

# Attitude Sensitive Complementizers in Laz

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**Introduction:** In Laz, an endangered South Caucasian language spoken in Turkey, embedded clauses are introduced by three different subordinators: NA, YA and ŞO. The proclitic complementizer NA is a general purpose C°. We argue that YA and ŞO signal an indexical shifting operator (Anand and Nevins, 2004; Sudo 2010). The C°+OP<sub>shift</sub> bundle is realized by ŞO when the embedding verb is non-indicative (i.e. subjunctive or imperative). We claim that despite appearances, ŞO is *not* a contextual allomorph or an agreeing variant of YA. Rather, we take YA and ŞO to make distinct semantic contributions. In particular, we argue that both of these complementizers, besides signalling OP<sub>shift</sub>, relate an individual to a propositional attitude and are sensitive to the nature of the attitude and the discourse role of the attitude holders.

**Data:** The C° head NA occurs in embedded declaratives, embedded interrogatives, and relative clauses. The bundled complementizer YA, on the other hand, is only compatible with attitude predicates under which indexical shift is possible in Laz, namely ‘say’, ‘tell’, ‘believe’, and ‘think’. Indexical shift is impossible under NA (1) but obligatory under YA (2). We take the availability of the matrix scope for ‘who’ in (2) to suggest indexical shift, as opposed to direct quotation.

- (1) Arte-k [CP ma bere-k **na**-m-dzir-u] {iduşunams | t’k’u}  
 Arte-ERG [ me child-ERG NA-1-see-3SG.PST] thinks | said  
 a. ‘Arte<sub>1</sub> {thinks | said} that the child saw me.’  
 b. \*‘Arte<sub>1</sub> {thinks | said} that the child saw him<sub>1</sub>?’
- (2) Arte-k [CP ma mi-k m-dzir-u **ya**] {iduşunams | t’k’u}  
 Arte-ERG [ me who-ERG 1-see.3SG.PST YA] thinks | said  
 a. ‘Who does/did Arte<sub>1</sub> {think | say} saw him<sub>1</sub>?’  
 b. \*‘Who does/did Arte {think | say} saw me?’

Non-indicative attitude predicates can select for either NA or ŞO, contingent on the possibility of indexical shift. (5) shows that the utterance embedded under ŞO is not a quotation.

- (3) [CP ma noseri **na**-vore] t’k’v-i (4) [CP ma noseri vore **şo**] t’k’v-i  
 [ I smart NA-be.1SG] say-2SG [ I smart be.1SG ŞO] say-2SG  
 a. \*‘Say that you are smart!’ a. ‘Say that you are smart!’  
 b. ‘Say that I am smart.’ b. \*‘Say that I am smart.’
- (5) Arte-k mualimi-s [CP ma nak vort’i **şo**] u-ts’v-a-s?  
 Arte-ERG teacher-DAT [ I where I.was ŞO] tell-SUBJN-3SG  
 Lit: ‘Where<sub>1</sub> should Arte tell the teacher ‘I was t<sub>1</sub>’.’?  
 ‘Where should Arte<sub>1</sub> tell the teacher that he<sub>1</sub>/<sub>\*2</sub> was?’

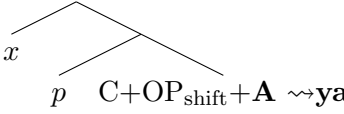
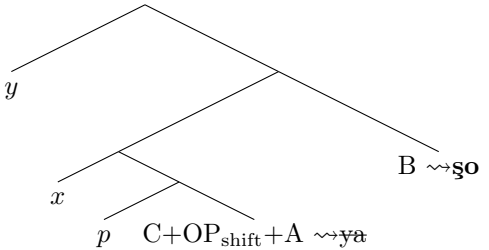
**Basic Problem:** The C°+OP<sub>shift</sub> bundle is sensitive to the mood of the selecting verb. If this were a case of contextual allomorphy, it would have to be conditioned non-locally by a node not adjacent to the C°+OP<sub>shift</sub> bundle (Embick, 2010; Bobaljik, 2012, a.o.). If this were a case of agreement, however, a particular variant of upward-looking Agree (*a la* Zeijlstra, 2012) would be needed.

- (6) [CP noseri vore **şo**] t’k’v-i (7) [CP noseri vore **ya**] t’k’v-i  
 [ smart be.1SG ŞO] say-2SG [ smart be.1SG YA] say-2SG  
 Say that you are smart. ‘You said that you are smart.’
- 
- I am smart C+OP<sub>shift</sub>  $\rightsquigarrow$  şo
- I am smart C+OP<sub>shift</sub>  $\rightsquigarrow$  ya

**Proposal:** We claim that the variation in the realization of the  $C^o + OP_{\text{shift}}$  bundle is not the outcome of contextual allomorphy or Upward Agree, as neither variant needs to be selected.  $\text{\textcircled{S}}$ O and YA can in fact occur unselected and hence should make their own semantic contributions besides realizing the  $OP_{\text{shift}}$ . We argue that unembedded  $\text{\textcircled{S}}$ O-YA clauses (8) are mono-clausal (i.e. not derived by ellipsis), as evidenced by the impossibility of matrix-clause phenomena: they do not allow wh-extraction (9), an overt addressee NP, or quirky case variation on the attitude holder.

