Morphosyntax of complement clauses in East Caucasian languages: long-distance agreement
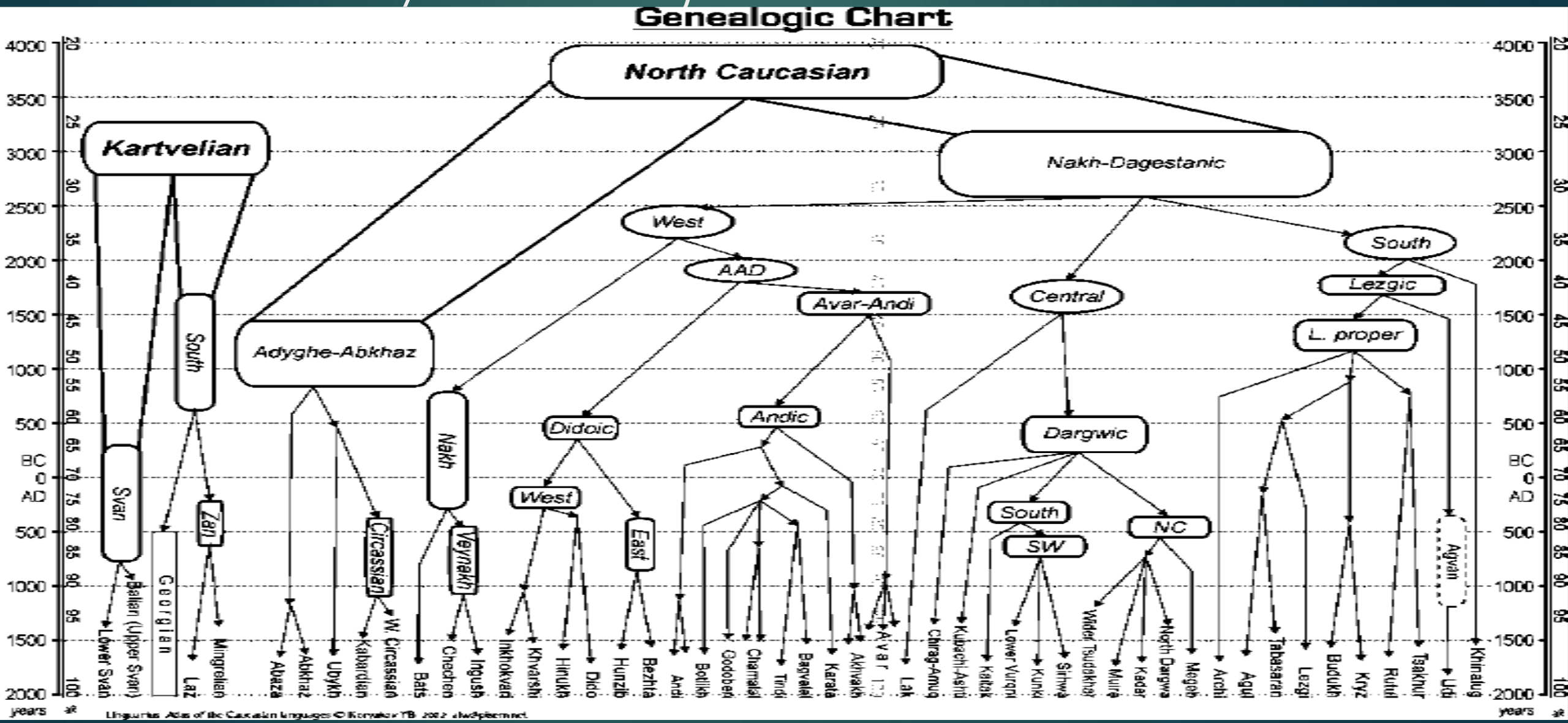
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1. General information on Daghestanian languages

East-Caucasian languages (Nakh-Daghestanian)

Genealogical classification (the map and the chart are taken from Koryakov 2002)

Genealogic Chart

Daghestanian lgs and their speakers

▶ four major languages (Avar, Dargwa, Lezgi; Kumyk > Turkic) and many minority languages, including one-village varieties

▶ the Dargwa language is sometimes considered to be a language family, which includes a dozen languages

▶ the major languages have literary tradition, are taught in secondary schools and are used in mass-media

▶ many languages have literary tradition based on Cyrillic alphabet; minority languages often do not

▶ most languages are poorly described, especially in what concerns syntax and discourse analysis

▶ the majority of the population are bilingual (Russian-speaking)

Some features of East-Caucasian languages

- rich consonant systems,
- ergative case alignment and verbal agreement,
- complex gender systems,
- elaborate paradigm of locative cases,
- deictic demonstratives and preverbs.

