# Chapter 14

# Strategies of Clausal Complementation in Rere

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This paper describes three attested complementation strategies in Rere (also known as Koalib, Iso: KIB; Kordofanian). A special focus is drawn on two types of morphologically impoverished complements which lack verbal class agreement. The "non-finite complement' strategy shows two syntactic patterns for the position of co-referent subjects that are dependent on the matrix verb, similarly to object vs. raising distinctions. The "finite complement" strategy is special in three ways: 1) it is only available when the matrix is a control predicate, 2) the complement has one of three left-edge markers sensitive to matrix Tense-Aspect-Mood (tam), and 3) it employs subject and object pronominal marking instead of referencing one of the arguments with verbal class agreement, as attested in matrix clauses. This final complementation strategy opens a discussion about the morphological effects of a tam system in clausal complements.

# 1 Overview

Rere or ỳré:¡té (alternatively Koalib; Quint (2009), Quint (2020)) is a language from the Kordofanian grouping¹, traditionally spoken in the Nuba Mountains in the southern part of Sudan. Novel data shows Rere exhibits three strategies of clausal complementation, dubbed "full clausal" complements, "non-finite" complements, and "finite" complements. The goal of this paper is to describe their distribution and morphological properties in comparison to matrix declarative clauses and

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>I follow Greenberg (1963) in using Kordofanian for a group of languages in the Nuba Mountains of Kordofan in Sudan, but there is debate as to whether these form a branch within the Niger-Congo language family or even their own family. See Belch (2014) for more details.



in comparison to one another. All linguistic data presented in this article comes from elicitation work with a native male speaker, unless otherwise cited.

A special focus is drawn to the latter two types, which are morphologically impoverished in contrast to full clausal complements and matrix declarative clauses. Both the non-finite and finite complements lack class agreement. The non-finite complement strategy lacks any Tense-Aspect-Mood (TAM) distinctions. Meanwhile, the finite complement has less TAM distinctions than matrix declaratives, and these TAM expressions are organized differently. The morphological expression of TAM in the finite complements is tightly correlated with the matrix TAM, but there can be exceptions. The finite complements occur only with a subset of matrix predicates and can be alternatively expressed with a non-finite complement.

The breath of complementation strategies and their relation to matrix predicates in languages of the Nuba Mountains is a relatively understudied area. Moreover, a analogous pattern to the Rere finite complementation strategy and its distribution has not been previously reported elsewhere in the Kordofanian grouping, thus opening a discussion about the morphological effects of a TAM system in clausal complements.

This paper is organized as follows. In §2, I briefly describe the morphosyntactic properties of matrix clauses in Rere, focusing on class agreement and TAM marking. I then introduce the three complementation strategies starting with full clausal complements in §3, then moving onto non-finite complements in §4, and finally to finite complements in §5. In §4, I discuss the non-finite complements' lack of pronominal marking §4.1, their distribution §4.2, and the two syntactic patterns available only to raising predicates §4.3. In §5, I describe the distribution of finite complements §5.1, their pronominal marking §5.3, and the TAM distinctions in these complements §5.2. I summarize the facts and takeaways in §6.

#### 2 Matrix clauses

If the object argument is a lexical NP, a transitive clause in Rere is svo, as shown with a perfective clause in (1). Note that the class agreement on the verb is with the NP subject  $kw\acute{o}r$  'man,' which is a member of the kw- class. Moreover, the object  $tip\acute{e}n$  'dog' is case-marked for accusative case. Case-marking on Rere NPs is lexically determined and employs a variety of segmental and tonal strategies. Accusative case-marking appears to be optional, although more research is need to conclude such a suspicion. (Boychev (2013)).

(1) Perfective

kwór kw-è:ȝ-à tìɲén-ù cla.kw.man cla.kw-see.pfv-fv cla.t̥.dog-acc 'The man saw the dog.'

