Handout

bit.ly/NELS53Sakha

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

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Sakha in Case Theory

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

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

Baker & Vinokurova 2010 (1/2)

The B&V analysis of ACC case:

(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' (Vinokurova 2005: 366)

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'Keskil became sad that Aisen is not coming' (Vinokurova 2005: 366)

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)

Baker & Vinokurova 2010 (2/2)

... and with CP complements of a transitive matrix verb

(4) B&V: 39

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

Baker & Vinokurova 2010 (2/2)

... and with CP complements of a transitive matrix verb

(4) B&V: 39

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

b. Min [$_{XP}$ ehigi-(ni) [$_{X'}$ bugun kyaj-byk-kyt-yn]]
1SG [$_{XP}$ 2PL-ACC [$_{X'}$ today win-FUT-2PL-ACC]]
ihit-ti-im.
hear-PST-1SG
'I heard you won today.'

Our claims (1/3)

- 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

Our claims (2/3)

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.

Our claims (2/3)

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

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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]
1SG [$_{CP}$ 2PL-ACC today win-FUT-2PL COMP]
erem-mit-im
hope-PTPL-1SG
'I hoped that you would win today.'

Our claims (3/3)

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.'

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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'

Roadmap

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

§3 Analysis of ACC in adjunct (converb) *di-en* clauses

§4 Dependent Case vs. Case-by-Agree

§5 Conclusion

Roadmap

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§3 Analysis of ACC in adjunct (converb) *di-en* clauses

§4 Dependent Case vs. Case-by-Agree

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

- Complementizer *dien*
  - Historically derived from the verb of saying (Baker 2011), like many Turkic languages

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

- Complementizer *dien*
  - Historically derived from the verb of saying (Baker 2011), like many Turkic languages
- Converb *di-en*
  - Converb of anteriority, marked by *-An* 'CVANT'
  - Converb event is interpreted to occur prior to the main event

Diagnostics

Three tests to resolve lexical ambiguity:

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 structures

Subject agreement morphology (1/3)

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.'

Subject agreement morphology (1/3)

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

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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.'

... but 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.'

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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.'

Subject agreement morphology (2/3)

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.'

Subject agreement morphology (2/3)

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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.'

Subject agreement morphology (3/3)

... while DIEN in complement clauses of transitive verbs cannot

(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, after saying that you would come, realized (something else).'
NOT: 'I knew that you would come.'

Subject agreement morphology (3/3)

... while DIEN in complement clauses of transitive verbs cannot

(12) a. min ehigi-(ni) kel-iex-xit diem-**min** bil-bit-im
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b. *min ehigi-(ni) kel-iex-xit dien'-**n'it** bil-bit-im
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'I knew that you would come.'

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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*

Semantic restriction on subjects (1/6)

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)

Semantic restriction on subjects (2/6)

The matrix subject of an adjunct 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.'

Semantic restriction on subjects (2/6)

The matrix subject of an adjunct 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.'

Semantic restriction on subjects (3/6)

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

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

Semantic restriction on subjects (4/6)

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.'

Semantic restriction on subjects (4/6)

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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*

Semantic restriction on subjects (5/6)

The matrix subject of the 'sad' construction does not seem subject to 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.'

Semantic restriction on subjects (6/6)

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

(19) a. oqo-lor Aisen-(y) kel-betex dien-ner
child-PL Aisen-ACC come-NEG.PST DIEN-3PL
xomoi-du-lar
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'

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'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'

Other converb forms (1/4)

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

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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.'

Other converb forms (2/4)

Replacing complementizer *dien* with other converb forms 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.'

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'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*

Other converb forms (3/4)

'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.'

Other converb forms (4/4)

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
horse Aisen come-NEG.AOR say.CVSIM-say.CVSIM
xomoi-do
be.sad-PST
'The horse was sad while saying Aisen isn't coming.'

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

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'The child was sad while saying Aisen didn't come.'

b. #sylgy Aisen kel-bet dii-dii
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be.sad-PST
'The horse was sad while saying Aisen isn't coming.'