Locative cases in Tanti Dargwa (from Ganenkov, Lander 2011)

Локализация	Ориентация	Директив
SUPER (-ja) 'на'	латив LAT (-Ø)	UP (-ha) 'вверх'
SUB (-gu) 'под'	'движение к'	DOWN (-ka) 'вниз'
ANTE (-sa) 'перед'	элатив ELAT (-r)	HITHER (-se / -sa) 'сюда'
APUD1 (-š:u) 'у'	'движение от'	THITHER (-de / -da) 'туда'
APUD2 (-hira) 'около'	эссив ESS (=CL)	
INTER (-c:e) 'в'	'нахождение'	
IN (-не) 'внутри'		

Syntactic features

- ▶ non-finite clauses where all the arguments are encoded in the same way as in independent sentences,
- ▶ backward control,
- ▶ long-distance reflexive pronouns,
- ▶ long-distance agreement in complement clauses.

2. Complementation in Qunqi Dargwa

Complementation in Qunqi Dargwa

▶ **conjunctive (infinitive with person agreement in Magometov 1978):**

dammij	qum.ert-ur-da	<u>če-aʁ-i</u>	uncːa.
I.DAT	FORGET.PF-PRET-1	SUPER-DRIVE.PF-SUBJ.1A/3P	DOOR

I forgot to close the door.

▶ masdar in *-ni*:

[caːr-i	rebilla-j	<u>r=ikː-ni</u>]	cin-i-j	b=uχːᵊ-an-ce	caːb-i.
RFL=F-RFL	ALL-DAT	F=WANT.IPF-MSD	RFL-OBL-DAT	N=KNOW.IPF-POT-PART	COP=N-COP

She knows that everybody loves her.

▶ **converb in *-le*:**

dammi	w=eh.ig-un-da	ela	juldaš	mišna-le=w	<u>arg-le</u>.
I.DAT	M=SEE.PF-PRET-1	YOU.GEN	FRIEND	CAR-SUPER=M	GO.IPF-CONV

I saw your friend go away by car.

▶ complementizer *ible* (a grammaticalized converb of the verb *haʔib* «say»):

tːatːi-li   ham-b=irk-il-de   [Ali   w=ikː-il-de   <u>ible</u>].

FATHER-ERG   REMEMBER-N=LV.IPF-ATR-PST   ALI   M=WANT.IPF-ATR-PST   COMPL

Father thought that Ali loved him.

▶ asyndetic complement clauses:

du   pikri   ik'̬-al-da   [Murad   ʁurš   serg-an-ne].

I   THINK   SAY.IPF-ATR-1   MURAD   TOMORROW   SUPER+MOVE-POT-FUT

I think Murad will come tomorrow.

▶ indirect question form in *-il(lel):*

tːatːi-li   xːar   b=iʁ-ib   [Murad   murt   serg-an-ne-jil(lel)].

FATHER-ERG   ASK   N=DRIVE.IPF-PRET   MURAD   WHEN   SUPER+MOVE.IPF-POT-FUT-IQ

Father asked when Murad would come.

The distribution of the complementation strategies: 1. Infinitive

▶ phasal and modal verbs; purpose construction; mental, speech and emotive verbs in case of infinitive control:

dammi   [bagur-me   d=irc-**i**]   b=ik:-al-da.

I.DAT   PLATE-PL   NPL=WASH.PF–SUBJ.1A/3P   N=WANT.IPF–ATTR–1

I want to wash the dishes. [DAT1 = ERG2]

▶ if the coreference pattern is not observed, other complementation strategies are used:

dammij   [Patimat-li   bagur-me   d=irc-ib-**le**]   b=ik:-al-da.

