

Complementizer Agreement in Tunisian Arabic is Subject Clitic Doubling

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1. Introduction:¹

- (1) COMPLEMENTIZER AGREEMENT IN NAJDI ARABIC (Lewis 2013:43)

ta-sgad inna-(ha_i) hi_i ta-sawwī al-akil
 2SG-mean.IPFV **that-3SG.F** she 3SG.F-make.IPFV DEF-food
 You mean that she made the food.

- (2) COMPLEMENTIZER AGREEMENT IN SASON ARABIC (Akkuş 2021:1)

qul-tu le-(nen_i) zḡar_i kan-o k_i-y-ayl-o anzarut
 said-1SG **that-3PL** children aux.PST-3PL PST-3-eat-PL corn
 I said that the children were eating the corn.

Previous proposals → Agreement analyses

- The morphemes on the complementizers are analyzed as manifestations of true agreement, even though they look like the object clitics (Lewis 2013; Jarrah 2019; Akkuş 2021)

- (3) COMPLEMENTIZER AGREEMENT IN TUNISIAN ARABIC

ppa marvəz xāṭər(-hom_i) ž-žirēn_i ḡaml-u barša ḡəss
 dad get_angry.PFV.3MSG **because-3PL** DEF-neighbors make.PFV-3PL.PFV many noise
 Dad got angry because the neighbors made a lot of noise.

Proposal: Complementizer “agreement” in Tunisian is subject clitic doubling

- Tunisian clitics are true pronouns.
- Complementizer agreement and object clitic doubling share the same restrictions.

Roadmap:

- Tunisian Clitics (§2)
- Clitic Doubling in Tunisian (§3)
- Complementizer Agreement in Tunisian is CD (§4)
- Analysis (§5)

1. Glosses: DAT: dative — DEF: Definite article — F: Feminine — FUT: Future — IMP: Imperative — IPFV: Imperfective — M: Masculine — NEG: Negation — PASS: Passive — PFV: Perfective — PL: Plural — PST: Past — SG: Singular.

2. Tunisian Clitics:

PERSON	STRONG	CLITIC
1SG	ʔena	-ni/-i
2SG	ʔənti	-(ə)k
3MSG	howwa	-u/-h
3FSG	hiyya	-ha
1PL	naḡna	-na
2PL	ntūma	-kom
3PL	hūma	-hom

Table 1: Tunisian pronouns

Tunisian Clitics are Morphophonological Pronouns:

- ✓ Low degree of selection (Zwicky and Pullum 1983).
- ✓ No morphophonological idiosyncrasies (ibid.).
- ✓ They can be stacked (ibid.).
- ✓ Tense invariance (Nevins 2011).

Tunisian Clitics are Syntactic Pronouns:

- ✓ PCC effects (Nevins 2011).
- ✓ Interact with binding (Kramer 2014; Baker and Kramer 2018).

- (4) THE PERSON CASE CONSTRAINT IN TUNISIAN:

- a. *qaddm-ū-k / qaddam-t-hom*
 introduce-PFV.3PL-2SG.ACC / introduce-PFV.2SG-3PL.ACC
 They introduced you / You introduced them
- b. **qaddm-ū-k-lu*
 introduce-PFV.3PL-2SG.ACC-3SG.DAT
 They introduced you to him.
- c. *qaddm-ū-hu-lək*
 introduce-PFV.3PL-3SG.ACC-2SG.DAT
 They introduced him to you.

- (5) CLITIC IMPROVES BACKWARD PRONOMINALIZATION IN TUNISIAN:

- a. *l-muḡ allmīn_i l-koll šəfu tlēmḡət-hom_i*
 DEF-teachers DEF-all see.PFV.3PL students-3PL
 All the teachers_i saw their_i students.
- b. **tlēmḡət-hom_i šəfu l-muḡ allmīn_i l-koll*
 students-3PL see.PFV.3PL DEF-teachers DEF-all
 Intended: Their_i students saw all the teachers_i.
- c. *tlēmḡət-hom_i šəfu-hom_i l-muḡ allmīn_i l-koll*
 students-3PL see.PFV.3PL-3PL DEF-teachers DEF-all
 Intended: Their_i students saw all the teachers_i.

