

Case on embedded subjects in Sakha*

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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 head¹

- (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)

The same mechanism can assign accusative case with a transitive matrix verb:

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

Our claim

These embedded constructions can be analyzed via Case-by-Agree; moreover, the DCT algorithm fails to cover the range of facts

1. There are two structures present: one with an adjunct ConverbP, and another with a complement CP
2. Accusative case on the embedded subject of adjunct ConverbP is assigned by the converb *di-en* ‘say-CVB’ via ECM
3. The DCT analysis cannot account for the full range of embedded construction data, whereas the Case-by-Agree account does

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

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¹Standard 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]~[u]. Long vowel phonemes are represented as doubles (e.g. aa = [a:]), consistent with the orthography.

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

- Like many Turkic languages, the complementizer *dien* is historically derived from 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)...

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

... while complementizers cannot

- (4) 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 ‘sad’ clauses can optionally have subject agreement...

- (5) 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

- (6) a. min ehigi-(ni) kel-iex-xit dien bil-bit-im
 1SG 2PL-ACC come-FUT-2PL COMP know-PST-1SG
 ‘I knew that you would come.’
 b. 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.’
 c. *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.’

⇒ ‘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)

- (7) 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, (8), just like matrix verb ‘say’, (9)

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

- (9) oqo/#sylgy ehigi-(ni) beqehee aan-y sap-pat-ax-xyt die-bit
 child/horse 2PL-ACC yesterday gate-ACC close-NEG-PST-2PL 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

- (10) sylgy [ehigi-(ni) beqehee aan-y sap-patax-xyt]-yttan xahaa-ttan bar-byt
 horse [2PL-ACC yesterday gate-ACC close-NEG.PST-2PL]-ABL 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

- (11) 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.’

⇒ 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 subject to such a restriction...

- (12) 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 morphology test, there is a contrast:

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

⇒ The ‘sad’ construction is compatible with both. We can force the CP construction with a matrix subject that is incompatible with ‘say’

2.2.1 Other converb forms

- *-An* marks the converb of anteriority (CVANT) (Petrova 2011)
- There is a rich system of converbs in Sakha
 - *-A/I*, the converb of simultaneity (CVSIM), which undergoes full reduplication (Petrova 2011)

(14) Masha Misha-(ny) kel-ie dii-dii jie-tin xomuy-but
 Masha Misha-ACC come-FUT say.CVSIM-say.CVSIM house-3S.POSS-ACC tidy-PST
 ‘Masha tidied the house (while) saying that Misha will come.’

- *-At*, the converb of immediate precedence (CVIMM)

(15) Masha Misha-(ny) kel-ie di-et jie-tin xomuy-but
 Masha Misha-ACC come-FUT say-CVIMM house-3S.POSS-ACC clean-PST
 ‘Masha tidied the house right after saying that Misha will come.’

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

- *-A/I*, the converb of simultaneity (CVSIM), which undergoes full reduplication

(16) 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 that Misha will come.’
 NOT: ‘Masha knew that Misha will come.’

- *-At*, the converb of immediate precedence (CVIMM)

(17) Masha Misha-(ny) kel-ie di-et bil-bite
 Masha Misha-ACC come-FUT say-CVIMM know-PST
 ‘Masha realized (something else) right after saying that Misha will come.’
 NOT: ‘Masha knew that Misha will come.’

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

- Replacement with other converbal forms is possible with the ‘sad’ construction

(18) Min Aisen-(y) kel-bet dii-dii xomoi-du-m
 1SG Aisen-ACC come-NEG.AOR say.CVSIM-say.CVSIM 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:

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

⇒ The ‘sad’ construction is compatible with both. We can force the CP construction with a matrix subject that is incompatible with ‘say’

2.3 Interim conclusion

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

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

⇒ The complementizer *dien* is distinct from the converb *di-en*

⇒ 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

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

2. Co-occurrence of converb *di-en* and accusative case: when a verbal form of *di-* ‘say’ is not present, accusative case on the embedded subject is unavailable²