I.DAT   PATIMAT-ERG   PLATE-PL   NPL=WASH.PF–PRET–CONV   N=WANT.IPF–ATTR–1

I want Patimat to wash the dishes. [DAT1 ≠ ERG2]

Person agreement paradigm of the infinitive   (From Sumbatova 2007)

Transitive verbs

P A	1	2	3
1		-u-tː-aj	-i
2	-u-tː-aj		-i-tː-aj
3	-u-d-aj	-u-tː-aj	-u-j

Intransitive verbs

S	1	2	3
	-i	-a-tː-aj	-an-aj, -ar-aj

The distribution of the complementation strategies: 2. Masdar (nominalization)

▶ the Masdar is mostly used in factive contexts:

dammij   pikri   b=iχ-ub-akːu   [gila-d   rebil-ra

I.DAT   THINK   N=BECOME.PF-PRET-NEG   CHILD.PL-ERG   ALL-&

waza   b=erk-**ni**].

HONEY   N=EAT.PF-MSD

I did not notice that the children ate up all the honey.

The distribution of the complementation strategies: 3. Converb

1) with modal, phasal verbs, verbs of speech causation

rirsːi   r=isː-le   r=aʔ-r=išː-ib.

girl   F=cry.IPF-CONV   F=begin-F=ST.PF-PRET

The girl started crying.

2) encodes events (state-of-affairs) with CTPs of perception, emotive, mental, evaluative CTPs

dammij   b=ičːi   b=irq'-id   [ʕax-ce   bari   b=ak'̥-al-le].

I.DAT   N=like   N=do.IPF-1A/3P good-PART   sun   N=go.out.IPF-ATR-CONV

I enjoy good weather.

The distribution of the complementation strategies: 4. Complementizer *ible*

▶ non-factive propositions:

il	Žanšah	[ca-ra	ulka-l-cːe	w=ax-al-da]
DEM	ZHANSHAH	ONE-&	LAND-OBL-INTER	M=GO.IPF-POT-1
ʔ-ib-le			tːura-uq-un	ca=w-i.
SAY.PF-PRET-CONV			OUT-GO.PF-PRET	COP=M-COP

Zhanshah said that he would go to another land, and started his journey (lit. I will go saying went).

The distribution of the complementation strategies: 5. Asyndetic complements

► non-factive propositions:

tːatːi-li	ha-ʔ-ib	[ʁurš	rahmat	b=irq'-an-ne].
FATHER-ERG	UP-SAY.PF-PRET	TOMORROW	RAIN	N=DO.IPF-POT-FUT

Father said that it would rain tomorrow.

The distribution of the complementation strategies: 6. Indirect question form

tːatːi-li	xːar	b=iʁ-ib	[Murad
FATHER-ERG	ASK	N=DRIVE.IPF-PRET	Murad
murt	ceʁ-ib-**illel**].		
WHEN	HITHER+DRIVE.IPF-PRET-IQ		

Father asked if Murad had come.

3. Long-distance agreement

Long-distance agreement (LDA)

▶ Hindi

Naadyaa-ko	gaar**ii**	calaa-n-**ii**	aa-t-**ii**	hai.
Nadya-ACC	car.**F**.NOM	drive-INF-**F.SG**	go-IMF-**F.SG**	COP.3SG

Nadya knows how to drive a car.

Naadyaa-ko	gaar**ii**	calaa-n-**aa**	aa-t-**aa**	hai.
Nadya-ACC	car.**F**.NOM	drive-INF-**M.SG**	go-IMF-**M.SG**	COP.3SG

Nadya knows car-driving. (Butt 1993: 59)

Cross-linguistic instances of LDA

- languages of North America – e.g. Algonquin: Blackfoot (Frantz 1978); Passamaquoddy (Bruening 2001);

- Indo-Aryan: Hindi (Butt 1993), Kashmiri (Hook, Kaul 1987);

- Chukchee-Kamchatkan: Itelmen (Bobaljik, Wurmbrandt 2005);

- Nilotic: Kipsigis (Jake, Odden 1979);

- Kartvelian: Svan;

- Basque;

- Uralic: Mordvin (Kozhemyakina 2015).

The structure of LDA constuctions (Polinsky 2002; see also Davies, Dubinsky 2004)

- ▶ Raising (Kipsigis, Jake & Odden 1979; Passamaquoddy, Bruening 2001):

The controller NP is raised to the matrix clause; hence, the agreement is local.

- ▶ Argument structure peculiarities (Svan, Basque):

The controller NP is the original argument of the matrix verb.