In Rere, tam may be indicated by different simultaneous morphological strategies: the tonal melody, a final vowel suffix, and tonal or a segmental prefix preceding the verb root. While (1) has no segmental prefix, the grammatical tone on the verb stem is LL, as attested in perfective clauses. Moreover, similarly to the accusative marking, the final vowel is lexically determined for each verbal predicate in each tam configuration; in the case of the verbal root  $\varepsilon$ :f- 'see' the perfective shows an -a as the final vowel.

To illustrate the morphological effects of TAM further, below is a transitive, habitual clause. The habitual is marked with a segmental prefix  $\underline{t}$ - that incurs a H tone, which then spreads to give HH melody on the verb root. Unlike (1), the final vowel is  $-\varepsilon$ . (For more information on verbal tone patterns, TAM, matrix pronominal marking, and their interaction in object-marked verbs, see Rose (2020)). Pronominal subjects are part of the kw- class.<sup>2</sup>

(2) Habitual pí-gw-ţ-є:ȝ-є́ tò:ròm 1.sg-ClA.kw-HAB-see-FV ClA.ţ.star

'I (always, habitually) see a star.'

Kordofanian class agreement may reference other arguments besides the subject in matrix clauses. For example, in the case that the referent is an object previously mentioned in the discourse, class agreement references the object instead of the subject, as in (3). The object  $t\hat{e}t\hat{r}\eta g\acute{e}$  'donkey' is part of the t- class, and it is referenced on the verb below with class agreement. The subject, on the other hand, occurs post-verbally in this construction. Other cases where class agreement does not reference the subject argument include ex-situ content interrogatives, where class agreement references the interrogative pronoun (cf. Chai et al. (2022)).

(3) Class agreement with object t-è:j-á kwòr CLA.t-see.PFV-FV CLA.kw.man 'The man saw it (the donkey).'

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup>Particularly in rapid speech, two phonological processes occur: the labialization of the class agreement consonant causes the preceding vowel on the prefix to round to [u]. The other is that the class agreement consonant is voiced.

In the next sections, I describe the properties of complement clauses in contrast to matrix clauses by focusing on the morphological strategies of TAM marking, (lack of) class agreement, and pronominal marking.

# 3 Full clausal complements

The first complementation strategy is described as a full clause because the arguments expressed and the inflectional morphology on the verb in these complements are the same as those found on the matrix clause. These complements are attested with factive and communication verbs as in (4-5). There is an optionally overt quotative marker  $-\eta \hat{o}$  suffixed onto the communication verb.

- (4) Factive
   ŋá-kw-óðóðún-á
   [tɔ́:ŋòr tì-t̞-áβíð-í]
   2sg-cla.kw-forget.pfv-fv cla.t̞-boy cla.t̞-hab-play-fv
   'You forgot the boy played (habitually).'
- (5) Communication
  ámmá kw-àr-ò(-ŋò) [tɔ́:ŋòr t-ìð-ì
  Amma Cla.kw-say.PfV-fV(-QUOT) Cla.t.boy Cla.t-eat-PfV
  ∫îrìm-í yìlìyìn]
  Cla.kw.corn-acc yesterday
  'Amma said that the boy ate the corn yesterday.'

Subjects may be co-referential, as in (6) where the complement clause has the same class agreement as the matrix verb and both agree with the matrix subject tá:ŋàr 'boy' (t-class).

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(6) ţó:ŋòr ţ-òðòðùn-á ţì-ţ-áβíð-í
CLA.t.boy CLA.t-forget.PFV-FV CLA.t-HAB-play-FV
'The boy forgot he played (habitually).'
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# 4 Non-finite complements

The next strategy is that of non-finite complements. The term non-finite is used to describe these complements because the dependent clause's morphology has

no indication of being influenced by TAM-related alternations in the superordinate clause.<sup>3</sup> Instead, there is a fixed verbal root in the complement that employs the same final vowel and (lexical) tonal melody of the verb. For example, the final vowel of the verbal root bubl- 'wrestle' is -v for matrix perfective-marked verb root as in (7). However, when the verbal root is in a non-finite clause, the final vowel consistently shows up as -i, as in (8).