Construction	Has <i>di-</i> ‘say’	ACC
Matrix say	✓	✓
Adjunct <i>di-en</i> clause	✓	✓
Adjunct participial clause	✗	*
‘sad’ construction complement clause	✗	*
‘sad’ construction <i>di-en</i> 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’

- Embedded subject is in the embedded clause
 1. Local scrambling of embedded locatives
 2. Coordination
 3. NPI

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

- Embedded subject cannot raise into the matrix clause
 1. Condition A
 2. Gapping

3.1 Embedded subject is in the embedded clause

3.1.1 Local scrambling of embedded locatives

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

- (21) a. Ayaana [[ehigi-(ni) becheriinke-qe kel-betex-xit] di-en] xomoi-do
 Ayaana [[2PL-ACC party-DAT come-NEG.AOR-2PL] say-CVANT] be.sad-PST
 ‘Ayaana, saying that you all did not come to the party, was sad.’
- b. *becheriinke-qe Ayaana [[ehigi-(ni) *t_{becheriinke}* kel-betex-xit] di-en]
 party-DAT Ayaana [[2PL-ACC *t_{party}* come-NEG.AOR-2PL] say-CVANT]
 xomoi-do
 be.sad-PST
 ‘Ayaana, saying that you all did not come to the party, was sad.’

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

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

⇒ Embedded subject is in the embedded clause of ‘say’

3.1.2 Coordination

- When the embedded clauses of converb ‘say’ are coordinated, the full distribution of cases is available for the embedded subjects of the first and second conjuncts

- (23) a. kim da(qany) [**Ayaana** kel-bet,] otton [**Keskil-(i)** keorchex on’n’or-bata]
 who PRT [Ayaana come-NEG.AOR] and [Keskil-ACC keorchex make-NEG.AOR]
 di-en xomoi-bata5a
 say-CVANT be.sad-NEG.PST
 ‘No one, saying Ayaana did not come and Keskil did not make *keorchex*, was sad.’
- b. kim da(qany) [**Ayaana-ny** kel-bet,] otton [**Keskil-(i)** keorchex on’n’or-bata
 who PRT [Ayaana-ACC come-NEG.AOR] and [Keskil-ACC keorchex make-NEG.AOR
] di-en xomoi-bata5a
] say-CVANT be.sad-NEG.PST
 No one, saying Ayaana did not come and Keskil did not make *keorchex*, was sad.’
- c. ...ol eren min Ayaana-(ny) kel-bet di-en xomoi-du-m, otton en
 ...but 1SG Ayaana-ACC come-NEG.AOR say-CVANT be.sad-PST-1SG, and 2SG
 Keskil-(i) keorchex on’n’or-bata di-en khmoi-du-n
 Keskil-ACC keorchex make-NEG.AOR say-CVANT be.sad-PST-2SG
 ‘...but I, saying Ayaana did not come, was sad, and you, saying Keskil did not make
keorchex, was sad.’ ✓(a), ✓(b)

⇒ Embedded subject is in the embedded clause of ‘say’

3.1.3 NPI

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

- (24) 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

- (25) 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, (26-a), or on the converb, (26-b); rather, it is licensed only by negation on the embedded verb, (26-c).

- (26) a. **Min [kim-(i) da kel-ie di-en] jie-bin suii-bataq-ym*
 1SG [who-ACC PRT come-FUT say-CVANT] house-1SG.POSS.ACC 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 suii-but-um*
 1SG [[who-ACC PRT come-FUT] say-CVB.NEG] house-1SG.POSS.ACC clean-PST-1SG
 ‘I cleaned the house without saying that anyone would come.’
 c. *Min [kim-(i) da kel-bet] di-en jie-bin suii-but-um*
 1SG [who-ACC PRT come-NEG.AOR] say-CVANT house-1SG.POSS.ACC clean-PST-1SG
 ‘I cleaned the house saying that no one came.’

