

0 Introduction

Event-oriented nominalizations in Adyghe (Circassian<Northwest Caucasian)¹:

- Action nominal formed with suffix *-n*

- (1) a. hač̣e-me s-ja-ẓ̌e
 guest-PL.OBL 1SG.ABS-3PL.IO+DAT-wait
 ‘I’m waiting for guests.’
 b. [hač̣’e-xe-m ja-je-ẓ̌e-**n**] zarine ja-ʔ^wef
 guest-PL-OBL 3PL.POSS-DAT-wait-NML Zarina POSS-job
 ‘Waiting for guests is Zarina’s task.’

- Manner nominal formed with suffix *-č̣’e*

- (2) a. weṣ̌’ paj se laɁe s-thač̣’ə-Ɂ̣e
 you.OBL for I dish 1SG.ERG-wash-PST
 ‘I washed the plate for you.’
 b. [pšaše-m ja-leɁe-thač̣’ə-**č̣’e**] səg^w rjehə
 girl-OBL POSS-dish-wash-NML I like.PRS
 ‘I like how the girl washes the dishes.’

Nominalizations involve remapping of the argument structure from verbal to nominal; restrictions on this process and verbal morphology in nominalizations provide clues towards the underlying architecture of *v*P.

Main Claim: Patterns of argument encoding point towards a hierarchical argument structure based on agentivity. Nominalizer selects for *v*P and acts as a de-transitivizing operator, i.e. nominalizations lack an external argument. Morphology that surfaces within nominalizations is necessarily generated lower than *v*: applicatives and low aspect.

¹The data was collected in Aul Neshukay (Teuchezhsky District, Republic of Adyghea, Russia) in July 2014. The majority of the examples are in the Bzhedug dialect. I am grateful to the speakers of Adyghe for their generous help, Greg Kobele, Maria Polinsky, Yuri Lander and especially Karlos Arregi for discussion, comments and criticism. All mistakes are mine.

Abbreviations: ABS – absolutive, ADV – adverbial, BEN – benefactive, CAUS – causative, COM – comitative, DAT – dative, DIR – directive, ERG – ergative, IMP – imperative, INF – infinitive, INTR – intransitive, IO – indirect object, IPF – imperfect, NEG – negation, NML – nominalizer, OBL – oblique, PL – plural, POSS – possessive, PR – possessor, PRS – past, REFL – reflexive, REL – relativizer.

Roadmap:

1. Adyghe clause structure
2. Nominalizations as a mixed category
3. Argument encoding in nominalizations
4. Analysis
5. Conclusion

1 Adyghe clause structure

1.1 Polysynthesis

- All participants cross-referenced on verb, full NPs optional

- (3) [sə]-qə-[t-de]-[p-fə]-[Ø-r]-[a]-Ɂ̣əẓ̌eṣ̌’təɁ̣
 [1SG.ABS]-DIR-[1PL.IO-COM]-[2SG.IO-BEN]-[3SG.IO-DAT]-[3PL.ERG]-
 CAUS.read.IPF
 ‘They were making me read it to you together with us’ (Temirgoy;
 Letuchiy 2012)

- Templatic morphology

Argument structure zone (A)					Pre-base elements (B)
ABS	DIR	APPL	DAT	ERG	PRS / NEG
1	2	3	4	5	6

Base (C)				Endings (D)		
CAUS	root	APPL	TAM	PL	PRS	NEG, case
7	8	9	10	11	12	13

Table 1: Simplified verbal template (Arkadiev et al., 2009)

- Scopal interactions in suffixal domain

- (4) Simulative & habilitative
 a. waṣ̌^wem ẓ̌^waɁ^we qəɁjesxə-[ṣ̌^wə-ṣ̌^we]₁₀
 sky.OBL star 1SG.ERG.take-HBL-SML
 ‘It seems that I can take a star from the sky.’

