.PERF-3SG.FEM   that-3SG.MASC

            Ali   katab
            Ali   wrote.PERF.3SG.MASC
            'What did you hear that it Layla advised that it Ali wrote?'

      b. * wish   ta-than   inn-ih   Layla   nasaHa-t   inn-ih
            What   2SG.MASC-think .IMPERF   that-3SG.FEM Layla   advised.PERF-3SG.FEM   that-3SG.MASC

            Ali   kalla
            Ali   ate.PERF.3SG.MASC
            'What do you believe that it Layla promised that it Ali ate?'

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(34) a. wish   ta-ʕatiqid   in   Layla   gala-t
          what   2SG-think.IMPERF   that   Layla   said.PERF-3SG.FEM

          inn-ih   gara
          that-3SG.MASC   read.PERF.3SG.MASC
          'What do you think that Layla said that he read?

     b. *wish   ta-ʕatiqid   in   Layla   gala-t
          what   2SG-think.IMPERF   that   Layla   said.PERF-3SG.FEM

          inna-ha   gara
          that-3SG.FEM   read.PERF.3SG.MASC
          'What do you think that Layla said that Ali read?

In (34)a, the most embedded object undergoes long distance A' movement to the left edge of the

clause. Further, the most deeply embedded clause has a *pro* subject. The agreement marker *–ih* is

grammatical when it surfaces on the most embedded complementizer, matching the φ-features of

the most embedded *pro* subject. The weak pronoun clitic on this complementizer must match the

φ-features of the most embedded *pro* subject as shown in (34)b. The agreement marker *–ha* is

ruled out due to a gender feature mismatch.

The depth of embedding a *pro* subject is not what results in the presence or absence of the

weak pronoun clitic on the complementizer; rather, a weak pronoun clitic must appear whenever

an embedded clause has a *pro* subject as (35) shows.

(35) a. wish   ta-ʕatiqid   inna-ha   gala-t
          what   2SG-think.IMPERF   that-3SG.FEM   said.PERF -3SG.FEM

          in   Ali   gara
          that   Ali   read.PERF.3SG.MASC
          'What do you think that she said that Ali read?

     b. *wish   ta-ʕatiqid   inn-ih   gala-t
          what   2SG-think.IMPERF   that-3SG.MASC said.PERF-3SG.FEM

          in   Ali   gara
          that   Ali   read.PERF.3SG.MASC
          'What do you think that Layla said that Ali read?

In (35)a, the most embedded object undergoes long distance A' movement to the left edge of the clause. Once again, in (35)a, only the weak pronoun that matches the *pro* subject of the highest embedded clause may be used. Any other weak pronoun is ruled out as indicated by the ungrammaticality of (35)b.

Given this, the grammaticality of (36) is predicted.

(36) wish ta-ʕatiqid   inna-ha gala-t
    what 1SG-think.IMPERF that-3SG.FEM said.PERF-3SG.FEM

    inn-ih   gara
    that-3SG.MASC read.PERF.3SG.MASC
    'What do you think that she said that he read?

In (36), each complementizer shows agreement with their respective embedded *pro* subjects.

Given the distribution of complementizer agreement for subject extraction and object extraction, it must be concluded that complementizer agreement is a subject-oriented phenomenon.[23]

Further complementizer agreement occurs with long distance relativization. Consider the long distance relativization constructions in example (37) below.

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[23] Consider finally what happens under Raising-to-Subject.

(xii) a. * ay-bint ta-ʕatiqid   inn-ih   sin in ta-gra
     which-girl 2SG-think.IMPERF that-3SG.MASC seem to 3SG.FEM-read.IMPERF
     Intended: 'Which girl do you think that seems that she reads?'

   b. ay-bint ta-ʕatiqid   in sin-ha   ta-gra
     which-girl 2SG-think.IMPERF that seem-3SG.FEM 3SG.FEM-read.IMPERF
     Intended: 'Which girl do you think that seems that she reads?'

In (xii) a, the subject of the most embedded clause has undergone long distance A-bar movement past the raising verb *sin*.

(37) a. al-rajil   illi   Ali   ya-ʕatiqid   inn-ih
          the-man REL Ali 3SG.MASC-think.IMPERF   that-3SG.MASC

          gara   hatha   al-kitaab   jaa
          read.PERF.3SG.MASC this   the-book   came.PERF.3SG.MASC
          'The man that Ali thinks that read this book came.'

     b. al-rajil   illi   Ali   ya-ʕatiqid   inn-ih   zid
          the-man REL Ali 3SG.MASC-think.IMPERF   that-3SG.MASC AUX

          gara   hatha   al-kitaab   jaa
          read.PERF.3SG.MASC this   the-book   jaa came.PERF.3SG.MASC
          'The men that John thinks read this book came.'

In (37)a, the DP *al-rajil* is extracted from the subject position of the most embedded clause to the left edge of the matrix clause. Accompanying the extraction of the subject is the use of the agreement marker *–ih* on the complementizer *in*.[24]

    Focusing a VP, surprisingly allows complementizer agreement to optionally be used with a proper name, as with the feminine proper name *Rima*.

(38) a. a-ʕatiqid   in   [SHAAFA-T   AHMED] Rima
          1SG-think.IMPERF   that   see.PERF-3SG.FEM Ahmed   Rima
          'I think that Rima SAW AHMED.'

     b. a-ʕatiqid   inna-ha   [SHAAFA-T   AHMED] Rima
          1SG-think.IMPERF   that-3SG.FEM see.PERF-3SG.FEM Ahmed   Rima
          'I think that Rima SAW AHMED.'

This appears to be the case for several R-expression subjects.

(39) a. a-ʕatiqid   in   [GARRA-T   AL-KITAAB] al-bint
          1SG-think.IMPERF   that   read.PERF-3SG.FEM the-book   the-girl
          'I think that the girl READ THE BOOK.'

     b. a-ʕatiqid   inna-ha   [GARRA-T   AL-KITAAB] al-bint
          1SG-think.IMPERF that-3SG.FEM read.PERF-3SG.FEM the-book   the-girl
          'I think that the girl READ THE BOOK.'

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[24] See Gad (2010) for a discussion of the complementizer *illi*.

3.2.4 Coordination

Consider now the distribution of coordinated subjects in Najdi in example (40) below.

(40)   a.   a-ʕatiqid   inn-**ik**   [ant   wa   Mari]   jii-tu
                1SG-think.IMPERF   that-2SG you   and   Mary   come.PERF-2PL
                'I think that you and Mary will come.'

         b.   a-ʕatiqid   inn-**ik**   [ant   wa   Layla] tawal
                1SG-think.IMPERF   that-2SG you   and   Layla   tall.PL
                'I think that you and Layla are tall.'

In (40)a, the perfective verb shows plural agreement with the coordinated subject consisting of the second person singular pronoun *ant* and the third person singular proper name *Mari*; however, the complementizer only agrees with the first conjunct - the second person singular pronoun. The same is true for adjectival clauses. The adjective shows plural agreement with the whole subject but the complementizer only shows agreement with the first conjunct.

The use of an agreement marker on the complementizer is sensitive to the closest XP in a coordinated structure and not to any pronoun that surfaces in the coordinated structure. In fact, the complementizer may agree with a proper noun when it is the first XP in a coordinated subject. Look at the following sentences in example (41) below.

(41)   a.   a-ʕatiqid   inn- ik   [ant   wa   Ali]   jii-tu
                1SG-think.IMPERF   that-2SG   you   and   Ali   come.PERF.2PL.MASC
                'I think that you and Ali came.'

         b. *a-ʕatiqid   inn-ik   [Ali   wa   ant]   jii-tu
                1SG-think.IMPERF   that-2SG   Ali   and   you   come.PERF.2PL.MASC
                'I think that you and Ali came.'

         c.   a-ʕatiqid   inn-ih   [Ali   wa   ant   ]   jii-tu
                1SG-think.IMPERF   that-3SG   Ali   and   you   come.PERF.2PL.MASC
                'I think that you and Ali came.'

         d.   a-ʕatiqid   in   [Ali   wa   ant   ]   jii-tu
                1SG-think.IMPERF   that   Ali   and   you   come.PERF.2PL.MASC
                'I think that you and Ali came.'

In (41)a, the complementizer shows an agreement marker that agrees with the pronoun *ant* while the verb agrees with the whole coordinated subject. As (41)b shows, the complementizer will only agree with the closest XP. The use of the second person singular agreement marker on the complementizer when the pronoun *ant* is the second XP is not allowed. However, as (41)c shows, the complementizer must agree with the closest XP *Ali*, as is the case with the agreement marker *–ih*. The use of agreement on a complementizer here is optional, as (41)d indicates.

The number feature in coordinated subjects does not appear to restrict the use of a complementizer with the overt pronoun. Consider example (42) below.

(42)   a. a-ʕatiqid   innu-kum [antu   w-il-walid] jii-tu
            1SG-think.IMPERF   that-2PL   you.PL   and-the-boy   come.PERF -2PL.MASC
            'I think that the boy you all came.'

        b. *a-ʕatiqid   innu-hum [antu   w-il-walid] jii-tu
            1SG-think.IMPERF   that-3PL   you.PL   and-the-boy   come.PERF -2PL.MASC
            'I think that the boy and you all came.'

In (42)a, the second person plural pronoun *antu* is used with the agreement marker *-kum* on the complementizer, which matches the φ-features of the pronoun. In (42)b, the same second person plural pronoun *antu* is used with the agreement marker *-hum* on the complementizer. The use of the agreement marker *-hum* with the pronoun *antu* is ungrammatical suggesting that at all levels of number agreement, complementizer agreement is sensitive to the closest agreeing expression.