The structure of LDA constructions

▶ NP analysis of the embedded clause (Hindi, Butt 1993):

In LDA-construction the target (the infinitive) itself is a verbal noun, which acquires the gender feature from the controller NP. In turn, the matrix verb agrees with this verbal noun. In the local agreement construction the P-argument and the infinitive form a compound. Thus, the verbal noun does not acquire the gender feature.

[NP [NP car]   [N [V   drive]   [CL   FEM]]   ]
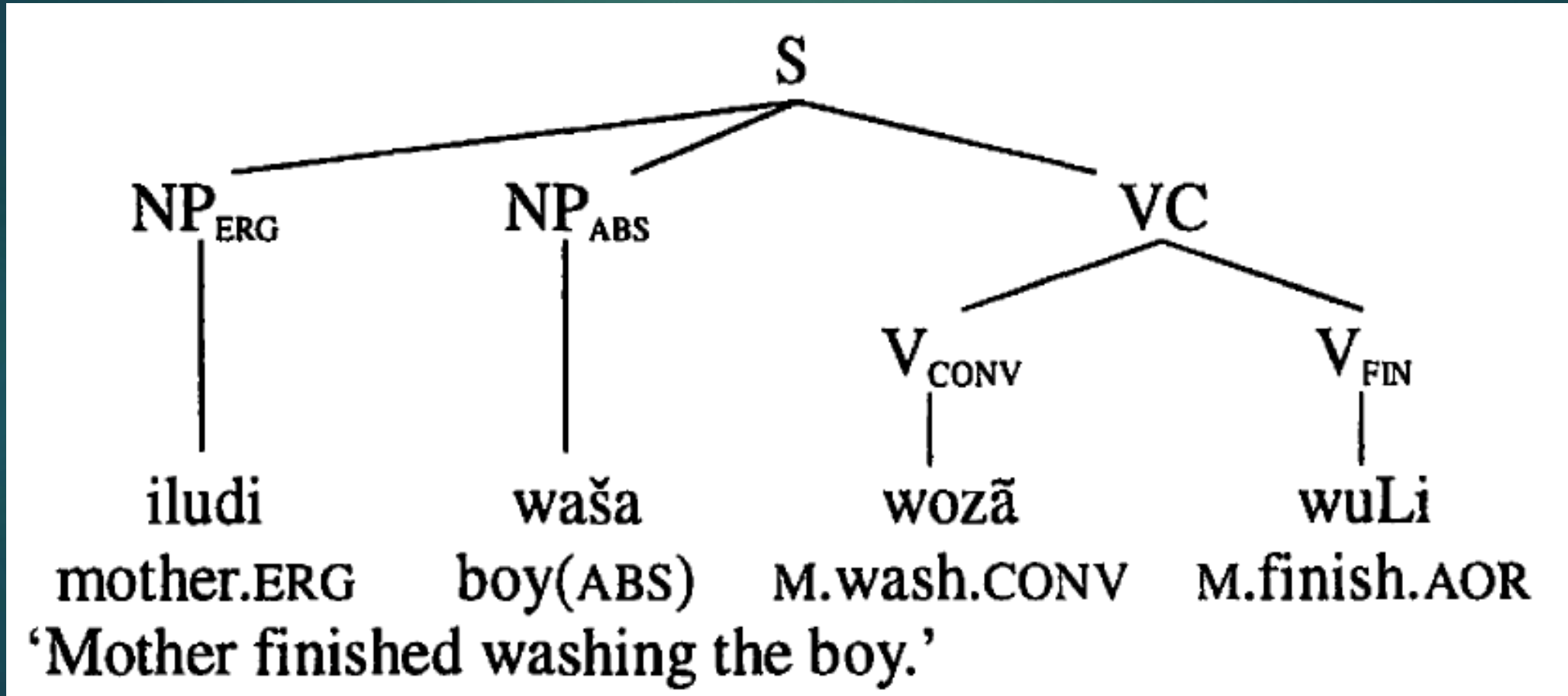
(adapted from Butt 1993: 60)

