Scrambling, specificity effects, and phasal variation in Turkish and Uyghur

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Robin Jenkins

Abstract: This article develops a new approach to specificity effects based on comparing differential object marking (DOM) in Turkish with a novel DOM paradigm observed in Uyghur. Based on this, I argue that specificity does not always correlate with VP-externality (Diesing 1992, *i.a.*) but rather with whether the object has moved to a particular structural position. Further, I show the variation observed between the two DOM paradigms can be captured as a result of a difference between the languages' middle-field phase boundary. Several additional contrasts between the two languages are traced back to this difference in phase boundaries, which is also situated within a broader pattern of typological variation.

Keywords: differential object marking, specificity, phases, successive-cyclic movement

1 Introduction

Many languages display a pattern where there is a correlation between an object's interpretation and its structural height. The typical case is that objects which are interpreted as specific/definite must move from a VP-internal position to a position outside of the VP.

Under standard analyses of this effect, if an object moves for this reason, further movement operations will not affect the interpretation of the object. Hence, what standard analyses aim to capture is that objects which reside in a position outside of the VP must be interpreted as specific/definite (1).

(1) a. ... $[_{VP}$ V $DP_{-SPECIFIC}]$

b. ... $[_{FP}$ $DP_{+SPECIFIC}$ F $[_{VP}$ V ~~D~~P]]

I argue that this is not the right approach and that simple VP-externality is not a reliable guide to whether an object receives a specific/definite interpretation, even in languages where there is a correlation between syntactic height of the object and specific/definite interpretation. To show that derivational height and interpretation do not always correlate, I compare the differential object marking (DOM) patterns of two closely related languages: Turkish and Uyghur. As with many languages, both instantiate a DOM system where objects that are high in specificity are marked with accusative. Thus, in the general case, objects with a specific interpretation have a morphological reflex. Although the two languages' DOM patterns are highly similar in many respects, Uyghur's pattern has one novel property which distinguishes it from Turkish regarding the correlation between syntactic height and specificity. For Turkish (as with many languages), when an object surfaces in a VP-external position it must receive a specific interpretation. I show that in Uyghur, this is not always the case, i.e. the correlation between syntactic height with respect to the VP and interpretation breaks down systematically in a well-defined case.

In light of this contrast between Turkish and Uyghur, I will argue that specificity-related DOM effects are not strictly correlated with the object being external to the VP, as claimed by previous analyses. Instead, I offer an alternative picture that does not assume such a correlation always holds. I will argue that the specificity effects observed in Turkish and Uyghur depend on whether DOM objects move to a particular, VP-external

position in the structure. Hence, in the general case, I will argue that it is not the object's height relative to the VP which correlates with specificity, but rather whether the object is located in a particular structural position. I show that an analysis that captures this effect (rather than relying simply on VP-externality) predicts both Turkish and Uyghur's DOM patterns.

The paper is structured as follows. In §2 I present an outline of Turkish and Uyghur's DOM systems. In §2.3 I present the novel contrast between Turkish and Uyghur. Specifically, while in Turkish, marked objects must always receive a specific interpretation regardless of the object's position in the clause, in Uyghur the situation is different. In some positions in the clause, marked objects can only receive a specific interpretation, but in other positions this specific interpretation is no longer forced. §3 considers existing analyses of DOM and shows that the standard picture cannot capture both the Turkish and Uyghur DOM patterns. I also present an alternative analysis: I argue that the specificity effect observed in Turkish and Uyghur's DOM is due to whether or not the object DP has moved to a particular position. Further, I argue that the contrast observed between Turkish and Uyghur in this paper is due a difference in phasal boundaries which affects the movement paths available to object DPs in these languages. In §4 I provide additional evidence for this difference in phasal boundaries between Turkish and Uyghur by examining a number of contrasts between the two languages that can all be traced back this difference. §5 situates the phasal variation observed between Turkish and Uyghur within a larger pattern of typological variation through a parallelism with another phenomenon, namely agreement.

2 DOM in Turkish and Uyghur

In this section I outline the DOM patterns of Turkish and Uyghur. I highlight that in both languages objects, which surface with DOM morphology are higher in the structure than bare objects. I show that while Turkish and Uyghur pattern in a very similar fashion with respect to their DOM systems, these languages diverge in an important way. Specifically I show that while in Turkish all objects which have evacuated the VP must surface with DOM morphology and uniformly have a specific interpretation, this is not the case in Uyghur. For Uyghur, while DOM objects have an obligatorily specific interpretation in a clause-medial position, this is not the case when they move to a higher position.

2.1 DOM and specificity

Turkish and Uyghur instantiate a typologically common DOM system where specific direct objects must surface with dedicated morphology. In both languages, specific objects surface with accusative case while non-specific objects lack it.

Shown below is the Turkish pattern where the unmarked object is non-specific (2a,3a) and the object marked with accusative (*-(y)I*) must be interpreted as specific (2b, 3b)).[1,2]

(2) a. Ali kitap oku-du.
Ali book read-PST.3SG
'Ali read a book/books.'

b. Ali kitab-ı oku-du.
Ali book-ACC read-PST.3SG
'Ali read the book.'

(3) a. (ben) doktor arı-yor-um.
1SG doctor look.for-PROG-1SG
'I am looking for a doctor/doctors.'

b. (ben) doktor-**u** arı-yor-um.
1SG doctor-ACC look.for-PROG-1SG
'I am looking for the doctor.'

The same pattern is observed for Uyghur (Tömür, 2003; Asarina, 2011; Major, 2021). Objects that are non-specific lack accusative case (4a,5a), while specific objects are marked with accusative (*-ni*), as in (4b,5b).

(4) a. Mehmet mashin xala-y-du.
Mehmet car want-NPST-3SG
'Mehmet wants a car/cars.'

b. Mehmet mashina-**ni** xala-y-du.
Mehmet car-ACC want-NPST-3SG
'Mehmet wants the car.'

(5) a. (men) doktor izde-wat-i-men.
1SG doctor look.for-PROG-NPST-1SG
'I am looking for a doctor/doctors.'

b. (men) doktor-**ni** izde-wat-i-men.
1SG doctor-ACC look.for-PROG-NPST-1SG
'I am looking for the doctor.'

2.2 Height of marked and unmarked objects

Previous works have observed for a number of DOM languages that marked objects are structurally higher than unmarked objects.[3] This has been long observed to be the case for Turkish, where accusative objects occupy a position outside VP; unmarked objects meanwhile remain VP-internal (Diesing 1992; Kennelly 1994; Zidani-Eroğlu 1997b; Kelepir 2001; Öztürk 2005; Kornfilt 2020, *i.a.*). This difference in height between marked and

unmarked objects holds in Uyghur as well (Major, 2021).

As (6) shows, in Turkish marked objects must precede low, manner-adverbs such as *hızlı* ('quickly'), while the unmarked object must follow them.

(6) a. Ali (*hızlı) kitab-**ı** (hızlı) oku-du.
Ali (quickly) book-ACC (quickly) read-PST.3SG
'Ali read the book quickly.'

b. Ali (hızlı) kitap (*hızlı) oku-du.
Ali (quickly) book (quickly) read-PST.3SG
'Ali read a book/books quickly.'

In Uyghur, the same facts obtain. Accusative objects must precede the manner adverb (7a) and bare objects must follow it (7b).

(7) a. Mehmet (*tëz) kitab-**ni** (tëz) oqu-di.
Mehmet (quickly) book-ACC (quickly) read-PST.3SG
'Mehmet read the book quickly.'

b. Mehmet (tëz) kitap (*tëz) oqu-di.
Mehmet (quickly) book (quickly) read-PST.3SG
'Mehmet read a book/books quickly.'

Assuming manner-adverbs adjoin to the VP, ACC-DPs in Turkish and Uyghur must be higher in the clause (i.e. VP-external) than unmarked DPs, which remain in their base, VP-internal position.

Further evidence comes from the default order of internal arguments in ditransitives. In both languages, the default order of DO and IO depends on whether the direct object bears accusative. In Turkish (8), if the DO bears accusative, then the default order is DO>IO (8a). But if the DO is unmarked, then default order is reversed as IO>DO (8b).

(8) a. Ali kitab-**ı** Hasan-a ver-di.
Ali book-ACC Hasan-DAT give-PST.3SG
'Ali gave the book to Hasan.'
(Kornfilt 2003: 140, anonymous reviewer, p.c.)

b. Ali Hasan-a kitap ver-di.
Ali Hasan-DAT book give-PST.3SG
'Ali gave a book/books to Hasan.'
(anonymous reviewer, p.c.)

For Uyghur the same alternation occurs. Marked DOs display the DO>IO order (9a); unmarked DOs displays the IO>DO order (9b).

(9) a. Mehmet xet-**ni** Aliyë-gë yaz-i-du.
Mehmet letter-ACC Aliye-DAT write-NPST-3SG
'Mehmet will write the letter to Aliyë.'

b. Mehmet Aliyë-gë xet yaz-i-du.
Mehmet Aliye-DAT letter write-NPST-3SG
'Mehmet will write a letter/letters to Aliyë.'

Assuming that in both Turkish and Uyghur, IOs are generated at least as high as SpecVP, those alternations further indicate that accusative objects are higher in the structure, presumably in a position above SpecVP, than unmarked objects.[4]

Another argument that accusative objects are higher in the structure than unmarked objects comes from scope possibilities relative to negation. In Turkish, unmarked object must scope under negation; a wide-scope reading is impossible (10a). Conversely, direct objects marked with accusative most naturally receive a wide-scope interpretation and (without special context) resist a narrow-scope interpretation (10b) (Kelepir, 2001).

(10) a. Ali kitap oku-ma-dı.
Ali book read-NEG-3SG
'Ali didn't read any book/books.' (NEG>*book*, **book*>NEG)

b. Ali kitab-**ı** oku-ma-dı.
Ali book-ACC read-NEG-PST.3SG
'Ali didn't read the book.' (*book*>NEG, ?NEG>*book*)

The same facts are observed in Uyghur. Bare objects must take narrow-scope relative to negation (11a); accusative objects can scope outside of negation (11b).

(11) a. Mehmet kitap oqu-ma-di.
Mehmet book read-NEG-PST.3SG
'Mehmet didn't read any book/books.' (NEG>*book*, **book*>NEG)

b. Mehmet kitab-**ni** oqu-ma-di.
Mehmet book-ACC read-NEG-PST.3SG
'Mehmet didn't read the book.'(*book*>NEG, ?NEG>*book*)

Assuming scopal relations reflect a c-command relation between the object DP and Neg, where the DP must c-command Neg to take wide-scope and that Neg is merged above VP, the scope facts for both Uyghur and Turkish further indicate that accusative objects are higher in the structure than their unmarked counterparts.

To summarize, both Turkish and Uyghur instantiate a DOM pattern where objects marked with accusative receive a specific interpretation while unmarked objects do not. Further, DOM objects in both languages are structurally higher than their unmarked counterparts.

2.3 DOM and scrambling

Turkish and Uyghur allow for a relatively free ordering of nominals in the clause (for Turkish, see Erguvanlı 1984; Kornfilt 1997, 2003; von Heusinger and Kornfilt 2005; Şener 2010, *i.a*, and for Uyghur, see Hahn 2015; Major 2021, *i.a.*). In Turkish, the object can be dislocated from its clause-medial position and scrambled over the subject, as in (12). When scrambled, the object must be accusative marked and receives a specific interpretation in this position (Erguvanlı, 1984; von Heusinger and Kornfilt, 2005).

(12) doktor$_i$-**u** ben t_i arı-yor-um.
doctor-ACC 1SG look.for-PROG-1SG
'I am looking for the doctor.'

The pattern from (12), where dislocated objects must surface with DOM morphology and have their canonical DOM interpretation, is commonly attested cross-linguistically. As shown for Spanish in (13a), human objects like the one in (13a) that surface with the dative preposition *a* must receive a specific interpretation (Torrego 1998; Rodríguez-Mondoñedo 2007; López 2012, *i.a.*).[5] This also holds when the DP moves to a left-periphery position (13b) (Laca 1987; Leonetti 2004, *i.a.*).

(13) a. Habian incluido **a** dos catedráticos en la lista.
'They included the two professors in the list.'

b. **A** dos catedráticos, los habian incluido en la lista.
'The two professors, they included in the list.'
(Leonetti 2004: 86)

The fact that Turkish (and Spanish) show this kind of uniformity in interpretation regarding dislocated objects seems unsurprising. Intuitively, if a nominal has a certain interpretation in one position, i.e. specific, then movement to an even higher position should not

affect its interpretation.

Surprisingly, Uyghur departs from this common pattern. In Uyghur, as in Turkish, objects which have been fronted to a clause-initial position must be marked with accusative. But, unlike in Turkish, fronted objects lose their obligatory specific interpretation, as in (14).[6]

(14) Doktor$_i$-**ni** men t_i izde-wat-i-men.
doctor-ACC 1SG look.for-PROG-NPST-1SG
'I am looking for the doctor/a doctor.'