3. Clitic Doubling in Tunisian:

“A construction in which a clitic co-occurs with a full DP in argument position.” (Anagnostopoulou 2017:1)

- (6) *šoft(-u_i) Sami_i lbērah*
 see.PFV.1SG-3MSG Sami yesterday
 I saw Sami yesterday.

Object Clitic Doubling exists in Tunisian but it is not described in the literature.

Restrictions on Object CD:

Definite objects may be doubled:

- (7) *qrīt(-ha_i) l-šarīda_i*
 read.PFV.1SG-(3FSG) DEF-newspaper
 I read the newspaper.

Indefinite objects may not be doubled:

- (8) *qrīt(*-ha_i) šarīda_i*
 read.PFV.1SG-(3FSG) newspaper
 I read a newspaper.

CD is different from Left Dislocation:

CD is optional while CLLD ~ obligatory resumption:

- (9) *šoft(-u_i) Sami_i lbērah*
 see.PFV.1SG-(3MSG) Sami yesterday
 I saw Sami yesterday.

- (10) *Sami_i šoft*(-u_i) lbērah*
 Sami see.PFV.1SG-3MSG yesterday
 Sami, I saw him yesterday.

Indefinite Quantificational DPs may be clitic left dislocated but cannot be doubled:

- (11) a. *l-šaskər qtal barša šbēd*
 DEF-military kill.PFV.3SG many people
 The military killed many people. [baseline sentence]
- b. *barša šbēd_i qtal-hom_i l-šaskər*
 many people kill.PFV.3SG-3PL DEF-military
 Many people, the military killed them. [CLLD]
- c. **l-šaskər qtal-hom_i barša šbēd_i*
 DEF-military kill.PFV.3SG-3PL many people
 The military killed many people. [Clitic Doubling]

4. Complementizer Agreement in Tunisian is Subject Clitic Doubling:

Tunisian Complementizer Agreement: Restricted to adjunct phrases.

- (12) *qot-lək əlli(*-ni) ma-n-ħəbb-əš n-oxroš*
 say.PFV.1SG-2SG.DAT that-(*1SG) NEG-1SG.IPFV-want-NEG 1SG.IPFV-go_out
 I told you that I didn't want to go out.
- (13) *qšatt f-d-dār šlaxāṭər(-ni) bxol-t šal xrūš*
 stay.PFV.1SG in-DEF-house because(-1SG) be_lazy-1SG.PFV on going_out
 I stayed home because I didn't feel like going out.
- (14) *madēm(-u) Sami bš y-šāwn-ək, thanna*
 given_that(-3SG) Sami FUT 3SG.IPFV-help.-2SG be_assured.IMP.2SG
 Given that Sami will help you, rest easy.
- (15) *kēn(-ək) bš t-šī brabbi šīb dīnār qlūb*
 if(-2SG) FUT 2SG.IPFV-come.IPFV please bring.IMP.2SG dinar sunflower_seeds
 If you're gonna come, please bring a dinar worth of sunflower seeds.

CA and Object CD have the same behavior in Tunisian → CA is clitic doubling.

Table 2: Comparison between verbal agreement, object clitic doubling and complementizer agreement

TYPE	VERBAL AGREEMENT	OBJECT CD	COMPLEMENTIZER AGREEMENT
Optional	✗	✓	✓
Definite DPs	✓	✓	✓
Indefinite DPs	✓	✗	✗
Indef. Quantificational DPs	✓	✗	✗
FCA (first conjunct = pronoun)	✓	✓	✓
FCA (first conjunct = noun)	✓	✗	✗

Indefinite subjects may not participate in CA:

- (16) a. *l-makṭeb sakkər šlaxāṭər(*-hom_i) tlēmḍa_i morḍ-u*
 DEF-school close.PFV.3MSG because(*-3PL) students be_sick.PFV-3PL
 The school closed because students got sick.
- b. *l-makṭeb sakkər šlaxāṭər(-hom_i) ət-tlēmḍa_i morḍ-u*
 DEF-school close.PFV.3MSG because(-3PL) DEF-students be_sick.PFV-3PL
 The school closed because the students got sick.
- (17) *l-makṭeb sakkər šlaxāṭər(*-hom_i) barša tlēmḍa_i morḍ-u*
 DEF-school close.PFV.3MSG because(*-3PL) many students be_sick.PFV-3PL
 The school closed because many students got sick.