- (7) Matrix perfective
  kwċ-bùbl-[è] kwò:r-ò
  CLA.kw-wrestle.PFV-FV CLA.kw.man-ACC
  'He wrestled the man.' (Rose 2020)
- (8) Non-finite complement embedded in matrix perfective kwâw kw-òkwàj-à ţɔ:ŋɔ´r-á àðò-bùbl-si cla.kw.woman cla.kw-order.pfv-fv cla.t.boy-acc inf-wrestle-fv kwò:r-ò cla.kw.man-acc 'The woman ordered the boy to wrestle the man.'

In matrix clauses, there are two sets of TAM forms. The first set of TAM forms exhibits an H tone on the verb stem (either on the root or the final vowel suffix), which is a lexical tone. Meanwhile, the second set of forms are all L-toned. The non-finite complements consistently employ lexical tone: LH for *bubl-* 'wrestle' (8), HL for *dárm-* 'draw' (9), and HH for *métc-* 'help' (10).

- (9) kwâw kwò-ŋ-émȝ-í ðè-dárm-à ŋòrpò CLA.kw.woman CLA.kw.IMPF-2.OBJ-let-FV INF-draw-FV tomorrow 'The woman will let you draw tomorrow.'
- (10) kwâw kwờ-ŋ-émֈ-í ðè-métç-í ţò:ŋór-à CLA.kw.woman CLA.kw.IMPF-2.OBJ-let-FV INF-help-FV CLA.ţ.boy-ACC 'The woman will let you help the boy.'

Non-finite complements are additionally distinguishable by their complete lack of class agreement. Instead of class agreement prefixes, there is an marker  $\dot{a}\dot{\sigma}$ , which has different allomorphs:  $\dot{\delta}$ -,  $a\underline{t}$ -, and  $\underline{t}$ -. The following paragraphs will

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup>That said, I specifically remain agnostic as to whether these non-finite clauses should be analyzed semantically or syntactically as nominalized clauses vs. embedded, verbal phrases with an infinitival verbal predicate. More remains to be researched to have clear diagnostics of nominalization in Rere, as well as for non-finiteness, as the immediate goal here is to describe the morphological configuration and overall inventory of phrasal complements.

refer to this as an infinitive marker (INF) due to its distribution, without a commitment to its lexical status or morphosemantic content. It is possible that this marker is diachronically derived from a class agreement prefix, but I leave that for further research.

- (11) kwʊ̞-rɨð-í-ŋi að -àβið-àlò cla.kw-prevent.pfv-fv-1.obj inf-play-down 'He prevented me from playing.'
- (12) kwờ-rìð-í-ní [ð]-àβìð-àlò
- (13) kwờ-τì-ð-í-μí t-àβìð-àlò

# 4.1 Pronominal marking

An additional characteristic of the verbal complex of non-finite complements is that they not host subject or object pronominal markers, in contrast to matrix clauses. In matrix clauses, pronominal markers may precede or follow the verbal root, dependent on TAM; they follow the verb in perfectives (14), but precede it in TAM constructions that have a TAM marker before the verbal root, such as the habitual in (2). Meanwhile in the non-finite complement in (15), there is no pronominal marker; instead, there is a ACC-marked 2.sg pronoun ŋá-ŋò.

- (14) Matrix clause ní-gwớ-búbl-á-ŋá 1.sg-cla.kw-wrestle.pfv-fv-2.овј 'I wrestle you.'
- (15) Non-finite complement † 5:ŋôr †-ùyðàð-í-ŋí àðô-βùbl-í ŋá-ŋô CLA.†.boy CLA.†-convince.PFV-FV-1.OBJ INF-wrestle-FV 2SG-ACC 'The boy convinced me to wrestle you.'