- b. waš^wem ž^waβ^we qətjesxə-[š^we-š^wə]₁₀
sky.OBL star 1SG.ERG.take-SML-HBL
'I can pretend (lit. seem) as if I am taking a star from the sky.'
(Korotkova & Lander, 2010)
- (5) -βe: resultative / preterite
- a. č'ale-m pče-r qə-ʔ^w-jə-xə-β
boy-OBL door-ABS DIR-LOC-3SG.ERG-open-PST
'The boy opened the door.'
- b. pčer ʔ^wəxə-βa-x
door.ABS open-PST-INC
'The door is already open'
- c. səqəzek^wem pče ʔ^wəxə-βe-xa-β
when I came door open-PST-INC-PST
'When I came, the door was already open' (Arkadiev, 2014)
- (6) TAM markers
- a. k^we-βe-n (faje)
go-PST-POT must
'He probably went.' (Lit. 'It should be [that he went].')
- b. k^we-nə-βe
go-POT-PST
'He would go.' (Lit. 'It was so [that he should go].') (Korotkova & Lander, 2010)

1.2 Ergativity

- Verbal cross-reference (Table 1); case marking: absolutive (-r) for intransitive subject (7a) & direct object (7b), oblique (-m) for transitive agents (7b), applicatives (7c), possessors (8) and complements of postpositions (9).

- (7) a. č'ale-r Ø-qeše
boy-ABS 3SG.ABS-dance.PRS
'The boy is dancing.'
- b. ž^wak^we-m q^wəbβ^we-r Ø-ə-ž^waβ
plowman-OBL field-ABS 3SG.ABS-3SG.ERG-plow.PST
'The plowman plowed the field.' (Temirgoy, Arkadiev et al. 2009, 53)

- c. λə-r š^wəzə-m Ø-[Ø-d]-eʔepəʔe
man-ABS woman-OBL 3SG.ABS-[3SG.IO-COM]-help.PRS
'The husband is helping the wife.' (Arkadiev et al., 2009, 53)

- (8) šənəβe-m Ø-jə-mafe
knowledge-OBL 3SG.PR-POSS-day
'Knowledge Day (September 1)'

- (9) hač'e-me a-paje
guest-PL.OBL 3PL.PP-for
'for the guests'

- A'-extraction (relativization): absolutive unmarked, all other participants marked

- (10) a. č'ale-m apč'ə-r ə-q^wəta-β
boy-OBL glass-ABS 3SG.ERG-break-PST
'The boy broke the glass.'

- b. [apč'ə-r zə-q^wəta-βe] č'ale-r
glass-ABS REL.ERG-break-PST boy-ABS
'the boy that broke the glass'

- (11) a. se txəλə-r s-ʔəβ
I book-ABS 1SG.ERG-hold
'I am holding the book.'

- b. [se s-ʔəβ] txəλə-r
I 1SG.ERG-hold book-ABS
'the book that I am holding'

- (12) a. š^wefərə-r qek^wa-β
driver-ABS come-PST
'The driver came.'
- b. [qek^wa-βe] š^wefərə-r
come-PST driver-ABS
'the driver who came' (Lander, to appear)

- Word order: in internally headed relative clauses, internal head may not intervene between absolutive argument and predicate

- (13) xet [š^we_i]_{LOC} [çəf-çerəɽ^w-ew] qə-[š^wə_i-xe]-č'ə-ɸe-r
 who you.PL person-famous-ADV DIR-2PL.IO-LOC-leave-PST-ABS
 'What famous person comes from your people?' (Lander, to appear)
- (14) [[thamate-m_i]_{ERG} [qəbar-ew] q-ə_i-ɽ^weteš'tə-m]
 head-OBL news-ADV DIR-3SG.ERG-tell.FUT-OBL
 č'eχ^wepsew jəwənaɸ^we qježes'təɸ [...]
 impatiently POSS.family wait.IPF
 'The family waited impatiently for the story the head would tell...'
 (Lander, to appear)
- (15) a. [[çəf-ew] [q^waje-r_i]_{ABS} Ø_i-zə-šxə-re-r]
 person-ADV cheese-ABS 3SG.ABS-REL.ERG-eat-PRS-ABS
 ɸerezaɸew š'ət
 is content
 'The person eating cheese is content'
- b. ?? [[q^waje-r_i]_{ABS} [çəf-ew] Ø_i-zə-šxə-re-r]
 cheese-ABS person-ADV 3SG.ABS-REL.ERG-eat-PRS-ABS
 ɸerezaɸew š'ət
 is content
 'The person eating cheese is content' (Lander, to appear)
- (16) a. [təɸ^wak^w-ew] [dəše-r_i]_{ABS} Ø_i-zə-ɽepə-teq^wə-ɸe-r
 thief-ADV gold-ABS 3SG.ABS-REL.IO-LOC-spill-PST-ABS
 'the thief from whose hands the gold spilled'
- b. * [dəše-r_i]_{ABS} [təɸ^wak^w-ew] Ø_i-zə-ɽepə-teq^wə-ɸe-r
 gold-ABS thief-ADV 3SG.ABS-REL.IO-LOC-spill-PST-ABS
 Expected: 'the thief from whose hands the gold spilled' (Lander, 2009, 624)