When proper names are compared to other types of R-expression subjects, the same pattern does not arise, suggesting that proper names and pronouns are freer for agreement than other R-expressions (at least in coordinated subject constructions).

(43)   a.   a-ʕatiqid   inn-ik   [ant   wa   il-walid] jii-tu
            1SG-think.IMPERF   that-2SG   you   and   the-boy   come.PERF-2PL.MASC
            'I think that you and the boy came.'

       b.   a-ʕatiqid   in   [ant   wa   il-walid] jii-tu
            1SG-think.IMPERF   that   you   and   the-boy   come.PERF-2PL.MASC
            'I think that you and the boy came.'

       c. *a-ʕatiqid   inn-ik   [il-walid   wa   ant   ] jii-tu
            1SG-think.IMPERF   that-2SG   the-boy   and   you   come.PERF-2PL.MASC
            'I think that the boy and you came.'

When a pronoun is the first XP in a coordinated subject position, then the agreement marker

matching the pronoun's φ-features may optionally be used, as indicated in (43)a and b. When a

DP is the first XP in the coordinated subject construction, the complementizer does not agree

with only pronouns. That is, there is no pronoun sensitivity in a coordinated structure with a DP,

as show in (43)c.

   The agreement marker on the complementizer in coordinated structures can interestingly also

show agreement with the second XP in the coordinated structure. Consider example (44) below.

(44)   a.   a-ʕatiqid   in   [il-walid   wa   ant] jii-tu
            1SG-think.IMPERF that   the-boy   and   you   come.PERF-2PL.MASC
            'I think that you and the boy came.'

       b. *a-ʕatiqid   inn-ih   [il-walid   wa   ant] jii-tu
            1SG-think.IMPERF that-3SG.MASC the-boy   and   you   come.PERF-2PL.MASC
            'I think that you and the boy came.'

       c.   a-ʕatiqid   inn-ih   [ant   wa   il-walid] jii-tu
            1SG-think.IMPERF that-3SG.MASC you   and   the-boy   come.PERF-2PL.MASC
            'I think that you and the boy came.'

In (44)a, no agreement is shown on the complementizer, where an R-expression is the first XP in

a coordinated subject construction. In (44)b, the complementizer has a third person singular

agreement marker and the first XP is an R-expression. This obtains an ungrammatical sentence.

The surprising case is example (44)c. In the grammatical sentence in (44)c, the same third person

singular agreement marker is used on the complementizer, but the R-expression is now the second XP in the coordinated structure.

This agreement strategy does not appear to be available for proper names, as when a proper name is the second constituent in a coordinated structure and the agreement marker on the complementizer matches it in φ-features.

(45) a. *a-ʕatiqid   inn-ih   [ant   wa   Ali   ] jii-tu
         1SG-think.IMPERF that-3SG.MASC you   and Ali   come.PERF.2PL.MASC
         'I think that you and Ali came.'

      b. *a-ʕatiqid   inna-ha   [ant   wa   Layla] jii-tu
         1SG-think.IMPERF that-3SG.FEM   you   and Layla   come.PERF.2PL.MASC
         'I think that you and Layla came.'

Complementizer agreement with a subject consisting of two disjunct constituents follows a similar pattern to complementizer agreement with a coordinated subject. Note that when the subject is a disjunction structure, the verb only agrees with the second XP and not the whole disjunction construction. The complementizer in (46)a agrees with the first constituent in the disjunction structure by using a second person singular agreement marker –ik.

(46) a. a-ʕatiqid   inn-(ik) [ant   aw Ali] jaa
          1SG-think.IMPERF that-2SG   you   or   Ali   come.PERF.3SG.MASC
          'I think that you or Ali came.'

      b. *a-ʕatiqid   inn-ik   [ant   aw Ali] jii-tu
          1SG-think.IMPERF that-2SG   you   or   Ali   come.PERF.2PL.MASC
          'I think that you or Ali came.'

      c. *a-ʕatiqid   in   [ant   aw Ali] jii-tu
          1SG-think.IMPERF that   you   or   Ali   come.PERF.2PL.MASC
          'I think that you or Ali came.'

      d. a-ʕatiqid   inn-(ih) [Ali   aw ant] jii-t
          1SG-think.IMPERF that-2SG   Ali   or   you   come.PERF-2SG
          'I think that Ali or you came.'

Notice that the verbal agreement varies significantly from that of a coordination structure, as the embedded verb in (46)a only agrees with the second constituent in the subject. The ungrammaticality of (46)b and (46)c indicates that the verb only agrees with the second XP in the disjunct subject construction. Example (46)d is even more surprising. Given the elements that have been shown to agree with complementizers, agreement not surfacing on the complementizer in (46)d is unexpected.

When two R-expressions are coordinated complementizer agreement is not allowed to surface.

(47) a. a-ʕatiqid   in   [il-walid wa al-bint] ja-w
          1SG-think.IMPERF that   the-boy and the-girl   came.PERF.3PL.MASC
          'I think that the boy and the girl came.'

     b. *a-ʕatiqid   inn-ih   [il-walid wa al-bint] ja-w
          1SG-think.IMPERF that-3SG.MASC the-boy and the-girl   came.PERF.3PL.MASC

     c. *a-ʕatiqid   inna-hum   [il-walid wa al-bint] ja-w
          1SG-think.IMPERF that-3PL.MASC the-boy and the-girl   came.PERF.3PL.MASC

     d. *a-ʕatiqid   inna-ha   [il-walid wa al-bint] ja-w
          1SG-think.IMPERF that-3SG.FEM   the-boy and the-girl   came.PERF.3PL.MASC

That complementizer agreement in Najdi Arabic surfaces with the first conjunct shed some light on an analysis of CA proposed by Zwart (1993, 1997) and Watanabe (2000),[25] which proposed that complementizer agreement is an instance of T^0-to-C^0 movement. That is, Zwart (1993, 1997) and Watanabe (2000) have argued that complementizer agreement is an instance of the subject's φ-features moving to C^0.

Watanabe (2000) provides an account for complementizer agreement using a complex functional head that undergoes movement with φ-features following Chomsky's (1998) account of φ-feature checking, where uninterpretable features do not delete once they are checked, but

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[25] Amoung others: Pesetsky & Torrego (2001), Den Besten (1977, 1989), Hoekstra and Maracz (1989)

instead "stick around" and are available for further computation. This analysis yields the following in (48).

(48) a. $[_{TP}\quad [_{T0} [_{T0} \Phi(\text{T}^0)] + \Phi(\text{subj})] [_{VP} \text{Subj} \dots]]$[26]
      b. $[_{TP} \text{Subj} [_{T0} [_{T0} \Phi(\text{T}^0)] + \Phi(\text{subj})] [_{VP} \text{t}_{\text{subj}} \dots]]$
      c. $[_{TP} \text{Exp} \quad [_{T0} [_{T0} \Phi(\text{T}^0)] + \Phi(\text{subj})] [_{VP} \text{Subj} \dots]]$

Watanabe then argues that the subject's φ-features are copied onto the head of the inflectional layer and then transported via head movement to the CP layer forming a complex C^0:

(49) C^{0}[27]
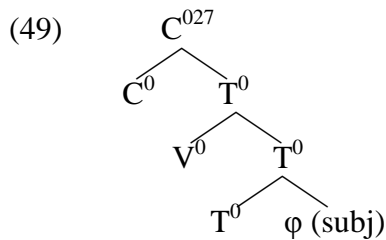
Given that in Najdi Arabic, the verb agrees with one set of φ-features and the complementizer agrees with another, a T^0-to-C^0 analysis would not accurately account for CA in Najdi Arabic. Consider (50):

(50) a-ʕatiqid   inn-**ik** [ant   wa   Mari] jii-**tu**
      1SG-think.IMPERF   that-2SG you   and   Mary   come.PERF-2PL
      'I think that you and Mary will come.'

The embedded verb is inflected for the entire coordinated subject but the complementizer only uses an agreement marker that matches the φ-features of the first conjunct. If the φ-features of T^0 moved to C^0, we would expect to get the same features on T^0 and C^0, contrary to fact.

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[26] Equals Watanabe (2000) example (8).

[27] Equals Watanabe (2000) example (17a').

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3.3 Conclusion

Table 11 summarizes the properties of complementizer agreement in Najdi Arabic.

Table 11. Properties of Complementizer Agreement in Najdi Arabic

Properties	Present	Obligatory
pro subject	✓	Yes
Pronominal Subject	✓	No
R-expressions	✓/ ✗	N/A
Expletive subject	✓	Yes
Long Distance Top of Subject	✓	Yes
Topicalization of Object	✗	N/A
Blocked by *zid*	✓	No
Extracted subject *wh*-word	✓	No
Long Distance Relativization	✓	Yes
Focus of VP	✓	No
Agree with first XP	✓	Yes
Double Agreement	✗	N/A

Complementizer agreement is a subject-oriented phenomenon. It occurs with a number of different types of subjects. These subjects include pronomials, R-expressions, expletives, long distance topicalized subjects, and the first XP of a coordinated XP. In general, complementizer agreement in Najdi is a robust agreement system. Adverbs do not block complementizer agreement; however, fronted objects can block complementizer agreement.

CHAPTER FOUR ANALYSIS OF COMPLEMENTIZER AGREEMENT

4.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I provide a syntactic analysis to account for complementizer agreement in Najdi Arabic following a probe-for-closest-goal agreement relation in the spirit of Carstens (2003) and Haegeman and van Koppen (2012) with a complementizer that needs to check an uninterpretable finiteness feature, in line with Pesetsky and Torrego (2001). I begin this chapter by discussing why complementizer agreement is a subject-oriented phenomenon. I then show that a probe-for-closest-goal analysis is capable of accounting for the simplest facts of complementizer agreement, that is, when the subject is a pronominal subject. I further argue that this analysis also provides a way to explain why complementizer agreement does not occur with topicalized objects – they are not goals with an interpretable finiteness feature. I then turn to optionality in complementizer agreement and show that once again, a probe-for-closest-goal analysis can account for the facts of complementizer agreement in Najdi Arabic.