Interestingly, the same contrast between Turkish and Uyghur that is found with specificity effects occurs with object *wh*-phrases regarding the notion of d-linking, which is often related to notions like topicality/specificity/definiteness (Comorovski 1996; Boeckx and Grohmann 2004; Jaeger 2004; in fact Grohmann (2006) places fronted d-linked *wh*-phrases in SpecTopP). In Turkish, *in situ wh*-objects can be optionally marked with accusative, as in (15). When the *wh*-phrase is marked with accusative it must receive a d-linked interpretation. Further, when the *wh*-phrase is fronted (as in (16)), it must be accusative and receives a d-linked interpretation (Şener, 2010).

(15) a. Ali ne gör-dü?
Ali what see-PST.3SG
'What did Ali see?'

b. Ali ne-**yi** gör-dü?
Ali what-ACC see-PST.3SG
'What among these things did Ali see?'

(16) Ne$_i$-*(**yi**) Ali t_i gör-dü?
what-ACC Ali see-PST.3SG
'What among these things did Ali see?'

Uyghur patterns with Turkish regarding *in situ wh*-phrases. As shown in (17), the *wh*-object can be optionally marked with accusative; when so marked it must receive a d-linked interpretation. Importantly, unlike Turkish when the *wh*-phrase is fronted, while it must be accusative the d-linked interpretation is not forced (18).

(17) a. Mehmet neme ye-di?
Mehmet what eat-PST.3SG
'What did Mehmet eat?'

b. Mehmet neme-**ni** ye-di?
Mehmet what-ACC eat-PST.3SG
'What among these things did Mehmet eat?'

(18) Neme$_i$-*(**ni**) Mehmet t_i ye-di?
what-ACC Mehmet eat-PST.3SG
'What (among these things) did Mehmet eat?'

This is the same kind of a contrast between Turkish and Uyghur as the one observed above regarding (12) and (14).[7]

The pattern Uyghur instantiates is highly unexpected. In Uyghur, the interpretation of DOM objects appears to be conditioned by whether or not the object is the target of further movement operations. As in Turkish, when the object is bare, it cannot move from its verb adjacent position and cannot be interpreted as specific (3a,5a). When Uyghur direct objects are marked they must appear higher in the structure than their unmarked counterparts. In contrast to Turkish, however, their interpretation in this case is not uniform. When objects are located in a clause-medial VP-external position they must be interpreted as specific (5b); when they move to a higher position they lose this obligatory specific interpretation (14).

In this respect Uyghur's DOM pattern differs sharply with Turkish's. In particular, it

differs from it regarding whether or not further movement can have an effect on the object's interpretation. In Turkish, DOM objects receive the same interpretation regardless of whether they have undergone additional movement, i.e. got fronted clause-initially. In Uyghur, this is not the case. When the DOM object is located in a clause medial VP-external position, it must be interpreted as specific, but when it undergoes further movement it loses this obligatory interpretation.

3 Analysis

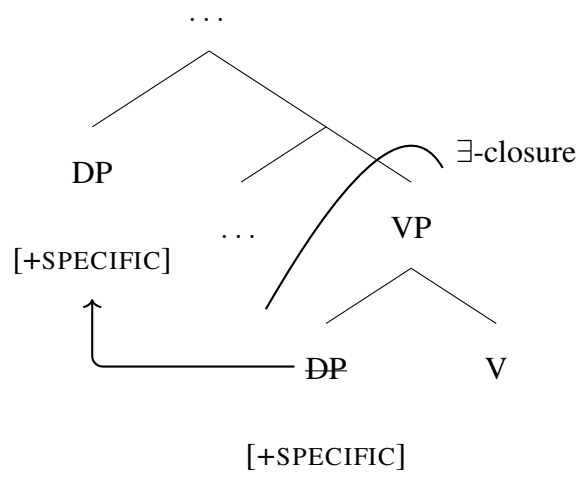
The previous section outlined the DOM patterns instantiated in Turkish and Uyghur. In Turkish, marked object DPs move to a clause-medial VP-external position and are interpreted as specific. When object DPs move from this position to an even higher one, the object maintains this specific interpretation. In Uyghur, marked objects must also move to a clause-medial VP-external position and must receive a specific interpretation in this position. But when the object DP moves from this position to an even higher one, a specific interpretation is no longer forced. In §3.1, I consider existing approaches to DOM and show that they fail to capture the Uyghur pattern. In §3.2 I present a new analysis which captures both the Uyghur and the Turkish pattern.

3.1 Existing Analysis

On a number of approaches, specificity-related DOM has been understood in terms of a [+SPECIFIC] feature triggering movement of the DP outside of the VP to a higher position (Diesing 1992; Diesing and Jelinek 1995; Bhatt and Anagnostopoulou 1996; Kelepir 2001, *i.a.*). The essential idea on these approaches is that the split between DOM and non-DOM objects is due to the presence or absence of a [+SPECIFIC] feature on the DP, which correlates with whether the DP must raise outside of the VP.

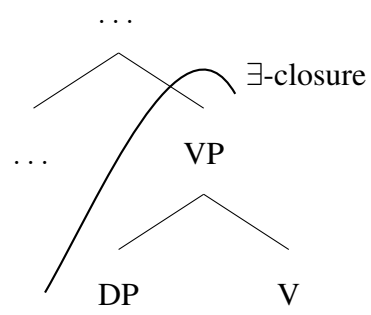
One standard implementation of these approaches is to posit an LF interpretation rule which requires [+SPECIFIC] DPs to raise outside of the VP (Diesing, 1992, 1996; Diesing and Jelinek, 1995; Bhatt and Anagnostopoulou, 1996). Here, DPs that are VP-internal are subject to an existential-closure operation at LF and thus DPs with a [+SPECIFIC] feature must raise to avoid being bound by an $\exists$ quantifier which would cause an LF interpretation crash (as in (19)). Conversely, DPs which are [-SPECIFIC] must remain VP-internal in order to be existentially bound (as in (20)).

(19)



[+SPECIFIC]

(20)



[-SPECIFIC]

Further, on such approaches the presence of overt case morphology on the raised DPs can be taken to be a reflex of Case licesning from a higher head, e.g. v (where such licensing crucially requires movement, see below), or a reflex of the DP being in a local enough

relationship with a higher DP as in a dependent case approach (Marantz, 1991; Baker and Vinokurova, 2010; Baker, 2015).

More generally, on such approaches, where DPs with a [+SPECIFIC] feature must raise outside the VP and DPs which lack this feature must remain VP-internal, the following effect in (21) is predicted to hold for object DPs:[8]

(21) If object DP c-commands VP, then DP is [+SPECIFIC].

This indeed holds for Turkish. As shown above, Turkish accusative objects must receive a specific interpretation regardless of their surface position; whether clause-medial (2b) or clause-initial (12).

(2b) Ali kitab-**ı** oku-du.
Ali book-ACC read-PST.3SG
'Ali read the book.'

(12) doktor$_i$-**u** ben t_i arı-yor-um.
doctor-ACC 1SG look.for-PROG-1SG
'I am looking for the doctor.'

This type of account predicts the Turkish pattern in a straightforward fashion. Since DPs which are [+SPECIFIC] must raise outside the VP to avoid an LF-interpretation crash (and thus are accessible for receiving ACC-Case, which is assumed to require movement) and DPs which are [-SPECIFIC] must remain VP-internal in order to be existentially bound (and are inaccessible for receiving ACC-Case), only DPs which receive a specific interpretation and surface with accusative case can appear outside of the V-adjacent position. Thus, an analysis which has (21) as its effect predicts Turkish's DOM pattern since here the DOM object's interpretation and morphology correlates with their structural height.

The Uyghur facts, however, are not predicted to be possible on such an analysis, which has (21) as its effect. The Uyghur DOM pattern regarding dislocated objects, in

fact, presents a clear exception to the predicted effect described in (21). As previously shown, in Uyghur clause-medial DOM objects obligatorily receive a specific interpretation; repeated in (4b).

(4b) Mehmet mashina-**ni** xala-y-du.
Mehmet car-ACC want-NPST-3SG
'Mehmet wants the car.'

However, as shown in (14) and repeated below, when the object is dislocated to a clause-initial position, a specific interpretation is no longer forced.

(14) Doktor$_i$-**ni** men t_i izde-wat-i-men.
doctor-ACC 1SG look.for-PROG-NPST-1SG
'I am looking for a/ the doctor.'

The loss of an obligatory specific interpretation upon further movement to the clause-initial position, as in (14), is not predicted on this analysis. Here, non-specific objects must remain VP-internal in order to be bound by existential closure and be interpretable at LF, c.f. (20). Thus, on this analysis, only DPs which are specific raise outside of the VP, with a specific interpretation being enforced by this movement outside of the VP. The non-specific interpretations available for the DPs in (14) are thus predicted to be impossible.

To summarize, the crucial point of failure for this type of analysis is that whether an object has or lacks an obligatory specific interpretation is correlated with the relative height of the object with respect to VP, more precisely, whether the object DP is VP-external or not. On this type of account where relative height correlates with specificity, if a DP is VP-external then the only possible derivation is the one where the DP bears a [+SPECIFIC] feature. Whether that DP has undergone further movement to an even higher clause-initial position is irrelevant. What the Uyghur data show is that it is not relative

height with respect to the VP which correlates with specificity. Thus, from a theoretical standpoint this means that any account which analyzes specificity effects in terms of relative derivational height with respect to VP will not be able to capture Uyghur's DOM pattern.

3.2 New Analysis

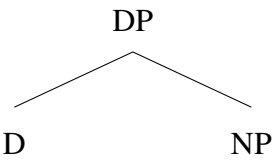
The previous section showed that Uyghur's DOM pattern does not obey (21), which means that any analysis that forces VP-external object DPs to receive a specific interpretation cannot account for Uyghur's DOM pattern. In light of this problem for the previous approach, I propose a new analysis which does not make a connection between VP-externality and a DP bearing a [+SPECIFIC] feature. Instead, I will argue that the correct analysis of Turkish and Uyghur's DOM pattern is the one which has the following effect:

(22) If DP moves to Spec$v$P, then DP is [+SPECIFIC].

As previously shown, an analysis which has (21) as its effect, while being able to capture the Turkish pattern, cannot account for the Uyghur pattern. I will argue that an analysis which has (22) as its effect can capture both the Turkish and the Uyghur pattern. The key to the correlation between specificity and derivational height is not VP-externality of the object DP but whether or not the DP has moved to a particular position at any point over the course of the derivation.

In order to implement this for Turkish and Uyghur, I adopt the proposal argued for in Massam 2001; Danon 2006, among others, that nominals can enter the structure as either DPs or NPs.

(23) a.



b.

If the nominal projects a DP, as in (23a), then it carries a [uCase] feature which must be licensed by a higher head, e.g. v. Conversely, if the nominal does not project DP and merges as an NP, as in (23b), then a [uCase] feature is not present and the nominal does not require licensing from a higher head.[9]

With respect to objects which do not surface with case morphology, I adopt the standard assumption that they merge as NPs, as in (23b), and pseudo-incorporate with V. Previous works have observed that Turkish's caseless objects display the hallmarks of pseudo-incorporation (Kornfilt 2003; Öztürk 2005, *i.a.*). In particular, Turkish's caseless objects are immobile and must remain V-adjacent (24) and also receive a 'number neutral' interpretation (25).

(24) (*kitap) Ali (*kitap) dün kitap oku-du.
Ali yesterday book book-PST.3SG
'Ali read a book/books yesterday.'

(25) Adam oğlan-a taş at-tı.
man boy-DAT stone throw-PST.3SG
'The man threw a stone/stones at the boy.'

I show that the same facts are observed with Uyghur's bare objects in (26) and (27).

(26) (*xet) Mehmet (*xet) ete xet yez-i-du.
Mehmet tomorrow letter write-NPST-3SG
'Mehmet will write a letter/letters tomorrow.'

(27) Adem oghl-ga tash tashla-di.
man boy-DAT stone throw-PST.3SG
'The man threw a stone/stones at the boy.'

Given that Uyghur's bare objects pattern identical with Turkish's in this respect then it appears that Uyghur also allows for pseudo-incorporation. Here, I simply assume the standard approach to pseudo-incorporation (Massam 2001; Sağ 2019, *i.a.*), more precisely, pseudo-incorporated objects are generated as NPs and thus do not require Case licesning, remain VP-internal, and due to LF requirements cannot carry a [+SPECIFIC] feature.

The second element of the present analysis concerns the effect described in (22). As shown in the previous section, an analysis which assumes that a DP's height relative to the VP, i.e. (21), is the key to understanding the specificity effects cannot account for the full range of relevant facts. Instead, I propose that the the relevant condition for determining whether the object DP must be interpreted as specific is whether it has moved to a particular structural position, as stated in (22), repeated below in (28).

