

A Case-by-Agree account for ACC in Sakha adjunct clause constructions

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The Puzzle

In Sakha adjunct clause constructions, accusative case can surface on what seems to be the subject of the embedded clause, even where we might not expect case

- (1) Masha Misha-(**ny**) kel-ie dien jie-ni khomuy-da
Masha Misha-ACC come-FUT DIEN house-ACC tidy-PST.3SG
'Masha tidied up the house (thinking) Misha would come'
(Vinokurova 2005: 368)

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Central question: What is the source of accusative case?

Given the prima facie absence of a functional head to assign case, this has been used as evidence for uniquely Dependent Case Theory (Baker & Vinokurova 2010, henceforth B&V)

- (3) B&V case assignment for ACC and DAT case
- a. If there are two distinct argumental NPs in the same VP-phase such that NP1 c-commands NP2, then value the case feature of NP1 as dative unless NP2 has already been marked for case
 - b. If there are two distinct argumental NPs in the same phase such that NP1 c-commands NP2, then value the case feature of NP2 as accusative unless NP1 has already been marked for case
- (1) Masha [_{CP}Misha-(ny) kel-ie di-en] jie-ni khomuy-da
Masha [_{CP}Misha-ACC come-FUT DIEN] house-ACC tidy-PST.3SG
'Masha tidied up the house (thinking) Misha would come'

Claim: Key is in *dien*

- Complementizer *dien*, which is historically derived from a converb form of *di* “to say,” looks identical to the converb of anteriority *di-en* say-CVANT ‘after saying’
- Both elements are present synchronically
- This exceptional ACC on embedded subjects is assigned by converb *di-en* (see also Major, submitted)

- (1) Masha Misha-(ny) kel-ie **di-en** jie-ni
Masha Misha-ACC come-FUT say-CVANT house-ACC
khomuy-da
tidy-PST.3SG
‘Masha tidied up the house (thinking) Misha would come’

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

ACC in converb phrases

ACC in complement clauses

Conclusion

Four tests to resolve lexical ambiguity:

1. Subject agreement morphology
2. Semantic restriction on subjects
3. Insertion of the word *baran* 'after'
4. Replacement with other converbal forms

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

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

... but complementizers cannot

- (4) o5o-lor jie-ge kel-bit-ter dien-(***ner**) surakh-tar
child-PL home-DAT come-PST-3PL COMP-3PL rumor-PL
'The rumors that the children came home'

di-en in adjunct clauses can have subject agreement morphology...

- (5) Misha-(ny) kel-ie di-em-**min** jie-ni khomuy-d-um
Misha-ACC come-FUT say-CVB-1SG house-ACC tidy-PST-1SG
'I, (saying) Misha would come, tidied the house.'

... while *dien* in complement clauses cannot

- (6)
- a. min ehigi-(ni) kel-be-tekh-khit dien isti-bit-im
1SG 2PL-ACC come-NEG-PST-2PL COMP hear-PST-1SG
'I heard that you did not come.'
- b. min ehigi-(ni) kel-be-tekh-khit diem-**min** isti-bit-im
1SG 2PL-ACC come-NEG-PST-2PL COMP-1SG hear-PST-1SG
'I heard (something else) after saying that you did not come.'
NOT: 'I heard that you did not come.'
- c. *min ehigi-(ni) kel-be-tekh-khit dien'-**n'it** isti-bit-im
1SG 2PL-ACC come-NEG-PST-2PL COMP-2PL hear-PST-1SG
'I heard that you did not come.'

Converbs exhibit subject control; that is, the subject of the converb event is controlled by the subject of the matrix event

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

Semantic restriction on subjects

The matrix subject of an adjunct clause construction is restricted to entities that can speak, just like matrix verb 'say'

- (8) **o5o/#sylgy** ehigi-(ni) be5ehee aan-y sap-patakh-khyt
child/#horse 2PL-ACC yesterday gate-ACC close-NEG-2PL
di-en khahaa-ttan bar-byt
say-CVB stable-ABL leave-PST
'The child/The horse, (saying) that you didn't close the gate
yesterday, left the stable.'
- (9) **o5o/#sylgy** ehigi-(ni) be5ehee aan-y sap-patakh-khyt
child/horse 2PL-ACC yesterday gate-ACC close-NEG-2PL
die-bit
say-PST.3SG
'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

- (10) sylgy [ehigi aan-y sap-patakh-khyt-yttan] khahaa-ttan
 horse [2PL gate-ACC close-NEG-3PL-ABL.3SP] stable-ABL
 bar-byt
 leave-PST
 'The horse left the stable that you didn't close the gate.'
 (lit: 'from you not closing the gate.')

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

- (11) o5o/sylgy ehigi-(ni) kel-bik-kit dien isti-bit
child/horse 2PL-ACC come-PST-2PL COMP say-PST
'The child/horse heard that you came.'