#### 4.2 Distribution

Non-finite complements are attested with a variety of verb types. They can occur with aspectual predicates (sometimes termed "phasal" predicates; Cristofaro 2003), as in (16). They also occur with predicates expressing desire, obligation, or persuasion (17).

- (16) Aspectual
   ŋá-gw-ànàŋnàṭ-à ő-àβìð-ì
   2sg-cla.kw-continue.pfv-fv inf-play-fv
   'You continued to play.'
- (17) Desire † (17) Desire † (17) † (17) † (18

These examples additionally show that the matrix and embedded subjects do not need to be co-referential.

# 4.3 Subject-to-object-raising vs. object control

The morphosyntax of non-finite complements has two patterns dependent on the matrix verb. Some verbs may participate in optional Subject-to-Object Raising (sor) of the lower clause's agent, shown in (18-19) with a lexical NP. The raised subject is part of the matrix clause in (19), as evidenced by the optional ACC-marking on the lexical NP  $k\acute{o}l\grave{a}w$  'cat.'

- (18) tɔ́:ŋɔ̀r t-ùɣìðàð-ù [àðɔ̀-kʊ́làw] ùm-í lùrjà] CLA.t.boy CLA.t-hope-PFV INF-CLA.kw.cat catch-FV CLA.l.mouse 'The boy hoped the cat caught mice.'
- (19) tɔ́:ŋɔ̀r t-ùɣìðàð-ù kớlàw(-á) [àð-ùm-í lùrjà] CLA.t.boy CLA.t-hope-PFV CLA.kw.cat-ACC INF-catch-FV CLA.l.mouse 'The boy hoped the cat caught mice.'

There are a couple possibilities that may be considered to explain the distribution of the subject after the infinitive marker in (18). On one hand, there exist morphosyntactic configurations in Rere that can occur with the TAM marker split from the rest of the verbal complex, such that a post-verbal subject occurs between the split TAM marker and the rest of the verb. Therefore, (18) may be another instance of such a construction. On the other hand, the infinite marker àðmay be analyzed as a c head, which then demarcates the left edge of the dependent clause. More evidence is needed to decide between these analyses, among others, for the infinitive marker.

Importantly, sor is not available when the lower agent is co-referential with the matrix verb's patient. In such cases, the lower agent must occur as an object in the matrix clause.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup>This is the case for non-subject wh-ex-situ questions; see Chai et al. (2022) for more details.

- (20) kwâw kw-òkwàj-à ţò:ŋór-á àðò-βùbl-í CLA.kw.woman CLA.kw-order.PFV-FV CLA.ţ.boy-ACC INF-wrestle-FV kwò:r-ò CLA.kw.man-ACC 'The woman ordered the boy to wrestle the man.'
- (21) \* kwâw kw-òkwàj-à àðò-tɔ́:ŋɔ̀r bùbl-í
  CLA.kw.woman CLA.kw-order.PFV-FV INF-CLA.thoy wrestle-FV
  kwò:r-ò
  CLA.kw.man-ACC
  Intended: The woman ordered the boy to wrestle the man.

The distinction between the verbs that allow two orders is similar to cross-linguistic distinctions between subject-to-object raising and object control verbs. However, I leave the strict application of these labels to Rere's predicates for further research. In §5, I show that the latter class of predicates that do not have the SOR option can instead optionally employ the finite complement strategy.

# 5 Finite complements

The finite complement strategy has four defining characteristics. The first characteristic is the lack of class agreement, which it shares with the non-finite strategy. The next three are unique to the finite complements. First, finite complements have the same distribution as non-finite complements that do not have optional sor. Next, they are termed finite because they show morphology that correlates with matrix tam distinctions, but they show less tam distinctions than do matrix declarative clauses in terms of the range of final vowels and tonal melodies. Lastly, these complements may express either subject or object of the dependent verb with pronominal marking on the verbal complex of the complement. This contrasts with matrix delcarative clauses (and full clausal complements), where one of the arguments must be referenced class agreement. It additionally contrasts with non-finite complements because no subject or object pronominal marking occurs on the verb.

