

What is morphologically bound complementation

❑ Morphologically bound complementation is a construction where a matrix predicate and the head of its sentential complement constitute a single verb morphologically but retain their syntactic independence.

❖ Classic examples: biclausal morphological causatives

(1) Karachay-Balkar (Turkic): scope of negation [Lyutikova et al. 2006: 132]

ata-si alim-ge cap-tir-ma-di
father-3 Alim-DAT run-CAUS-NEG-PST.3SG
'Father did not make Alim run.' / 'Father made Alim not to run.'

❖ Rare examples: Perception-Cognition-Utterance (PCU) predicate as a matrix verb

(2) Abaza (North-West Caucasian)

[awəj d-ɣa-j]-zə-s-š'a-t
DIST 3SG.H.ABS-DIR-go-LOC-1SG.IO-think-DCL
'I thought he came.'

Purpose of the study

- ❑ To investigate an example of morphologically bound complementation in Abaza on the basis of fieldwork data collected in the village Inzhich-Chukun (Abazinsky district, Karachay-Cherkes Republic, Russia) in 2017-2018;
- ❑ To find similar constructions in other languages and define main features of this type of subordination;
- ❑ To hypothesize about where such morphologically and syntactically peculiar development can be expected and which properties of linguistic systems facilitate it.

Abaza complex predicates with zəš'a: two clauses in a single word

❖ Why it is a single wordform

❑ The prefixal part of the bipartite negation marker appears on the embedded verb even though only the matrix verb is negated, cf. (3a) with an ordinary matrix verb and (3b) with zəš'a 'seem, think'.

(3a) sara [d-ɣa-j-ta]
I 3SG.H.ABS-DIR-go-ADV
g'-qa-s-ç-wə-m
NEG.EMP-LOC-1SG.ERG-believe-IPF-NEG
'I don't believe he came.'

(3b) [awəj d-g'-ɣa-j]-zə-s-š'-wə-m
DIST 3H.ABS-NEG.EMP-DIR-go-LOC-1SG.IO-think-IPF-NEG
'I don't think he came.'

❑ The prefix *an(a)*- 'when' also appears on the embedded verb even though it modifies the matrix verb, cf. (4a) and (4b).

(4a) d-š-psə-z anə-l-ba
3SG.H.ABS-REL.MNR-die-PST.NFIN REL.TMP-3SG.F.ERG-see
d-ç'əwa d-a-la-ga-t
3SG.H.ABS-cry-IPF 3SG.H.ABS-3SG.N.IO-LOC-begin-DCL
'When she saw he had died, she started crying.'

(4b) [d-an-psə]-zə-l-š'a
3SG.H.ABS-REL.TMP-die-LOC-3SG.F.IO-think
d-ç'əwa d-a-la-ga-t
3SG.H.ABS-cry-IPF 3SG.H.ABS-3SG.N.IO-LOC-begin-DCL
'When she thought he had died, she started crying.'

❖ Why there are two clauses

❑ Each predicate has its own argument structure and its own tense-aspect morphology:

(5) sara [apχ'aga fatima
I DEF+book F.
j-lə-w-t-wa-š]-z-s-š'-wə-n
3SG.N.ABS-3SG.F.IO-2SG.M.ERG-give-IPF-FUT-LOC-1SG.IO-think-IPF-PST
'I thought you would give this book to Fatima.'

❑ Each predicate can be modified by adverbs:

(6) sara jacə [wara way'ç'wa χabajz
I yesterday you today Khabez
wə-c-wə-š]-z-s-š'-wə-n
2SG.M.ABS-go-IPF-FUT-LOC-1SG.IO-think-IPF-PST
'Yesterday I thought you would go to Khabez today.'

Typology

(6) Aghul (East Caucasian) [Maisak 2016: 826]
[gada χul.a aj]-čuk'
boy house(IN) IN.be:PRS-check(IM P)
'Check whether the boy is at home now.'

(7) Yupik (Eskimo-Aleut) [Mithun 2000: 102]
arnaq ikayu-llru-ni-uq angute-mun
woman help-PST-say-IND.3SG man-ALL.SG
'The woman says that the man helped her.'

(8) Yaqui (Uto-Aztecan) [Guerrero 2004: 45]
Joan-∅ [tuuka Tibu-ta siim]-maachia-∅
Juan-NOM yesterday tibu-ACC go-believe-PRS
'Juan believes Tibu to have left yesterday.'

❖ Productivity

Number of matrix verbs attested in morphological complementation constructions: Abaza (1), Aghul (2), Archi (2), Yupik (6), Yaqui (16), Nivkh (27).

Results

No	Tests	Abaza	Aghul	Archi	Yaqui	Nivkh	Yupik
1	Separate argument structure	+	+	+	+/-	+	+/-
2	Subjects of both predicates can control binding of reflexives				+		
3	Adverbial modification of both predicates	+	+	+			
4	Possibility of logoforic pronouns			+			
5	Negation of the subordinate predicate	+	+		-		
6	Derivational markers on the subordinate predicate	+		+/-		+	+
7	TAM-affixes on the subordinate predicate	+	+/-	+	+/-	+	+
8	Single morphological marking (for instance, circumfixes)	+					
9	Vowel harmony of the whole construction, inner sandhi					+	
10	Phonological fusion	-	+	+	+	-	

❖ Conclusions

- ❑ With different frequency, verbs located anywhere in T. Givón's "binding hierarchy" [Givón 1980] can serve as matrix predicates in morphologically bound complementation.
- ❑ Cases of morphologically bound complementation are more common in OV-languages, which can be explained in terms of processing.

References

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