4.2 Subject Orientation of Complementizer Agreement

At the outset, any analysis that claims to account for complementizer agreement in Najdi Arabic must be able to explain why complementizer agreement is a subject-oriented phenomenon. Relevant to our discussion will be the perfective clause in (1), which was discussed in chapter 1. I showed there that the subject moved only as high as the specifier of PerfP; however, given that the subject has a finiteness feature that is specifically associated with finiteness (and informally tense), we can thus assume the subject must always move higher in the clause to the specifier of TP to receive an interpretable finiteness feature, following Pesetsky and Torrego (2001). This allows a probe-for-closest-goal analysis to capture the fact that complementizer agreement is

subject-oriented by tying the subject to an interpretable finiteness features that subjects can only

be received in the specifier position of TP – a position occupied by the subject.

(1) a. al-bint   thrub-t   il-walid
         the-girl   hit.PERF-3SG.FEM   the-boy
         'The girl hit the boy.'

The structure in (2) illustrates the movement of the subject to the specifier of TP to receive an

interpretable finiteness features.

(2)
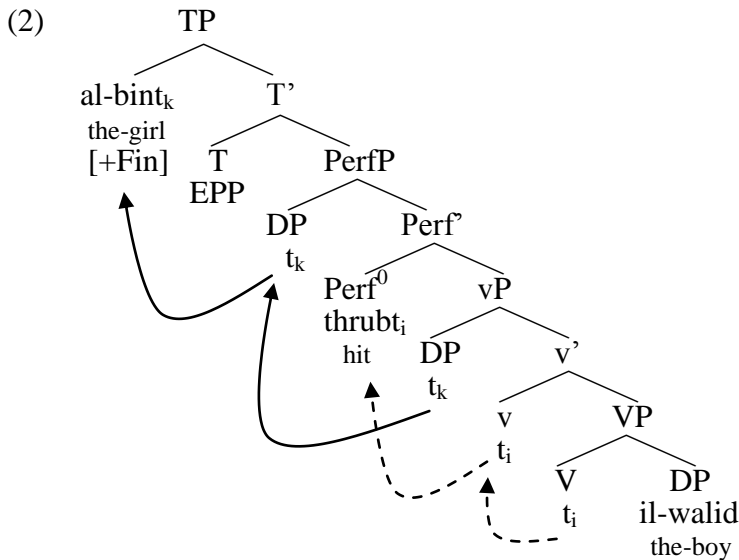
In the tree above, the verb is base generated in V^0. The verb then undergoes head movement

through v^0 to $Perf^0$. The subject of the clause is base generated in the specifier of vP and

undergoes movement through the specifier of PerfP up to the specifier of TP, where it is assigned

an interpretable finiteness feature. With movement of the subject to the specifier position of the

TP in mind, I now turn to an analysis of complementizer agreement in Najdi Arabic.
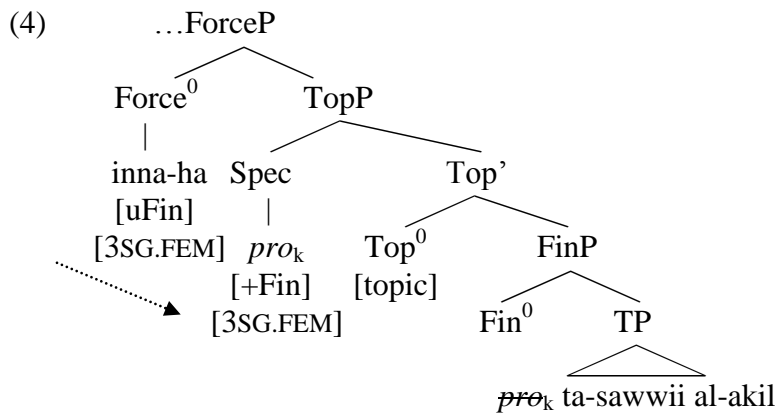
4.3 Analysis

This section provides explanation of how a probe-for-closest-goal analysis can account for the facts that are common to all instances of complementizer agreement in Najdi Arabic. Consider first that this analysis can account for the most basic instances of complementizer agreement as exemplified by the use of complementizer agreement with pronominal subjects, as in (3)a for the *pro* subject and the pronoun subject in (3)b.

(3) a. ta-sagd   [inna-*(ha)   [*pro*   ta-sawwii   al-akil   ]]
          2SG-mean.IMPERF   that-3SG.FEM   pro   3SG.FEM-make.IMPERF   the-food
          'You mean that she made the food.'

     b. ta-sagd   [inna-(ha)   [hi   ta-sawwii   al-akil   ]]
          2SG-mean.IMPERF   that-3SG.FEM   she   3SG.FEM-make.IMPERF   the-food
          'You mean that she made the food.'

Since complementizer agreement occurs with pronominal subjects, I will assume that to some degree the subject must be in a goal position for the complementizer to probe and minimally an interpretable finiteness feature must be transported to the CP layer. Notice thought that there still remains one distinct difference between the two pronominal subjects in terms of optionality. That is, complementizer agreement is obligatory with a *pro* subject while overt pronouns do not make complementizer agreement obligatory. I will first take up the more rigid case of complementizer agreement with *pro* subjects and then work backward to explain the optionality of complementizer agreement with an overt pronoun subject.

In order to accomplish the tightest linking of a *pro* subject to the complementizer while still maintaining an analysis that is descriptively general enough to account for other types of embedded subjects, a *pro* subject must be base generated in the specifier of TP but must always move to the specifier of TopP. This ensures that the complementizer and the *pro* subject are always in an agreement relationship while, at the same time, capturing the theoretical
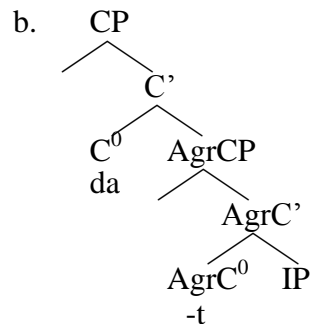
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implications of needing an uninterpretable finiteness feature transported to the complementizer. Therefore, as long as the *pro* subject can get into a position to act as a goal for the complementizer, the *pro* subject is always a candidate for transporting an interpretable finiteness features to the CP layer, as a *pro* subject is always at one point in time in the specifier of TP. Thus complementizer agreement will always be present with a *pro* subject, as is the case. The structure in (4) illustrates this process.

(4) …ForceP

Force^0 — inna-ha [uFin] [3SG.FEM]

TopP — Spec — *pro*$_k$ [+Fin] [3SG.FEM]

Top' — Top^0 [topic]

FinP — Fin^0 — TP — *pro*$_k$ ta-sawwii al-akil

In the structure above, the *pro* subject is base generated in the specifier of TP, where it picks up an interpretable finiteness feature and then moves to the specifier of TopP transporting the interpretable finiteness features to the CP layer, where it is checked by the complementizer *in*. This agreement relationship is illustrated by the use of the dotted arrow. The verb is base generated low in the clause, agrees with the subject, and then the verb moves to T^0.

A similar proposal has been put forward by Shlonsky (1994), which claims that complementizer agreement is a direct result of a specifier-head agreement relationship in West Germanic languages. This specifier-head relationship takes place high in the clause, in a position Shlonsky labels as AgrCP. Consider a brief sketch of what Shlonsky's proposal looks like in (5)b for the data in (5)a.

(5)   Western Flemish[28]
     a.   Da-t   *(ze)   werk-t
        that-3SG.FEM   she   work-3SG.FEM

     b.   CP

```
        CP
         \
          C'
         /  \
       C⁰   AgrCP
       da     \
             AgrC'
             /   \
          AgrC⁰   IP
            -t
```

Shlonsky argues that the specifier of AgrC is an A-position but neither a θ-position nor a position in which Case is assigned. The specifier of AgrC agrees with AgrC^0, sharing φ features with the head AgrC^0. This agreement licenses a clitic which then undergoes head movement from AgrC^0-to-C^0.

    This analysis is attractive for analyzing Najdi because it does not require that the subject be overt in order for agreement to take place, which often is the case in Najdi Arabic. Shlonsky claims that either an overt pronoun may be base generated in AgrC^0 or that a *pro* subject may be base generated in AgrC^0.

(6)   a.   I woass dass-st   du   a Spitzbua bi-st[29]
            I know   that-2SG you a rascal   be-2SG
            'I know that you are a rascal.'

       b.   I woass dass-st   *pro* a Spitzbua bi-st
            I know   that-2SG you a rascal   be-2SG
            'I know that you are a rascal.'

While Shlonsky's proposal is an attractive analysis for complementizer agreement in Najdi Arabic, it simply cannot account for the fact that complementizers only agree with the first conjunct in coordinated subjects. Furthermore, a DP must have or not have an interpretable

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[28] Adapted from Shlonsky (1994) example (5) and (7), respectively.

[29] Adapted from Shlonsky (1994) examples (18a) and (20a), respectively.

finiteness feature in light of the fact that topicalized objects can block complementizer agreement. To base generate a *pro* subject in the specifier of an ArgCP or TopP, would essentially mean to eliminate the possibility of complementizer agreement ever arising in a probe-for-closest-goal agreement relation with a complementizer that needs an uninterpretable finiteness feature checked.