(28) If DP moves to Spec$v$P, then DP is [+SPECIFIC]

Thus, on the present proposal it is not relative height but a specific structural position of the object DP which determines whether a specific interpretation is forced. The present analysis is neutral as to what underlying mechanism imposes this restriction on DPs moving to Spec$v$P as described in (28). However, it should be noted that previous work has given compelling evidence that functional heads such as v can impose semantically-based restrictions as to which DPs can merge to their specifier. Thus, Wiltschko and Ritter (2015) and Adger and Harbour (2007) argue that in Blackfoot and Kiowa, respectively, only DPs

which bear a [+ANIMATE] feature can merge in Spec$v$P. From this perspective, (28) can be regarded as a restriction of the same kind but with respect to DPs with a [+SPECIFIC] feature instead (see also Browne 1970; Berent 1980; Rudin 1997 on the relationship between animacy and specificity).[10,11] At any rate, the crucial point is that it is movement of the object DP to a particular position, Spec$v$P (not simply movement of the object DP outside of VP), which correlates with a specific interpretation.[12]

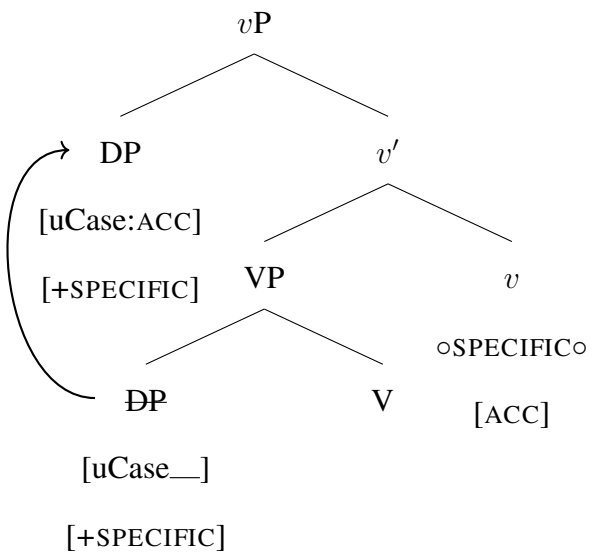
Consider now the following sentences from Turkish (2b) and Uyghur (4b). In both, the objects surface in the clause-medial position with accusative and must be specific.

(2b) Ali kitab-**ı** oku-du.
Ali book-ACC read-PST.3SG
'Ali read the book.'

(4b) Mehmet mashina-**ni** xala-y-du.
Mehmet car-ACC want-NPST-3SG
'Mehmet wants the car.'

On the present analysis, (2b,4b) are analyzed as in (29). The object is generated inside the VP as a DP with an [uCase] feature, which requires licensing from a higher head, i.e. v. Here, the DP moves to Spec$v$P and receives ACC. While in principle, the DP can either have or lack a [+SPECIFIC] feature, if it lacks it then the derivation where the DP moves to Spec$v$P will crash because only DPs with a [+SPECIFIC] feature can move to Spec$v$P, as discussed above.

(29)



Under this analysis, when the accusative object surfaces in a clause-medial position it must be interpreted as specific since it must raise to Spec$v$P to be licensed but in order to move to this position it must have a [+SPECIFIC] feature due to the restriction imposed on DPs moving to Spec$v$P.[13]

Consider now the contrast between Turkish and Uyghur's fronted accusative objects in §2.3. In both, objects can be fronted to a clause-initial position. When fronted, objects must surface with accusative. In Turkish, fronted objects maintain their specific only interpretation (12). But in Uyghur, when an accusative object is fronted, a specific only interpretation is not forced (14).

(12) doktor$_i$-**u** ben t_i arı-yor-um.
doctor-ACC 1SG look.for-PROG-1SG
'I am looking for the doctor.'

(14) Doktor$_i$-**ni** men t_i izde-wat-i-men.
doctor-ACC 1SG look.for-PROG-NPST-1SG
'I am looking for the/a doctor.'

I argue that this contrast between Turkish and Uyghur's dislocated objects is due to whether

(or not) the moving DP must pass through Spec$v$P. In Turkish, the object must pass through this position but in Uyghur it doesn't. If the object DP passes through Spec$v$P, then it is subject to the constraint described by (28) and must bear a [+SPECIFIC] feature. But if it does not, then there is no specificity requirement imposed on the moving DP since it does not have Spec$v$P as an intermediate landing site. I argue that what determines whether DPs must pass through this position is the location of phase heads in the clause. Specifically, in Turkish v is a phase head; in Uyghur it is not. Independent evidence for this difference in phase head positions will be provided in §4, however, at present I will adopt it as a working hypothesis.

It is standardly assumed that phrases undergoing movement are subject to locality conditions where movement must take place in successive steps. Specifically, an XP undergoing movement must transit through the phase edge when moving to a higher position in the structure due to the Phase Impenetrability Condition (PIC).

(30) In a phase α where H^0 is a phase head, the domain of H^0 is not accessible to operations outside of α, only H^0 and its edge (= SpecHP). (Chomsky, 2000)

Thus, if an XP undergoes movement to SpecZP, and Y is an intervening phase head between XP and SpecZP, SpecYP, which is the phase edge, must be an intermediate landing site for XP, as illustrated in (31).

(31) [$_{ZP}$ XP [… [$_{Z'}$ Z [**YP$_{phase}$** ~~XP~~ [$_{Y'}$ Y [… ~~XP~~]]]]]]

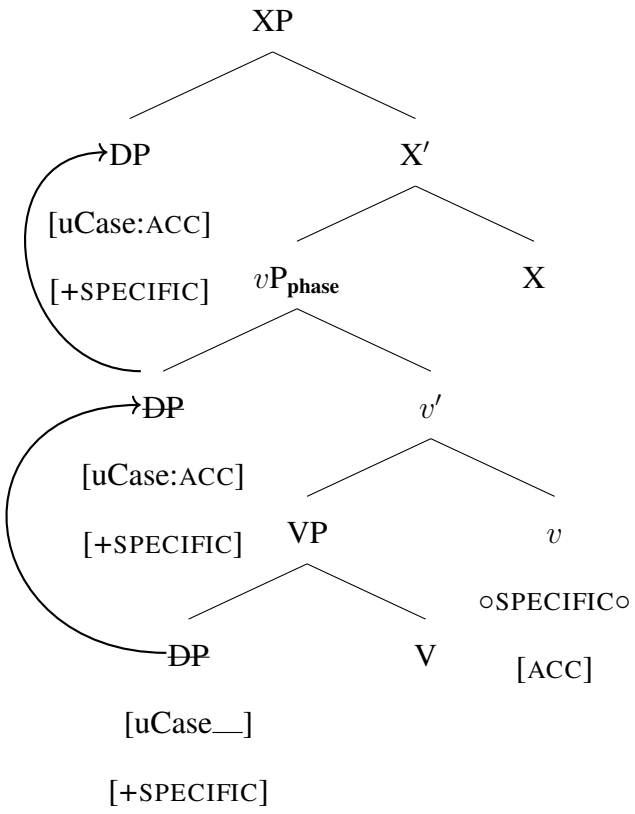
✗ ✓ ✓

As to which phrases count as phases, Chomsky (2000, 2001) proposes a rigid approach to phases where certain phrases, namely vP and CP, always count as phases. However, a number of authors have proposed various contextual approaches where which phrases

count as phases depends on the syntactic context in which they appear (see Bobaljik and Wurmbrand 2005; Gallego and Uriagereka 2007; den Dikken 2007; Bošković 2014, *i.a.* for various approaches along these lines). I adopt the version of the contextual approach proposed in Bošković 2014 where the highest element in the extended domain of a lexical head, e.g. V, delimits the phasal domain. On this approach, vP does not have to be a phase, it is only a phase when it is is the highest phrase projected in the verbal domain. If additional elements are projected above vP in this domain, vP no longer functions as a phase and the phasal domain is extended higher up.

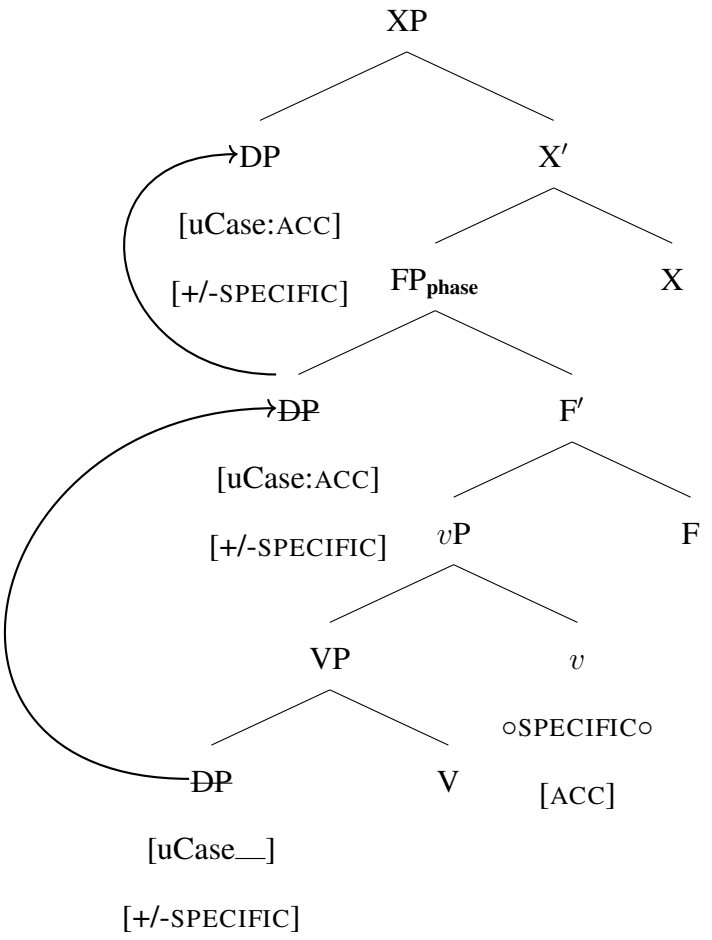
Returning now to the contrast between Turkish (12) and Uyghur's (14) dislocated objects, consider first the Turkish case, where all dislocated objects must surface with overt case morphology and must receive a specific interpretation. If v is a phase head in Turkish, then when the DP moves to a higher position, as is the case for objects dislocated clause-initially, then the DP must have Spec$v$P as an intermediate landing site. But given the restriction on v that only DPs with a [+SPECIFIC] feature can move to Spec$v$P, i.e. (28), this means that only DPs with a [+SPECIFIC] feature can move to a position above Spec$v$P because only those DPs can have Spec$v$P as an intermediate landing site. The relevant derivation is given below in (32).

(32)



Consider now Uyghur, where dislocated objects surface with accusative case as well but do not have an obligatory specific interpretation. I suggest that in Uyghur v is not a phase head. Instead, in Uyghur a higher functional head, F, above v serves as the phase head (see §4 for independent evidence to this effect). Hence, the phase boundary is above vP and is FP.[14] Since the phase boundary is not vP in Uyghur, moving DPs do not have Spec$v$P as an intermediate landing site when moving to a higher position, i.e. clause-initially. Instead, the moving DP has SpecFP as an intermediate landing site because this is the phase edge. But unlike v, there are no restrictions on DPs merging to SpecFP with respect to whether or not the DP bears a [+SPECIFIC] feature. Thus, objects moving to a clause-initial position in Uyghur, as in (14), are not forced to have a [+SPECIFIC] feature since those DPs are not forced to have Spec$v$P as an intermediate landing site when moving to an even higher position. The Uyghur derivation is given in (33).

(33)



Note that in the above derivation since the DP does not pass through Spec$v$P it does not receive Case in this position. Instead, I suggest that when the object DP undergoes movement to the phase edge, SpecFP in this case, the DP moves directly to this position and receives Case there. This effect with respect to the DP receiving Case from SpecFP can be captured on an approach to Case licensing proposed in Bošković 2007 (see also Bošković 2023 for a more recent implementation). On this approach, Case assignment is implemented in terms of a DP's [uCase] feature being valued *via* downward-probing to the Case-licensing head, e.g. v. Subsequently, this probe-goal relationship is established when the DP c-commands the licensing head.[15]

In the typical case, this means that the DP raises to the Spec of the licensing head,

e.g. Spec$v$P, in order to receive Case. However, in instances where the DP must move to a position above the Spec of the licensing head, e.g. movement to SpecFP, the DP moves directly to this position, where it c-commands the licensing head, and is then Case-licensed while in this position in the same manner.[16] Thus, this approach to Case licensing is distinct from 'traditional' Spec-Head approaches to Case assignment, where a DP receives Case, and, thus, is licensed only when the DP moves to the Spec of the licensing head, e.g. Spec$v$P. Further, in §3.4 I argue that this effect where the DP moves directly to the phase edge, e.g. SpecFP, and receives Case in this position is due to a more general effect where DPs undergoing movement to a phase edge position do not move to intermediate positions along their movement path, even if such movement is typically otherwise required, e.g. for Case licensing. Thus, such an approach to Case licensing is independently necessary in order to capture these facts, discussed below. At any rate, for present purposes, the key point is that the DP moves directly to SpecFP and does not have Spec$v$P as an intermediate landing site, thus the DP is not forced to have a [+SPECIFIC] feature.