Semantic restriction on subjects: Passivization

When the matrix verb is passivized, the sentence becomes illicit, as the grammatical subject is inanimate and unable to speak

- (12) #**aan** ehigi-ni takhsy-batakh-khyt di-en sab-ylly-byt
gate 2PL-ACC leave-PST.NEG-2PL say-CVB close-PASS-PST
'The gate was closed (saying) that you wouldn't leave'

In a storybook setting where gates can talk, this sentence becomes licit

Insertion of *baran* 'after'

The word *baran* 'after' acts as a postposition when preceded by a converb, making explicit the event order interpretation (Petrova 2008)

- *baran* is available in adjunct clauses

- (13) Masha Misha-(ny) kel-ie di-en **baran** jie-t-in
Masha Misha-ACC come-FUT say-CVB after house-3SP-ACC
khomuy-da
tidy-PST
'Masha, after saying that Misha would come, tidied the house.'

- but in a complement clause, we get two different interpretations

- (14) Keskil Aisen-(ny) kel-bet dien (**baran**) isti-bit
Keskil Aisen-ACC come-NEG.PST DIEN after hear-PST
with *baran*: Keskil, after saying that Aisen is not coming, heard
(something else)
without *baran*: Keskil heard that Aisen is not coming.

- *-An* marks the converb of anteriority (CVANT) (Petrova 2011)
- There is a rich system of converbs in Sakha, including *-A/I*, the converb of simultaneity (CVSIM), and *-BAkkA*, the converb of negation (CVNEG)

- (15) Masha Misha-(ny) kel-ie **dii-dii**
Masha Misha-ACC come-FUT say-CVSIM-say-CVSIM
jie-t-in khomuy-but
house-3SP-ACC tidy-PST
'Masha tidied the house (while) saying that Misha will come.'
- (16) Masha Misha-(ny) kel-ie **die-bekke** jie-t-in
Masha Misha-ACC come-FUT say-CVNEG house-3SP-ACC
khomuy-but
clean-PST
'Masha tidied the house without saying that Misha will come.'

Replacing complementizer *dien* with other converb forms results in a different interpretation

- (17) Masha Misha-(ny) kel-ie **dii-dii** isti-bit
Masha Misha-ACC come-FUT say-CVSIM-say-CVSIM hear-PST
'Masha heard (something else) while saying that Misha will come.'
- (18) Masha Misha-(ny) kel-ie **die-bekke** isti-bit
Masha Misha-ACC come-FUT say-CVNEG hear-PST
'Masha heard (something else) without saying that Misha will come.'

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

<i>Test</i>	Complementizer <i>dien</i>	Converb <i>di-en</i>
Subject agreement	*	✓
Semantic restriction	No restriction	Restricted to speaking entities
<i>baran</i> 'after'	*	✓
Other converbs	*	✓

Proposed analysis of accusative case

- Proposal: Source of ACC case on the embedded subject of adjunct *di-en* clauses is *di-en* 'say-CVANT'
- Matrix *die-* 'say' optionally assigns ACC to the embedded subject of its CP complement

(19) Masha Misha-(**ny**) kel-ie **die**-bit
Masha Misha-ACC come-FUT say-PST.3SG
'Masha said Misha will come.'

The embedded subject cannot be ACC-marked in adjunct participials, which lack converb *di-en*.

- (20) Masha Misha-(*ny) kel-en ih-er-itten
Masha Misha-ACC come-CVANT come-AOR-ABL.3SP
jie-t-in suui-but
house-3SP-ACC clean-PST
'Masha cleaned the house from Masha's coming.'

Predictions borne out: Nominal complements

The embedded subject cannot be ACC-marked in complement clauses of nouns

- (21) Misha-(*ny) kel-ie dien surakh
Misha-ACC come-FUT COMP rumor
'the rumor that Misha would come'
NOT: #the rumor, saying that Misha would come

Unlike embedded subjects of nominal complements, embedded subjects of verbal complement clauses can bear ACC

- (22) Masha ehigi-(ni) kel-bikkit dien ihi-tte
Masha 2PL-ACC come-2PL DIEN hear-PST
'Masha heard that you came.'

Unlike embedded subjects of nominal complements, embedded subjects of verbal complement clauses can bear ACC

- (23) Masha ehigi-(ni) kel-bikkit dien ihi-tte
Masha 2PL-ACC come-2PL DIEN hear-PST
'Masha heard that you came.'

What is the source of ACC here?

Unlike embedded subjects of nominal complements, embedded subjects of verbal complement clauses can bear ACC

- (24) Masha ehigi-(ni) kel-bikkit dien ihi-tte
Masha 2PL-ACC come-2PL DIEN hear-PST
'Masha heard that you came.'

What is the source of ACC here?