Before moving on, briefly consider more generally why an uninterpretable finiteness features is superior to a nominative case checked goal or the like, as it sheds some light on the fact that other probe-for-closest-goal analyses are not able to capture all of the facts of complementizer agreement in Najdi Arabic; specifically, why a topicalized VP allows complementizer agreement.
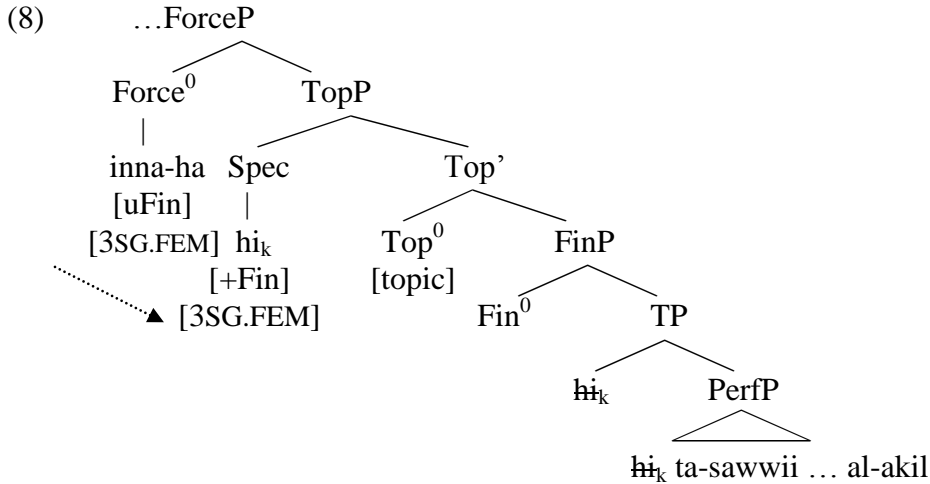
Carstens (2003) and Haegeman and van Koppen (2012) each propose a probe-for-closest goal analysis which require that the subject have been assigned nominative case and then the subject was transported to the left periphery, where the subject acts as a goal for a complementizer that probes down the tree for a goal. While this analysis works for West Germanic, such an analysis becomes fatal when we consider it in light of the facts about complementizer agreement in Najdi Arabic and try to generalize this analysis to account for complementizer agreement in all instances.

The first fact from Najdi Arabic that a nominative case checked probe-for-closest-goal analysis is that such an analysis is strictly limited to only the subject transporting features to the left periphery, but that just simply is not the case in Najdi Arabic. Even V2 movement in West Germanic language seems to have an effect on complementizer agreement; however, by generalizing complementizer agreement to a finiteness features, both subject movement to the left periphery, as well as focused VP would be predicted to trigger complementizer agreement, which is borne out in the data for Najdi Arabic, as shown in (7).

(7) a. a-ʕatiqid   in   [SHAAFA-T   AHMED]   Rima
        1SG-think.IMPERF   that   see.PERF-3SG.FEM   Ahmed   Rima
        'I think that Rima SAW AHMED.'

    b. a-ʕatiqid   inna-ha   [SHAAFA-T   AHMED]   Rima
        1SG-think.IMPERF   that-3SG.FEM see.PERF-3SG.FEM   Ahmed   Rima
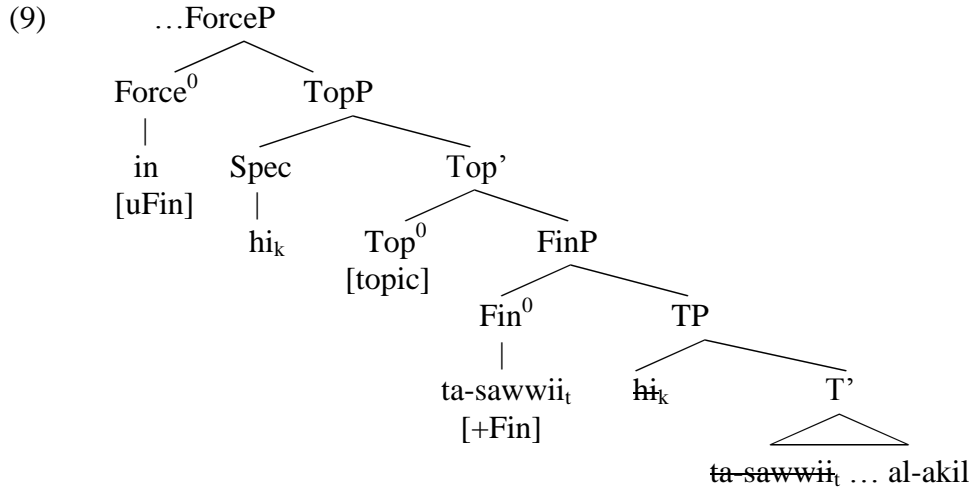   'I think that Rima SAW AHMED.'

Using an uninterpretable finiteness feature on the complementizer predicts that if a finite clause is moved to the left periphery, then by way of the finite clause's interpretable finiteness feature, complementizer agreement should be able to surface. A nominative case checked goal, or any goal that requires nominative case to mediate the complementizer agreement process could not capture this fact. I will say that it is a difficult task to account for when complementizer agreement does not surface on the complementizer accompanying a focused VP. I leave the answer to this question to future research.

Coming back to the analysis proper, this analysis has the ability to also capture simple pronoun subjects. Consider an instance of an overt pronoun subject. I point out once again that this construction optionally allows complementizer agreement. The rationale for this optionality is rather straightforward. When there is complementizer agreement, the subject must have moves to TopP. On the other hand, when complementizer agreement does not surface, the verb instead has first moves to Fin^0 checking the CP layer's uninterpretable finiteness feature. Consider first the movement of the subject in the following structure.

(8)   …ForceP
```
(8)          …ForceP
              /      \
        Force⁰       TopP
          |          /    \
       inna-ha   Spec      Top'
       [uFin]     |        /    \
       [3SG.FEM] hi_k    Top⁰     FinP
                [+Fin]  [topic]   /    \
              ▲ [3SG.FEM]      Fin⁰      TP
                                        /    \
                                      hi_k    PerfP
                                             /    \
                                         hi_k ta-sawwii … al-akil
```

In the tree above, the pronoun subject is base generated low in the clause. The subject then moves from its in situ position up to the specifier of TopP, moving through the specifiers of PerfP and TP. In this system, movement of the subject is driven by both a strong topic features and by a need to check an uninterpretable finiteness feature on the complementizer, in line with Pesetsky and Torrego (2001).

A slight refinement of Pesetsky and Torrego's analysis is in order thought; specifically a revision must be made when it comes to movement of the verb to Fin^0, that is, V2 movement. In the case that there is no overt agreement marker on the complementizer, the verb must have moved to Fin^0 (V2 movement) in order to check the complementizer's uninterpretable finiteness feature. This is where the similarities between Pesetsky and Torrego's system and mine diverge. Rather, checking of the complementizer's uninterpretable finiteness feature should more accurately be described as checking the CP layer's uninterpretable finiteness feature. It is not against the Rizzi's (1997, 1999) cartographical approach, which associates heads with unique functions, to propose that a feature may be checked by a whole layer of the clause. Elsewhere in the grammar of Najdi Arabic, entire layers interact with adjacent layers, e.g. the VP shell and the aspectual layer. (9) Illustrates this process.

(9)   …ForceP

The tree diagram (9):

- ForceP
  - Force^0 | in [uFin]
  - TopP
    - Spec | hi$_k$
    - Top'
      - Top^0 [topic]
      - FinP
        - Fin^0 | ta-sawwii$_t$ [+Fin]
        - TP
          - ~~hi~~$_k$
          - T'
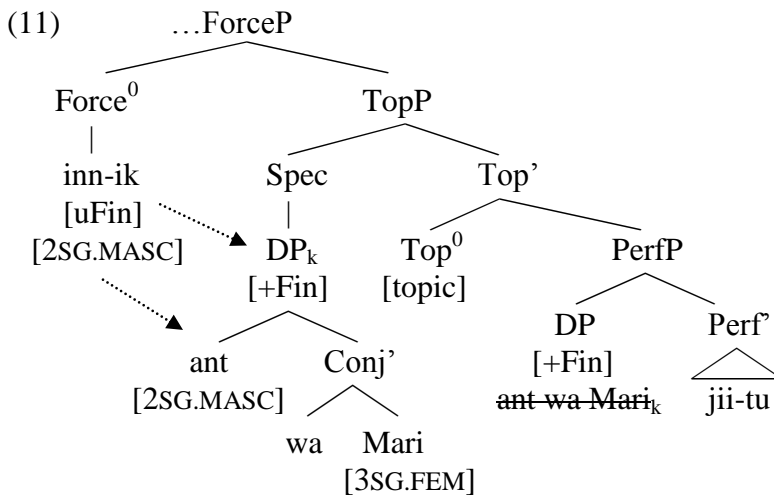   - ~~ta-sawwii~~$_t$ … al-akil

In the tree above, the pronoun subject is base generated low in the tree. The subject is then moved through the specifier of PerfP, up to the specifier of TP. The verb is also base generated low in the tree structure. It then moves through Perf^0 and T^0 to Fin^0, where it checks the CP layer's uninterpretable finiteness feature. Only after the verb has moved to Fin^0 does the subject then move to the specifier of TopP. As the CP layer's uninterpretable finiteness feature is already checked, the complementizer *in* is inactive and does not show agreement with the subject in the specifier of TopP. Therefore, the bare complementizer *in* is what I will consider as a default complementizer.