The absolutive argument has a special status in the clausal structure: it is most accessible to A'-movement and has a restricted position in relative clauses.

Proposal: absolutive full NPs are licensed by T; all other full NPs are dislocated following Baker's (1996) Polysynthesis Parameter.

2 Nominalizations as a mixed category

2.1 Nominal features

1. no ergative/absolutive personal marking
2. adjectives, not adverbs

- (17) a. se sjəč'as [psəč'-ew sə-čenew]
 I 1SG.like.PRS fast-ADV 1SG.ABS-run-INF
 'I like to run fast.'
- b. *se sjəč'as [psəč'-ew če-nə-r]
 I 1SG.like.PRS fast-ADV run-NML-ABS
 Expected: 'I like to run fast.'
- c. se sjəč'as [psənč'e-če-nə-r]
 I 1SG.like.PRS fast-run-NML-ABS
 'I like to run fast.'

3. case, non-argument positions

- (18) se stol tšəɸe [leɸe-ɸ^wəš'əž'ə-nə-m paj]
 I table 1SG.ERG.do.PST dish-dry-NML-OBL for
 'I set the table for dish-drying.'

- (19) [leɸe-thač'ə-č'e-m-č'e] zəmjə əg^w wərehanep
 dish-wash-NML-OBL-INS nobody.OBL 3SG.like.FUT.NEG
 'With such a manner of dish-washing, no one will like you.' (Cherny-shev, 2014)

4. relative clauses

- (20) [qeš^wa-č'-ew s-a-ɸešəɸe-m-re] se
 DIR-dance-NML-ADV 1SG.ABS-3PL.ERG-teach.PST-OBL-and I
 tšetəɸe-m-re lešew zetječəx
 1SG.ERG+know.IPF-OBL-and very differ.PL
 'The manner of dancing which you were taught and the one I know are very different.'

5. demonstratives

- (21) [mə wjə-beʒe-wəç'ə-n] zeč'erjə jezeš'əʁ
this 2SG.POSS-fly-kill-NML all.ABS tire.PST
 'Your killing of flies has annoyed everyone.'

6. expression of arguments: possessors (1b) or incorporees

- (22) a. [leʁe-thač'ə-nə-m] s-jezeš'əʁ
 dish-wash-NML-OBL 1SG.ABS-tire.PST
 'I'm tired of dish-washing.'
 b. * [laʁe-xe-r thač'ə-nə-m] s-jezeš'əʁ
 dish-PL-ABS wash-NML-OBL 1SG.ABS-tire.PST
 Expected: 'I'm tired of dish-washing.'

2.2 Verbal features

1. "Specifying" suffixes (terminology from Korotkova & Lander (2010)): refactive -ž'ə, simulative -ʒ'ə, etc.

- (23) zeč'e ježex [č'ale-me ja-qek'w-e-ž'ə-n]
 all wait.PL boy-PL.OBL 3PL.POSS-go-RE-NML
 'Everyone is waiting for the boys' return.'

- (24) se sjezeš'əʁ wjə-wered-qeʔ'w-e-š'ə-nə-m
 I 1SG.ABS.tire.PST 2SG.POSS-song-sing-SML-NML-OBL
 'I am tired of your bad singing.'