To summarize, the difference in interpretation found between Turkish and Uyghur's scrambled objects is explained in terms of a difference in the position of the clause-medial phase (as noted above, independent evidence for this difference will be given in §4). In Turkish, v is the phase head and thus all object movement must pass through Spec$v$P as an intermediate position when moving higher in the clause. Due to the restriction v imposes on the DPs which merge to its Spec, all DPs, whether clause-medial or fronted to a higher position, must have a [+SPECIFIC] feature. In Uyghur, because v is not a phase head, when a DP moves to a position above the vP the DP is not forced to move to Spec$v$P. Thus, in this case no restriction on whether the DP is [+SPECIFIC] is imposed.

3.3 Non-specificity in clause medial positions

The present analysis can also explain a novel interpretative contrast observed between Turkish and Uyghur with respect to scrambled objects in certain clause-medial positions. In Turkish, as shown in (34a,34b), the object can either follow or precede the temporal adverb *dün* 'yesterday'. In both positions the object must be interpreted as specific and marked with accusative.

(34) a. Ali dün kitab-**ı** oku-du.
Ali yesterday book-ACC book-PST.3SG
'Ali read the book yesterday.'

b. Ali kitab$_i$-**ı** dün t_i oku-du.
Ali book-ACC yesterday book-PST.3SG
'Ali read the book yesterday.'

Interestingly, in Uyghur, the obligatory specific interpretation is only enforced when the object follows the adverb as in (35a). When the object precedes the adverb this requirement of a specific only interpretation is no longer enforced (35b).

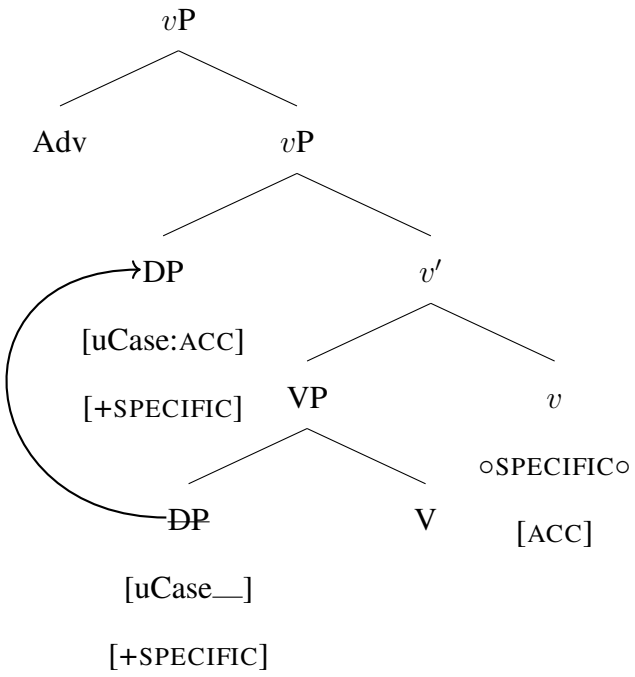
(35) a. Mehmet ete xet-**ni** yaz-i-du.
Mehmet tomorrow letter-ACC write-NPST-3SG
'Mehmet will write the letter tomorrow.'

b. Mehmet xet$_i$-**ni** ete t_i yaz-i-du.
Mehmet letter-ACC tomorrow write-NPST-3SG
'Mehmet will write the/ a letter tomorrow.'

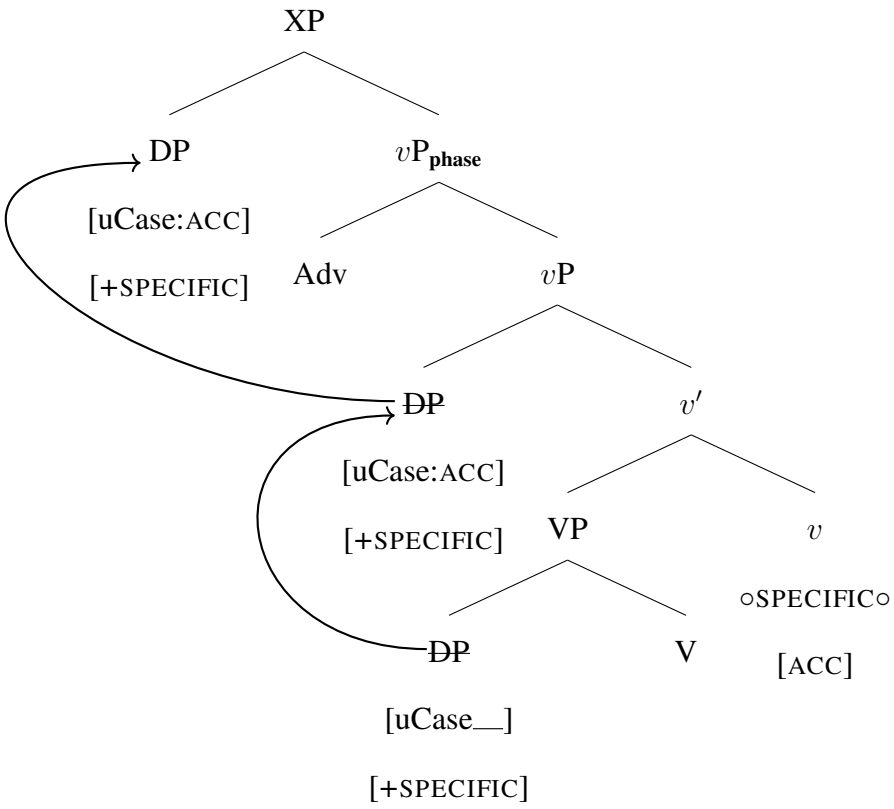
The present analysis can account for this contrast between Turkish and Uyghur. Consider first the Turkish cases in (34a,34b), where the marked object is interpreted as specific when it both follows and precedes the adverb (which I assume is vP-adjoined). For

(34a), the DP raises to Spec$v$P to be Case licensed and the adverb adjoins to vP. Since the DP moves to Spec$v$P, it must bear a [+SPECIFIC] feature. The relevant derivation is below in (36). In (34b), the DP must move to Spec$v$P as an intermediate landing site since this is the phase edge in Turkish and thus the DP must have a [+SPECIFIC] feature (the adverb adjoins to vP here as well). The DP then scrambles from Spec$v$P to a higher position above the adverb (as in (37)). Thus, a specific interpretation is forced for the object DPs in both (34a,34b).

(36)

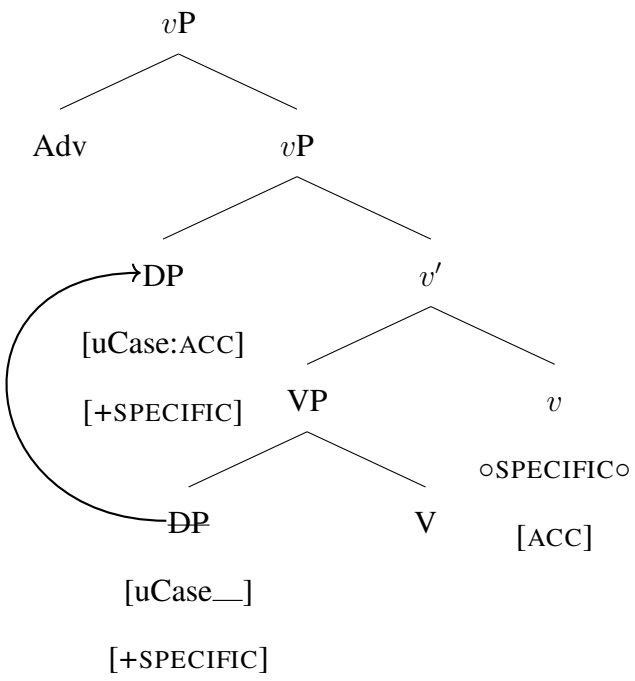


(37)

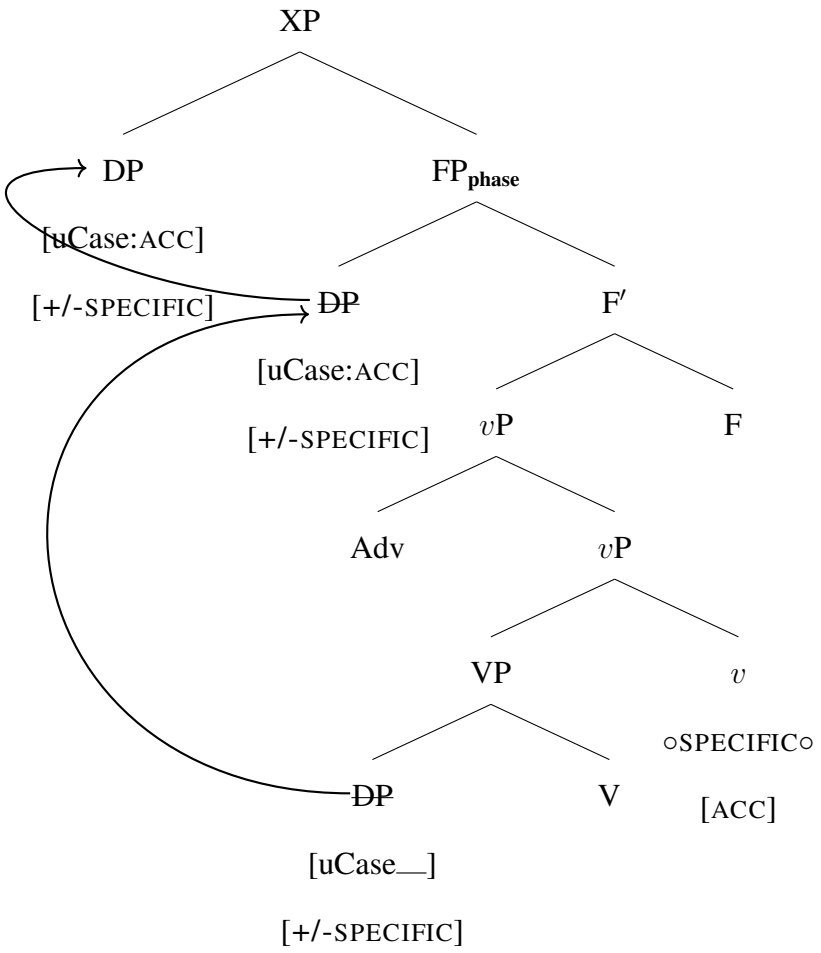


Consider now the Uyghur case. When the object follows the adverb (35a), it must be interpreted as specific. But when the object DP precedes the adverb (35b), it is ambiguous between a specific and non-specific interpretation. In (35a), where the object DP must be specific, it moves to Spec$v$P, as discussed above, and the adverb adjoins to the vP (as in (38)). Since only DPs with a [+SPECIFIC] feature can move to this position, when the object follows the adverb only a specific interpretation is available, as expected. In (35b), however, the DP does not move to Spec$v$P since it is scrambling to a position higher in the clause above the vP. Here the adverb adjoins to the vP and the object DP moves past Spec$v$P to SpecFP as its intermediate landing site. Since the DP does not move to Spec$v$P for reasons discussed above the DP does not need to have a [+SPECIFIC] feature. From SpecFP, it can scramble to its final landing site higher in the clause (as in (39)).[17]

(38)


vP
Adv
vP
DP
[uCase:ACC]
[+SPECIFIC]
v′
VP
v
○SPECIFIC○
DP
V
[ACC]
[uCase__]
[+SPECIFIC]

(39)



3.4 Movement to the edge

On the present analysis of Uyghur, when an object DP's final landing site is above the clause-medial phasal domain, e.g. SpecCP, the DP moves directly from its base position to the phase edge, i.e. SpecFP, without having Spec$v$P as an intermediate landing site. Given that the DP does not move to Spec$v$P before moving to SpecFP, an issue arises as to where the DP is licensed for Case on such derivations. In the previous section, I suggested that in such cases, the DP receives Case in SpecFP (rather than the usual Spec$v$P). In this section, I show this is an instance of a more general effect where DPs moving to a phase edge position (in a given domain), do not move to intermediate positions, even if

movement to such positions is otherwise required. Instead, the DP moves directly to the phase edge and receives Case in that position. Hence, in the case of Uyghur's dislocated object DPs, they move directly to the phase edge, SpecFP, and receive ACC in this position.

Bošković (2007) observes this effect in the C/T domain, which in fact directly parallels Uyghur's F/v domain. Here, while typically subject DPs must raise to SpecTP to receive NOM, if the DP undergoes movement to the phase edge, SpecCP, it must move directly to SpecCP without moving to SpecTP. This effect is readily observed in English short subject questions, as in (40).

(40) Who left?

First, there is clear evidence that *wh*-subjects occupy SpecCP as their final landing site. One piece of evidence for this comes from 'aggressively non-d-linked' *the hell* modification (Ginzburg and Sag 2000; Pesetsky and Torrego 2001, *i.a.*). It has been observed that *wh*-objects can only take *the hell* modification when they have been fronted to SpecCP; they cannot take it *in situ*. This contrast can be seen in (41a,41b). Grammaticality of (41c) indicates that the *wh*-phrase in (41c) has undergone *wh*-movement.

(41) a. What the hell did you buy?

b. * Who bought what the hell?

c. Who the hell bought a car?