This analysis also captures more complex subject structures. In fact, one strong piece of evidence for a probe-for-closest-goal analysis with a complementizer with an uninterpretable finiteness feature comes from coordinated subjects. Recall that complementizer agreement occurs with the first conjunct in a coordinated subject. Therefore, given the first conjunct in a coordinated structure asymmetrical c-command the second conjunct, the complementizer must then probe for the first and highest goal in a coordinated structure. Furthermore, because the first

conjunct has a set of φ-features, the complementizer must agree with those φ-features.[30] In (10), the complementizer uses the agreement marker –*ik* agreeing with the first conjunct in the coordinated subject.[31]

(10) a-ʕatiqid   [ForceP inn-**ik** [ant   wa   Mari] jii-tu   ]
      1SG-think.IMPERF   that-2SG 2SG and Marie   come.PERF-2PL
      'I think that you and Marie will come.'

The following structure account for CA with a coordinated subject:

(11)   …ForceP

Force⁰   TopP
  |
inn-ik   Spec   Top'
[uFin] |
[2SG.MASC]   DPₖ   Top⁰   PerfP
            [+Fin]   [topic]
                              DP   Perf'
            ant   Conj'   [+Fin]
          [2SG.MASC]   ~~ant wa Mari~~ₖ   jii-tu
               wa   Mari
               [3SG.FEM]

In the structure above, there is a strong topic feature on Top⁰, which requires the coordinated subject move from the specifier of the PerfP to the specifier position of a TopP. The coordinated subject brings with it an interpretable finiteness feature, which the complementizer probes to check its uninterpretable finiteness feature. I indicated in the tree, the interpretable finiteness feature is assigned to the whole coordinated subject. The reasoning for this assignment comes from the fact that the interpretable finiteness features was assigned in a spec-head agreement relationship, as the subject was in the specifier of the TP when it was assigned this feature.

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[30] Carstens (2003) and Haegeman and van Koppen (2012) have proposed a similar analysis for CA in West Germanic languages/dialects.

[31] Cases where you can get what appears to be CA with the second XP in a coordinated structure are limited to when the second XP is a third person singular masculine proper name. It is more likely that in these cases, CA is simply defective in number and possible gender as seems to be the case elsewhere in agreement asymmetries.

Further, as pointed out by van Koppen (2005), the complementizer may agree with the whole coordinated subject or just the first conjunct in the specifier of the coordinated subject.

A probe-for-closest-goal analysis accounts for coordinated subjects in West Germanic dialects and Najdi Arabic because they work in a similar fashion. Before, I move on, briefly consider the rationale for extending van Koppen's (2005) analysis to capture complementizer agreement in Najdi Arabic. Consider first the coordinated subjects for Limburgian in (12) from Haegeman and van Koppen (2012:443, example 3). Note the agreement that surfaces on the complementizer.

(12)　Ich　dink　de-s　　[toow　　en　Marie]　kump.　　　　　Limburgian
　　　　I　　think　that-2SG　you.SG　and　Marie　　come.PL
　　　　'I think that you and Marie will come.'

The subject in (12) consists of the second person singular pronoun and the third person singular proper name *Marie*; as such the verb shows plural agreement with the whole coordinated subject. As would be expected given Najdi Arabic and West Germanic dialects work the same way, the complementizer only agrees with the second person singular subject – the first conjunct. Therefore, since the facts for West Germanic dialects and Najdi Arabic are the same, as well as since the van Koppen (2005) analysis capture these facts, incorporating her analysis into a probe-for-closest-goal analysis with a complementizer that does not have its interpretable finiteness check will not create an empirical challenge.

When the embedded subject is an overt R-expression, complementizer agreement does not surface. A reasonable conclusion for the lack of complementizer agreement has to do with an accompanying lack of movement of the R-expression to TopP. The exact motivation for this lack of movement would require an investigation into the nature of the DP that is beyond the scope of this thesis. Consider the restriction on complementizer agreement when the subject is an R-expression in (13).

(13) a. ta-sagd   [in-(*ha)   Fatima ta-sawwii   al-akil]
     2SG-mean.IMPERF that-3SG.FEM Fatima 3SG.FEM-make.IMPERF the-food
     'You mean that Fatima made the food.'

    b. ta-sagd   [in-(*ha)   ta-sawwii   Fatima al-akil]
     2SG-mean.IMPERF that-3SG.FEM 3SG.FEM-make.IMPERF Fatima the-food
     'You mean that Fatima made the food.'

For illustrative purposes, consider a structure that would account for when no subject is moved to the specifier of TopP. In this case, the default complementizer is used, as shown in (14).
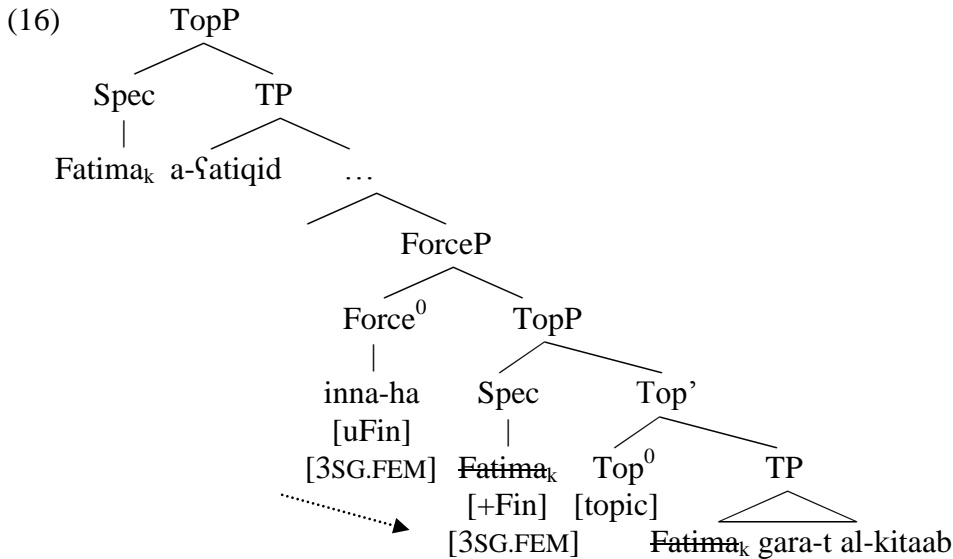
(14) …ForceP

$$
\begin{array}{c}
\text{Force}^0 \quad \text{TopP} \\
\mid \\
\text{in} \quad \text{Top}^0 \quad \text{FinP} \\
\text{[uFin]} \\
\text{Fin}^0 \quad \text{TP} \\
\text{Fatima}_k \quad \text{PerfP} \\
\text{[+Fin]} \\
\text{Fatima}_k \text{ ta-sawwii al-akil}
\end{array}
$$
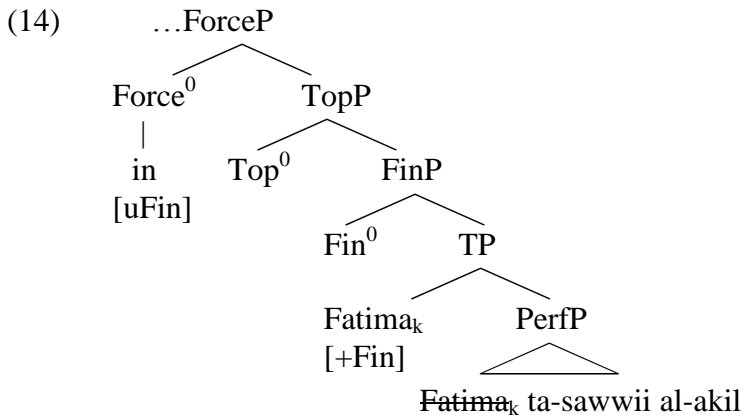
In the tree above, the verb is base generated low in the clause structure. The verb then moves to Perf^0. The subject is base generated in the specifier of vP and undergoes movement to the specifier of TP, moving through the specifier of PerfP on its way up. Once again, why an R-expression subject does not move higher in the clause is beyond the scope of this thesis.

It follows that when the subject has been extracted to the matrix clause, the subject must have passed through the embedded topic position making complementizer agreement obligatory.

(15)　Fatima　a-ʕatiqid　　　[inna-*(**ha**)　gara-t　　　　　al-kitaab]
　　　Fatima　1SG-think.IMPERF　that-3SG.FEM　read.PERF-3SG.FEM　the-book
　　　'Fatima, I think that (she) read the book.'

The following structure represents this movement.

(16)　TopP
　Spec　　TP
　　|
　Fatima_k　a-ʕatiqid　　…
　　　　　　　　ForceP
　　　　　　Force^0　　TopP
　　　　　　　|
　　　　　inna-ha　Spec　　Top'
　　　　　[uFin]　　|
　　　　[3SG.FEM]　Fatima_k　Top^0　　TP
　　　　　　　　　[+Fin]　[topic]
　　　　　　　　　[3SG.FEM]　　Fatima_k gara-t al-kitaab

In the tree above, the verb is base generated low in the tree structure and moves to Perf^0. The subject is base generated in the specifier of vP and moves up to the specifier position of the matrix TopP. On its way to the specifier of the matrix TopP, the subject moves through the specifier position of PerfP and TP, where the subject picks up an interpretable finiteness feature and then transports the finiteness feature to the specifier of TopP. In the specifier position of TopP, the subject is in a goal position that allows the complementizer to probe for it and agree with the subject's φ-features. I cannot draw a conclusion on whether the subject then moves through the specifier of ForceP before moving to the specifier of the matrix TopP. At this time I cannot properly motivate a claim for or against such movement. I do not mean to be suggestive by not showing movement of the subject thought the specifier of ForceP in (16).