2. Applicatives & personal markers

- (25) səg'wə rjehə [wjə-wered-qə-[s-fe]-ʔ'w-a-č'e]
 1SG.like.PRS 2SG.POSS-song-DIR-[1SG.IO-BEN]-say-NML
 'I like how you sing for me.'

- (26) s-j-eʁeg'wəmeč'ə qəweleʔ'wəre-m pepč
 1SG.ABS-3SG.ERG-worry.PRS 2SG.IO.ask.PRS-OBL every
 [wjə-aχš'e-[ja]-tə-č'e]
 2SG.POSS-money-[3PL.IO+DAT]-give-NML
 'I am worried about your manner of giving money to everyone who asks you.'

3. Agent-demoting operators

- (27) a. se səməšxew laʁe s-q'wəta-ʁe
 I 1SG.ABS.NEG.know.ADV dish 1SG.ERG-break-PST
 'I accidentally broke the plate.'
 b. se [s-ʔeč'e]-q'wəta-hə-ʁ
 I [1SG.IO-INADV]-break-LOC-PST
 'I accidentally broke the plate.'
 c. se sjezeš'əʁ [leʁe-ʔeč'e-q'wəta-hə-nə-m]
 I 1SG.ABS.tire.PST dish-INADV-break-LOC-NML-OBL
 'I am tired of accidentally breaking dishes.'

4. No high aspect / tense, but low aspect – yes

- (28) a. *k'w-e-te-č'e
 go-FUT-NML
 b. *k'w-e-nə-č'e
 go-POT-NML (Chernyshev, 2014)

-ʁe (PST) possible only with transitive verbs: resultative, not preterite

- (29) a. *k'w-e-ʁa-č'e
 go-PST-NML
 b. aš' jə-thač'ə-ʁa-č'e se səg'wə rjehə
 that.OBL POSS-wash-PST-NML I like
 'I like his manner of always being washed (clean)' (Chernyshev, 2014)
 c. sjaqek'wəž'əʁ'em [leʁe-thač'ə-ʁe-nə-r] səg'wə rjehə
 by my return dish-wash-PST-NML-ABS 1SG.like.PRS
 'I like for the dishes to be already washed by my return.'

Summary:

- Nominalizations do not contain licensors for absolutive and ergative, but do for applicatives → applicatives are licensed lower than ergative/absolutive.
- Low aspect contained in nominalizations, but not high aspect or tense: cut-off in between.

3 Argument encoding in nominalizations

3.1 Diagnostics for incorporation

1. Phonological alternation in penultimate syllable of stem:

(30) $e \rightarrow a \text{ — } _Ce]_C$

- (31) a. se səg^{wə} rjehə [šak^{wə}] sə-ḱ^{wə}enw (< šek^{wə})
 I 1SG.like.PRS hunt 1SG.ABS-go.INF
 ‘I like to go hunting.’
 b. se səg^{wə} rjehə [šek^{wə}-ḱ^{wə}-nə-r]
 I 1SG.like.PRS hunt-go-NML-ABS
 ‘I like to go hunting.’

2. Incorporated root can be embedded in morphology relating to full nominalized form:

- (32) š’əbetəž’ [wjə-[leḱe-a-fe-thač’ə-č’e]
 stop.IMV 2SG.POSS-dish-3PL.IO-BEN-wash-NML
 ‘Stop washing other people’s dishes!’

3.2 Unrestricted noun incorporation

1. Any argument may be incorporated: direct object(32), unergative (39) or unaccusative (33) subject, applicative (34) and even ergative subject (35), (36).

- (33) se stol tšəḱe [leḱe-ḱ^{wə}əš’əž’ə-nə-m paj]
 I table 1SG.ERG.do.PST [dish]SUBJ-dry.INTR-NML-OBL for
 ‘I set the table for dish-drying.’
 (34) se səg^{wə} rjehə [ʔ^{wə}ešhe-tje-tə-nə-r]
 I 1SG.like.PRS [hill]IO-LOC-stand-NML-ABS
 ‘I like standing on a hill.’
 (35) [bež’e-zə-thač’ə-č’e-r] č’etəw-zə-thač’ə-m fed
 [fox]SUBJ-REFL.ABS-wash-NML-ABS cat-REFL.ABS-wash-OBL like
 ‘The fox’s manner of washing itself is similar to the cat’s.’