⇒ Tunisian differs from Sason Arabic where indefinites may not be doubled but do participate in CA (Akkuş 2021:21).

First Conjunct Doubling and First Conjunct Complementizer Agreement are Possible:

(18) FIRST CONJUNCT DOUBLING PATTERNS IN TUNISIAN:

- a. *taw ntarrd-ək_i* [*?enti_i w-Sami*]
 FUT fire.1SG.IPFV-2SG and-Sami
 I will fire you and Sami.
- b. *Madēm-ək_i* [*?ənti_i w-Sami*] *fsəʕtu* *bš tə-t-tarrd-u*
 since-2SG 2SG and-Sami sneak_out.PFV.2PL FUT 2.IPFV-PASS-fire-PL
 Given that you and Sami sneaked out, you will get fired.

First Conjunct Doubling is only possible with pronouns:

(19) FIRST CONJUNCT VERBAL AGREEMENT:

- a. *xlatʃ* [*Sami w-Karim*] *mabʕaðhom*
 arrive.PFV.3MSG Sami and-Karim together.3PL
 Sami and Karim arrived together.
- b. *xlatʃ* [*howwa w-Sami*] *mabʕaðhom*
 arrive.PFV.3MSG 3MSG and-Sami together.3PL
 He and Sami arrived together.

(20) FIRST CONJUNCT OBJECT DOUBLING:

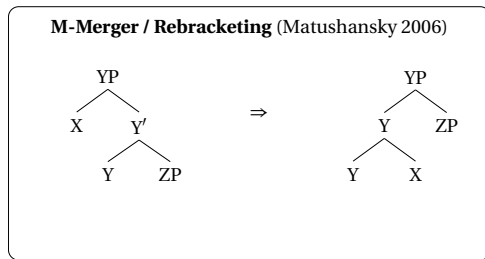
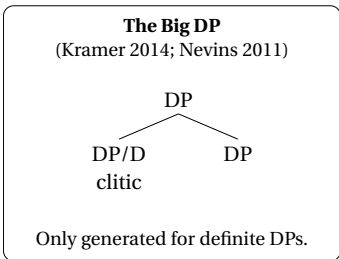
- a. **səʕāt* *tšuf-u_i* [*Sami_i w-Karim*] *mabʕaðhom f-əl-avenu*
 Sometimes see.IPFV.2SG-3MSG Sami and-Karim together in-DEF-avenue
 Sometimes you see Sami and Karim together on the avenue.
- b. *səʕāt* *tšuf-u_i* [*howwa_i w-Karim*] *mabʕaðhom f-əl-avenu*
 Sometimes see.IPFV.2SG-3MSG 3MSG and-Karim together in-DEF-avenue
 Sometimes you see him and Karim together on the avenue.

(21) FIRST CONJUNCT COMPLEMENTIZER AGREEMENT:

- a. *... *xāṭr-u_i* [*Sami_i w-Karim*] *yimšiw* *mabʕaðhom f-əl-avenu*
 ... because-3MSG Sami and-Karim walk.IPFV.3PL together in-DEF-avenue
 ... Because Sami and Karim are walking together on the avenue.
- b. ... *xāṭr-u_i* [*howwa_i w-Karim*] *yimšiw* *mabʕaðhom f-əl-avenu*
 ... because-3MSG 3MSG and-Karim walk.IPFV.3PL together in-DEF-avenue
 Because he and Karim are walking together on the avenue.