4.3.1   Blocking Complementizer Agreement

This analysis further explains why the complementizer does not show agreement with the object when it is A' moved to a topic position in the left periphery. The topicalized object does not have the right feature description; specifically, it does not have an interpretable finiteness feature. Consider the following set of data:

(17)   a.   a-ʕatiqid   [in   **al-kitaab**   gara-t-ih   ]
           1SG-think.IMPERF   that   the-book   read.PERF-3SG.FEM-3SG.MASC
           'I think that the book, the girl read it.'

        b. *a-ʕatiqid   [inna-ha   **al-kitaab**   gara-t-ih   ]
           1SG-think.IMPERF   that-3SG.FEM   the-book   read.PERF-3SG.FEM-3SG.MASC
           'I think that the book, the girl read it.'

I propose the following structure to account for the facts in (17).

(18)
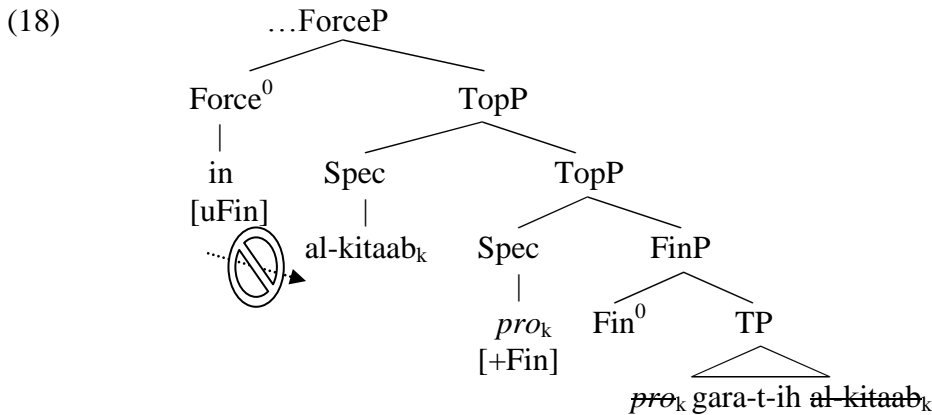
In the structure in (18), the object has been moved from its in situ position to a topic position in the left edge of the embedded clause. Recall that I have just argued that a *pro* subject is base generated in the specifier of TP and then moves to the specifier of TopP; however, as TopPs are iterable, I simple assume that the topicalized object occupies a higher TopP. This movement prevents the complementizer from agreeing with the *pro* subject. Note that since the complementizer *in* does not check its uninterpretable finiteness feature, it must use the default complementizer.
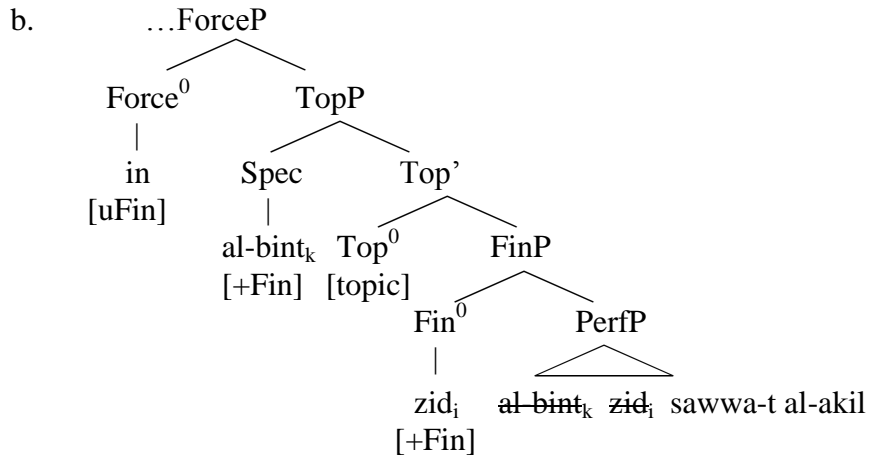
4.3.2 Optionality in Complementizer Agreement

A probe-for-closest-goal analysis with a complementizer that needs uninterpretable finiteness features checked, also accounts for the optionality of CA with overt R-expressions in *zid* constructions. Normally, the complementizer cannot agree with a subject in the embedded clause when the subject is an overt R-expression; however, when an overt R-expression precedes the auxiliary *zid*, the complementizer can show agreement. Consider these examples:

(19) a. a-ʕatiqid   in   al-bint   zid   sawwa-t   al-akil
          1SG-think.IMPERF that-3SG.FEM the-girl AUX   make.PERF-3SG.FEM   the-food
          'I think that the girl has made the food.'

   b. a-ʕatiqid   inna-ha   al-bint   zid   sawwa-t   al-akil
       1SG-think.IMPERF that-3SG.FEM the-girl AUX   make.PERF-3SG.FEM   the-food
       'I think that the girl has made the food.'

Since it can be seen from overt R-expressions that if they follow *zid* no CA surfaces, but if they precede *zid*, CA may surface, there must be something to fronting an auxiliary that prevents CA from surfacing and the same process must governs CA surfacing when a subject is fronted. It must be that when CA does not occur with subjects before *zid*, the auxiliary *zid* has moved to Fin^0.
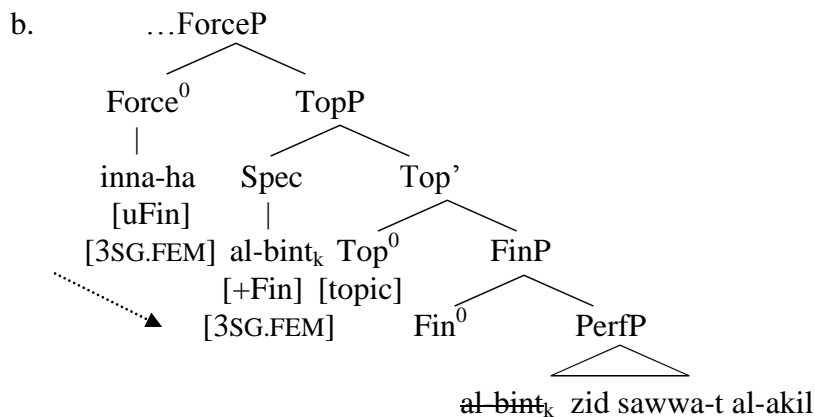
(20) a. a-ʕatiqid   [in   al-bint zid sawwa-t   al-akil]
         1SG-think.IMPERF that   the-girl AUX make.PERF-3SG.FEM   the-food
         'I think that the girl has made the food.'

b.

```
              …ForceP
             /      \
        Force⁰       TopP
          |         /    \
          in     Spec     Top'
        [uFin]    |       /    \
              al-bintₖ Top⁰    FinP
              [+Fin] [topic]   /    \
                            Fin⁰    PerfP
                             |      /  \
                           zidᵢ  al-bintₖ zidᵢ sawwa-t al-akil
                          [+Fin]
```

In (20), the subject is base generated low in the clause and then moves to TopP, on its way up moving through the specifier of TP. The auxiliary *zid* is base generated as the head of a PerfP and then moves to Fin^0. The placement of the auxiliary *zid* in Fin^0 correctly predicts that complementizer agreement may be blocked. Carstens (2003) shows similar results, when the verb has risen to Fin^0, CA can be blocked.

On the other hand, when CA occurs with subjects before *zid*, the subject has moved to the specifier of TopP and the auxiliary *zid* remains in situ.

(21) a. a-ʕatiqid   [inna-ha   al-bint zid   sawwa-t   al-akil]
         1SG-think.IMPERF that-3SG.FEM   the-girl AUX   make.PERF-3SG.FEM   the-food
         'I think that the girl has made the food.'

b.

```
              …ForceP
             /      \
        Force⁰       TopP
          |         /    \
       inna-ha    Spec    Top'
        [uFin]     |      /    \
      [3SG.FEM] al-bintₖ Top⁰   FinP
                [+Fin] [topic]  /   \
                [3SG.FEM]    Fin⁰   PerfP
                                    /  \
                           al-bintₖ zid sawwa-t al-akil
```

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In (21), the subject is base generated low in the clause and then moves to TopP, on its way up moving through the specifier of TP. The auxiliary *zid* is base generated as the head of a PerfP. The auxiliary *zid* does not raise to Fin^0. Instead, only the subject moves to the Spec, TopP. This allows the complementizer to probe down the tree and see the subject *al-bint* 'the girl' with its uninterpretable finiteness feature. Complementizer agreement is then correctly predicted to surface.

4.4 Conclusion

I have investigated how complementizer agreement is able to arise on the complementizer in Najdi Arabic. Specifically, I showed that complementizer agreement is a probe-for-closest-goal agreement relationship, with a complementizer that has an uninterpretable finiteness feature, which needs to be checked. The uninterpretable finiteness feature may be checked in one of two ways following Pesetsky and Torrego (2001). Either the auxiliary verb/ verb may raise to Fin^0 checking the uninterpretable finiteness feature on the complementizer, or the subject, which already has an interpretable finiteness feature from coming into a specifier-head relationship with the null T^0 moves to Spec, TopP checking the uninterpretable finiteness feature on the complementizer. This results in a seeming subject-oriented nature of CA. That is, complementizer agreement usually occurs in agreement with embedded subjects and topicalized objects block CA because they do not have a finiteness feature, as they have not received a finiteness features from the finite clause. Still yet, complementizer agreement is not entirely subject-oriented, as complementizer agreement may surface with a focused VP. A finiteness feature unites agreement with a subject and a focused VP.

CHAPTER FIVE TYPOLOGY OF COMPLEMENTIZER AGREEMENT

5.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses the properties of complementizer agreement in the West Germanic dialects, which are the most widely studied cases of the phenomenon of CA. I make a direct comparison between the properties of CA in West Germanic to the properties of CA in Najdi Arabic.