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

Interim Conclusion

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

Table: 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'

Roadmap

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

§3 Analysis of ACC in adjunct (converb) *di-en* clauses

§4 Dependent Case vs. Case-by-Agree

§5 Conclusion

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

Matrix *di-* 'say' optionally assigns ACC to its embedded subject:

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

Motivation

Matrix *di-* 'say' optionally assigns ACC to its embedded subject:

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

Co-occurrence of converb *di-en* and accusative case:

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	✓	✓

Evidence for ECM

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

Local scrambling of embedded locatives (1/2)

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.'

Local scrambling of embedded locatives (2/2)

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
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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

NPI (1/3)

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 kel-beteqe
who PRT come-NEG.PST
'No one came.'

b. *kim da kel-bite
who PRT come-PST
'No one came.'

NPI (2/3)

The NPI is licensed only with clausemate negation

(28) a.*Min kim-n'e da [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.')

NPI (2/3)

The NPI is licensed only with clausemate negation

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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 [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.')

NPI: Adjunct converb *di-en* construction (3/3)

(29) a.*Min [**kim-(i)** da kel-ie di-en] jie-bin
1SG [who-ACC PRT come-FUT say-CVANT] house-1SP.ACC
suii-bataq-ym
clean-PST.NEG-1SG
'I did not clean the house saying that anyone would come.'

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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-bin
1SG [[who-ACC PRT come-FUT] say-CVB.NEG] house-1SP.ACC
suii-but-um
clean-PST-1SG
'I cleaned the house without saying that anyone would come.'

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(29) a.*Min [**kim-(i)** da kel-ie di-en] jie-bin
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clean-PST.NEG-1SG
'I did not clean the house saying that anyone would come.'

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'I cleaned the house without saying that anyone would come.'

c. Min [**kim-(i)** da kel-bet] di-en
1SG [who-ACC PRT come-NEG.AOR] say-CVANT
jie-bin suii-but-um
house-1SP.ACC clean-PST-1SG
'I cleaned the house saying that no one came.'

Condition A (1/3)

- Reciprocals 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
Aita and Misha 1SG self-self-3PL-ACC see-PST-1SG
dien bil-bit-tere
COMP 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)

We use reciprocals due to the possible logophoric interpretation of reflexives

Condition A: Adjunct converb *di-en* clause (2/3)

When the reciprocal is the embedded subject, the result is ungrammatical because it is not bound by a local antecedent

(31) a. *Aisen uonna Sardaana [PRO [**beie-beie-ler-e**
Aisen and Sardaana [PRO [self-self-3PP-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.'

Condition A: Adjunct converb *di-en* clause (2/3)

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Aisen and Sardaana [PRO [self-self-3PP-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** yalj-yax-tara
Aisen and Sardaana [PRO [self-self-3PP-ACC sick-FUT-3PL
] di-en] salaamat on'or-but-tara
] say-CVANT] porridge make-PST-3PL
'Aisen and Sardaana both made porridge fearing that each other would fall sick.'

Condition A: Adjunct converb *di-en* clause (3/3)

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-3PP-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.'

Condition A: Adjunct converb *di-en* clause (3/3)

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]
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say-CVANT] porridge make-PST-3PL
'Aisen and Sardaana made porridge for each other fearing that they would fall sick.'