Furthermore, as a number of authors have shown, movement to SpecTP cannot feed movement to SpecCP (McCloskey, 2000; Bošković, 2016b; Messick, 2020). Consider the following examples from West Ulster English, which allows for quantifier float under *wh*-movement (42a).

(42) a. What did he say (all) that he wanted (all)?

b. Who was arrested all in Duke Street?

c. * They were arrested all last night.

(McCloskey 2000: 61, 72, 76)

In addition to Q-float under A-movement found in Standard English, West Ulster English can float a quantifier under *wh*-movement, as shown by (42a), where the *wh*-phrase has undergone movement to the matrix SpecCP and first floated *all* is stranded in the intermediate landing site of the embedded SpecCP (sentence-final floating is also possible). Further, McCloskey (2000) observes that, with *wh*-movement, the quantifier *all* can be floated post-verbally in passives (42b). However, as in Standard English, quantifier float is still not possible in (42c). Thus, (42c) indicates that *all* cannot be floated post-verbally here under movement to SpecTP. However, since (42b) is acceptable, this indicates that the *wh*-element is not passing through SpecTP. If it were the case, then *all* would be floated under movement to SpecTP, which (42c) shows is not possible. Based on this contrast, McCloskey (2000) concludes that the *wh*-subject in (42b) moves to SpecCP without passing through SpecTP.

Further evidence for the absence of SpecTP to SpecCP movement is observed in a number of languages with respect to agreement morphology, e.g. Kinande. As shown in (43a), typically an agreement prefix is present on the verb which is controlled by (i.e. agreed with) the subject. However, in the case of a *wh*-subject the usual agreement prefix is absent and an anti-agreement prefix must surface on the verb, as in (43b), cf. (43c).

(43) a. Kambale **a.**langira Marya.
Kambale AGR.saw Mary
'Kambale saw Mary.'

b. Iyondi yo **u.**langira Marya?
who C ANTI-AGR.saw Mary

'Who saw Mary?'

c. *Iyondi yo **a.**langira Marya?
who C AGR.saw Mary
(Schneider-Zioga 2007: 404)

This alternation in agreement can be regarded as a morphological reflex of whether the subject DP is located in SpecTP (Bošković, 2016b). In (43a), the subject DP raises to SpecTP (which is standardly assumed to be required for NOM-Case licensing in Kinande, which disallows post-verbal subjects), and thus agreement morphology is present. For the *wh*-subject in (43b), the DP has not moved to SpecTP, hence, the anti-agreement marker is realized. Note further that agreement with the *wh*-subject is impossible here (43c), indicating that the DP cannot move to SpecTP in this case. Thus, the Kinande facts further indicate that, as a general point, DP movement from SpecTP to SpecCP is not possible—even if movement to SpecTP is otherwise required.

The above data show that DPs undergoing movement to a phase edge position, e.g. SpecCP, cannot have intermediate licensing positions, e.g. SpecTP, along their movement path. Instead, the DP moves directly to the phase edge, SpecCP (after which it receives Case under Bošković's 2007 approach to Case licensing adopted here; as discussed in §3.2). In the case of English (and Kinande), subject DPs typically must move to SpecTP. But when the subject undergoes *wh*-movement to SpecCP, the subject DP does not have SpecTP as an intermediate landing site and moves directly to SpecCP.

In this respect, object movement in Uyghur's F/v domain parallels subject movement in the C/T domain. As was shown for the C/T domain, when a DP undergoes movement to a phase edge position it must move directly to that position, even if movement to a non-phasal intermediate position would otherwise be required. In Uyghur, the object DP typically raises to Spec$v$P in order to receive ACC. But when the object undergoes movement to the phase edge, SpecFP, it does not have Spec$v$P as an intermediate landing site,

it moves directly to SpecFP, receiving ACC this position. Thus, both cases discussed in this section are instances of a more general constraint that DPs moving to a phase edge position, i.e. SpecCP/SpecFP, must move directly to these phase edge positions without stopping by in non-phase edge positions right below, SpecTP/Spec$v$P, although they otherwise do move to these positions.[18]

3.5 Summary

To summarize, this is what has been established so far. First, it was demonstrated that existing analyses of DOM cannot account for Uyghur's pattern. The critical issue was that on standard accounts, a specific only interpretation of a DP and its height relative to the VP were tightly correlated with one another with a prediction that if a DP has moved outside of the VP, then it must be [+SPECIFIC]. Uyghur's dislocated object facts, however, presented a clear counter-example to this. For Uyghur, when an object DP appears in one position, Spec$v$P, it must receive a specific only interpretation (as was the case in Turkish). But when that DP moves to an even higher position, above vP, it loses the obligatory specific interpretation. This contrasted with Turkish, where objects marked with accusative case receive a uniform specific only interpretation regardless of what position they appear in. In other words, for Turkish, regardless of whether the DP is located in Spec$v$P or in an even higher position, it must always bear a [+SPECIFIC] feature.

I argued that this contrast between Turkish and Uyghur's dislocated objects shows that the connection between a DP's derivational height and its interpretation should not simply be VP-externality. Instead, the correlation is whether the DP has moved to a particular structural position: Spec$v$P. Finally, I showed that the contrast observed between Turkish and Uyghur's scrambled objects can be explained in terms of a more general point of variation between Turkish and Uyghur, i.e. whether v is a phase head or not (in-

dependent evidence for this is presented in §4). In Turkish, v is a phase head and thus, all object DPs must have Spec$v$P as either a final or intermediate landing site when evacuating the VP. In Uyghur, v is not a phase. Rather, a higher functional projection in the extended verbal domain is. As a result, in Uyghur when a DP moves to a left-periphery position (as is the case with the dislocated objects), it does not have to pass through Spec$v$P as an intermediate landing site, hence it does not require a [+SPECIFIC] feature when moving to a position above vP.

4 Further Evidence for Phase Variation

The previous section established two points with respect to Turkish and Uyghur. First, there is a difference in which head counts as a phase head in the clausal middle-field. In Turkish v is a phase head; in Uyghur it is not. On the present proposal, there is additional functional material in the Uyghur verbal domain which extends the phase boundary above vP. Second, this difference in phase boundaries plays a key role with respect to DP movement from inside the VP to higher positions. In Turkish, when a DP moves to a position above vP, it must have Spec$v$P as an intermediate landing site due to the PIC. However, in Uyghur, the intermediate landing site is not Spec$v$P; it is a position above it.

In this section, I show how this difference in phase positions between Turkish and Uyghur accounts for several additional contrasts between the two languages with respect to movement. Specifically, QR possibilities are discussed in §4.1, verb-stranding ellipsis in §4.2, and long-distance scrambling in §4.3.

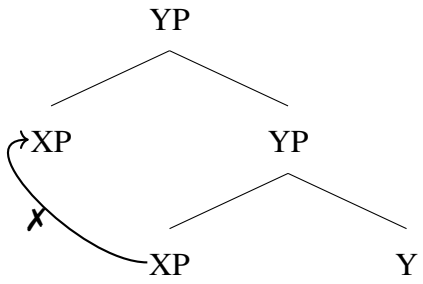
4.1 Scope Facts

As shown below in (44), Turkish accusative objects, when associated with the focus marker *sadece* must take wide-scope over an ability modal (*-(y)Abil-*).

(44) Ali sadece sağ göz-ü-nü aç-abil-ir.
Ali only right eye-3POSS-ACC open-ABIL-AOR.3SG
'It is only his right eye that Ali can open.' (Only DP > Can; *Can > Only DP)

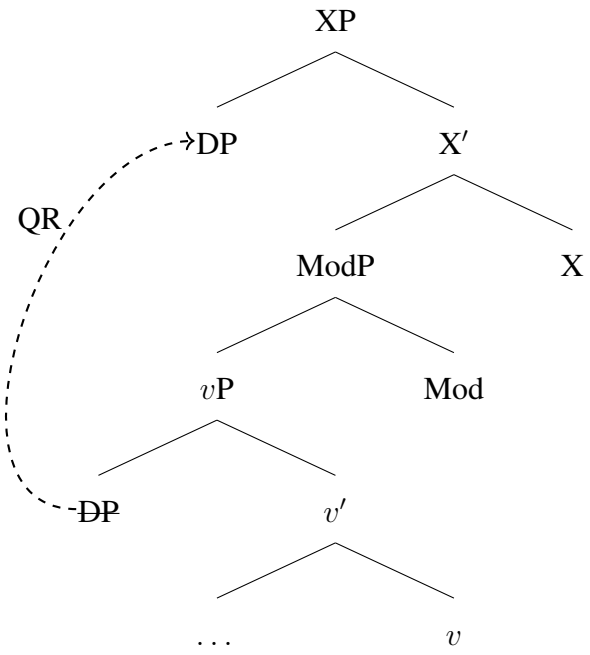
The wide-scope only interpretation can be easily explained as being due to the anti-locality constraint on movement, that is, the well-established observation that phrasal movement cannot proceed in too short of steps (Bošković 1997, 2016b; Grohmann 2000; Abels 2003; Erlewine 2020, among many others). On the approach to anti-locality proposed in Bošković 1997, a moving XP must cross at least one phrase, as schematized in (45).

(45)



Consider now (44). As previously discussed, the object DP must move to Spec$v$P. Further, it is standardly assumed that focused DPs, like quantificational phrases generally, undergo QR in LF. Thus, the object DP in (44), which has overtly moved to Spec$v$P, will QR from this position at LF. Crucially, anti-locality considerations will force the DP to adjoin to a position above vP. Given anti-locality, the object DP cannot adjoin to Spec$v$P for QR so it must adjoin either to ModP or a position above it, as in (46). Therefore, the object DP is forced to scope over Mod.

(46)



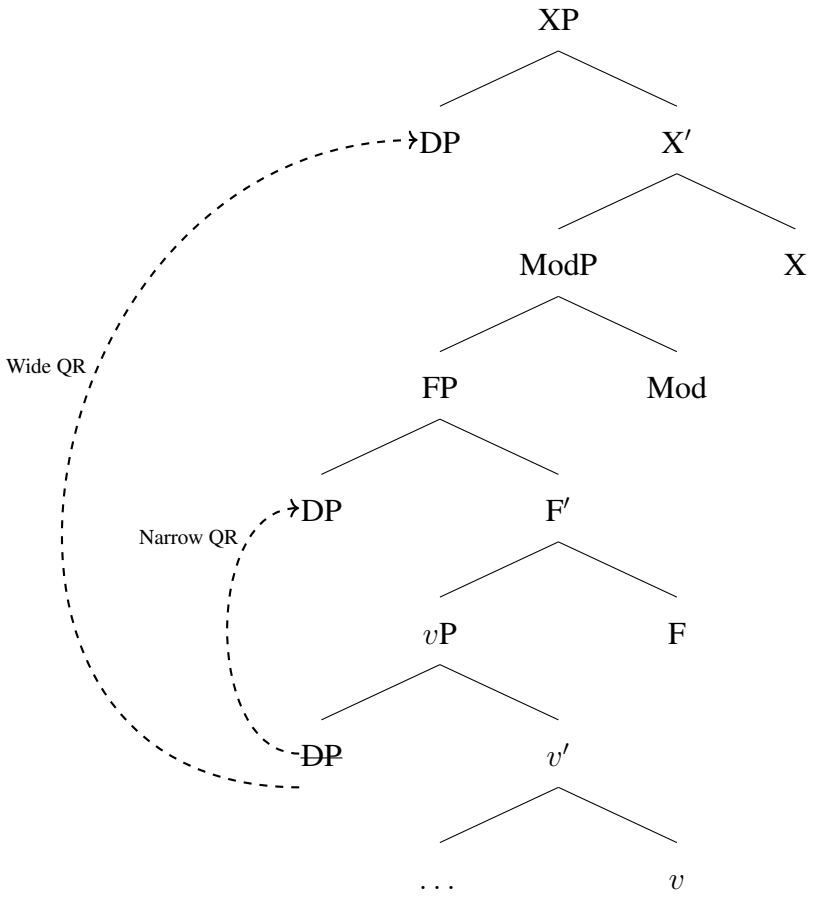
Uyghur presents an interesting contrast with Turkish when considering the scope possibilities of similar constructions. In (47), the focused object DP can be interpreted as taking either wide or narrow scope relative to the ability modal *-(y)ala*.

(47) Aliyë (peqet) öz-ning ong köz-i-ni-la
Aliyë only SELF-GEN right eye-3POSS-ACC-FOC
ach-ala-y-du.
open-ABIL-NPST-3SG
'It is only her right eye that Aliyë can open/ Aliyë can open only her right eye.'
(Only DP $>$ Can; Can $>$ Only DP)

The possibility of both wide and narrow scope interpretation of the object DP can be accounted for under the proposal in the previous section. Recall that the key contrast between Turkish and Uyghur is that in the latter there is an additional functional projection above vP, i.e. FP. Now consider how this additional projection bears on the anti-locality constraint. As is the case with Turkish, the focused object DP raises to Spec$v$P in overt syntax in order to be licensed. Then in LF, the DP undergoes QR to a higher position (as

is the case in Turkish). But because there is an additional functional layer FP in Uyghur, as in (48), the DP is free to QR to SpecFP below ModP or to a higher position above ModP, resulting in scopal ambiguity.