The structure of LDA constructions

Topicalization of the P-argument (Tsez, Polinsky 2000 and 2002): the controller NP is moved to the left periphery of the embedded clause:
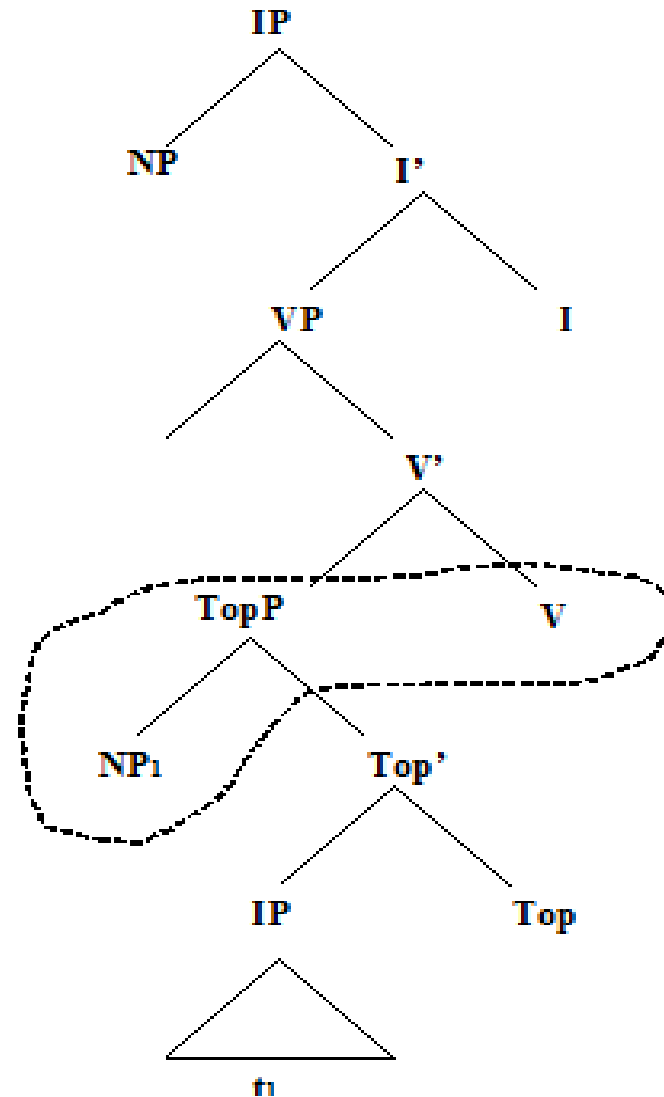
The structure of LDA constructions

- Clause union: Godoberi (Haspelmath 1999)


```
                            S
        _____/____|_____
      /                      |                          \
   NP_ERG                  NP_ABS                        VC
     |                       |                     _____/_____
     |                       |                    /             \
     |                       |                 V_CONV          V_FIN
     |                       |                    |              |
   iludi                   waša                 wozã           wuLi
 mother.ERG             boy(ABS)            M.wash.CONV    M.finish.AOR
```
'Mother finished washing the boy.'

4. LDA in Qunqi Dargwa

Gender/number agreement prefixes in Qunqi Dargwa

	M	F	N
SG	w=	r=	b=
PL	b=	b=	d=

LDA vs. local agreement with the embedded clause

(a) dammij   <u>aw-ne</u>   **d**=ikː-a-l-da   <u>asː-ij</u>.

     I.DAT   dress-PL   **NPL**=want.IPF-POT-ATR-1   buy-SUBJ.1/3

I want to buy dresses.

(b) dammij   <u>aw-ne</u>   **b**=ikː-a-l-da   <u>asː-ij</u>.

     I.DAT   dress-PL   **N**=want.IPF-POT-ATR-1   buy-SUBJ.1/3

I want to buy dresses.

Complement-taking verbs that allow LDA

CTP	Translation	Case of the experiencer	Agreement with the experiencer	Dependent verb encoding
b=aʔ b=išːib	'start'	ABS	class, person	SUBJ, CONV
b=aχur	'know'	DAT	person	SUBJ
b=iχub	'be.able'	ABS	class, person	SUBJ, CONV
ʔaʕʁunne ca=b-i	'must'	(DAT)	no agreement	SUBJ (CONV)
b=ikː-	'want'	DAT	person	SUBJ, CONV
b=ičːi b=arqʼib	'like'	DAT	person	SUBJ, CONV
ʔaχ.ka=b-cːur	'like'	DAT	person	MSD, CONV
qːar-b=arqʼib	'order'	ERG	person	SUBJ

? Clause union: arguments in favour

▶ Noteworthy, raising in Dargwa is only possible with clause union verbs. Also, LDA is only possible with the subjunctive and the simple converb , both of them heading clauses with "lowered biclausality" The simple converb is also used by non-clause union matrix verbs, however, no LDA is possible with these verbs.