⇒ Embedded subject is in the embedded clause of ‘say’

3.2 Embedded subject cannot be in the matrix clause

3.2.1 Condition A

- Reciprocals³ must be bound locally
- A reciprocal that is the embedded object cannot be bound by a matrix subject

- (27) **Aita uonna Misha min beie-beie-ler-in keor-but-um dien bil-bit-tere*
 Aita and Misha 1SG self-self-3PL-ACC see-PST-1SG 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)

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’)

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

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

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

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

⇒ Embedded subject cannot be in the matrix clause

3.2.2 Gapping

- Turkish does not allow gapping of phrases in different clauses (Ince 2007, 2009)

- (30) *Ali-Ø [Ahmet-in Ankara-ya gittigi]-ni sanıyor, Mehmet-Ø de Özgür-ün
 Ali-NOM Ahmet-GEN Ankara-DAT went-ACC assuming-3SG, Mehmet-NOM also Özgür-GEN
~~Ankara-ya gittigi-ni sanıyor.~~
 Ankara-DAT went-ACC assuming-3SG
 'Ali thinks that Ahmet went to Ankara, and *Mehmet (thinks) Özgür (went to Ankara).' (Ince 2007: 24)

- In contrast, the accusative-marked object is in the matrix clause; thus, gapping is allowed

- (31) Ali-Ø Ahmet-i Ankara-ya gitti sanıyor, Mehmet-Ø de Özgür-ü
 Ali-NOM Ahmet-ACC Ankara-DAT went-3SG assuming-3SG, Mehmet-NOM also Özgür-ACC
~~Ankara-ya gittigi-ni sanıyor.~~
 Ankara-DAT went-ACC assuming-3SG
 'Ali thinks that Ahmet went to Ankara, and Mehmet (thinks) Özgür (went to Ankara).' (Ince 2007: 25)

- This test can also be used in Sakha: elision must target a constituent, so if the remaining item is in the matrix clause, then gapping is okay

- (32) Min Sayaana-5a bar dien ep-pit-im, otton Keskil eyiekhe ~~bar dien ep-pit.~~
 1SG Sayaana-DAT go COMP tell-PST-1SG and Keskil 2SG.DAT go COMP tell-PST
 'I told Sayaana to go home, and Keskil (told) you (to go home).'

Adjunct converb *di-en* clause construction

- The adjunct clause and matrix verb cannot be elided to the exclusion of the embedded subject

- (33) a. *Min [**Kesha** kel-ie] di-en jie-ni xomui-du-m, onton en [**Lyosha**
 1SG [Kesha come-FUT] say-CVANT house clean-PST-1SG and 2SG [Lyosha
 kel-ie] ~~di-en~~ ~~jie-ni xomui-du-m~~
 come-FUT] say-CVANT house clean-PST-2SG
 ‘I cleaned the house thinking Kesha would come, and you (cleaned the house thinking)
 Lyosha (would come).’
- b. *Min [**Kesha-ny** kel-ie] dien jie-ni xomui-du-m, onton en [**Lyosha-ny**
 1SG [Kesha-ACC come-FUT] say-CVANT house clean-PST-1SG and 2SG [Lyosha-ACC
 kel-ie] ~~di-en~~ ~~jie-ni xomui-du-m~~
 come-FUT] say-CVANT house clean-PST-2SG
 ‘I cleaned the house thinking Kesha would come, and you (cleaned the house thinking)
 Lyosha (would come).’
 (c.f. ✓ and you cleaned Lyosha)

3.3 Analysis of accusative case

- Embedded subject is in the embedded clause

		Scrambling	Coordination	NPI		
				Matrix	say	Embedded
Adjunct <i>dien</i>	NOM	✓ (22),	✓ NOM/✓ ACC (23-a)	* (26-a),	* (26-b),	✓ (26-c),
	ACC	✓ (22),	✓ NOM/✓ ACC (23-b)	* (26-a),	* (26-b),	✓ (26-c),
Matrix ‘say’	NOM	✓	✓ NOM/ACC	–	??	✓
	ACC	✓	✓ NOM/✓ ACC	–	*	✓