5.2 Complementizer Agreement Properties in West Germanic

The West Germanic dialects share a number of properties with respect to complementizer agreement. I rely heavily on Craenenbroeck & van Koppen's (2002) summary of properties in West Germanic dialects for the following discussion. The first of these properties is that complementizers agree with the φ-features of the subject of their embedded clause. Consider the two embedded clauses in (1) as an illustration of this property.

(1)   Katwijk[32]
            a.   dat   ik kom
                  that   I   come
                  'that I am coming'

            b.   datt-**e**   **we** komm-e
                  that-PL   we   come-PL
                  'that we are coming'

In (1)a, the complementizer shows no inflection but in (1)b, the complementizer is inflected with the agreement marker –*e*. Many dialects are defective in agreement in the second person or the plural (Hoekstra & Smits 1998).

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[32] Equals Craenenbroeck & van Koppen (2002) example (5).

Complementizers can agree with a variety of types of subjects of the embedded clause. These subjects include agreement with pronouns (as shown in (1)), as well as, overt DP subjects and *pro* subjects (shown in (2)).

(2)   a.   (et   werk) da-**n**   **de kinders**   gemaakt e-n
                   the   work   that-3PL the children   make   have-3PL   [Flanders]

        b.   dat   *pro*   soks   net   leauwe moast[33]
            that (you) such   not   believe must   [West Flemish]

In (2)a, the complementizer shows an agreement marker, which agrees with the DP subject *de kinders* 'the children'.

Complementizer agreement is also able to surface with expletive subjects constructions, both overt expletive subjects and empty expletive subject constructions, as in (3).[34]

(3)   a.   da-**n**   **dr**   veel   mensen gaa zijn
            that-PL there   many   people go   be
            'that there will be a lot of people'   [Waregem]

        b.   Da-**n**   hier overlaatst aardige   dinges gebeurd   zijn
            that-PL here recently   strange   things   happened   are
            'that recently strange things have happened here'   [Nieuwkerken-Wass]

In (3)a, the complementizer *da* 'that' shows agreement with the plural object through the plural agreement marker *–n*, but as (3)b shows, no overt expletive need surface to obtain CA.

Complementizer agreement is capable of surfacing with a number of subject extraction constructions. Consider first complementizer agreement with long distance topicalization of the embedded subject.

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[33] Adapted from Carstens (2003) example (20a).

[34] Equals Craenenbroeck & van Koppen (2002) example (20a) and (21a), respectively.

(4)   a. **Do** tink ik dat-**st**   moarn   komme   silst[35]
            You think I   that-2SG tomorrow   come   will
            'YOU I think will come tomorrow.'   [Frisian]

        b. **de venten** da   Jan   peinst da-**n**   dienen boek gekocht een
            the men   that John thinks that-PL that   book   bought   have
            'the men that John thinks bought that book'   [Lapscheure]

In (4)a, the subject *do* 'you' is extracted from the most embedded clause to a topicalized position at the left edge of the matrix clause. Complementizer agreement also appears with long distance subject extraction from a relative clause. In (4)b, the subject of the most embedded clause, the DP *de venten* 'the men' has undergone long distance relativization to the left edge of the relative clause. Accompanying the relativization of the subject is the use of the agreement marker *–n* on the complementizer *da*.

Complementizer agreement is also used in raising construction like the one shown in (5).

(5)   Dutch[36]
            ..dat   hij   in het bos   schijn-t   te   wandel-en
              that he   in the forest   seems-3SG   to   walk-INF

In (5), the pronoun subject *hij* 'he' shows agreement on the raising verb *schijn* 'seems'. That is, an agreement marker is realized on a verb that has no selectional properties for it.

There are also a few generalizations that can be made about complementizer agreement in the Germanic dialects. Double agreement dialects display complementizer agreement. That is, if two different agreement patterns are used to inflect a verb, on in non-V2 constructions and another in V2 constructions, the language will also have CA.

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[35] Equals Craenenbroeck & van Koppen (2002) example (18a).
[36] Equals Zwart (2006) example (10).

(6) Hellendoorn[37]
    a.   Wiej   loop-**t**   noar 't park.
          we   walk-$_{ARG1}$ to the   park
          'We are walking to the park.'

    b.   Volgens   miej   lop-**e**   wiej   loar 't park
          according.to me   walk-$_{AGR2}$ we   to the   park
          'According to me, we are walking to the park.'

In (6)a, the verb shows first person plural agreement on the verb with the agreement marker –*t*, while in (6)b, the verb shows first person plural agreement on the verb with the agreement marker –*e*. Therefore, since the agreement in (6)a is –*t* and the agreement in (6)b is –*e*, then Hellendoorn is guaranteed to show complementizer agreement.

Furthermore, if there is an agreement marker on the C^0 head, it is always identical to the agreement ending found on the verb *to be* in the present tense. This generalization is known as the BE-generalization, as illustrated in (7).

(7) Nieuwkerken-Waas[38]
    a.   Ze   zij-**n** slim.
          they are-PL smart
          'They are smart.'

    b.   da-**n**   ze   zulle kome-**n**
          that-PL they   will   come
          'that they will come'

The agreement marker that is used on the verb *zij* 'be' in (7)a is the same agreement marker that is used to indicate agreement on the complementizer as shown in (7)b.

In general the verb *to be* is only seen in the past tense form in Modern Standard Arabic; however, Najdi Arabic does not use the verb *to be* in the present tense in present progressive constructions. Note also that speaker feel like the *kaan* in the conditional particle *in kaan* 'if' is a copula. Table 12 compares these three forms of the copula *to be*.

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[37] Equals Craenenbroeck & van Koppen (2002) example (7).
[38] Equals Craenenbroeck & van Koppen (2002) example (8).

Table 12. The agreement paradigms for 'be'

	Past	Present	in kaan+agreement	C+agreement
1SG	kin-t	gaʔid	in kaan-ni	in-ni
2SG.MASC	kin-t	gaʔid	in kaan-na	in-na
2PL.MASC	kin-tuu	gaʔid-iin	in kaan-ik	in-ik
2SG.FEM	kin-tii	gaʔid-ah	in kaan-it	in-is/ki
2PL.FEM	kin-tuu/tin	gaʔid-iin	in kaan-ih	in-ih
3SG.MASC	kaan	gaʔid	in kaan-ha	in-ha
3PL.MASC	kan-nuu	gaʔid-iin	in kaan-kum	in-kum
3SG.FEM	kanni-t	gaʔid-ah	in kaan-kum	in-kin/kum
3PL.FEM	kan-nuu/an	gaʔid-iin	in kaan-hum	in-hum
1PL	kin-na	gaʔid-iin	in kaan-hin	in-hum/hin

The form of agreement found on the head C^0 in Najdi Arabic does not match the present tense form of the verb *to be* in the present progressive construction nor does the past tense form of the verb *to be* match the agreement found on the head C^0. The agreement found on the copula in the conditional particles *in kaan* has an uncanny similarity to the agreement found on C^0. The only difference between the two forms of agreement is the second person singular feminine form, but it is not uncommon for that feature set to be defective in agreement possibly indicating why there is a mismatch between the two sets of agreement.

There are a few restrictions placed on when complementizers may agree with the subject. The first of these restrictions is that complementizers can agree with the first XP in constructions like an external possessor construction or a coordinated subject construction. Consider first the coordinated subjects for Limburgian in (8). Note the agreement that surfaces on the complementizer.

(8)   Ich dink   de-**s**   [toow   en Marie]   kump.[39]
        I   think that-2SG you.SG and Marie   come.PL
        'I think that you and Marie will come.'   [Limburgian]

In (8), the finite verb shows plural agreement with the whole coordinated subject consisting of the second person singular pronoun and the third person singular proper name *Marie*; however,

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[39] Equals Haegeman and van Koppen (2012) example (3).

the complementizer only agrees with the second person singular subject. The external possessor construction also allows the complementizer to show agree with the first XP in the subject as illustrated in (9) from Haegeman and van Koppen (2012).

(9)   West Flemish[40]
    a. …omda-**n** [die   venten] toen juste gebeld een.
        because-PL those guys   then just   phoned have.PL
        '…because those guys called just then.'

    b. …omda-**n** [die   venten] toen juste [underen compter]   kapot   was.
        because-PL those guys   then just their   computer   broken   was
        '…because those guys' computer broke just then.'

In (9)a, the complementizer *omda* 'because' shows agreement marking with the use of the agreement marker *–n* matching the φ-features of the subject is *die venten* 'those guys'. The subject *die venten underen compter* 'those guy's computer' in example (9)b, however, is discontinuous. The external possessor *die venten* 'those guys' and the possessee *underen compter* 'their computer' are linearly split by a temporal adverb *toen juste* 'just then'. The complementizer agrees with the external possessor *die venten* 'those guys'. The finite verb agrees with the possessee *underen compter* 'their computer'.[41]

Complementizer agreement is blocked to a more severe degree when complementizers and the subject are not adjacent. In fact, when the complementizer is not adjacent to the subject because the object intervenes between the complementizer and the subject, the agreement marker cannot surface on the complementizer. Consider this type of restriction illustrated in (10).

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[40] Equals Haegeman and van Koppen (2012) example (10).

[41] There are restrictions to this generalization; evidence from Palestinian Arabic Mohammad (2000). According to Heycock and Doron (1999 & 2003), the above constructions are called more generally called 'Broad Subjects' or 'Major Subjects'. It looks like Najdi has the silar constructions (see chapter 3)).

(10)   West Flemish[42]
         a. Kpeinzen da**t**   zelfs Valère zukken boeken niet leest.
             I.think   that-PL even   Valère such   books   not   reads

         b. ?? Kpeinzen da**t**   zukken boeken zelfs Valère niet leest.
             I.think   that-PL such   books   even   Valère not   reads

         c. *Kpeinzen da-**n**   zukken boeken zelfs Valère niet leest.
             I.think   that-PL such   books   even Valère not   reads
             'I think that even Valère would read such books.'

