Sakha "say" complementization: A Case-by-Agree approach*

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North East Linguistics Society 53
14 January 2023

1 Introduction

- Sakha embedded clause constructions have been presented as striking data for uniquely Dependent Case Theory (DCT) (Baker & Vinokurova 2010, henceforth B&V)
- Accusative case can surface on what seems to be the subject of the embedded clause, in prima facie absence of a functional head[1]

(1) Keskil Aisen-(**y**) kel-bet **dien** xomoi-do
Keskil Aisen-ACC come-NEG DIEN be.sad-PST
'Keskil became sad that Aisen isn't coming' (Vinokurova 2005: 366)

- B&V propose a DCT algorithm: the embedded subject raises to the edge of the CP where it is visible as a case competitor with the matrix subject

(2) Keskil [$_{CP}$ Aisen-(**y**) [$_{C'}$ kel-bet **dien**]] xomoi-do
Keskil [$_{CP}$ Aisen-ACC [$_{C'}$ come-NEG DIEN]] be.sad-PST
'Keskil became sad that Aisen is not coming' (B&V: 44a)

The same mechanism can assign accusative case with adjunct clauses...

(3) Masha [$_{CP}$ Misha-(ny) [$_{C'}$ kel-ie dien]] jie-ni xomui-da
Masha [$_{CP}$ Misha-ACC [$_{C'}$ come-FUT COMP]] house-ACC tidy-PST
'Masha tidied the house (thinking) that Misha would come.' (B&V: 46a)

... and with a transitive matrix verb

(4) B&V: 39
a. Min [$_{CP}$ ehigi-(ni) [$_{C'}$ bugun kyaj-yax-xyt dien]] erem-mit-im
1SG [$_{CP}$ 2PL-ACC [$_{C'}$ today win-FUT-2PL DIEN]] hope-PTPL-1SG
'I hoped that you would win today.'
b. Min [$_{XP}$ ehigi-(ni) [$_{X'}$ bugun kyaj-byk-kyt-yn]] ihit-ti-im.
1SG [$_{XP}$ 2PL-ACC [$_{X'}$ today win-FUT-2PL-ACC]] hear-PST-1SG
'I heard you won today.'

Our claims

- These embedded constructions are not all CP's: the adjunct clauses are ConverbP's with converb *di-en* instead of complementizer *dien*
- These embedded constructions can be analyzed via Case-by-Agree; moreover, the DCT algorithm fails to cover the range of facts

- We distinguish the ConverbP structure in adjunct clause constructions...

(5) Masha [$_{CvbP}$[Misha-(ny) kel-ie] di-en] jie-ni
Masha [$_{CvbP}$[Misha-ACC come-FUT] say-CVANT] house-ACC
xomui-da
tidy-PST
'Masha, (saying) that Misha would come, tidied the house.

...from the CP structure in the complements of transitive verbs...

(6) B&V: 39a
a. Min [$_{CP}$ ehigi-(ni) bugun kyaj-yax-xyt dien] erem-mit-im
1SG [$_{CP}$ 2PL-ACC today win-FUT-2PL COMP] hope-PTPL-1SG
'I hoped that you would win today.'

*Many thanks to Julie Anne Legate and Martin Salzmann for guidance and discussion. Thank you also to Lefteris Paparounas, Travis Major, the Penn field methods class, the Penn Syntax Lab, and participants of WAFL 16 and the LSA 98 Annual Meeting for lively discussion. I am very grateful for my consultants: Aiyyna Sleptsova, Maria Menkyarova, and their families. All errors are my own.

[1]Standard Leipzig glossing is used, except for the following: AOR=aorist, CVANT=converb of anteriority, CVSIM=converb of simultaneity, CVIMM=converb of immediate past, PRT=particle. I adopt Vinokurova's (2005) Romanization of Cyrillic, where q = [ɣ]∼[ʁ] and y = [i]∼[ɯ]. Long vowel phonemes are represented as doubles (e.g. aa = [a:]), consistent with the orthography.

