

Semantics of Sentential Complementation in Adyghe

A study of complementation in a given language presupposes the enumeration of complementation strategies allowed with each matrix predicate (see Noonan 1985). In most languages, however, many of the predicates permit for more than one complementation strategy to be chosen. For example, in Adyghe the following complementation strategies are observed (see Rogava, Kerasheva 1966, Zekokh 2002, Gerassimov 2006): verb stem, infinitive, factive form, masdar and the verbal form with case markers.

The first two forms are used to mark complement clauses with modal, phasal, and aspectual verbs. The factive form (according to Lander, Gerassimov 2008) is predominantly used in the context of factive verbs. Other two strategies, masdar and the verbal form with case markers, present a problem for the analysis, since they can bear different case markers in the context of one and the same matrix verb (as in Kabardian complementation system, cf. Kumakhov, Vamling 1998).

- (1) a-r d_weske-m dež' qə-de-č'ə-n-č'e š'əne-zepətə-š'tə-ɪ
dem-ABS blackboard-ERG to DIR-LOC-reach-POT-INS fear-always-AUX-PST

[The teachers often called him out to the blackboard.] 'He was always scared to come to the blackboard'.

- (2) a-r me-š'əne jə-č'elejež'a_we-xe-r
dem-ABS DYN-fear POSS-pupil-PL-ERG
univjersitjetə-m č'e-mə-haš_wə-n-x-ew
university-ERG LOC-NEG-enter-POT-PL-ADV

'He's afraid that his pupils won't enter the university'.

The goal of my paper is to reveal the factors that influence the choice of the case marker in these cases. I claim that the distribution of the case form in complement constructions is regulated by the lexical semantics of the matrix verb. For example, the verb š'əne- 'fear' has two meanings, 'to be scared, to feel the emotion of fear' as in (1), or the meaning of epistemic evaluation of the situation as unfavourable or disadvantageous to the speaker (2). I show that the choice of the case marker in (1)-(2) depends on the meaning of the matrix verb: the 'emotional' reading arises with the instrumental, while the epistemic reading is induced by the adverbial case marker.

In the paper, I classify matrix verbs according to semantic shifts caused by the use of various case markers. I suggest that the basic factor influencing these shifts is the semantics of the

dependent clause, i.e. the opposition of fact, event, and proposition (in terms of Noonan 1985, Arutjunova 1988, Zaliznjak 1990).