(48)



Sugar (2019) shows that this kind of scopal ambiguity is not always present in Uyghur. As shown in (49), Sugar (2019) observes that when the conative aspectual auxiliary *baq* is present the focused DP must take wide-scope over the auxiliary, generating the interpretation: *'I only tried to drink tea.'* (cf. the narrow-scope interpretation: *'I tried to only drink tea*'; see Sugar (2019) for further discussion of the relevant interpretations).

(49) Men peqet chay-ni-la ich-ip baq-di-m.
1SG only tea-ACC-FOC drink-IP ASP.AUX-PST-1SG
'I only tried to drink tea.' (Only DP $>$ Aux; *Aux $>$ Only DP)

(Sugar 2019: 220)

The obligatory wide-scope interpretation of the DP in this case, I argue, is due to the aspectual head which hosts the auxiliary merging into the structure below FP, in particular it merges with vP. Evidence for Asp merging in this position comes from the ordering of the aspectual and passive morphemes. As shown in (50a), when the auxiliary is present in a passive, the passive morpheme *-il* must attach to the auxiliary; it cannot attach to the lower main verb. This indicates that the aspectual auxiliary is lower than the head which hosts the passive (cf. (50b)).

(50) a. Chay-ni ich-ip baq-il-di.
tea-ACC drink-IP ASP.AUX-PASS-PST.3SG
'The tea was attempted to be drank (by someone).'

b. *Chay-ni ich-il-ip baq-di.
tea-ACC drink-PASS-IP ASP.AUX-PST.3SG
'The tea was attempted to be drank (by someone).'

Importantly, when both the ability modal and passive morpheme surface, as in (51a), the passive must attach below the ability modal; the ability modal cannot attach below the passive (51b). This indicates that Mod must attach to a projection above the passive morpheme hosting head (see Sugar (2019) for further discussion of the merge positions of Uyghur's aspectual heads).

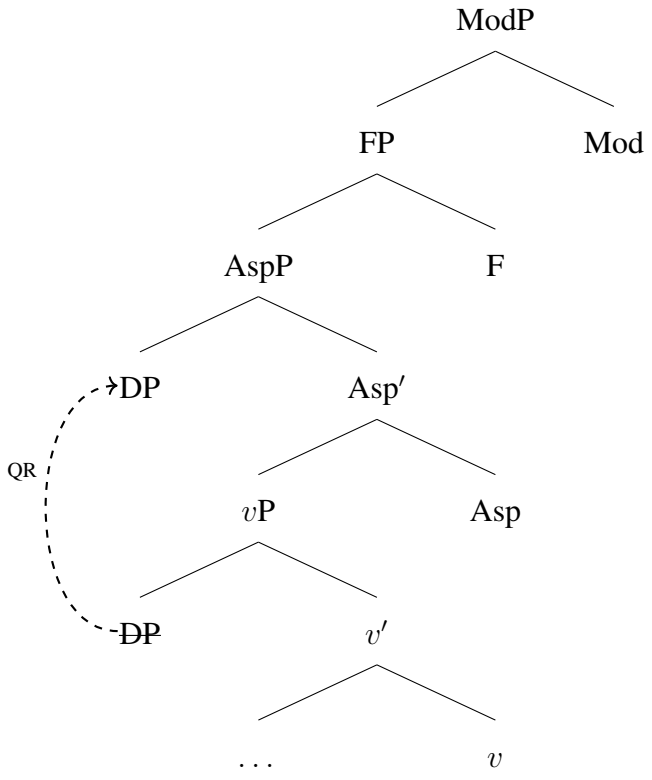
(51) a. Chay-ni ich-il-ala-y-du.
tea-ACC drink-PASS-ABIL.MOD-NPST-3SG
'The tea can be drank (by someone).'

b. *Chay-ni ich-ala-il-y-du.
tea-ACC drink-ABIL.MOD-PASS-NPST-3SG
'The tea can be drank (by someone).'

Therefore, given that the passive must attach above the auxiliary (50a) but below the modal (51a) this indicates that the auxiliary must merge below the modal. Further, given that the passive morpheme must follow Asp, I argue that Asp merges low in the structure, i.e. it merges with vP.

Consider now how the merge position of Asp bears on the scope possibility of the DP in (49) given the present account. Here, the object DP overtly raises to Spec$v$P and then must covertly QR to a higher position. In this case, however, Asp merges below FP with vP (as in (52)). Thus, when the DP QRs, it must, due to anti-locality, adjoin at least as high as AspP. As a result, the wide-scope interpretation of the object DP relative to Asp is forced.

(52)



To conclude, the fact that Uyghur allows for scopal ambiguities with focused objects relative to an ability modal while Turkish does not is further evidence that there is a difference in phase boundaries between the two languages. In Turkish, v is a phase head, which

ends up forcing a wide-scope interpretation for focused objects. But in Uyghur, focused objects do admit of scopal ambiguities with an ability modal. This contrast with Turkish was explained by v not being a phase head in Uyghur, with an additional function projection above vP, FP, serving as a QR site for the object. If the relevant scopal head merges above FP, as is the case with Mod, this allows scope possibilities for the DP that would otherwise be unavailable. In the previous section, this difference accounted for the interpretive contrasts with scrambled objects between Turkish and Uyghur, here it accounts for differences in scope possibilities of focused objects.

4.2 Verb Stranding Ellipsis

A further contrast between Turkish and Uyghur concerns the possibility of verb-stranding ellipsis. Although relatively rare, it has been observed for several languages that VP-ellipsis is possible when the verb is stranded outside of the ellipsis site, as shown in (53) for Irish (McCloskey, 1991, 2011, 2017).[19]

(53) a. Ar chuir tú isteach ar an phost?
INTERR.PST put.PST you in on the job
'Did you apply for the job?'

b. Δ chuir/ Δ níor chuir.
put.PST/ NEG.PST put.PST
'I did/ I didn't.'
(McCloskey 2011: 161)

Verb-stranding ellipsis is possible in Uyghur as well (see Major 2017 for discussion). As shown in (54), the objects and adjunct are elided and the main verb is stranded.

(54) Zemire Ayghül-ga sowghat-ni ettigen-de ber-di, lëkin
Zemire Ayghül-DAT gift-ACC morning-LOC give-PST.3SG but

Nilufar Δ ewet-ti.
Nilufar send-PST.3SG

'Zemire gave Ayghül a gift in the morning, but Nilufar sent <Ayghül a gift in the morning>.'

Interestingly, verb-stranding ellipsis has been claimed not to be possible in Turkish, with cases which initially appeared to be instances of verb-stranding ellipsis argued to be instances of argument ellipsis. Şener and Takahashi (2010) argue that for cases such as (55), the relevant ellipsis process is argument ellipsis, where only the object DP is elided (for discussion of argument ellipsis see e.g. Oku 1998; Saito 2007; Sakamoto 2020). This is argued for on the basis that, as indicated in (55), such ellipsis constructions do not admit of a manner adjunct interpretation even when the antecedent contains one (cf. (54)). The impossibility of a manner adjunct interpretation in (55) is taken to indicate that (55) cannot be an instance of verb-stranding ellipsis.

(55) Kız Lego-dan kaley-i dikkatlice yap-tı ama
girl Lego-ABL castle-ACC carefully build-PST.3SG but
yık-ma-dı.
break-NEG-PST.3SG

'The girl carefully built the lego castle, but she didn't <*carefully> break down <the Lego castle>.

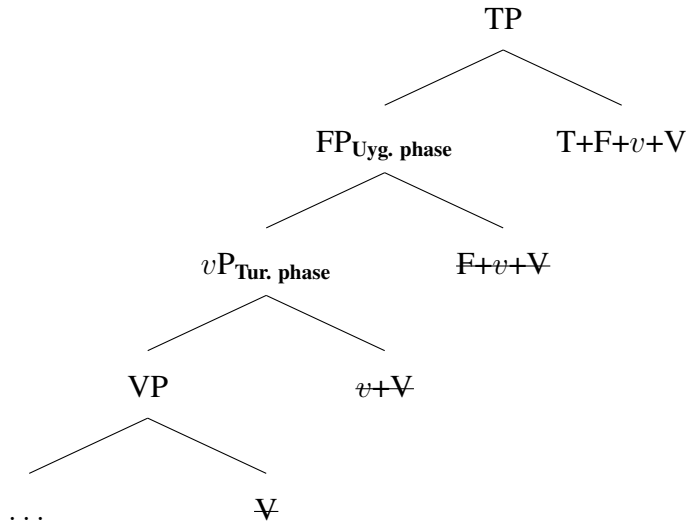
(Fenger 2020: 157)

This contrast between Turkish and Uyghur can be explained in terms of the difference in phase boundaries between the two languages, argued for above. I will suggest two analyses of these facts which depend on whether or not Turkish and Uyghur instantiate V-to-T movement. The reason for providing both analyses, one where V-to-T movement is present and one where it is not, is due to the debate in recent works with regards to

whether or not V moves to T via syntactic head-movement in languages such as Turkish and Uyghur.[20] Consequently, I will provide an analysis under each assumption.

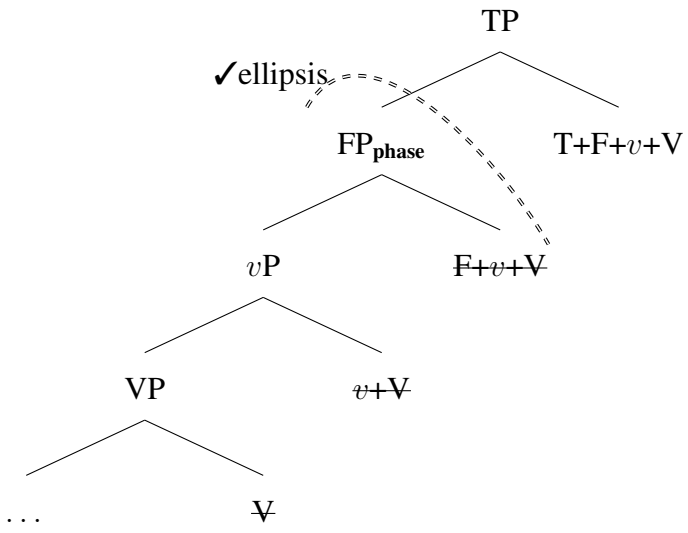
First, suppose that both Turkish and Uyghur instantiate V-to-T syntactic head-movement and that the relevant clause-structure for both is as described in (56). In both languages, V raises through the same positions. However, as previously argued, in Turkish v is a phase head; in Uyghur the phase head is a higher head F.

(56)

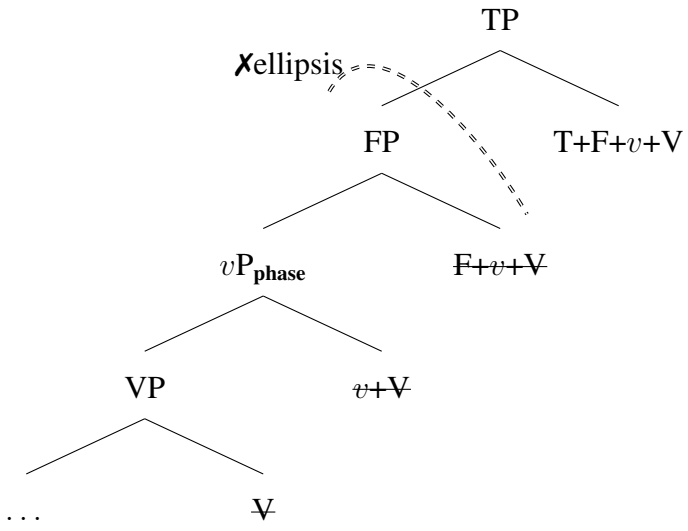


Consider now how this difference in phase positions bears on ellipsis. Bošković (2014) argues that, in principle, ellipsis can target either phase complements or entire phases. I suggest that, in the case of verb-stranding ellipsis, what is elided is the complement of T. In Uyghur, the complement of T, FP, is a phase, thus a suitable target for ellipsis (as in (57)). Here, since V raises above FP to T it is able to escape elision. In Turkish, however, FP is not a phase. Here the phase head is lower, i.e. v, and vP is not the complement of T. Thus, for Turkish, T cannot elide its complement FP because this phrase is not a phase (or a phase complement), as in (58).[21]

(57)



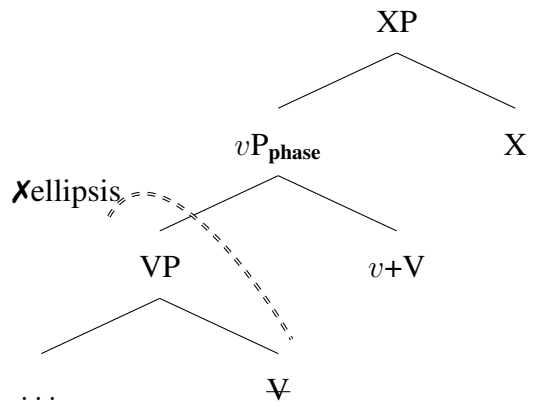
(58)



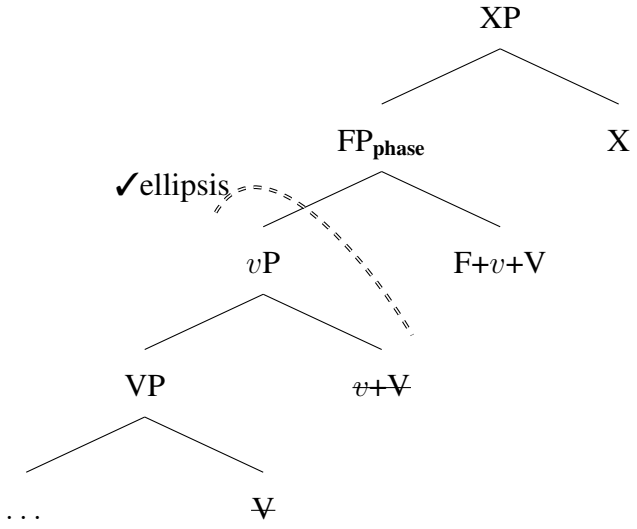
Consider now the analysis under the assumption that there is no V-to-T movement in either language. It is often assumed that vP is a phase and V quite generally moves to v. I suggest these are correlated in a way such that V always moves to the head position of the middle-field phase. In Turkish, the middle-field phase is vP, hence, the verb moves to v. In Uyghur, it is FP, hence the verb moves to F (even though the languages do not have V-to-T movement). In languages where the verb moves to v (as in English), verb-stranding ellipsis is not allowed, which suggests that VP quite generally cannot be elided (as in (59)). But in Uyghur it is possible to elide vP and still strand V. I suggest that this is

indeed what happens, that is, this is how verb-stranding ellipsis in Uyghur is derived (as in (60)).

