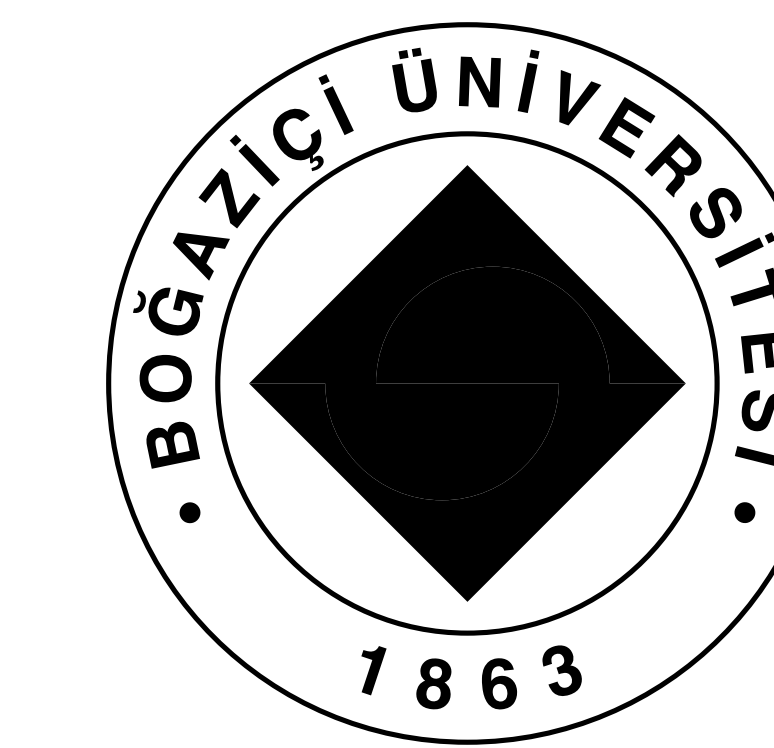
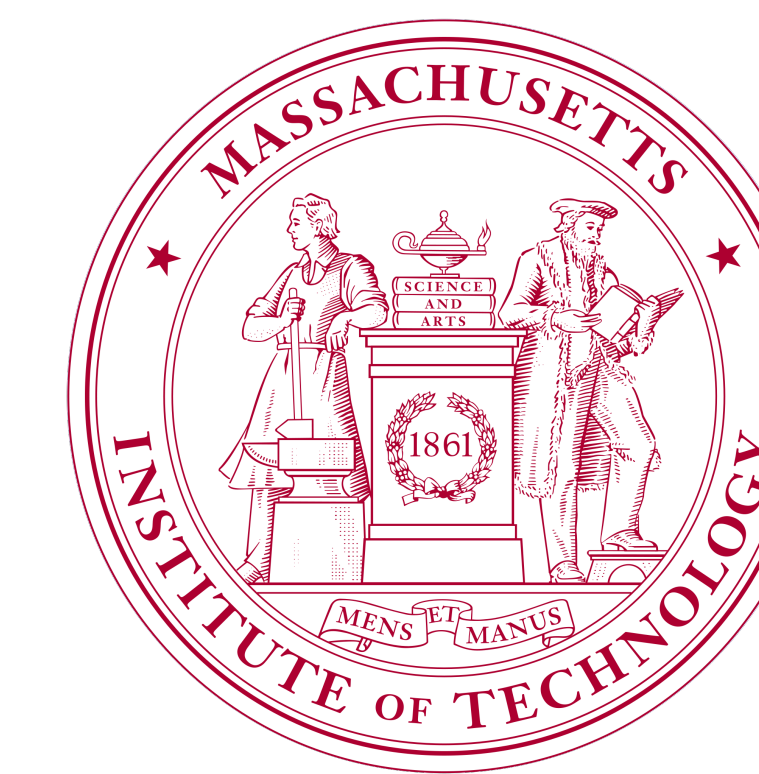


Complementizers in Laz are attitude sensitive

Ömer Demirok (MIT) · Deniz Özyıldız (UMass, Amherst) · Balkız Öztürk (Boğaziçi University)

NELS 49 · Cornell University · 5–7 Oct. 2018



1. Introduction

- Articulating attitude verbs and embedded clauses calls for:
[Kratzer, 2006, 2016; Hacquard, 2006; Moulton 2009; a.o.]

“More action for complementizers!”

- The Laz complementizer system provides evidence for:
 - Complementizers that introduce an event predicate akin to “say” or “think,” which we model as their union ($S \cup T$),
 - Some embedded clauses compose with predicates via event summation (\times).

2. Complementizers in Laz

Laz (< South Caucasian) has 3 types of finite subordination

[Öztürk & Pöchtrager (2011), Demirok & Öztürk (2015)]

① na-subordination:

OK across the board, except under manner of speech predicates.

- (1) [cp ana noseri na on] \times aceren / \times idu unams / *k'iu
ana smart na is believes / thinks / screamed
'S/he believes/thinks/*screamed that ana is smart.'

② ya subordination:

Restricted to *t'k'v* ('say'), *ts'v* ('tell'), and *idu un* ('think').