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

- Embedded subject is not in the matrix clause

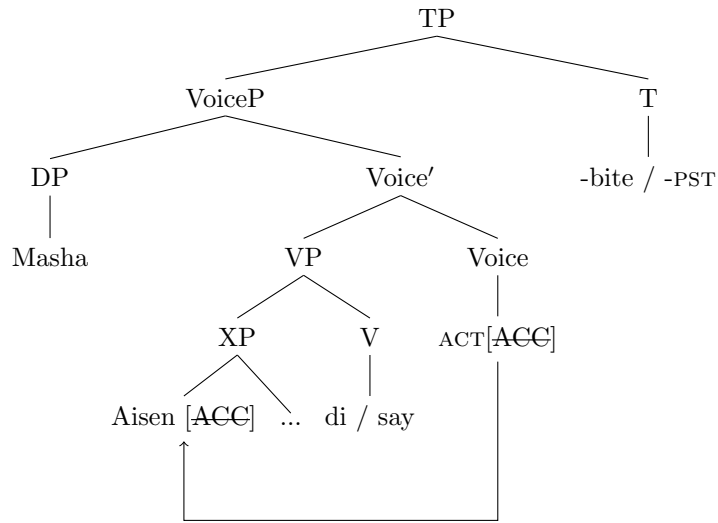
		Cond A	Gapping
Adjunct <i>dien</i>	NOM	* (28-a)	* (33-a)
	ACC	* (28-b)	* (33-b)
Matrix ‘say’	NOM	*	*
	ACC	*	*

Table 4: Test results for matrix ‘say’ and converb ‘say’ constructions showing that the embedded subject is not in the matrix clause

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

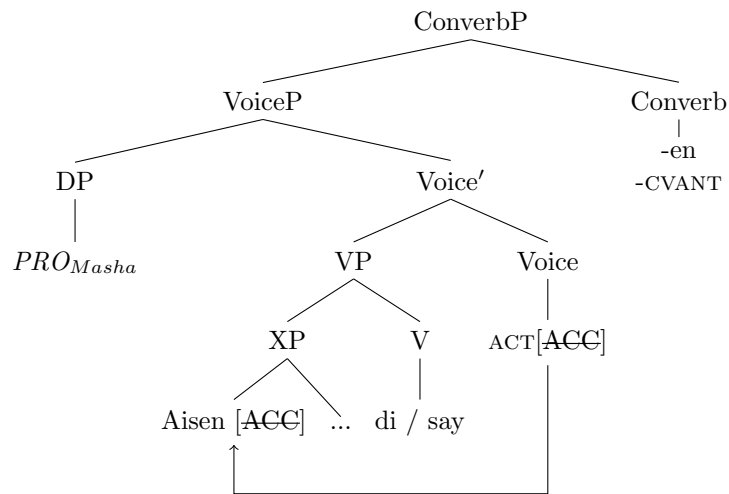
Matrix ‘say’ construction

- (34) a. Masha **Aisen-y** **ayan-tan sarsyn** **teonn-ue** **die-bit**
 Masha Aisen-ACC trip-ABL tomorrow return-FUT say-PST
 ‘Masha said that Aisen would return from a trip tomorrow.’
 b.



Adjunct converb *di-en* clause construction

- (35) a. Masha **Aisen-y** **ayan-tan sarsyn** **teonn-ue** **di-en** jie-ni suui-da
 Masha Aisen-ACC trip-ABL tomorrow return-FUT say-CVANT house-ACC clean-PST
 ‘Masha, saying that Aisen would return from a trip tomorrow, cleaned the house.’
 b.