- Moreover, the 'sad' construction is compatible with both constructions

(7) a. oqo [$_{CvbP}$[Aisen-(**y**) kel-bet] **di-en**] xomoi-do
oqo [$_{CvbP}$[Aisen-ACC come-NEG] say-CVB] be.sad-PST
'The child, (saying) Aisen is not coming, became sad.'
b. sylgy [$_{CP}$ Aisen-(***y**) kel-bet **dien**] xomoi-do
horse [$_{CP}$ Aisen-ACC come-NEG COMP] be.sad-PST
'The horse became sad that Aisen is not coming'

- This provides a challenge to the DCT account due to the lack of accusative case in the CP construction
- Our analysis correctly predicts the relevance of transitivity of the matrix verb in complement CPs

Roadmap

§2 Complementizer *dien* vs. converb *di-en*

§3 Accusative case in converb *di-en* constructions

§4 Dependent Case vs. Case-by-Agree

§5 Conclusion

2 Complementizer *dien* vs. Converb *di-en*

- Like many Turkic languages, the complementizer *dien* is historically derived from the verb of saying
- More specifically, the converb of anteriority form of the verb of saying, *di-en* 'say-CVANT' (Baker 2011)
- Three tests to distinguish the complementizer *dien* from the converb *di-en*:
  1. Subject agreement morphology
  2. Semantic restriction on subjects
  3. Replacement with other converb forms

- There are two distinct structures: adjunct clauses with the converb *di-en* and complement clauses with the complementizer *dien*
- The 'sad' construction is compatible with both constructions

2.1 Subject agreement morphology

- Converbs can optionally have subject agreement morphology (Pakendorf 2007)...

(8) Sahyl-lar kihi iher-in keor-eon-(**ner**) kuot-an
fox-PL man come-3SP.ACC see-CVB-3PL run-CVB
xaal-byt-tar
stay-PST-3PL
'The foxes, after seeing the man coming, ran away.'

... while complementizers cannot

(9) a. oqo-lor jie-ge kel-bit-ter dien-(***ner**) surax kyrjyk
child-PL home-DAT come-PST-3PL COMP-3PL rumor true
'The rumor that the children came home is true.'
b. oqo jie-ge kel-bit-ter dien-(***ner**) surax-tar kyrjyk
child home-DAT come-PST-3PL COMP-3PL rumor-PL true
'The rumors that the child came home are true.'

- DIEN in adjunct constructions can optionally have subject agreement...

(10) min Misha-(ny) yaldj-ya di-em-(**min**) teonu-but-um
1SG Misha-(ACC) be.sick-FUT say-CVB-1SG return-PST-1SG
'I, (saying) that Misha would fall sick, returned.'

...as can DIEN in 'sad' constructions...

(11) min Aisen-(y) kel-bet di-em-(**min**) xomoi-du-m
I Aisen-ACC come-NEG say-CVANT-1SG be.sad-PST-1SG
'I, (saying) Aisen isn't coming, was sad.'

... while DIEN in complement clauses of transitive verbs cannot (note the changed structure)

(12) a. min ehigi-(ni) kel-iex-xit diem-**min** bil-bit-im
1SG 2PL-ACC come-FUT-2PL DIEN-1SG know-PST-1SG
'I, saying that you would come, realized (something else).'
NOT: 'I knew that you would come.'
b. *min ehigi-(ni) kel-iex-xit dien'-**n'it** bil-bit-im
1SG 2PL-ACC come-FUT-2PL DIEN-2PL know-PST-1SG
'I knew that you would come.'

$\Longrightarrow$ Adjunct clauses and 'sad' construction clauses can have the converb *di-en* while transitive verb complement clauses have the complementizer *dien*

2.2 Semantic restriction on subjects

- The subject of the converb event is controlled by the subject of the matrix event (Haspelmath and König 2020; Petrova 2011)

(13) Itini büter-en min sarsyn bar-ya-m
after finish-CVANT 1SG tomorrow leav-FUT-1SG
'After finishing that, I will leave tomorrow.' (Petrova 2011, 294a)

- The matrix subject of the adjunct converb *di-en* clause construction is restricted to entities that can speak...

(14) oqo/#sylgy ehigi-(ni) beqehee aan-y sap-patax-xyt
child/horse 2PL-ACC yesterday gate-ACC close-NEG.PST-2PL
di-en xahaa-ttan bar-byt
say-CVANT stable-ABL leave-PST
'The child/#horse, (saying) that you didn't close the gate yesterday, left the stable.'

...just like matrix verb 'say'

(15) oqo/#sylgy ehigi-(ni) beqehee aan-y sap-pat-ax-xyt
child/horse 2PL-ACC yesterday gate-ACC close-NEG-PST-2PL
die-bit
say-PST
'The child/#horse said you didn't close the gate yesterday.'