$\Longrightarrow$ Embedded subject cannot be in the matrix clause

Analysis: Position of embedded subject

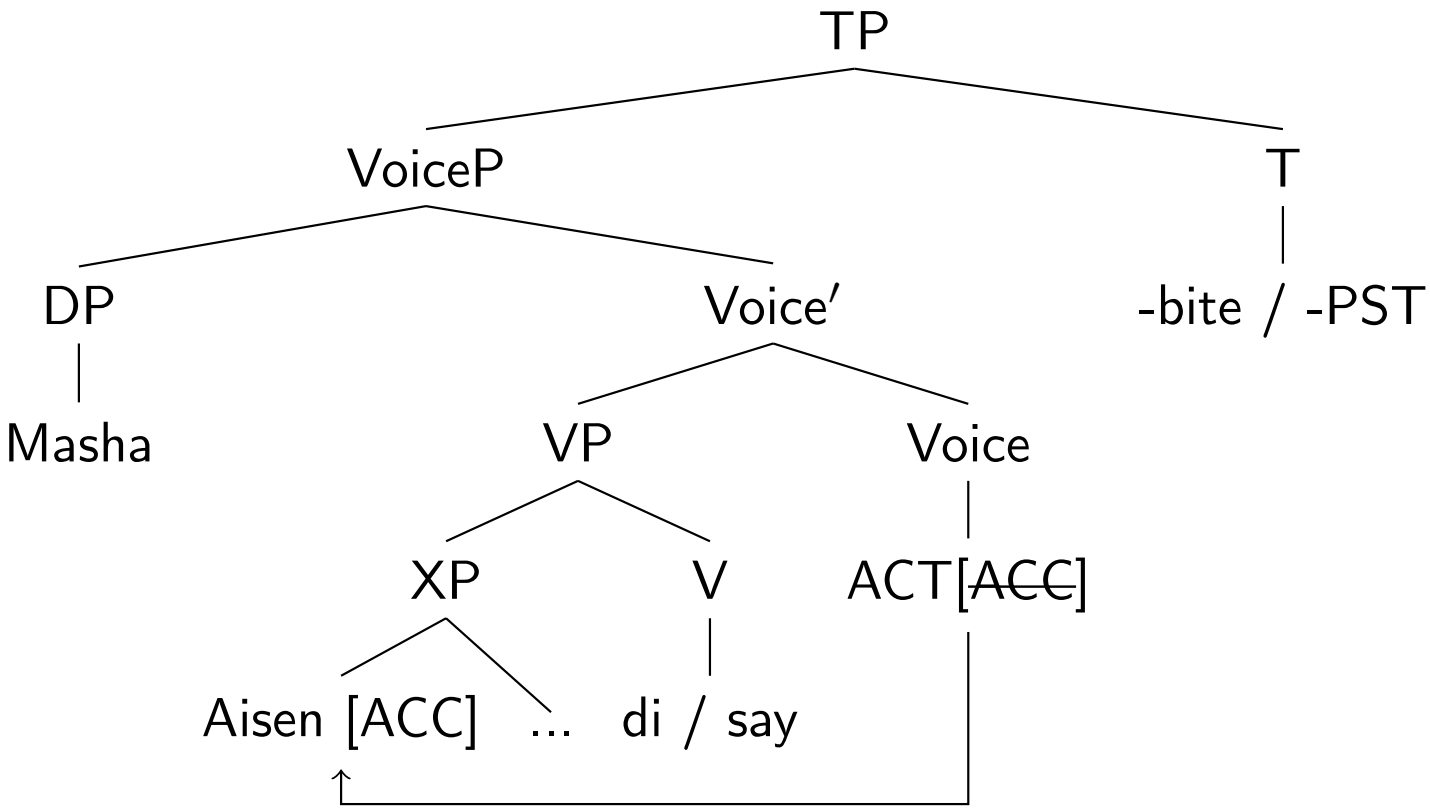
Embedded subject is in the embedded clause, regardless of case. It is not in the matrix clause.

		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)	*	*

Analysis of matrix 'say' construction

(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.