Linear order: Inf/Conv-adjacency rule with local agreement

▶ Unmarked WO with infinitives/converbs:

Exp V [P Inf]   Exp [P Inf] V

Marked WO:

[P Inf] Exp V   Exp V [Inf P]

In all cases, the dependent clause seems to form a constituent

▶ The LDA tends to occur with the following WOs (the basic WO being possible as well):

Exp [P] V [Inf]   Exp [Inf] V [P]   [P] Exp [Inf] V

Exp V [Inf P]   [P Inf] Exp V

▶ With LDA an element of the matrix clause can appear in the middle of the dependent clause, which is impossible in other complement clause types (in masdar, complementizer clauses etc.).

Relativization

► Relativization of an element of the dependent clause is possible in subjunctive/converb clauses:

ajba-li   w=ax-w=aˤχː-uj   irχ̥-an

mother-ERG   <bathe>M=ST–M=LV.PF–SUBJ   [M]be.able-POT

gali   murad   ca=w-i.

boy   Murad   COP=M-COP

The boy whom mother wants to bathe is Murad.

► It is impossible with masdar/complementizer clauses:

Yesterday I've seen a man about whom I read in the newspapers that he is a robber.

- no possibility to translate literally; a paraphrasis should be used

? Clause union: counterarguments

Mono-/ biclausality of the LDA constructions: tests

- agreement pattern of adverbials that belong to the dependent / matrix clause;

- negation in the dependent / matrix clause;

- possibility of two time adverbials in both clauses;

- complex reflexives binding.

Time adverbials' in both clauses

The LDA construction can host two time adverbials; one of them semantically modifies the matrix clause, and another one the dependent clause:

tːatːi-li   sːa   qːar-če-**d**=arq'-ib   gal-li-cːe

father-ERG   yesterday   order-PV-NPL=do:PF-PRET   son-OBL-INTER

<u>ijale</u>   <u>patinka-be</u>   <u>asː-uj</u>.

today   shoe-PL   buy:PF-SUBJ.3/3

The father ordered yesterday his son to buy shoes today.

Complex reflexives binding

In a monoclausal construction, two NPs with the same case marking would not be expected; however, cf.:

tːatːi-li q̄ːar-če-**d**=arq'-ib gal-li-cːe…

father-ERG order-PV-NPL=do.PF-PRET boy-OBL-SUPER

a. **cin-na** **cin-i-j** patinka-be asː-uj.

RFL-GEN RFL-OBL-DAT shoe-PL buy:PF-SUBJ.3/3

The father ordered his son to buy shoes for himself (to the son).

b. **cin-i-j** patinka-be asː-uj.

RFL-OBL-DAT shoe-PL buy:PF-SUBJ.3/3

The father ordered his son to buy shoes for himself (to the father or to the son).

Conclusion

- This shows that LDA constructions cannot be analyzed as 'true' clause union.

- However, they do not exhibit biclausaxl properties to a full extent, as well as local agreement constructions with the subjunctive/simple converb.

？ Raising analysis

The absolutive NP that controls LDA, hence shows the properties of an element of the matrix clause. This suggests that LDA could arise due to raising in terms of Postal (1974):

I believe **him** to be a linguist (cf. I believe that he is a linguist).

Linear order

If the absolutive NP (from the dependent clause) is put before the matrix verb non-adjacent to the dependent verb, local agreement is rare or even unacceptable for some native speakers (b):

a. du   <u>redil-ra   unc:-urbe   če-d=ač'-i</u>   ʔaˤʁun-neca=**b**=i /   ca=**d**=i.

   I   all-&   door-PL   PV-NPL=close:PF-SUBJ.1   must-ADV COP=N-COP
 COP=NPL-COP

b. du <u>unc:-urbe</u>   ʔaˤʁun-neca=**d**=i   <u>če-d=ač'-i</u>   (*ca=**b**=i)

   I   door-PL   must-ADV COP=NPL-COP PV-NPL=close:PF-SUBJ.1   COP=NPL-COP

I must close (all) the doors.