5. Analysis:

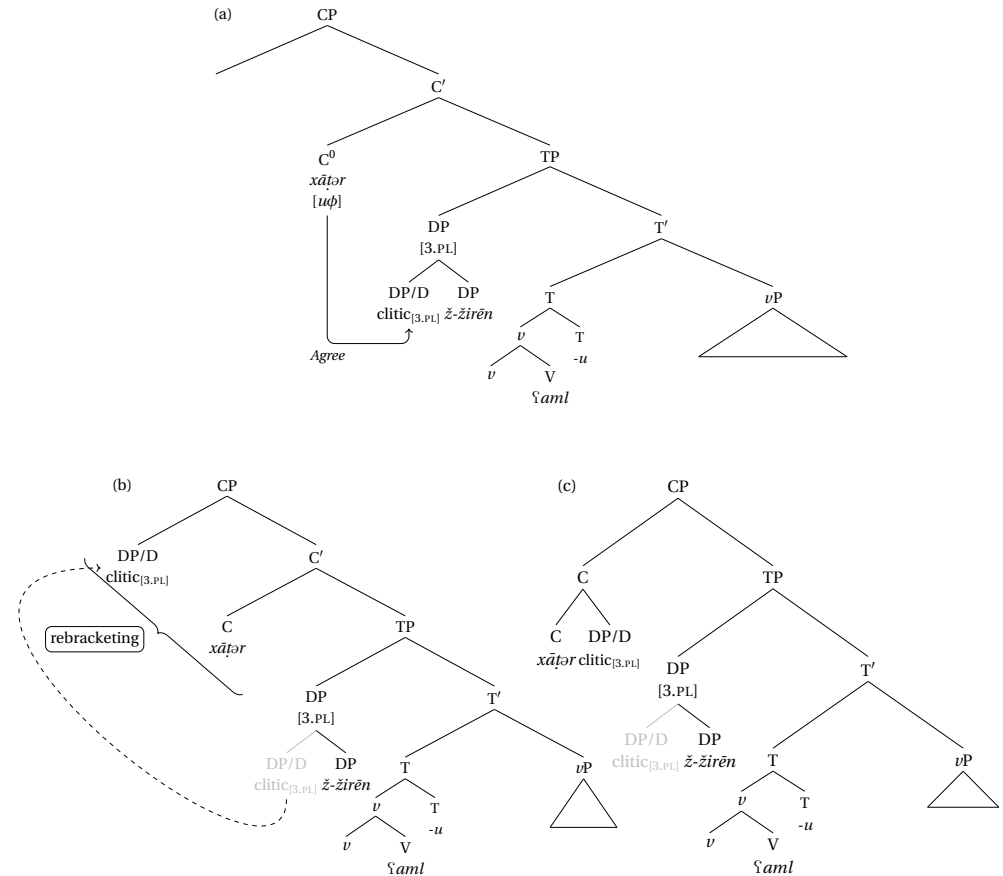
The components:



The derivation:

- (22) *ppa tnarvəz* *xāṭər(-hom_i)* *ž-žirən_i* *ʕaml-u* *barša* *həss*
 dad get_angry.PFV.3MSG because-3PL DEF-neighbors make.PFV-3PL.PFV many noise
 Dad got angry because the neighbors made a lot of noise.

(23) DERIVATION OF (22):



This analysis captures the difference between Tunisian and the other varieties for which CA is argued to be true agreement.

- ✓ All these Arabic varieties have a C^0 with an optional ϕ -feature probe.
- ✓ In all the dialects under consideration, the probe enters into an *Agree* relation with its goal.
- ✓ In Jordanian, Najdi, Sason, Lebanese, etc. the result is “the morphological realization of the *Agree* operation between C and the goal” (Jarrah 2019:158)
- ✓ In Tunisian, the result of *Agree* is the movement of the clitic to C, for those goals that are generated as big DPs.^a
- ✓ Similar variations exist in other language families such as Inuit (Yuan 2021) and Bantu (Henderson 2006).

a. In a view where movement of the clitic is licensed by an *Agree* relation whose ϕ -feature valuation is phonologically null (Kramer 2014:617).

6. Conclusion:

- Tunisian clitics are pronouns.
- Tunisian complementizer agreement shows the same behavior as clitic doubling in this language, which points to a similar syntactic process.
- CA is an important example of syntactic variation between different Arabic dialects: The same surface phenomenon is the result of different syntactic structures.

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