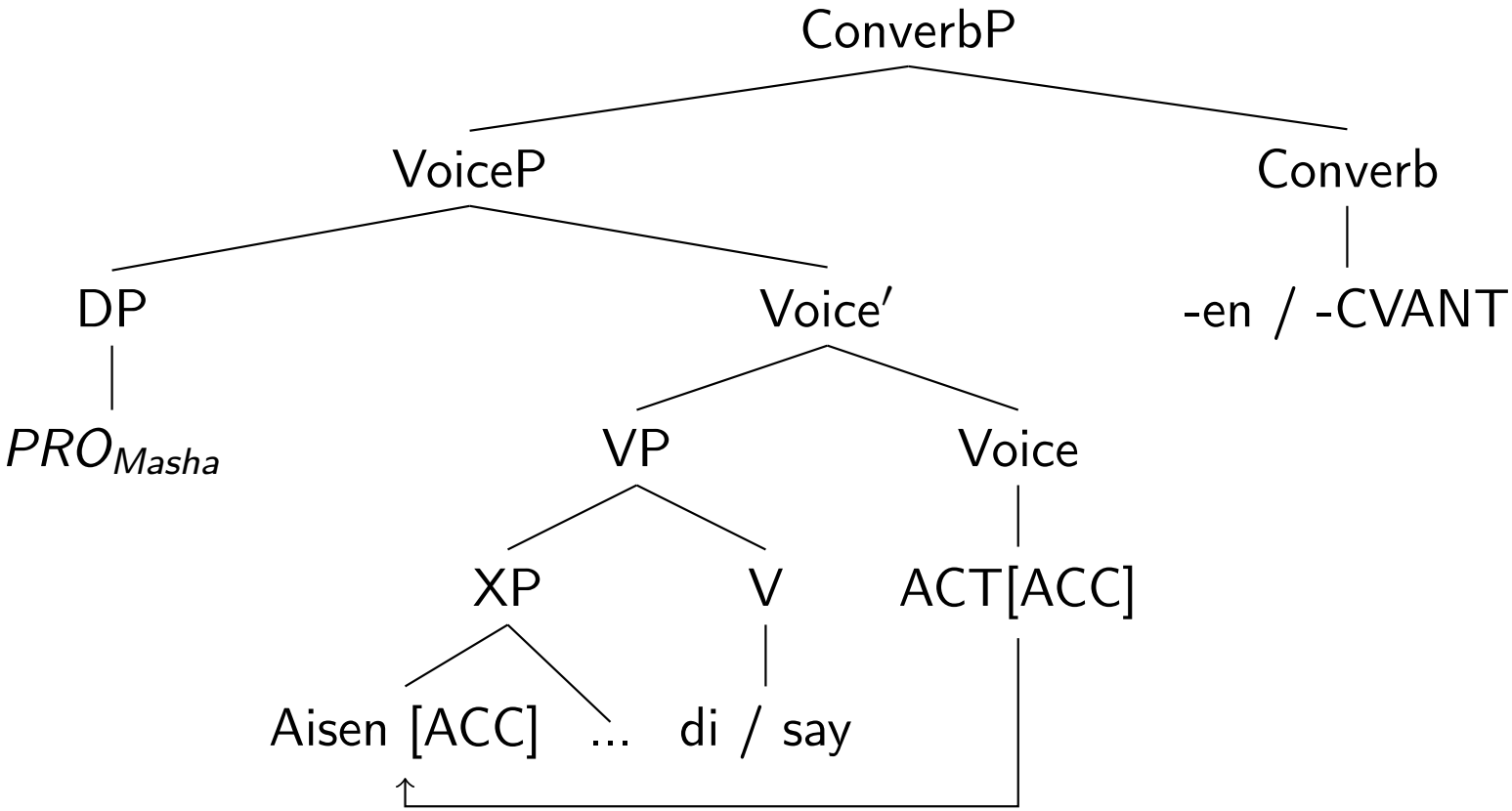


Note: Movement of the matrix subject excluded for parallel comparison

Analysis of adjunct converb *di-en* clause

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

b.



Roadmap

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

§3 Analysis of ACC in adjunct (converb) *di-en* clauses

§4 Dependent Case vs. Case-by-Agree

§5 Conclusion

The full 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)	✓

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.'

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 (1/2)

The 'sad' construction is compatible with both the converb *di-en* construction and with the complementizer *dien* construction

'sad' construction (1/2)

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.'

'sad' construction (2/2)

(36) 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 [$_{CP}$ 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.'

'sad' construction (2/2)

(36) 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.'

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(37) 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.'

While the Case-by-Agree approach predicts the contrast, the DCT algorithm does not.

Roadmap

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

§3 Analysis of ACC in adjunct (converb) clauses

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§5 Conclusion

Conclusion

- There is a synchronic lexical ambiguity in Sakha between the complementizer *dien* and the converb *di-en* 'say-cvant'
  - Different from some other Turkic languages, in which the *dien* equivalent (e.g. *dep* in Uyghur) has been argued to not be a real complementizer (Major, submitted; Özyidiz 2016; i.a.)
- 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

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