- The restriction goes away when the *di-en* clause is replaced with a nominalized participial clause

(16) sylgy [ehigi-(*ni) beqehee aan-y sap-patax-xyt]-yttan
horse [2PL-ACC yesterday gate-ACC close-NEG.PST-2PL]-ABL
xahaa-ttan bar-byt
stable-ABL leave-PST
'The horse, because you didn't close the gate yesterday, left the stable.' (lit: 'from you not closing the gate.')

- The matrix subject of the complement clause construction does not have such a restriction

(17) oqo/sylgy ehigi-(ni) kel-bik-kit dien bil-er
child/horse 2PL-ACC come-PST-2PL COMP know-AOR
'The child/horse knows that you came.'

$\Longrightarrow$ There are two constructions: an adjunct converb *di-en* clause and CP with complementizer *dien*

- The matrix subject of the 'sad' construction does not seem to have such a restriction...

(18) a. oqo Aisen-(y) kel-betex dien xomoi-do.
child Aisen-ACC come-NEG.PST DIEN be.sad-PST
'The child was sad that Aisen did not come.'
b. sylgy Aisen-(*y) kel-betex dien xomoi-do.
horse Aisen-ACC come-NEG.PST DIEN be.sad-PST
'The horse was sad that Aisen did not come.'

...however, combined with the subject agreement test, there is a contrast:

(19) a. oqo-lor Aisen-(y) kel-betex dien-ner xomoi-du-lar
child-PL Aisen-ACC come-NEG.PST DIEN-3PL be.sad-PST-3PL
'The children were sad that Aisen didn't come'
b. #sylgy-lar Aisen-(y) kel-betex dien-ner
horse-PL Aisen-ACC come-NEG.PST DIEN-3PL
xomoi-du-lar.
be.sad-PST-3PL
'The horses were sad that Aisen didn't come'

$\Longrightarrow$ The 'sad' construction is compatible with both. We can force the CP construction with a matrix subject that is incompatible with 'say'

2.3 Other converb forms

- There is a rich system of converbs in Sakha: e.g. *-A/I*, the converb of simultaneity (CVSIM), which undergoes full reduplication (Petrova 2011)

- The converb *di-en* can be replaced with this other converb form

(20) Masha Misha-(ny) kel-ie dii-dii jie-ni
Masha Misha-ACC come-FUT say.CVSIM-say.CVSIM house-ACC
xomuy-but
tidy-PST
'Masha tidied the house while saying that Misha will come.'

- Replacing complementizer *dien* with this other converb form results in a different interpretation

(21) Masha Misha-(ny) kel-ie dii-dii bil-bite
Masha Misha-ACC come-FUT say.CVSIM-say.CVSIM know-PST
'Masha realized (something else) while saying Misha will come.'
NOT: 'Masha knew that Misha will come.'

$\Longrightarrow$ The converb *di-en* is distinct from the complementizer *dien*

- 'sad' construction: replacement with other converb forms is possible

(22) min Aisen-(y) kel-bet dii-dii
1SG Aisen-ACC come-NEG.AOR say.CVSIM-say.CVSIM
xomoi-du-m
be.sad-PST-1SG
'I was sad while saying Aisen isn't coming.'

- However, in combination with a matrix subject that can speak vs. a matrix subject that cannot, there again is a contrast:

(23) a. oqo Aisen-(ny) kel-bet dii-dii
child Aisen-ACC come-NEG.AOR say.CVSIM-say.CVSIM
xomoi-do
be.sad-PST
'The child was sad while saying Aisen didn't come.'
b. #sylgy Aisen kel-bet dii-dii xomoi-do
horse Aisen come-NEG.AOR say.CVSIM-say.CVSIM be.sad-PST
'The horse was sad while saying Aisen isn't coming.'

$\Longrightarrow$ The 'sad' construction is compatible with both structures. We can force the CP construction with a matrix subject that is incompatible with 'say'

2.4 Interim conclusion

Test	Complementizer *dien*	Converb *di-en*
Subject agreement	*	✓
Semantic restriction	No restriction	Restricted to speaking entities
Other converbs	*	✓

Table 1: Diagnostics for distinguishing converb *di-en* from complementizer *dien*

$\Longrightarrow$ The complementizer *dien* is distinct from the converb *di-en*
$\Longrightarrow$ The 'sad' construction is compatible with both. We can force the CP construction with a matrix subject that is incompatible with 'say'

3 Accusative case in converb phrases

Accusative case on the embedded subject of the adjunct converb *di-en* clauses comes from the converb *di-en* 'say-CVANT' via ECM

- **Motivation**

1. Matrix *di-* 'say' optionally assigns accusative case to the embedded subject of its CP complement

(24) Masha Aisen-(**y**) kel-bet **di**e-bit
Masha Aisen-ACC come-NEG say-PST.3SG
'Masha said Aisen isn't coming.'