#### 5.1 Distribution

The finite complementation strategy is attested when the patient of the matrix verb is co-referenced with the agent of the dependent verb. The agent of the complement clause as a subject pronominal marker in the complement clause while also being co-referenced in the matrix clause with a ACC-marked NP (22), with class agreement if the referent was previously mentioned in the discourse (23), or with a pronominal object marker (24). The marker n(i)- occurs in these TAM configurations, but it is discussed further in §5.2. The difference between first person subject and object pronominal markers is tonal (cf. Rose (2020)).

- (22) nú-gw-èm<sub>f</sub>-ì n-ònór-á [n-r-áβíð-í] 1sg-cla.kw.-let.pfv-fv cla.n-boy-acc rea-3pl-play-fv 'I let the boys play.'
- (23) ŋ-èmȝ-è-ɲ-ȝi [n-r-áβið-í] CLA.ɲ-let.pFV-FV-1.SBJ-PL.OBJ REA-3PL-play-FV 'I let them (the boys) play.'
- (24) tɔ́:ŋɔ̀r kə́rù t-ìlìŋìð-é-ní [nì-ɲ-è:rí kúmbàrà] CLA.t.boy CLA.t.PROG CLA.t-instruct-pfv-1.obj rea-1.sbj-play CLA.k.lyre 'The boy is teaching me to play the lyre.'

As mentioned earlier, an alternative way of expressing a construction with a finite complement is to use a non-finite complement. Contrast 24 with 25.

(25) tɔ́:ŋɔ̀r kə́rù t-iliŋið-é-ɲí [àð-è:rí kúmbàrà]
CLA.t.boy CLA.t.PROG CLA.t-instruct-PFV-1.0BJ INF-play CLA.k.lyre

'The boy is teaching me to play the lyre.'

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#### **5.2 TAM**

There are three different left edge markers that can appear in these finite clauses, dependent on the TAM of the matrix clause. First, there is the marker  $n\hat{\iota}$ - that occurs when the matrix clause is perfective (26), progressive (27), recent perfect (28), and remote perfect (29). The progressive verbal complex is the same as the perfective, but the clause differs in the additional class-marked auxiliary that precedes the verbal complex ( $\eta g^w \hat{o}$  in 27).

- (26) Perfective kw-èmȝ-é-n nì-ɲ-βùbl-í γìlìγìn CLA.kw-let.PFV-FV-1.OBJ REA-1.SBJ-wrestle-FV yesterday 'He let me play yesterday.'
- (27) Progressive
  ngwó gw-èmj-é-n nì-ɲ-βùbl-í krèkkrèm
  CLA.kw.prog CLA.kw-let-pfv-1.obj rea-1.sbj-wrestle-fv now
  'He is letting me play now.'

(28) Recent perfect
kwờ-mí-p-émֈ-í nì-p-βùbl-í krèkkrèm
CLA.kw-rec.pfv-1.obj-convince-fv rea-1.sbj-wrestle-fv now
'He (just recently) let me wrestle now.'

(29) Remote perfect
kwờ-mí-ŋ-émȝ-à
nì-ŋ-βùbl-è
CLA.kw-rem.pfv-1.obȝ-let-rem.pfv rea-1.sbȝ.wrestle-rem.pfv-fv
ŋòrpànà 'He let (long ago) me wrestle in the morning.'
morning

Meanwhile, a zero-marker occurs on the complement when the matrix clauses are imperfective or imperative (30-31). Finally, the left-edge marker  $\underline{t}$ -occurs with habitual matrix clauses (32). Note that the habitual left-edge marker does not lenite to  $\eth$ , similarly to the habitual prefix in matrix clauses but unlike the non-finite left-edge marker in §4.