(59)



(60)



To conclude, I have shown that an additional contrast, i.e. verb-stranding ellipsis possibility, between Turkish and Uyghur can be explained in terms of a difference in phasal boundaries. In particular, I argued that Turkish vP disallows verb-stranding ellipsis because vP is a phase in Turkish; in Uyghur vP is not a phase, rather a higher phrase FP is, which is the reason why Uyghur permits verb-stranding ellipsis.

4.3 Long distance scrambling

A further contrast between Turkish and Uyghur concerns the possibility of object scrambling out of embedded clauses. In constructions where the subject of the embedded clause is marked with accusative, long-distance scrambling of the embedded object is disallowed in Turkish. But in Uyghur this kind long-distance object scrambling is generally possible. I will show below that this contrast provides further evidence for a phasal difference between Turkish and Uyghur. In particular, I will show that v being a phase head in Turkish blocks long-distance object scrambling over accusative subjects. But since v is not a phase head in Uyghur, this kind of movement is possible.

In Turkish and Uyghur, subjects of embedded finite clauses can optionally surface with accusative (the other option being the unmarked nominative), as in (61) and (62), respectively.

(61) a. Pelin [Ali Timbuktu-ya git-ti diye]
Pelin Ali Timbuktu-DAT go-PST.3SG C
bil-iyor-muş.
know-PROG-EVID.PST.3SG
'Pelin thought that Ali went to Timbuktu.'

b. Pelin [Ali-**yi** Timbuktu-ya git-ti diye]
Pelin Ali-ACC Timbuktu-DAT go-PST.3SG C
bil-iyor-muş.
know-PROG-EVID.PST.3SG
'Pelin thought that Ali went to Timbuktu.'
(adapted from Şener 2008: 7)

(62) a. Adil [Mehmet ket-ti dep] bil-i-du.
Adil Mehmet leave-PST.3SG C know-NPST-3SG
'Adil knows that Mehmet left.'

b. Adil [Mehmet-**ni** ket-ti dep] bil-i-du.
Adil Mehmet-ACC leave-PST.3SG C know-NPST-3SG
'Adil knows that Mehmet left.'

Further, in both languages accusative subjects can precede matrix-level adverbs, indicating movement to the matrix clause, as in (63a) and (64a). Nominative subjects, as in (63b) and (64b), are immobile in this respect.

(63) a. Ali Can$_i$-**ı** ahmakça [t_i sınıf-ı geç-ti diye]
Ali Can-ACC foolishly class-ACC pass-PST.3SG C
düşun-üyor.
think-PRS.PROG.3SG
'Ali foolishly thinks that Can passed the class.'

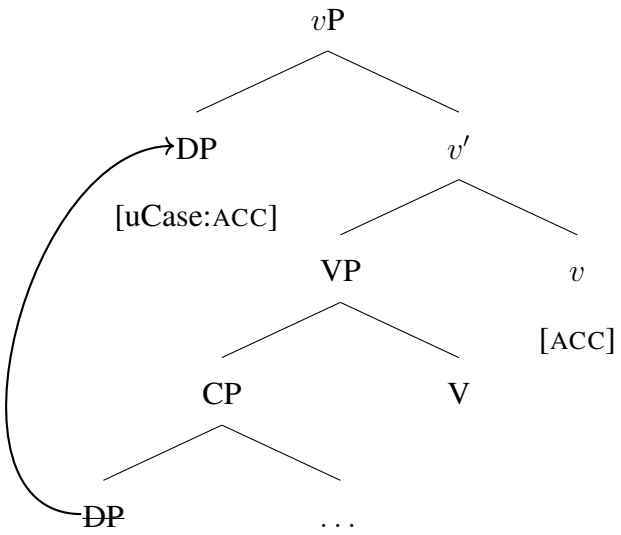
b. *Ali Can$_i$ ahmakça [t_i sınıf-ı geç-ti diye]
Ali Can foolishly class-ACC pass-PST.3SG C
düşun-üyor.
think-PRS.PROG.3SG
'Ali foolishly thinks that Can passed the class.'

(64) a. Adil Mehmet$_i$-**ni** da'im [t_i göshnaan et-i dep]
Adil Mehmet$_i$-ACC frequently göshnaan make-PST.3SG C
oyla-y-du.
think-NPST-3SG
'Adil frequently thinks that Mehmet made göshnaan.'

b. *Adil Mehmet$_i$ da'im [t_i göshnaan et-i dep]
Adil Mehmet frequently göshnaan make-PST.3SG C
oyla-y-du.
think-NPST-3SG
'Adil frequently thinks that Mehmet made göshnaan.'

It is typically assumed that constructions like (63a)/ (64a), where the embedded subject is marked accusative, involve raising-to-object (Kuno, 1976; Kornfilt, 1977; Knecht, 1985; Tanaka, 2002; Zidani-Eroğlu, 1997a; Major, 2021). Here, the DP has moved from the embedded CP to a matrix position, i.e. Spec$v$P, in order to be licensed by the matrix v (as shown in (65)), which accounts for both movement into the matrix clause and accusative case morphology.[22]

(65)



For several languages with such constructions, accusative subjects block scrambling of other elements from the embedded clause. For example, this is the case in Japanese. As in Turkish and Uyghur, Japanese allows for embedded subjects to be accusative marked (66b):[23]

(66) a. Taroo-wa [Hanako-ga tesai da to] omotteiru.
Taroo-TOP [Hanako-NOM genius COP C] think.PROG
'Taroo thinks Hanako is a genius.'

b. Taroo-wa [Hanako-**o** tesai da to] omotteiru.
Taroo-TOP [Hanako-ACC genius COP C] think.PROG
'Taroo thinks Hanako is a genius.'

Interestingly, when the subject is marked with accusative, it blocks the object from scrambling out of the embedded clause (67a) (Yoo, 2018). Nominative subjects, on the other hand, allow such scrambling (67b).

(67) a. *Gengoaku$_i$-ni John-ga [Mary-**o** t_i kuwashii to] omotteiru.
linguistics-DAT John-NOM Mary-ACC familiar C] think.PROG
'With linguistics, John thinks that Mary is familiar.'

b. Gengoaku$_i$-ni John-ga [Mary-**ga** t_i kuwashii to]
linguistics-DAT John-NOM Mary-NOM familiar C]
omotteiru.
think.PROG
'With linguistics, John thinks that Mary is familiar.'

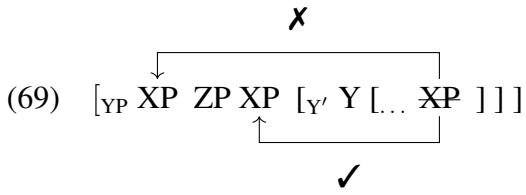
Turkish patterns with Japanese regarding this blocking effect (Zidani-Eroğlu, 1997a; Aygen, 2002). When the embedded subject is accusative it blocks the object from scrambling out of the embedded clause (68a). When the embedded subject is nominative, the object can scramble out (68b).[24]

(68) a. *Oya$_i$-ya Ali Ayşe-yi t_i yardım et-ti
Oya-DAT Ali Ayşe-ACC help do-PST.3SG
san-ıyor.
believe-PRES.PROG.3SG
'Ali believes Ayşe to have helped Oya.'

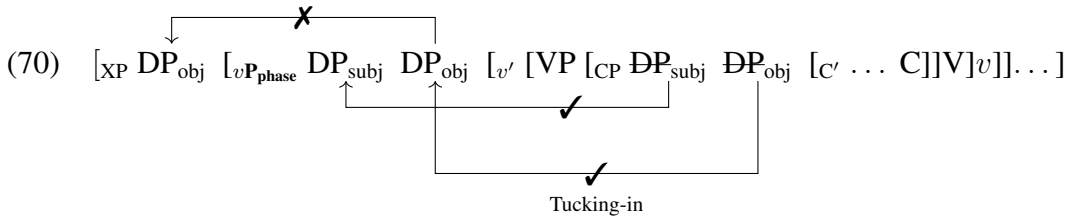
b. Oya$_i$-ya Ali Ayşe t_i yardım et-ti
Oya-DAT Ali Ayşe help do-PST.3SG
san-ıyor.
believe-PRES.PROG.3SG
'Ali believes Ayşe to have helped Oya.'

Yoo (2018) proposes an account of the blocking effect for Japanese based on Richards'

(1997) tucking-in effect that can be straightforwardly extended to Turkish. Richards (1997) shows that quite generally in cases where a new specifier is created for a head where a specifier is already present, the new specifier must be created below or 'tuck in' below the existing one, as in (69).

(69) 

Assuming that Turkish accusative subjects are instances of raising-to-object, i.e. (65), the embedded subject DP moves to the matrix Spec$v$P. When the embedded object DP scrambles out of the embedded clause to the left-periphery of the matrix clause, it must have the matrix Spec$v$P as an intermediate landing site due to the PIC. However, because the Spec of the matrix v is already occupied by the raised DP, the scrambling embedded object DP must tuck-in below the raised DP when creating a Spec. Further, Bošković (2016a) shows that quite generally in multiple Spec configurations, only the outermost Spec counts as the phase edge with respect to the PIC.[25] Because the scrambling object DP must tuck-in below the raised DP, it is not at the edge of the vP phase and movement to a higher position is thus blocked due to the PIC. This effect is illustrated for the Japanese (67a) and Turkish (68a) examples in (70):

(70) 

Conversely, when the embedded subject DP is nominative, as in (67b) and (68b) for Japanese and Turkish respectively, it is located in the embedded SpecTP and does not raise to the

matrix Spec$v$P. Thus, no blocking effect is induced because the embedded object DP is not required to have the embedded SpecTP as an intermediate landing site when moving to the matrix clause since this is not a phase edge position. Further, when the embedded object DP moves to the matrix Spec$v$P, it is no longer blocked for further movement since there is no DP in Spec$v$P (see fn. 24) forcing the scrambling object to tuck-in below (cf. (70)). (71) gives the relevant derivation:

(71) $[_{XP}\ DP_{obj}\ [_{v\mathbf{P_{phase}}}\ \cancel{DP}_{obj}\ [_{v'}\ [_{VP}\ [_{CP}\ \cancel{DP}_{obj}\ [_{C'}\ [_{TP}\ DP_{subj}\ [_{T'}\ [_{vP}\ \cancel{DP}_{obj}\ \ldots]T]]C]]V]v]]]\ldots]$

The present analysis of the interpretative difference between Uyghur and Turkish's accusative objects, discussed above, makes an interesting prediction regarding the possibility of long-distance scrambling. As discussed in the previous section, in Uyghur vP is not a phase. Instead, the phase boundary is a higher functional projection FP. Since vP is not a phase in Uyghur, moving DPs are not required to have Spec$v$P as an intermediate landing site when moving to a position higher in the clause. Thus, since the phase edge is SpecFP, if a DP is located in the matrix Spec$v$P, this should not induce a blocking effect for other DPs moving above the matrix vP, as discussed above with respect to Turkish and Japanese. Since vP is not a phase in Uyghur, there is no forced tucking-in at the vP phase edge that created a problem in Turkish and Japanese. Hence, in Uyghur (unlike Japanese and Turkish) accusative subjects should not induce a blocking effect with regards to objects scrambling out the embedded CP. The surprising prediction, that in contrast to Turkish, Uyghur's accusative subject will not block object scrambling is, in fact, borne out in (72b) (see also Major (2014)).