2. Co-occurrence of converb *di-en* and ACC case: absence of a verbal form of *di-* 'say' → *ACC case on the embedded subject[2]

Construction	Has *di-* 'say'	ACC
Matrix say	✓	✓
Adjunct *di-en* clause	✓	✓
Adjunct participial clause	✗	*
'sad' construction complement CP	✗	*
'sad' construction adjunct *di-en* clause	✓	✓
Other converb clause	✓	✓

Table 2: The availability of accusative case on the embedded subject of various embedded constructions

- **Evidence for ECM**: accusative-marked embedded subject is located within the complement clause of 'say'

1. Local scrambling of embedded locatives
2. NPI
3. Condition A

3.1 Evidence for ECM

3.1.1 Local scrambling of embedded locatives

- The Condition on Extraction Domains (CED) predicts that extraction from the adjunct island is not allowed

(25) *ayan-tan Masha [**Aisen-y** t_{ayan} sarsyn teonn-ue
trip-ABL Masha [Aisen-/ACC t_{trip} tomorrow return-FUT
di-en] jie-ni suui-da
say-CVANT] house-ACC clean-PST
'Masha, saying that Aisen will return from a trip tomorrow, cleaned the house.'

[2] Feel free to ask about the transitive verb complement clauses in the discussion

- Raising the locative above the embedded subject is allowed; the embedded subject must be within that adjunct clause

(26) Masha [ayan-tan **Aisen-y** t_{ayan} sarsyn teonn-ue
Masha [trip-ABL Aisen-/ACC t_{trip} tomorrow return-FUT
di-en] jie-ni suui-da
say-CVANT] house-ACC clean-PST
'Masha, saying that Aisen will return from a trip tomorrow, cleaned the house.'

$\Longrightarrow$ Embedded subject is in the converb clause

3.1.2 NPI

- The NPI *kim da(qany)*, 'who PRT,' which means it is licensed by negation on the verb (Baker and Vinokurova 2010; Kirby 2021).

(27) a. kim da(qany) kel-beteqe
who PRT come-NEG.PST
'No one came.'
b. *kim da(qany) kel-bite
who PRT come-PST
'No one came.'

- The NPI is licensed only with clausemate negation

(28) a. *Min kim-n'e da(qany) [kel-bet dien] et-ti-m
I who-DAT PRT [come-NEG.AOR DIEN] tell-PST-1SG
'I told no one to come.' (lit. 'I told anyone that they should not come.')
b. Min kim-n'e da(qany) [kel-er dien] ep-pete5-im
I who-DAT PRT [come-AOR DIEN] tell-NEG.PST-1SG
'I did not tell anyone to come.' (lit. 'I did not tell anyone that they should come.')

- The NPI, regardless of case marking, is not licensed by negation on the matrix verb, (29-a), or on the converb, (29-b); rather, it is licensed only by negation on the embedded verb, (29-c).

(29) a. *Min [**kim-(i)** da kel-ie di-en] jie-ni
1SG [who-ACC PRT come-FUT say-CVANT] house-ACC
suii-bataq-ym
clean-PST.NEG-1SG
'I did not clean the house saying that anyone would come.'
b. *Min [[**kim-(i)** da kel-ie] die-bekke] jie-ni
1SG [[who-ACC PRT come-FUT] say-CVB.NEG] house-ACC
suii-but-um
clean-PST-1SG
'I cleaned the house without saying that anyone would come.'
c. Min [**kim-(i)** da kel-bet] di-en jie-ni
1SG [who-ACC PRT come-NEG.AOR] say-CVANT house-ACC
suii-but-um
clean-PST-1SG
'I cleaned the house saying that no one came.'

$\Longrightarrow$ Embedded subject is in the embedded clause of 'say.' It is not in the ConverbP or the matrix clause.