2. Some speakers allow incorporation of more than one argument:

- (36) [pšeše-leḱe-thač’ə-č’e-r] səg^{wə} rjehə
 [girl]SUBJ-[dish]OBJ-wash-NML-ABS 1SG.like.PRS
 ‘I like the girls’ way of washing the dishes (as if there’s a girls’ type of dish-washing).’

3. Multiple manifestations of same theta-role:

- (37) [wjə-bež’e-š’əpčə-č’e]
 [2SG.POSS]SUBJ-[fox]SUBJ-smile-NML
 s-jə-ḱerehatərep
 1SG.ABS-3SG.ERG-calm.PRS.NEG
 ‘YourSUBJ fox-likeSUBJ grin disturbs me.’
 (38) [pšaše-m jə-č’ele-qeš^{wə}a-č’e] ḱeḱe^{wə}en
 [girl-OBL]SUBJ POSS-[boy]SUBJ-dance-NML interesting
 ‘It’s interesting when the girl does a male dance.’

3.3 Argument encoding in nominalizations is nominal

1. Morphosyntactic position: incorporated nouns attach to the left of all verbal morphology

POSS	incorporated argument(s)	verbal prefixes	verb root	verbal suffixes	nomin-alizer	nominal suffixes & endings
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- (39) se səg^{wə} rjehə [[adəye-pšeše]-[qe]2-š^{wə}e-nə-r]
 I 1SG.like.PRS [Adyghe-girl]SUBJ-DIR-dance-NML-ABS
 ‘I like how Adyghe girls dance.’
 (40) š’əbetəž’ [wjə-[leḱe]-[a-fe]3-thač’ə-č’e]
 stop.IMV 2SG.POSS-dish-3PL.IO-BEN-wash-NML
 ‘Stop washing other people’s dishes!’

2. Parallels to nominal modification

- (a) Closest incorporee in inherently possessed nouns is the nominal argument (inherent possessor):

- (41) j-ane-š
 POSS-[mother]-brother
 ‘his uncle (mother’s brother)’ (Temirgoy; Lander 2015)

- (42) [adəge-**heč'eķ'e**swəret-xe-r] qjənəx
 Adyghe-[animal]-picture-PL-ABS hard.PL

‘Adyghe pictures of animals are hard’ (Lander 2014)

- (b) Possessive phrase in nominalizations has free interpretation: can refer to any of the participants, including the direct object (43), or not an argument at all (52).

- (43) [**laɐe-me** **ja**-thačə-n] se s-je.zeš'ə.ɐ
 [dish-PL.OBL]_{OBJ} 3PL.POSS-wash-NML I 1SG.ABS-annoy.PST

‘I’m tired of washing the dishes.’

- (44) [**sjə-č'ale-me** **ja**-pše-thačə-n]
 [1SG.POSS-boy-PL.OBL]_{POSS} 3PL.POSS-[neck]_{OBJ}-wash-NML
 mafeqes sə-ɟəλ
 day.every 1SG.ABS-try

‘Every day I wash the necks of my boys.’

3.4 Incorporation driven by argument structure

Incorporation hierarchy: The position closest to the verbal stem is restricted to the less agentive (internal) argument.

1. In a two-place predicate, the less agentive argument must be incorporated first.

- (a) ERG > ABS

- (45) a. [**pšaše-m** **jə-leɐe**-thač'ə-n] s-jezeš'ə.ɐ
 [girl-OBL]_{SUBJ} POSS-[dish]_{OBJ}-wash-NML 1SG.ABS-tire.PST
 ‘I’m tired of the girl’s_{SUBJ} dish_{OBJ}-washing.’

- b. # [**laɐe-me** **ja**-pšeše-thač'ə-n]
 [dish-PL.OBL]_{OBJ} 3PL.POSS-[girl]_{SUBJ}-wash-NML
 s-jezeš'ə.ɐ
 1SG.ABS-tire.PST

Expected: ‘I’m tired of the girl’s_{SUBJ} dish_{OBJ}-washing.’
 (“Seems as if the dishes_{SUBJ} are washing the girl_{OBJ}.”)

