

## Upwards-oriented Complementizer Agreement in Lubukusu

Michael Diercks  
Pomona College

Lubukusu (Bantu, Kenya) displays a form of complementizer agreement (CA) where a complementizer agrees in gender, number, and person features with the main-clause subject, a distinct pattern from the more familiar West Germanic cases of CA with an embedded subject. As can be seen in (1), the embedding complementizer in Lubukusu agrees in noun class with the subject of the matrix clause (cardinal numbers in examples represent NOUN CLASS, not PERSON):

- (1) Alfredi a-a-bolela baba-andu a-li ba-kha-bile  
1Alfred 1S-PST-tell 2-person 1-that 2S-FUT-conquer  
'Alfred told the people that they will win.'

As (2) shows agreement can only be with the surface subject of the clause, not restricted to the source of the reported information (as might be expected in a logophoric system).

- (2) Sammy ka-ulile khukhwama khw-ise a-li (\*ndi) balimi bafuna kamaindi  
1Sammy 1S-heard from from-me 1-COMP (\*1stsg) farmers harvested maize  
'Sammy heard from me that the farmers harvested the maize.'

A wide variety of syntactic diagnostics are employed to demonstrate that the complementizer agrees with the subject of the most local clause (including causatives, passivization, multiple embeddings, NP intervention effects, complex NPs, and split-antecedence relations). In this sense this agreement relation is local (clause-bound), but not *too* local, as the complementizer agrees with the superordinate subject regardless of intervening DPs. As shown in (3), the complementizer can only agree with the second person subject and not the class 1 indirect object:

- (3) ewe w-a-bol-el-a Nelsoni o-li (\*ali) ba-keni ba-rekukha  
you 2sgS-PST-say-AP-FV 1Nelson 2sg-that 2-guests 2S-left  
'You told Nelson that the guests left.'

The talk therefore includes detailed empirical argumentation to defend the robust nature of this agreement relation, as well as a proposal that the agreeing complementizer is essentially the result of anaphoric agreement. Competing views on the derivation of this kind of anaphoric agreement are considered.