3.1.3 Condition A

- Reciprocals[3] must be bound locally
- A reciprocal that is the embedded object cannot be bound by a matrix subject

(30) *Aita uonna Misha min beie-beie-ler-in keor-but-um dien
Aita and Misha 1SG self-self-3PL-ACC see-PST-1SG COMP
bil-bit-tere
know-PST-3PL
'Aita and Misha know that I saw each other.' (i.e. Aita knows that I saw Misha, and Misha knows that I saw Aita)

Adjunct converb *di-en* clause construction

- When the reciprocal is the embedded subject, the result is ungrammatical because it is not bound by a local antecedent (either the matrix subject or the controlled subject of the converb 'say')

(31) a. *Aisen uonna Sardaana [PRO [**beie-beie-ler-e**
Aisen and Sardaana [PRO [self-self-3PL.POSS-NOM
yalj-yax-tara] di-en] salaamat on'or-but-tara
sick-FUT-3PL] say-CVANT] porridge make-PST-3PL
'Aisen and Sardaana both made porridge fearing that each other would fall sick.'
b. ??Aisen uonna Sardaana [PRO [**beie-beie-ler-in**
Aisen and Sardaana [PRO [self-self-3PL.POSS-ACC
yalj-yax-tara] di-en] salaamat on'or-but-tara
sick-FUT-3PL] say-CVANT] porridge make-PST-3PL
'Aisen and Sardaana both made porridge fearing that each other would fall sick.'

[3] We use reciprocals rather than reflexives due to the logophoric interpretations of reflexives that may be confounding.

- In contrast, when the reciprocal is a matrix object, the result is grammatical because it is bound by a local antecedent

(32) Aisen uonna Sardaana **beie-beie-ler-iger** [[yalj-yax-tara]
Aisen and Sardaana self-self-3PL.POSS-DAT [[sick-FUT-3PL]
di-en] salaamat on'or-but-tara
say-CVANT] porridge make-PST-3PL
'Aisen and Sardaana made porridge for each other fearing that they would fall sick.'

$\Longrightarrow$ Embedded subject is in the embedded clause; it cannot be in the matrix clause

3.2 Analysis of accusative case

- Embedded subject is in the embedded clause, regardless of case. It is not in the matrix clause.

		Adjunct *dien*		Matrix 'say'	
Test		NOM	ACC	NOM	ACC
Scrambling		✓ (26)	✓ (26)	✓	✓
NPI	Matrix	* (29-a)	*	–	–
NPI	'say'	* (29-b)	*	*	*
NPI	Embedded	✓ (29-c)	✓	✓	✓
Condition A		* (31-a)	* (31-b)	*	*

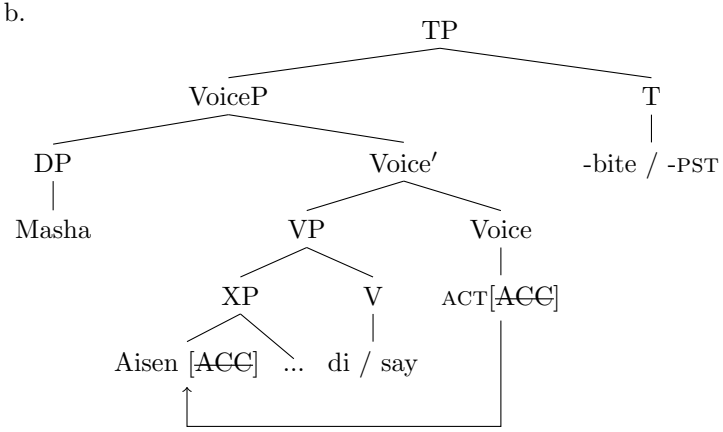
Table 3: Test results for matrix 'say' and converb 'say' constructions showing that the embedded subject is inside the embedded clause

The verb of 'saying' assigns accusative case to the embedded subject via ECM

Matrix 'say' construction [4]

(33) a. Masha **Aisen-y sarsyn teonn-ue die**-bit
Masha Aisen-ACC tomorrow return-FUT say-PST
'Masha said that Aisen would return tomorrow.'