However, LDA is possible even if the absolutive NP is adjacent to the dependent verb (a).

Dependent clause ellipsis (Right Node Raising)

Ellipsis of a group of words is used in some works (Postal 1974 and others) as a constituency test:

a. ajba-li-j   <u>murad   w=aχː-w=axː-uj</u>   ʔaˤʁʊn ca=**b**-i,   a   azaj-li-j   ʔaˤʁʊn-akːʊ.

mother-OBL-DAT Murad   M=bathe-M-LV:PF-SUBJ.3/3 must   COP=**N**-COP   and sister-OBL-DAT   must-NEG.PRS.3

b. ?? ajba-li-j   <u>murad   w=aχː-w=axː-uj</u>   ʔaˤʁʊn   ca=**w**-i,

mother-OBL-DAT   Murad   M=bathe-M-LV:PF-SUBJ.3/3   must   COP=**M**-COP

a   azaj-li-j   ʔaˤʁʊn-akːʊ.

and   sister-OBL-DAT   must-NEG.PRS.3

c. ajba-li-j   <u>murad   w=aχː-w=axː-uj</u>   ʔaˤʁʊn   ca=**w**-i,

mother-OBL-DAT Murad   M=bathe-M-LV:PF-SUBJ.3/3   must   COP=**M**-COP

a   azaj-li-j   w=aχː-w=axː-uj   ʔaˤʁʊn-akːʊ.

and   sister-OBL-DAT   M=bathe-M-LV:PF-SUBJ.3/3   must-NEG.PRS.3

The mother has to, and the sister doesn't have to [wash Murad].

By LDA ellipsis of the dependent clause with the absolutive NP is not acceptable.

Quantifiers' scope

Quantifiers modifying the absolutive NP have wide scope by LDA, narrow scope by local agreement:

dammij	redil-ra	bagur-me	d=irc-i	**d**=ikː-l-ačːu-da.
I.DAT	all-&	bowl-PL	NPL=wash-SUBJ.1/3	**NPL**=want-ATR-NEG.PRS.1-1

*I don't want to wash the bowls at all. (*I want to leave a part of the bowls)*

- ∀(x) [¬ wash(x)]

dammij	redil-ra	bagur-me	d=irc-i	**b**=ikː-l-ačːu-da.
I.DAT	all-&	bowl-PL	NPL=wash-SUBJ.1/3	**N**=want-ATR-NEG.PRS.1-1

I want to wash not all the bowls (I want to leave a part of the bowls).

- ¬∀(x) [wash (x)]

Raising or control? Idioms' test

As these tests suggest for the raising analysis, it can be hypothesized that the NP in question is an argument of the matrix verb, i.e. that the discussed construction presents an example of obligatory control. In that case, it does not show LDA, but local agreement with the argument of the matrix verb.

The traditional idioms' test:

▶ I believe <u>the cat to be out of the bag.</u>

▶ ^{??} I persuaded the cat <u>to be out of the bag</u>.

In LDA constructions the controller NP can be part of an idiom, which gives evidence for the raising analysis.

ʔ Topic

- For Tsez a raising to TopP analysis has been suggested (Potsdam, Polinsky 1999; Polinsky 2000). One of the arguments is that the absolutive NP that triggers LDA is a topic (Polinsky 2000).

- In Qunqi the LDA is chosen if the absolutive NP is the topic:

ʔaˤʁun ca=**d**-i   tːur-d=arqʼ-ar-aj   ʔirʔ-le,

must   COP=NPL-COP OUT-NPL=doː.PF-TH-SUBJ.INTR.3 hen.OBL-PL

il-tːi   qili   d=určːe   d=iqʼ̥-a-d=iqʼ̥-an-aj.

DEM-PL house.ILL NPL=inside NPL=go-NEG-NPL=go-TH-SUBJ.INTR.3

The hens should be driven out of the yard, else they will go into the house.

ʔ Focus

► However, contrary to Tsez, the absolutive NP can also trigger LDA if it constitutes the question focus, contrast focus, or if it is modified by focus particles.

ajba-li-j   ʔaˁʁun   ca=**w**-i   w=aχː-w=aχː-uj   murad,

mother-OBL-DAT   must   COP=M-COP   M=bathe-M=LV:PF-SUBJ.3/3   Murad

rasul   ač̓ː i-nu.