- (30) Imperfective
  gwờ-ɲ-ɛ́mȝ-í
  O-pì-βùbl-í
  nòrpò
  CLA.kw-1.obȝ-let.impf-fv irr-1.sbȝ-wreslte-fv tomorrow
  'He will let me wrestle tomorrow.'
- (31) Imperative

  ἐmȝ-έ-ŋ-í Ø-ɲì-βùbl-í ŋòrpò

  let-imp-1.obj irr-1.sbj-wrestle-fv tomorrow

  'Let me wrestle tomorrow.'
- (32) Habitual kwờ-tí-ɲ-έmȝ-í tì-ɲ-βùbl-í dòkdòk 'He (habitually) CLA.kw-HAB-1.OBJ-let-FV HAB-1.SBJ-wrestle-FV daily let me wrestle daily.'

The working assumption is that the left-edge markers make a distinction between realis, irrealis, and habitual aspects, given their distribution summarized in Table 1.<sup>5</sup> The realis marker occurs with the perfective, progressive remote perfect, and recent perfect, while the habitual marker occurs with the habitual TAM, and the zero marker occurs with the imperative and imperfective. Regardless of the labeling of the left-edge markers, the division of the TAM in complement

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup>While I present the underlying tones of the left-edge markers here, it is important to note that these may be overridden by pronominal markers, similarly to matrix clauses as shown by Rose (2020).

TAM	Matrix	Left-edge	Complement
PFV	LL	n(ì)-	Lexical tone
PROG	LL	n(ì)-	Lexical tone
REM	$m(\hat{\imath})$ -ll	n(ì)-	LL
REC	m(i)-Lexical tone	n(ì)-	Lexical tone
HAB	<i>ti-</i> Lexical tone	ţí-	Lexical tone
IMPF	Lexical tone	Ø-	Lexical tone
IMPF	Lexical tone	Ø-	Lexical tone

Table 1: Matrix clause vs. finite complement TAM

clauses has fewer distinctions in comparison to matrix clauses. Moreover, both systems internally divide the TAM differently with each morphological strategy: final vowel, tonal melody, and prefixes/left-edge markers.

In addition to the left-edge markers, the complement clause that occurs with a matrix remote perfect clause shows grammatical tone and a different final vowel than the rest of the verb complexes in finite complements. The verbal root *bubl*-'wrestle' has a lexical tone LH and the final vowel is -*i* in finite complement clauses (33), except with the remote perfect, where the grammatical tone is LL and the final vowel is -*a* in the finite complement of a remote perfect clause (34). The verb (i.e. stem, final vowel, & tonal melody) in the remote perfect complement is the same as as it would be in a matrix clause.

# (33) Imperative ἐmɨy-é-n Ø-nì-βùbl-[i] ŋòrpò let-imp-1.obj irr-1.sbj-wrestle-fv tomorrow 'Let me wrestle tomorrow!.'

TK03262021:16:24

(34) Remote perfect
kwờ-mí-ɲ-émֈ-à nì-ɲ-βùbl-ਏ ŋòrpànà
CLA.kw-rem.pfv-1.obj-let-rem.pfv rea-1.sbj-wrestle-rem.pfv morning
'He let (long ago) me wrestle in the morning.' TK03262021:05:55

In spite of the strong tendencies of the left-edge markers to match the matrix TAM as in Table 1, mismatches are available under specific contexts. In (35), the context forces a habitual reading of the complement clause. Thus, the complement clause shows the habitual left-edge marker ti while the matrix clause is perfective.

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

In this case, there is a ACC-marked, lexical NP in the matrix clause that is coreferenced with a third person plural *r*-pronominal marker on the lower verb.

# 5.3 Pronominal marking

Similar to non-finite complements, finite complements have no class agreement. Unlike non-finite complements, subjects can be referenced with subject pronominals on the complement's verbal complex, attested in (36) with 1.INCL.