Claim: ACC is assigned by the matrix verb

ACC in complement clauses

- Participial clause
- Passivization
- Scrambling
- Binding (Conditions A & B)
- Gapping

Unlike adjunct participial clauses, complement participial clauses (which bear ACC on the nominalized verb) can have ACC on their embedded subjects

- (25) Masha ehigi-(**ni**) kel-bik-kit-in isti-bit
Masha 2PL-ACC come-NMLZ-2PL-ACC hear-PST
'Masha heard that you came'
(lit. 'Masha heard your coming.')

For our consultants (unlike B&V), matrix passive results in a loss of ACC

- (26) a. En chaasky-ny alja-p-pyt-yn
2SG cup-ACC break-CAUS-PST-2SG
'You broke the cup.'
- b. chaasky-(*ny) aljat-ylyn-na
cup-ACC break-PASS-PST
'The cup was broken.'

When the matrix verb is passivized, the embedded subject cannot have ACC

- (24) Masha ehigi-(ni) kel-bikkit dien isti-bit
Masha 2PL-ACC come-2PL DIEN hear-PST
'Masha heard that you came.'
- (27) ehigi-(*ni) kel-bikkit dien ih-illi-bite
2PL-ACC come-2PL DIEN hear-PASS-PST
'It was heard that you came.'

- (28) a. Ayaana Masha-ny ehiil Boston'-n'a kel-ie dien
Ayaana Masha-ACC next.year Boston-DAT come-FUT COMP
isti-bite
hear-PST
'Ayaana heard that Masha will come to Boston next year.'
- b. Masha-*(ny) Ayaana ehiil Boston'-n'a kel-ie dien
Misha-ACC Ayaana next.year Boston-DAT come-FUT COMP
isti-bite
hear-PST
'As for Masha, Ayaana heard that she will come to Boston next year.'

- (29) a. *ehiil Boston'-n'a kel-ie dien Ayaana Masha
 next.year Boston-DAT come-FUT COMP Ayaana Misha
 isti-bite
 hear-PST
 'I heard that Misha will come to Boston next year.'
- b. ehiil Boston'-n'a kel-ie dien Ayaana Masha-ny
 next.year Boston-DAT come-FUT COMP Ayaana Misha-ACC
 isti-bite
 hear-PST-1SG
 'I heard that Misha will come to Boston next year.'

Condition A

The NOM-marked reciprocal yields a Condition A violation, while the ACC-marked does not, suggesting that the ACC-marked embedded subject is indeed in the matrix clause

- (30) a. *Aisen uonna Sayaana beie-beie-ler-**e** jie-5e
Aisen and Sayaana self-self-PL-NOM home-DAT
kel-lel-ler dien isti-bit-tere
come-FUT-3PL COMP hear-PST-3PL
'Aisen and Sayaana heard that each other would come home.'
- b. Aisen uonna Sayaana beie-beie-ler-**in** jie-5e
Aisen and Sayaana self-self-PL-ACC home-DAT
kel-lel-ler dien isti-bit-tere
come-FUT-3PL COMP hear-PST-3PL
'Aisen and Sayaana heard that each other would come home.'

The NOM embedded subject can be coreferential with the matrix subject, while the ACC-marked one cannot, suggesting that under Condition B of binding, that the ACC-marked subject is in the matrix clause

(31) (B&V 2010: 41)

- a. [Sarsyn min bar-a-byn dien] ihit-ti-m.
tomorrow 1SG(NOM) leave-AOR-1SG DIEN hear-PST-1SG
'I heard that I am leaving tomorrow.'
- b. *[miigin [sarsyn bar-a-byn dien]] ihit-ti-m.
1SG(ACC) tomorrow leave-AOR-1SG DIEN hear-PST-1SG
'I heard that I am leaving tomorrow.'

- (32) a. *Min Kesha kel-bit dien isti-bit-im, onton en
1SG Kesha come-PST COMP hear-PST-1SG, and 2SG
Lyosha.
Lyosha
'I heard that Kesha came, and you Lyosha.'
- b. Min Kesha-ny kel-bit dien isti-bit-im, onton en
1SG Kesha-ACC come-PST C hear-PST-1SG, and 2SG
Lyosha-ny.
Lyosha-ACC
'I heard that Kesha came, and you Lyosha.'

- There are two distinct *dien*: converb *di-en* ‘say-CVANT’ in adjunct clauses and complementizer *dien* in complement clauses
- Source of ACC in adjunct clauses is converb *di-en* ‘say-CVANT’
- Source of ACC in complement clauses is matrix verb
- Thus, the Sakha data is fully compatible with a Case-by-Agree approach

Thank you

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- (33) *Aisen uonna Sardaana miigin/miekhe beie-beie-ler-iger
Aisen and Sardaana self-self-3PP-DAT help
keomeoleos die-bit-tere
1SG-DAT help-PST-3PL say-PST-PL
'Aisen and Sardaana told me to help each other.'
*miigitten
but need context; strange without context