- (2) [cp ana noseri on ya] *aceren / \times idu unams / *k'iu
ana smart is ya believes / thinks / screamed
'S/he *believes/ \times thinks/*screamed that ana is smart.'

③ ya do subordination:

Q: How are clauses embedded under manner of speech predicates?

A: With ya subordination and the conjunction do.

- (3) [cp ana noseri on ya] do k'iu
ana smart is ya do screamed
'S/he screamed that ana is smart.'

Additional fact about ya do: any VP can occur with ya do

- (4) [cp Sebap'-on ya] do fuk'aras para niçams
good.deed-is ya do poor money gives
'S/he gives money to the poor, saying/thinking it's a good deed.'

- Plan: i. Derive co-occurrence restrictions
ii. Understand what ya do contributes.

3. Proposal

- ① na clauses co-occur with semantically transitive attitude verbs.
They restrict the internal argument of the attitude verb.

[Kratzer 2006, 2016; Chung & Ladusaw 2001]

- (5) a. \times \uparrow say^Z = x. e.say(e)(x) x individuals with content
b. \times scream^Z = e.scream(e)
- (6) a. \uparrow na^Z = \uparrow that^Z = p. x.content(x) p
b. Restrict(\uparrow say^Z, \uparrow na^Z(p)) = x. e.say(e)(x) cont.(x) p

- ② ya introduces a predicate of events we call $S \cup T$.
ya clauses end up having VP meanings.

- (7) \uparrow S \cup T^Z = \uparrow say^Z \cup think^Z

Intuition: saying and thinking (inner speech) form a natural class of events that involve linguistic production [cf. *belief]

- (8) \uparrow ya^Z = p. x. $\boxed{e.S \cup T(e)(x)}$ $\frac{\text{content}(x)}{\text{Jna}(p)(x)}$ p

- ②a They can compose via Predicate Modification.

- (9) Artek [cp ana noseri on ya] [vp idu unams]
Arte ana smart is ya thinks
'Arte thinks that ana is smart.'

- a. \uparrow VP^Z = x. e.think(e)(x)
b. \uparrow CP^Z = x. e.S \cup T(e)(x) cont.(x) {w : smart() (w)}
c. Predicate Modification(\uparrow VP^Z, \uparrow CP^Z) =
x. e.think(e)(x) cont.(x) {w : smart() (w)}

This derives the selection facts in (2): \uparrow believe^Z \uparrow S \cup T^Z = ?
 \uparrow think/say^Z \uparrow S \cup T^Z = ?

- ②b They can compose by a sum forming operator \times , encoded in do.

- (10) [cp it's a good deed ya] $\boxed{\text{do}}$ [vp gives-money] cf. (4)
- a. \times Event summation:
e. $e_1, e_2, x[\text{give-money}(e_1) \cup S \cup T(e_2)(x) \quad e = e_1 \cup e_2$
content(x) = {w : giving-money-is-a-good-deed(w)}]
- b. \times Event identification/Predicate Modification:
e.give-money(e) S \cup T(e)(x)
content(x) = {w : giving-money-is-a-good-deed(w)}

Kratzer (2016): Events introduced by manner of speech verbs are identified (not summed) with saying events.

This poster: Event identification doesn't work in at least cases like (4)/(10) **sum-formation is required in general.**

4. Supporting evidence

Claim#1: ya encodes the meaning of \uparrow S \cup T^Z = \uparrow say^Z \cup think^Z.

Claim#2: ya do is compositional.

- ① do sums individuals, in addition to being able to sum events

- (11) ana do Arte-k ok'i-coxaman-an
ana and Arte-erg recip-call.impf-pl
'ana and Arte are calling each other.'

- ② ya do is not a generalized clause linker: S \cup T meaning obligatory

- (12) #Mç'imu ya do vi vari
it.rained ya do I.got.wet
a. #'I got wet, saying/thinking it rained.'
b. Intended: 'I got wet because it rained.'

- ③ ya incorporates \uparrow S \cup T^Z: Bare ya clauses

- (13) Berepek [noseri voret] ya.
children smart we.are ya
Lit: The children say/think 'we are smart.'
Context: The children each said 'I'm smart.'

- (14) Berek oma uneneli uneneli vinçirare ya.
child yesterday silent silent I.will.swim ya
'The child₁ yesterday silently said that s/he₁ will swim.'

- ④ There is no ellipsis: ya (do) = ya say/think (do)

- (15) Tsoxle vizgalare ya *(t'k'u) do uk'ule uk'ap'u
first 1.will.walk ya said and later ran
'S/he first said 'I will walk,' and s/he later ran.'

- (16) a. Mi-k mp'olis vore ya \times (t'k'u)
who-erg in.city I.am ya said
'Who said 'I'm in Istanbul?''
b. Arte-k nak vore ya *(t'k'u)
Arte-erg where I.am ya said
'Where did Arte say 'I am t?''
no VP above ya no extraction out of ya clause

Acknowledgments:

We thank Danny Fox, Sabine Iatridou, Norvin Richards, and the participants of the UMass semantics workshop for feedback and discussion, and—most importantly—our language consultant smail Bucakli i. All errors are our own.