- (b) ABS > APPL

- (46) [**pšaše-me** **ja-č'ele**-fe-g'əš'ə-a-č'e]
 [girl-OBL]_{SUBJ} 3PL.POSS-[boy]_{IO}-BEN-be.happy-NML

səg'ə rjehə

1SG.like.PRS

‘I like how the girls_{SUBJ} congratulate the boys_{IO}.’

*‘I like how the boys_{SUBJ} congratulate the girls_{IO}.’

- (c) APPL > ABS (“inverse” verbs)

- (47) [**čale-me** **ja-nene**-š'ə-ɐ'əpša-č'e]
 [boy-PL.OBL]_{EXP} 3PL.POSS-[grandmother]_{TH}-LOC-forget-NML

səg'ə rjəhep

1SG.like.NEG

‘I don’t like how children_{EXP} forget their grandmothers_{TH}.’

*‘I don’t like how grandmothers_{EXP} forget their children_{TH}.’

2. One of the arguments can be dropped, including the lower one; the more agentive one is necessarily expressed as possessor, cannot be incorporated (48b):

- (48) a. lešew dejə

very bad

[**nane-me** **ja**-š'ə-ɐ'əpše-n]
 [grandmother-PL.OBL]_{EXP} 3PL.POSS-LOC-forget-NML

‘It’s very bad, forgetfulness of grandmothers.’

- b. lešew dejə [**nene**-š'ə-ɐ'əpše-nə-r]

very bad grandmother-LOC-forget-NML-ABS

‘It’s very bad to forget grandmothers’

*‘It’s very bad, forgetfulness of grandmothers.’

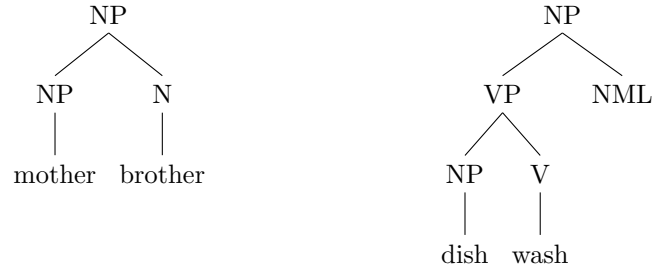
3. External arguments may be incorporated to the left of internal argument, to be interpreted as a generic agent (36) or adjective of manner (38).
4. Possessors do not necessarily denote one of the arguments (52), i.e. are not restricted by argument structure.

4 Analysis

4.1 Structure of nominalization

- Closest incorporee must be the internal argument. Outer incorporee / possessor freely interpreted and not restricted to specific argument role → structure

analogous to relational nominals with one internal argument (Figure 1).



Inherent possession in NP

Nominalized VP

Figure 1: Parallel structures of relational nouns and nominalizations

- Ergative/unergative subject & applicative in inverse predicates are generated external to VP and higher than applicatives. Nominalizer selects for *vP* and strips *v* of argument-licensing power. Structure of three-place predicate in Figure 2.

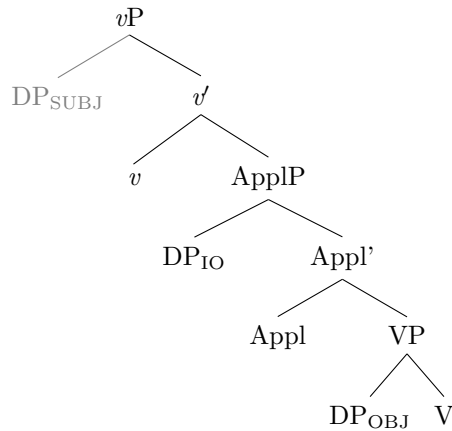


Figure 2: Basic transitive clause structure

- Inverse predicates include a de-transitivizing applicative head above *v*. Nominalizer selects for higher *v_{appl}*. Structure of inverse predicate in Figure 3.