(36) kwâw kwí-ɲ-ȝ-śkwáj-í Ø-[r]-βùblí
CLA.kw.woman CLA.kw.IMPF-1.OBJ-PL.OBJ-order-FV IRR-1.INCL.SBJ-wrestle
ŋòrpò
tomorrow

'The woman will order us (all) to wrestle tomorrow' TK02232021:01:34:07

The subject pronominal marker in the complement (L-toned r- for 1.INCL in 36) can co-occur with an object marker in the matrix clause that is co-referent with the dependent verb's agent. However, object pronominal markers make less distinctions for first person than subject pronominal markers attested in these finite dependent clauses and in matrix clauses. The first person inclusive is co-referenced in the matrix clause with a first person pronominal marker p- and a plural object marker p- in (36).

Subject pronominal markers are attested in matrix clauses. However, these occur when the verbal class agreement references another argument, such as an object previously mentioned in the discourse, as discussed in §2. In such cases, the subject pronominal occurs in the same position as an object pronominal, and, for first and second person, it is tone that distinguishes them. A minimal pair is provided in below, where (37) shows an object pronominal and (38) shows a subject pronominal, differing only in tone.

Subject pronominal markers thus occur when the class agreement is not available; be it because it is already used to reference another argument in matrix clauses or because class agreement is simply not available in finite complements.

The distribution of finite clauses, as well as their internal TAM and pronominal marking characteristics have not been previously described and open many questions beyond the scope of this paper. The pronominal marker facts present an interesting cross-linguistic puzzle about the Kordofanian morphological template and what occurs when class marking is unavailable. Meanwhile, §5.2 presents the left-edge markers but leaves open their syntactic analysis and why they are sensitive to matrix TAM. These could be TAM-agreeing complement heads or a different TAM head. However, I have refrained from labeling the left-edge markers as either a T or c head, given that more needs to be known about this structure before committing to either label.

# 6 Conclusion

I conclude by restating the diversity of complement clauses in Rere. First, there are complements that are identical to matrix clauses, dubbed full clausal complements. Then, there are two morphologically impoverished complements.

The morphologically impoverished complements include the finite and non-finite complements, which lack class markers and whose distribution partially overlaps. Non-finite complements can have two syntactic constructions depending on whether or not sor is optional to a specific matrix verb. If a verbal predicate does not have optional sor (i.e. the agent of the complement *must* occur in the matrix clause), then such a predicate's complement may also exhibit the finite complement strategy.

Beyond the overlap in distribution, these two complement strategies differ both in how they reference arguments and their interaction with TAM. Non-finite complements do not show core argument pronominals on their verbal complex, while finite complements can show both subject and object pronominals on their verbal complex. Non-finite complements do not differ based on matrix TAM, but instead consistently show a fixed form with an infinitive marker, the tonal melody, and final vowel. Meanwhile the finite complements may show different inflections on their left edge, largely dependent on matrix TAM. With exception of

the remote past, the complements also show lexical tone and a single lexicalized final vowel.

Some further directions this work can take is to pin down the synchronic syntactic status of the left-edge markers in both the finite and non-finite complements, as well as their origins. Also, while only the finite complements have been attested with both subject and object pronominals in a single verbal complex, similar morphosyntax seems to apply to clausal (temporal) adjuncts and a narrative register of Rere. In short, this is a fertile area of research I hope is addressed more in the near future.

#### **Abbreviations**

1	first person	IRR	irrealis
2	second person	ОВЈ	object
CLA	class agreement	PFV	perfective
DOWN	down particle	PL	plural
FIN	finite	PROG	progressive
FV	final vowel	REA	realis
HAB	habitual	REC.PFV	recent perfect
IMP	imperative	REM.PFV	remote perfect
INCL	inclusive	SBJ	subject
INF	non-finite	TAM	tense-aspect-mood
IMPF	imperfective		

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