In (10)a, the subject is the closest argument to the complementizer *da* 'that'. In this construction, an agreement marker –*t* shows up on the complementizer. When the object is moved between the subject and the complementizer and the complementizer remains inflected with the agreement marker –*t*, as in (10)b, the grammaticality of the sentence is severely degraded. Furthermore, as shown in (10)c, the degradedness of the sentence in (10)b is not due to the misuse of one complementizer agreement marker over another, but rather, the degradedness is truly due to the object intervening between the complementizer and the subject.

The word order of a matrix clause in West Germanic dialects follows an agreement marker asymmetry along the line of an inversion in the word order of the clause.

(11)   Dutch dialect[43]
         a. wy   speul-**t**
             we   play-1PL

         b. speul-**e**   wy
             play-1PL   we

When the word order is SV, the agreement marker –*t* is used but when the word order is VS, the agreement marker –e is used. While flexible word order is attested in matrix clauses, in the embedded clause word order is more ridged. Accompanying this fact is the generalization that complementizer agreement is absent in embedded V2 constructions:

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[42] Equals Haegeman and van Koppen (2012) example (8).
[43] Equals Hoekstra and Smits (1998) example (13).

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(12)   Frisian[44]
         a. Heit   sei   dat-**st**   **do** soks net leauwe   moa-st
            dad   said   that-2SG you such not believe:INF must-2SG
            'Dad said that you should not believe such things.'

         b. Heit   sei   dat-(***st**) **do**   moa-st   soks net   leauwe
            dad   said   that-2SG you   must-2SG such not   believe:INF
            'Dad said that you should not believe such things.'

When the verb is lower than a V2 position, then the complementizer may be inflected for

agreement, but if the verb is in a V2 position, then the complementizer must obligatorily be

uninflected.

The agreement pattern used for complementizer agreement also shows up in a number of

other constructions. The CA agreement pattern shows up on coordinated conjunctions, embedded

wh-elements, and relative pronouns:

(13)   Tegelen Dutch[45]
         Ich   dink   det   Jan   of-**s**   toow   kump-s
         I   think   that John or-2SG   you   come-2SG
         'I think that either John or you will come.'

(14)   South Hollandic Dutch[46]
         jonge-s die-**e**   werk-e   wil-le
         boy-PL   REL-PL work-INF want-PL
         'boys that want to work'

(15)   High German[47]
         Ween-ste   komm-st
         when-2SG   come-2SG
         'when you come'

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[44] Equals Zwart (2006) example (37).
[45] Equals Zwart (2006) example (39).
[46] Equals Zwart (2006) example (40b).
[47] Equals Zwart (2006) example (40a).

5.3 Conclusion

The table below is a comparison of the properties of complementizer agreement in West Germanic dialect with the properties of complementizer agreement in Najdi Arabic.

Table 13. Properties of Complementizer Agreement in Najdi Arabic and Germanic

Properties	Present	
	Najdi Arabic	Germanic[48]
pro subject	✓	✓
Pronominal Subject	✓	✓
R-expressions	✓ / ✗	✓
Expletive Subject	✓	✓
Long Distance Top of Subject	✓	✓
Blocked by topicalized object	✓	✓
Blocked by V2	✓	✓
Extracted subject *wh*-word	✓	*
Focus of VP	✓	*
Agree with first XP	✓	✓

Complementizer agreement in both Najdi Arabic and Germanic is to some extent subject oriented. Complementizer agreement can occur with *pro*, pronominal, R-expressions (given the right context), expletive subjects, and subjects that undergo long distance topicalization. In both Najdi Arabic and Germanic, complementizer agreement is blocked by topicalization of an object and V2 movement. Complementizer agreement also surfaces with extracted subject *wh*-words in Najdi Arabic. Surprisingly, complementizer agreement in Najdi Arabic is also used when a VP is focused. In both Najdi Arabic and Germanic, complementizer agreement agrees with the first conjunct in a coordinated subject. The properties of complementizer agreement in these two genetically unrelated languages have a very large extent of overlap. In fact, the only restriction that seems to be on Najdi Arabic that is not present in Germanic is that complementizer agreement cannot surface with an R-expression.

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[48] The "*" here indicates that I was unable to find a comparable example in the West Germanic dialects.

CHAPTER SIX CONCLUSION

6.1 Conclusion

This thesis has investigated complementizer agreement in the Najdi dialect of Arabic. I have shown that complementizer agreement in Najdi Arabic occurs with a number of different types of subjects. I have also shown that complementizer agreement can be blocked by topicalization of objects. This occurrence has been taken to indicate that complementizer agreement is a subject-oriented phenomenon; however, focus movement of VP to the left periphery does not seem to block complementizer agreement in the same way. I argue that complementizer agreement may be better accounted for as a process of features checking.

I have shown that complementizer agreement in Najdi Arabic can be accounted for under a probe-for-closest-goal analysis, with a complementizer that has an uninterpretable finiteness feature that must be checked. This analysis was strongly supported by the fact that the complementizer only agrees with the first conjunct in a coordinated subject. Following van Koppen (2005) findings for the nature of a coordinated subject; namely, that the complementizer can agree with the whole subject or only the XP in the specifier position of the coordinated structure, I proposed that the complementizer in Najdi Arabic agrees with the first conjunct because, as the first conjunct is in the specifier position of the coordinated structure, it is the highest XP. This finding may have larger implications for defective agreement in other areas of Najdi Arabic and Arabic in general.

In my analysis, I argue that the absence of complementizer agreement is due to the auxiliary moving up to the Fin^0 to check the complementizer's uninterpretable finiteness features. This V2 movement is robustly document to block complementizer agreement in West Germanic dialects. Najdi Arabic seems to have a number of auxiliary particles that are not present in Modern

Standard Arabic. I leave it to future research to find out which of these particles allow V2 movement in Najdi Arabic. For the time being, it can be concluded from this thesis that the auxiliary *zid* undergoes V2 movement. The natural next step would be to test the auxiliaries *kaan* and *gaʔid*.

Further research on the agreeing particles that were discussed in chapter 2 needs to be done. Specifically, the research question: why does agreement surface on a particular subset of particles that look as though they might be adverbs and not other adverbs needs to be addressed. An extension of that question, but of more relevance to the phenomenon of complementizer agreement, is why complementizer agreement is optional in some cases. I believe that a semantic investigation into this optionality will be fruitful.

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Appendix 1. Complementizer Agreement in another subdialect of Najdi Arabic:

	C+agreement
1SG	in-ni
2SG.MASC	in-ik
2SG.FEM	in-kum
3SG.MASC	in-ih
3SG.FEM	in-ha
1PL	in-na
2PL.MASC	in-its
2PL.FEM	in-tsin
3PL.MASC	in-hum
3PL.FEM	in-hin

See Torrence (2013) for a discussion of complementizer agreement in this subdialect of Najdi Arabic.

Appendix 2. The verb *bi* 'to want':

	Agreement	Root	Agreement
1SG	a-	bi	
1PL	ni-	bi	
2SG.FEM	ti-	bi	-n
2SG.MASC	ti-	bi	
2PL.FEM	ta-	bu	-n
2PL.MASC	ta-	bu	-n
3SG.MASC	ya-	bi	
3SG.FEM	ti-	bi	
3PL.MASC	ya-	bu	-n
3PL.FEM	ya-	bu	-n

Appendix 3. Complementizer Agreement with Strong Pronouns:

(16)   a.   a-ʕatiqid   in-ni   anna   gara-t   al-kitaab
                   1SG-think   that-1SG   1SG   read-1SG   the-book
                   'I think that I read the book.'

         b.   a-ʕatiqid   in   inna   gara-na   al-kitaab
                   1SG-think   that   1PL   read-1PL   the-book
                   'I think that I read the book.'

         c.   a-ʕatiqid   in-ik   ant   gara-t   al-kitaab
                   1SG-think   that-2SG.MASC   2SG.MASC   read-2SG.MASC   the-book
                   'I think that I read the book.'

         d.   a-ʕatiqid   in-kum   antum   gara-tu   al-kitaab
                   1SG-think   that-2PL.MASC   2PL.MASC   read-2PL.MASC   the-book
                   'I think that I read the book.'

         e.   a-ʕatiqid   in-is   anti   gara-ti   al-kitaab
                   1SG-think   that-2SG.FEM   2SG.FEM   read-2SG.FEM   the-book
                   'I think that I read the book.'

         f.   a-ʕatiqid   in-kum   antu   gara-tu   al-kitaab
                   1SG-think   that-2PL.FEM   2PL.FEM   read-2PL.FEM   the-book
                   'I think that I read the book.'

         h.   a-ʕatiqid   in-ih   hu   gara   al-kitaab
                   1SG-think   that-3SG.MASC   3SG.MASC   read.3SG.MASC   the-book
                   'I think that I read the book.'

         i.   a-ʕatiqid   in-hum   hum   gar-uu   al-kitaab
                   1SG-think   that-3PL.MASC   3PL.MASC   read-3PL.MASC   the-book
                   'I think that I read the book.'

         j.   a-ʕatiqid   in-ha   hi   gara-t   al-kitaab
                   1SG-think   that-3SG.FEM   3SG.FEM   read-3SG.FEM   the-book
                   'I think that I read the book.'

         k.   a-ʕatiqid   in-hum   hum   gar-uu   al-kitaab
                   1SG-think   that-3PL.FEM   3PL.FEM   read-3PL.FEM   the-book
                   'I think that I read the book.'