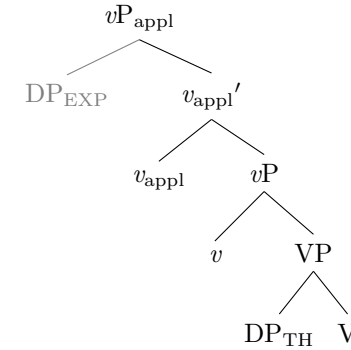


Figure 3: Structure of inverse predicates

- Position of IO applicative below *v* supported by possibility of IO personal markers in nominalizations (25), (26), but not ergative/absolutive.
- Noun incorporation is movement of NP from internal-argument position to left edge of verbal form (Figure 4).

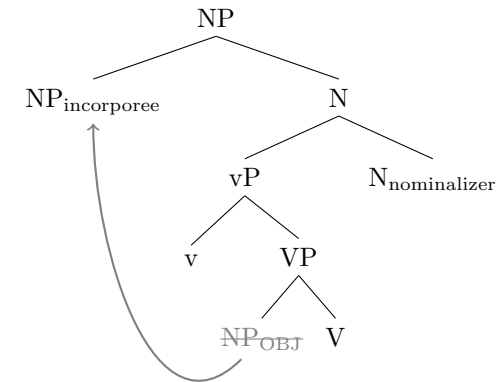


Figure 4: Movement of internal argument to incorporatee position

- Outer incorporatees and other modifiers attach as adjuncts to NP: Figure 5 for (49)

- (49) pšeše- lebe- thačə -č'e
[girl]_{SUBJ}- [dish]_{OBJ}- wash -NML
'girls' way of washing dishes'

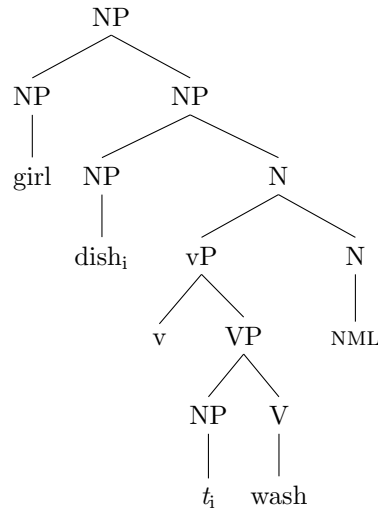


Figure 5: Structure of nominalized transitive predicate with outer incorporee

- Possessive phrases attach to NP and are assigned a loose possessive semantics (“free *R*” reading), which is then determined by context (Partee, 1996). Pragmatically most salient – as unexpressed agent of nominalized predicate (Figure 6), but not necessarily (43), (52).
- Incorporee immediately adjacent to nominalizer must be the internal argument: intervention effect (NP in path of incorporee raising). Figure 7 for (50).

- (50) #laɾe-me ja-pšeše-thačə-n
[dish-PL.OBL]_{ABS} 3PL.POSS-[girl]_{ERG}-wash-NML
Expected: ‘girl’s_{ERG} dish_{ABS}-washing’

4.2 Discussion of PRO and non-obligatory control

- In some languages there is evidence for the structural presence of the agent, e.g. Hebrew (Sichel, 2009). For Adyghe, it is hard to make the case in either direction.

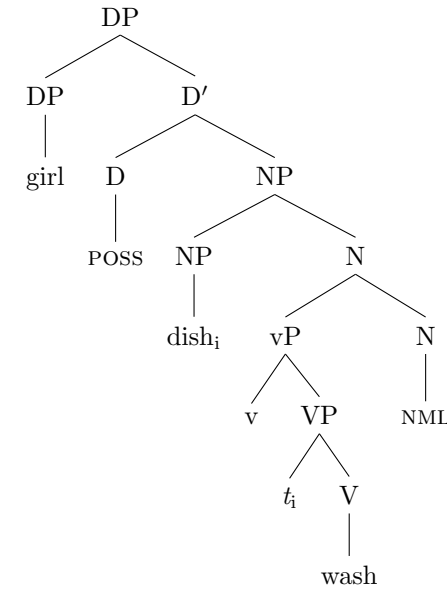


Figure 6: Structure of nominalized transitive predicate with possessor

- Landau (2013): clausal structures headed by DP are associated with non-obligatory control (NOC).