- (8) a. Arte-k noseri vore **\text{\textcircled{S}}**O  
Arte-ERG smart be.1SG  $\text{\textcircled{S}}$ O  
'Arte<sub>1</sub> should say that he<sub>1</sub> is smart.'
- b. Arte-k noseri vore **YA**  
Arte-ERG smart be.1SG YA  
'Arte<sub>1</sub> says/thinks that he<sub>1</sub> is smart.'
- (9) Arte-k nak vort'i { **YA** (\*t'k-u) | **\text{\textcircled{S}}**O (\*t'k'v-a-s) }  
Arte-ERG where be.1SG.PST YA say-3SG.PST  $\text{\textcircled{S}}$ O say-SUBJN-3SG  
'Where did/should Arte<sub>1</sub> say that he<sub>1</sub> was?'

We propose that YA presupposes a relationship between an individual  $x$  and her propositional (non-bouletic) attitude  $p$  and that YA-clauses have the structure in (10). We assume that this attitude ascription is mediated by some head  $A^o$ , (cf. Sundaresan 2018). In embedded cases, the  $x$  is bound by the overt attitude holder in the matrix clause (1). In unembedded cases,  $x$  can be filled by an overt NP (8b) (or receive its reference contextually). The  $OP_{\text{shift}}$  shifts any 1SG indexical embedded in its complement  $p$  to whoever  $x$  refers to. We assume that  $\text{\textcircled{S}}$ O is a portmanteau form, realizing YA plus an additional head  $B^o$ , which we take to presuppose a relationship between an individual  $y$  and her *bouletic* attitude (i.e. the entire complement of  $B^o$ ). Essentially, we take all  $\text{\textcircled{S}}$ O-clauses to embed a YA clause in syntax, which is supported by their interpretation (cf. (8)). We show that  $y$  is anchored to the SPEAKER (8a) but can flip to the ADDRESSEE in questions (9). Note that  $y$  refers to the embedded SPEAKER when it is bound (13). The informally stated spell-out rules for  $\text{\textcircled{S}}$ O and YA are in (11).

- (10) 
- (11) a.  $C + OP_{\text{shift}} + A \rightsquigarrow \text{YA}$   
b.  $C + OP_{\text{shift}} + A + B \rightsquigarrow \text{\textcircled{S}}$ O
- (12) 
- (13) Mualimi-k si [CP [CP mi malimben **\text{\textcircled{S}}**O] t'k'vi **YA**] gits'u  
teacher-ERG you [ [ who I.love  $\text{\textcircled{S}}$ O] say.IMP YA] he.told.you  
Lit: 'Who<sub>1</sub> did the teacher tell you 'say 'I love t<sub>1</sub>!'?'  
'Who did the teacher tell you that you should say that you love?'

The interaction of  $\text{\textcircled{S}}$ O and YA with negation supports our analysis. Negation (local or high) blocks  $\text{\textcircled{S}}$ O and YA. The incompatibility with negation suggests that  $\text{\textcircled{S}}$ O and YA *do* in fact ascribe an attitude to an individual. Thus the negated sentences embedding  $\text{\textcircled{S}}$ O or YA are precluded as contradictions.

- (14) Arte-k [CP noseri vore YA ] (\*va)-t'k'-u  
Arte-ERG smart be.1SG  $\text{\textcircled{S}}$ O NEG-say-PST.3SG  
'Arte<sub>1</sub> did (\*not) say that he<sub>1</sub> is smart.'
- (15) a. Arte-k [CP noseri vore  $\text{\textcircled{S}}$ O ] (\*mo)-t'k'v-a-s  
Arte-ERG smart be.1SG  $\text{\textcircled{S}}$ O NEG.SUBJN-say-SUBJN-3SG  
'Arte<sub>1</sub> should (\*not) say that he<sub>1</sub> is smart.'
- b. [CP Arte-k [CP noseri vore  $\text{\textcircled{S}}$ O ] t'k'v-a-s ] (\*va)-b-gor-um  
Arte-ERG smart be.1SG  $\text{\textcircled{S}}$ O say-SUBJN-3SG NEG-1-want-IMPF  
'I (\*dont) want that Arte<sub>1</sub> say that he<sub>1</sub> is smart.'