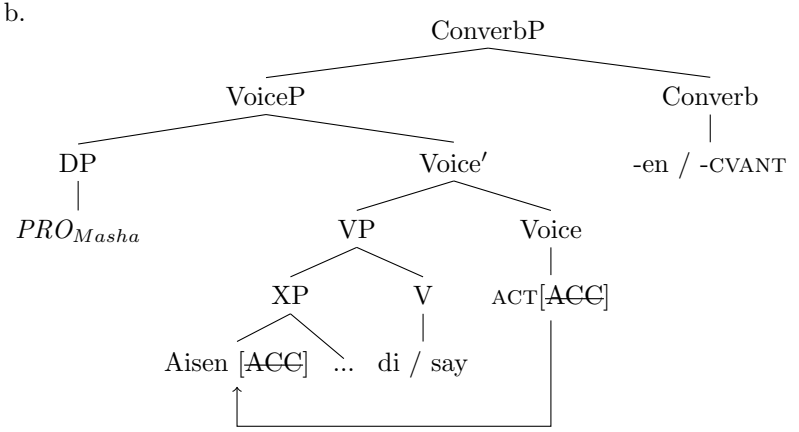
b.



Adjunct converb *di-en* clause construction

(34) a. Masha **Aisen-y sarsyn teonn-ue di**-en jie-ni
Masha Aisen-ACC tomorrow return-FUT say-CVANT house-ACC
suui-da
clean-PST
'Masha, saying that Aisen would return tomorrow, cleaned the house.'

b.



[4] Movement of the matrix subject excluded for parallel comparison

4 The distribution of accusative case

Construction	Clause type	ACC	Case-by-Agree	DCT
Verbal complement	CP	✓	✓(matrix verb)	✓
Verbal complement	Participial	✓	✓(matrix verb)	✓
Adjunct clause	Converb	✓	✓(converb *di-en*)	✓
Adjunct clause	Participial	*	*	?
'sad'	CP	*	*	✓
'sad'	Converb	✓	✓(converb *di-en*)	✓
Other converb clause	Converb	✓	✓(converb)	✓

Table 4: The availability of accusative case on the embedded subject of various embedded constructions

Adjunct converb *di-en* clause

- The DCT algorithm works: the PRO subject of the converb can be in a case competitor relationship to the embedded subject

  (35) Masha [PRO [$_{XP}$ **Aisen-y** [$_{X'}$ **ayan-tan sarsyn**
  Masha [PRO [$_{XP}$ Aisen-ACC [$_{X'}$ trip-ABL tomorrow
  teonn-ue]] **di**-en] jie-ni suui-da
  return-FUT]] say-CVANT] house-ACC clean-PST
  'Masha, saying that Aisen would return from a trip tomorrow, cleaned the house.'

- This resolves the oddity regarding visibility into adjunct clauses–case competition no longer occurs across the adjunct clause boundary

'sad' construction

- Recall that the 'sad' construction is compatible with both the converb *di-en* construction and with the complementizer *dien* construction
- There is a contrast in availability of accusative case on the embedded subject–accusative case is allowed only the converb construction

  (36) a. oqo [$_{ConverbP}$ [$_{XP}$ Aisen-(y) kel-bet] di-en]
  child [$_{ConverbP}$ [$_{XP}$ Aisen-ACC come-NEG] say-CVANT]
  khomoi-do
  be.sad-PST
  'The child, (saying) that Aisen isn't coming, was sad.'
  b. sylgy [$_{CP}$ Aisen-(*y) kel-bet dien] khomoi-do
  horse [$_{CP}$ Aisen-ACC come-NEG COMP] be.sad-PST
  'The horse became sad that Aisen isn't coming.'

- Crucially, ACC case is licensed in CP complements of transitive verbs

  (37) B&V: 39a
  a. Min ehigi-(ni) bugun kyaj-yax-xyt dien erem-mit-im
  1SG 2PL-ACC today win-FUT-2PL COMP hope-PTPL-1SG
  'I hoped that you would win today.'

- Given the case-by-Agree account, this contrast is predicted: (37-a) has a transitive matrix verb, while (36-b) does not
- The DCT analysis would predict that these two would pattern the same given that it is based only on configuration–the transitivity of the verb should not matter

5 Conclusion

- There is a synchronic lexical ambiguity in Sakha between the complementizer *dien* and the converb *di-en* 'say-CVANT,' which correspond to two distinct structures
  - Different from other Turkic languages, in which the *dien* equivalent (e.g. *dep* in Uyghur) is not a real complementizer (Major, submitted; Özyıldız 2016; i.a.)
  - The lexicalized complementizer is distinct from the converb
- We provide an analysis of accusative case using Agree with functional heads
  - The source of accusative case in adjunct clauses is the converb *di-en*, assigned via ECM like matrix verb 'say'
- The 'sad' construction with the CP complement is incompatible with a dependent case analysis
  - The distribution is predicted by the case-by-Agree analysis

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