- (51) John_i finally realized that [PRO_{i+j} hurting each other] really bothered Sue_j. (Landau, 2013, 231)

NOC is structurally relatively unrestricted, but not as much as the conditions on coreference with implicit agent in Adyghe nominalizations.

- (52) [sjə-č'ale-me ja-pše-thačə-n]
[1SG.POSS-boy-PL.OBL]_{POSS} 3PL.POSS-[neck]_{ABS}-wash-NML
mafeqes sə-pəλ
day.every 1SG.ABS-try
‘Every day I wash the necks of my boys.’ (Lit. ‘I_i try [my boys’ [PRO_i neck-washing]]’)
- (53) a. John attempted [PRO_i washing his hands]
b. *John attempted [Sue’s [PRO_i washing her hands]]

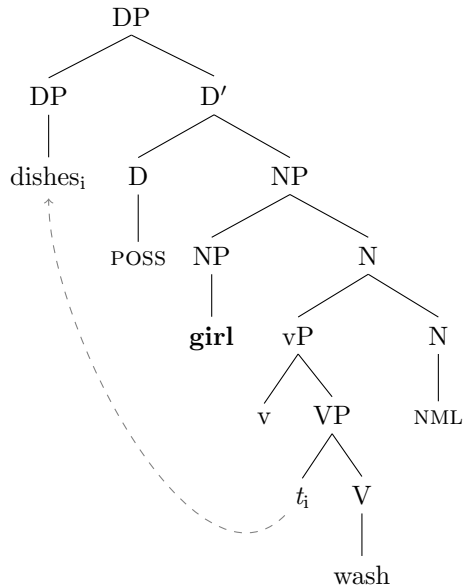


Figure 7: Intervention in incorporee raising

- Reflexives/reciprocals can appear in nominalizations, but as bound morphemes. Contrast in (54) suggests reinterpretation from pronominal to incorporated lexical root with reciprocal/reflexive semantics.

- (54) a. təg^w rjehə tə-qə-[**ze-de**]-š^wenew
 1PL.like 1PL.ABS-DIR-REC.IO-COM-dance.INF
 ‘We like to dance together.’
 b. təg^w rjehə qə-[**ze-de**]-š^we-nə-r
 1PL.like DIR-REC.IO-COM-dance-NML-ABS
 ‘We like partner dance.’

It is yet to be definitively proven that the external argument is absent in Adyghe nominalizations. The evidence at hand, however, suggests that, if there is a PRO, its behavior in respect to control and movement (of the internal argument) is unorthodox and thus hard to capture theoretically.

5 Conclusion

- Articulated structure of *v*P, in which the arguments are organized hierarchically based on agentivity, and which contains lower aspect, e.g. resultative morphology, and applicatives (Figure 8). Can be translated into complex *v*P approach by Ramchand (2008) and Sleeman & Brito (2010).

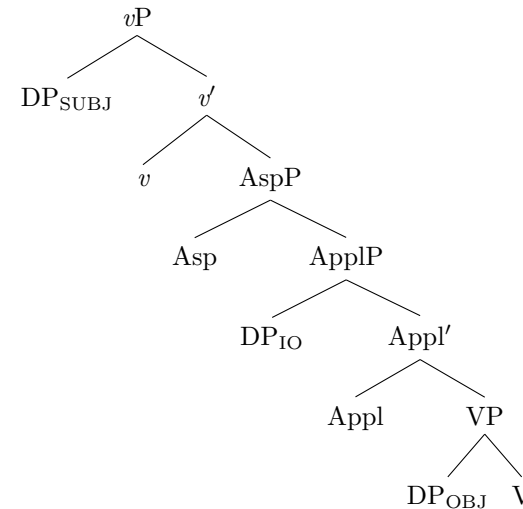


Figure 8: Articulated structure of *v*P

- Nominalizations disambiguate the homophonous TAM marker *-ɬe*, showing that it attaches in different structural positions depending on function.

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