4 The full distribution of accusative case

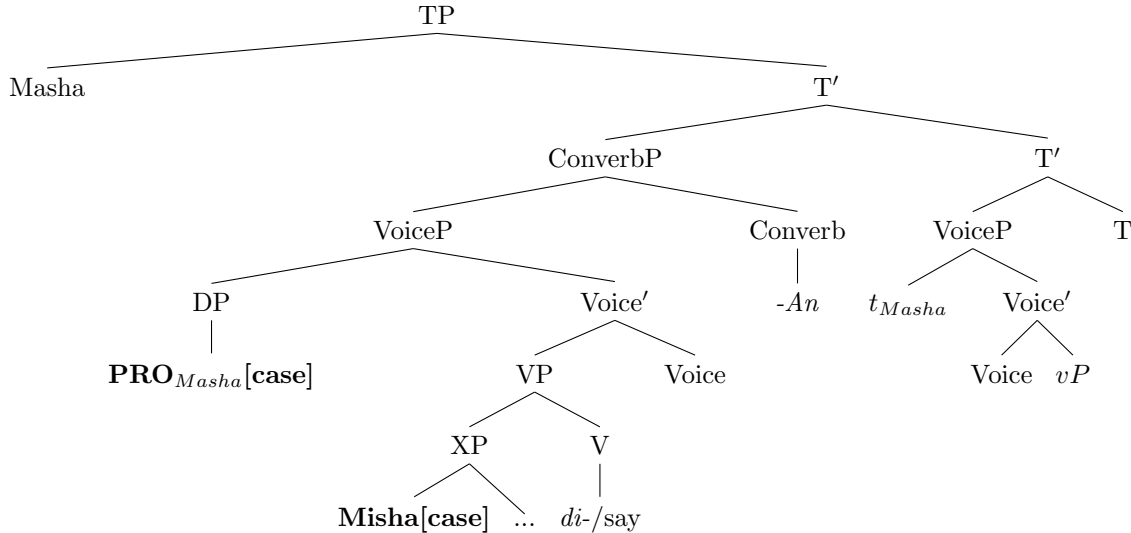
Construction	Clause type	ACC	Case-by-Agree	B&V
Verbal complement	Complementizer <i>dien</i>	✓	matrix verb	✓
Verbal complement	Participial	✓	matrix verb	✓
Adjunct clause	Converb <i>di-en</i>	✓	converb <i>di-en</i>	✓
Adjunct clause	Participial	*		?
<i>Glad</i> -type	Complementizer <i>dien</i>	*		✓
<i>Glad</i> -type	Converb <i>di-en</i>	✓	converb <i>di-en</i>	✓
Other converb clause	Converb <i>di</i> -CVB	✓	converb	✓

Table 5: The various embedded constructions, the distribution of accusative case availability on the embedded subject, and our analyzed source of accusative case

Adjunct converb *di-en* clause

- Given the revised analysis of these clauses, not as CP's but rather as converb *di-en* clauses, the DCT analysis must be re-applied

(36)



Adjunct participial clause

- Consider the following example:

(37) Masha Misha-(*ny) kel-en ih-er-itten jie-tin xomuy-but
 Masha Misha-ACC come-CVANT come-AOR.3SG-ABL house-3S.POSS-ACC tidy-PST
 ‘Masha tidied the house because of Misha’s coming.’ (lit. from Misha’s coming)

- B&V’s original analysis of adjunct *di-en* clauses as CP’s indicates that their algorithm gives visibility into adjunct clauses
- Their analysis of verb participial complement clauses indicates that the embedded subject of participials can raise to be visible to case competitors

- Therefore, there shouldn't be anything blocking the embedded subject of an adjunct participial from raising into the edge of its clause and being visible → DCT incorrectly would predict that this gets accusative case
- With the converb analysis, this can be resolved by restricting visibility into adjunct clauses → DCT correctly predicts that the embedded subject cannot get accusative case

‘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:

- (38) a. oqo [*ConverbP* [*XP* Aisen-(y) kel-bet] *di-en*] khomoi-do
 child [*ConverbP* [*XP* Aisen-ACC come-NEG] say-CVANT] 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.’

- Given the case-by-Agree account, this contrast is predicted: (38-a) has the case-assigning verb ‘say,’ while (38-b) does not
- The DCT analysis would predict that both examples in (38) would pattern the same given that it is based only on configuration

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 embedded structures
 - The converb *di-en* heads a Converb Phrase
 - The complementizer *dien* heads a CP
- This work contributes to a larger discussion on “say” complementization
 - Other Turkic languages may not have complementizers (Major, submitted; Özyıldız 2016; i.a.)
 - Sakha differs in that it has a lexicalized complementizer that is distinct from the converb form
- 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 provides a clear contrast with the two structures with which it is compatible and the distribution of accusative case
 - The distribution is predicted by the case-by-Agree analysis
 - Dependent Case would incorrectly predict that accusative case is available in both constructions

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