Rasul   NEG-PTCL

Mother has to bathe Murad, not Rasul.

dammij   bagur-me   **gina**   d=irc-i   **d**=ikː-a-l-da.

I.DAT   bowl-PL   only   NPL=wash:PF-SUBJ.1   NPL=want.IPF-PRS-ATR-1

I only want to wash bowls {not pans}.

► Hence, if the absolutive NP is focused, it can also trigger LDA.

! The absolute must constitute the topic/focus by itself

The generalization is as follows: LDA is chosen if the absolutive NP itself is either the topic or the focus. If it belongs to the topic or focus together with the verb (lit. *Wash dishes she can / It is washing dishes that she is able to do*), local agreement is chosen. Hence, the relative information properties of the verb and the absolutive NP are relevant.

'True' clause union: monoclausal type

▶ There are constructions with phasal and modal verbs that show monoclausal properties to a full extent (according to all the tests considered above). These are the constructions where the matrix verbs do not have a nominal argument, i.e. they are used as one-place predicates:

~ *The mountains started to be visible. (Local agreement is not acceptable)*

Comment: be visible at all, not to any particular person

▶ The properties of the monoclausal structures:

  ▶ It is not possible to have local agreement.

  ▶ Two adverbials of the same semantic type are not allowed.

  ▶ These constructions do not pass the idioms' test.

▶ Thus, monoclausal constructions with the same verbs are attested, and the LDA constructions in question are clearly different from them.

Conclusions

WEAKENED CLAUSE	>	WEAKENED CLAUSE	>	CLAUSE UNION
BOUNDARY		BOUNDARY		
local agr constructions		LDA		specific constructions
with 'must', 'be able' etc.		with the same verbs		illustrated above

The analysis with 'weakened' clause boundary has been postulated for some infinitival complements in Rizzi 1978, Bordelois 1988, Rosen 1992.

5. LDA in East Caucasian

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Languages without LDA

▶ Languages without person/number/gender agreement: Lezgian, Aghul etc.

▶ Languages that do have verbal agreement, but seem to be limited to the local agreement pattern: Xinalug.

Languages with ?monoclausal LDA

Language	LDA verbs	class/ number/ person	dependent clause	local agr	semantic difference
Avar	can, want	class, number	V stem, INF	?no	no
Archi	need, can, want	class, number	INF	no	-
Budukh	can, want	class, number	PF stem, IPF stem	yes	-
Kryz	must, can, want	class, number	IPF stem, PF, PURP	no	-
Bezhta	can, begin, want	class, number	CONV, INF	no	-
Gunzib	must, can, begin, want	class	INF, PURP	no	-
Lak	must	class, person, number	INF	no	no
Chamalal	must	class, number	INF	no	-
Tindi	must	class	INF	no	-
Akhvakh	must	class, number	INF	no	
Godoberi	finish, must, be able 1, be able 2 like, know, forget, want	class, number	INF, CONV	yes	no

Languages with biclausal LDA

Language	LDA verbs	class/ number/ person	dependent clause	local agr	semantic difference
Khwarshi	must, know	class	must: INF, know: PTCP, SUBST, MSD	must: no, know: yes	emphasis
Qunqi Dargwa	start, must, know, be able, like1, like2, want, order	class, number	INF, CONV	yes	emphasis
Hinuq	must, want, forbid, promise, know, learn, love, hate, be allowed, be able, show	class	INF, parataxis, PURP, factive form	yes	emphasis
Tsez	know, think, expect, want, find, be good, adjs, must, can	class	CP; INF	yes (must: topic no)	
Tsakhur	know, difficult, need, want, necessary, like, learn, can	class, number	MSD, parataxis, COMPL	yes (can: no)	emphasis

Conclusions

- Languages with LDA constructions differ in the possibility of the local agreement pattern with the same CTPs. Interestingly, this parameter is correlated with the mono-/biclausality of LDA construcitons.
  - monoclausal: no local agr possible
  - biclausal: local agr is possible, while LDA is used to achieve a pragmatic effect of emphasis
- Some lgs (Khwarshi) have two types of constructions based on the same dichotomy.
- A study of LDA in a given language must include the analysis of constructions with CTPs belonging to various semantic classes.

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Thank you!