

## GNMCCs in Bezhta and Hinuq (Nakh-Daghestanian)

Abstract category: Oral

Theme session: Generalized Noun Modifying Clause Constructions

A generalized noun modifying clause construction (GNMCC) is a single construction consisting of a head noun and a modifying clause that covers the range of English relative clauses, fact-S constructions, and others. Current interest in the topic was spurred by Matsumoto's (1997)'s treatment of GNMCCs in Japanese, with the three types of English translation equivalents illustrated in examples (1)–(3).

- (1) [gakusei ga kat-ta] hon  
student NOM buy-PST book  
'the book that the student bought'
- (2) [gakusei ga hon o kat-ta] zizitu  
student NOM book ACC buy-PST fact  
'the fact that the student bought the book'
- (3) [sakana o yak-u] nioi  
fish ACC grill-PRS smell  
'the smell of (someone) grilling fish'

The possibility of GNMCCs in Nakh-Daghestanian languages has been noted in earlier work, for instance Daniel and Lander (2010), but this earlier work has restricted itself to presentation of a small number of examples without attempting to assess the full range of the construction. We present extensive data from two languages of the Tsezic branch of the Nakh-Daghestanian language family, Bezhta and Hinuq, in order to demonstrate that these languages show a range of GNMCCs almost comparable to that of Japanese. Illustrative examples from Hinuq are given in (4)–(6).

- (4) [ked-i r-u:-ho goła] xok'o-be  
girl-ERG NHPL-make-IPVCVB be.PTCP khinkal-PL  
'the khinkal (a kind of dumpling) that the girl made'
- (5) [uži: mecxer b-ik'ekko goła] xabar  
boy.ERG money(III) III-steal.IPVCVB be.PTCP story  
'the news (or story) that the boy stole the money'

- (6) [de        mašina   toĭ-o        goĭa]        mecxer  
       me.ERG   car        sell-IPVVCVB   be.PTCP   money  
       ‘the money from my selling the car’

By working through the questionnaire developed within the Stanford University-based project “Noun-Modifying Constructions in Languages of Eurasia: Reshaping theoretical and geographical boundaries” led by Y. Matsumoto, B. Comrie, and P. Sells, we show that Bezhta and Hinuq do indeed show a variety of GNMCCs covering roughly the range found in Japanese, but with some notable restrictions. In particular, when the complement of a head noun expresses purpose, Bezhta and Hinuq do not allow a GNMCC, but instead require an infinitival complement, as in Hinuq example (7).

- (7) [de   idu-do        Ø-iĭ-a]        pikru  
       me   home-DIR   I-go-INF   thought  
       ‘my intention to go home [lit. the thought for me to go home]’

We examine possible explanations for this discrepancy between Japanese and Bezhta/Hinuq, in particular the different nature of clausal complementation in the two sets of languages: Bezhta and Hinuq have well-developed clausal complementation constructions independent of GNMCCs, whereas in Japanese clausal complementation, even when governed by a verb, is largely parasitic on GNMCCs.

## References

- Daniel, Michael and Yuri Lander. 2010. A girl of word, meat of a ram, and a life of longing. On peculiar cases of relativization in East Caucasian languages. Paper presented at the conference Syntax of the World’s Languages IV, Lyon.
- Matsumoto, Yoshiko. 1997. *Noun-modifying constructions in Japanese: a frame semantics approach*. Amsterdam: Benjamins.