(72) a. Adil Mehmet-ni Aliyë-gë yerdem ber-di dep
Adil Mehmet-ACC Aliyë-DAT help give-PST.3SG C
angli-di.
hear-PST.3SG

'Adil heard that Mehmet helped Aliyë.'

b. Aliyë$_i$-gë Adil Mehmet-ni t_i yerdem ber-di dep angli-di.

The possibility of long-distance scrambling in Uyghur (but not Turkish) is thus predicted under the hypothesis that vP is not a phase in Uyghur. Since it is not, the moving object DP need not move to Spec$v$P, which created a problem in Turkish. Conversely, since vP is a phase in Turkish and, therefore, Spec$v$P is the phase edge, accusative subjects in matrix Spec$v$P induce a blocking effect for object scrambling.

4.4 Summary

To summarize, I have shown that four otherwise unrelated contrasts between Turkish and Uyghur can be given a uniform account with the hypothesis that there is a difference in phase boundaries in the middle-field between the two languages. In §3.2, the interpretive contrasts concerning specificity between Turkish and Uyghur's dislocated objects were explained in these terms. Namely, because in Turkish but not Uyghur, dislocated object DPs must have Spec$v$P as an intermediate landing site. In this section three further contrasts were discussed: scope possibilities, verb-stranding ellipsis, and long-distance scrambling. For all three phenomena, the contrasts between Turkish and Uyghur were explained in the same terms as with the dislocated objects: location of phase heads. In Turkish v is a phase head; in Uyghur it is not. This proposed difference in phase boundaries thus provides a uniform account of four distinct differences between Turkish and Uyghur.

5 Phasal variation beyond Turkic

One of the key claims so far has been that several contrasts between Turkish and Uyghur can be explained in terms of a single point of cross-linguistic variation: whether or not vP is a phase. Given that this kind of phasal variation is present between Turkish and Uyghur, we may expect other languages to exhibit phenomena that can be traced to this point of variation as well. In this section I argue that this is indeed the case, for two languages unrelated to Turkic: Swahili and Bemba.

Swahili presents a case where DPs undergoing movement to a higher position must pass through Spec$v$P as an intermediate landing site. Here, objects that are high in animacy must agree with the verb which surfaces with an agreement marker controlled by the object (Henderson, 2006; Riedel, 2009). As shown in (73a,73b), the verb surfaces with a marker agreeing in noun class with the object.

(73) a. Ni-li-*(**mw**)-ona mtoto.
SM.1SG-PST-2.OM-see 1.child
'I saw a/the child'
(Riedel 2009: 68)

b. Juma a-li-*(**wa**)-kutana walimu
Juma SM.3SG-PST-2.OM-meet 2.teachers.
'Juma met the teachers'
(Henderson 2006: 61)

Further, when the animate object undergoes movement to a position higher in the clause, e.g. object relativization, object agreement is required on the verb as well, as in (74a,74b) (Henderson, 2006; Riedel, 2009).

(74) a. Msichana amba-ye Juma a-li-*(**m**)-kutana jana.
1.girl *amba*-1.REL Juma SM.3SG-PST-1.OM-meet yesterday

'The girl that Juma meet yesterday.'

b. watoto amba-o Juma a-li-*(**wa-**)-ona.
2.children *amba*-2.REL Juma SM.3SG-PST-2.OM-see
'The children that Juma saw.'
(Henderson 2006: 58, 192)

As argued in Woolford 1999, 2001, the presence of object agreement with animates, as in (73a,73b), indicates that the DP raises out of the VP to a higher licensing position, i.e. the presence of object agreement is a reflex of the DP moving to Spec$v$P. Further, when the object DP undergoes relativization, as in (74a,74b), the object agreement marker remains. Given that object agreement is also a requirement for animate DPs that undergo movement to a position higher in the clause, i.e. SpecCP, we may regard this as evidence that in Swahili vP is a phase and, thus, a moving object DP must have Spec$v$P as an intermediate landing site due to the PIC. As a result of this intermediate movement step, a morphological reflex, i.e. object agreement, is present.

The key point for our purposes is that Swahili parallels Turkish regarding phase boundaries. In both cases, vP is a phase and therefore all elements must have Spec$v$P as an intermediate landing site when moving to a higher position. In Swahili this has a morphological reflex in agreement. In Turkish, it is with the moving object's obligatory specific interpretation.

Consider now Bemba, which exhibits an object agreement pattern which stands in sharp contrast to the related language Swahili. As shown in (75), the verb surfaces with an agreement marker which is controlled by the object. However, when the object undergoes movement to a position higher in the clause, as in the case of object-relatives (76a), the verb cannot agree with the object, cf. (76b) (Marten et al., 2007; Zeller, 2014).

(75) n-álì-mú-món-á Chìsángá
1SG.SM-PST-1.OM-see-FV 1.Chisanga

'I saw Chisanga'

(Marten et al. 2007: 261)

(76) a. ìcí-pùnà ícò ùmù-ánàkáshì á-mwèènè
7-chair REL.7 1-girl SM1-see.PERF
'The chair which the girl saw'

b. *ìcí-pùnà ícò ùmù-ánàkáshì á-**ci**-mwèènè
7-chair REL.7 1-girl SM1-7.OM-see.PERF
'The chair which the girl saw'

(Marten et al. 2007: 275)

I suggest that the above facts indicate that in transitive constructions, like (75), the DO raises to Spec$v$P. Then, the presence of agreement morphology is a reflex of the DO being in Spec$v$P. However, when the DO undergoes Ā-movement, as with object-relatives, the DP does not pass through Spec$v$P, hence there is no morphological reflex—i.e. there is no object agreement.[26] I suggest that this indicates that in Bemba, like in Uyghur, v is not a phase head and therefore when a DP is moving to a position above the vP, the DP does not have Spec$v$P as an intermediate landing site. In this respect, Bemba's agreement facts parallel Uyghur's facts regarding the interpretation of moving objects. In both, when an object moves to Spec$v$P there is a reflex present. For Uyghur it is an obligatory specific interpretation of the DP and for Bemba it is object agreement. But in both cases, when the object moves to a position above vP the object does not move to Spec$v$P and the reflexes are absent. In Uyghur it is the loss of the object's obligatory specific interpretation; in Bemba it is the absence of object agreement.

It should be noted that Icelandic object shift may provide another parallel with Uyghur and Bemba, given the data regarding d-linked interpretation of *wh*-phrases discussed in fn. 11. As discussed there, the d-linked interpretation of a *wh*-phrase that is forced under object shift is not forced under further movement, indicating that the *wh*-phrase does

not pass through the position that is associated with object shift in Icelandic under *wh*-movement. In fact, as observed in §2.3 exactly the same pattern is found with respect to accusative marked *wh*-objects in Uyghur.

As shown, the contrast observed between Swahili and Bemba's object agreement can be regarded as a morphological parallel to the contrast observed between the interpretative possibilities of Turkish and Uyghur's dislocated objects. In both cases, when an object moves to Spec$v$P there is a reflex, either morphological or semantic. For Turkish and Swahili this reflex is present even when the object's final landing site is higher than Spec$v$P, indicating that objects must have Spec$v$P as an intermediate landing site when undergoing overt movement above vP. In Uyghur and Bemba this is not the case. Here, when the objects undergo overt movement higher in the clause, i.e. above vP, this reflex is absent. As we have seen, this can be captured if in Turkish and Swahili v is a phase head; in Uyghur and Bemba it is not. It is worth emphasizing here that Swahili and Bemba are related languages, just like Turkish and Uyghur, what we then have here are pairs of related languages showing the same variation, regarding phasal boundaries, that only differs in its morphological/semantic reflex.

6 Conclusion

This paper has established a new DOM paradigm through the comparison of DOM in Turkish and Uyghur. Based on this I have argued for several related points. First, I have argued that the standard assumption that specificity and VP-externality always correlate with one another is incorrect. While Turkish patterns in this way, I showed that Uyghur presents a clear counter-example to this assumption. In Uyghur, when DOM objects surface in their clause-medial, VP-external position, they must be specific. But upon further movement to an even higher position, they lose this obligatory specific interpretation.

Thus, I conclude that a DP's height relative to the VP, i.e. VP-externality, is not a reliable guide to determining whether an object DP must receive a specific interpretation.

Second, I presented an analysis of specificity effects which captures both the Turkish and Uyghur patterns. On the standard approach, movement of the object DP outside of the VP is forced only when the DP bears a [+SPECIFIC] feature. This idea can be implemented in a number of ways, however, the crucial point is that on such accounts if a DP is VP-external then it must receive a specific interpretation which I have shown is problematic. In view of this problem for the standard approach, I suggested that what forces a DP to receive an obligatory specific interpretation is whether or not it occupies a particular position, i.e. Spec$v$P. I argued that this account of specificity effects combined with variation in a language's phase position explains the differences between Turkish and Uyghur's DOM patterns. In Turkish, vP is a phase but in Uyghur it is not. As a result, in Turkish all objects which move outside of the VP must have Spec$v$P as either a final or intermediate landing site. Hence, they are always specific. But since in Uyghur the phase boundary is higher than Spec$v$P this is not the case. Instead, if an object moves above the phase, then it does not have Spec$v$P as an intermediate landing site, and thus, no specificity effect is induced.

Third, I showed how this point of variation between Turkish and Uyghur, i.e. whether or not vP (or a higher phrase in the middle-field) is a phase, can explain several additional contrasts observed between the two languages regarding scope effects, verb-stranding ellipsis, and the possibility of long-distance object scrambling. Thus, this proposed difference in phase boundaries provides a uniform account of four otherwise unrelated differences between Turkish and Uyghur.

Finally, I showed that this point of variation between Turkish and Uyghur's phase positions is observed cross-linguistically. Here I compared Swahili and Bemba's object agreement patterns. I argued that in Swahili successive-cyclic movement proceeds in the

same way as in Turkish. Since vP is a phase in both languages, when a DP moves from within the VP to a position above vP, the DP must have Spec$v$P as an intermediate landing site. This was reflected in Turkish with specificity effects and in Swahili with the presence of object agreement. Conversely, in Bemba it was shown that an object DP does not have Spec$v$P as an intermediate landing site when moving to a higher position. I argued that this is because, as with Uyghur, vP is not a phase and thus when the DP moves to higher position, it is not required to have Spec$v$P as an intermediate landing site. This was reflected in Uyghur with the absence of obligatory specific interpretations for scrambled objects and in Bemba with the absence of object agreement under object relativization. Thus, the phasal variation observed in Turkish and Uyghur is an instance of a more general cross-linguistic point of variation.

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Department of Linguistics
University of Connecticut, Storrs
Storrs CT 06269

robin.jenkins@uconn.edu

Notes

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[1]Unless cited from another source, all Turkish and Uyghur data was elicited from native speakers by the author.

[2]See Erguvanlı 1984; Dede 1986; Enç 1991; Diesing 1992; Kornfilt 1997; Öztürk 2005, *i.a.*

[3]This is not universal with respect to DOM; see Kalin and Weisser 2019.

[4] Alternatively, IOs could be generated in an ApplP above VP. In either case the above point would remain.

[5]Torrego (1998) also shows that like Turkish and Uyghur's accusative marked objects, *a*-marked objects are higher in the structure, i.e. VP-external, than unmarked objects.

[6]The loss of an obligatory specific interpretation when the ACC-marked direct object is dislocated to a clause-initial position is especially stark with arguments of verbs of creation, e.g. *build, give birth*. As shown in (i) below, ACC-objects generally resist being arguments of verbs of creation due to the existence presupposition marked objects generally carry (see Kelepir 2001 for discussion of this effect in Turkish). But as shown in (ii), in Uyghur, scrambling the marked object ameliorates the inflecity felt when the marked object is clause-medial due to no longer requiring a specific interpretation from this clause-initial position.

i. #Adil mashina-**ni** yasa-wat-i-du.
Adil car-ACC build-PROG-NPST-3SG
'Adil is building the car.'

ii. Mashina$_i$-**ni** Adil t_i yasa-wat-i-du.
car-ACC Adil build-PROG-NPST-3SG
'Adil is building a car/cars.'

[7] As noted in fn. 11, the pattern observed in Uyghur (17,18) closely parallels Icelandic *wh*-objects under object shift, which is also related to notions like specificity and definiteness.

[8] An alternative approach to specificity-based DOM, which also has (21) as its effect, is to directly tie the presence of a [+SPECIFIC] feature with the presence of a [uCase] feature (Torrego 1998; Rodríguez-Mondoñedo 2007; Ormazabal and Romero 2013a, *i.a.*). On this approach, movement outside of the VP is forced by the DP's Case licensing needs (which, in turn, correlate with bearing a [+SPECIFIC] feature). Since only [+SPECIFIC] DPs require Case licensing, only [+SPECIFIC] DPs are predicted to raise outside the VP, thus deriving the effect in (21). For an alternative approach regarding the relationship between DOM morphology and licensing of the object DP, see López 2012.

[9] As noted by an anonymous reviewer, this difference between Turkish/Uyghur DOM and unmarked objects, where the former requires Case but the latter do not, parallels Spanish DOM patterns. For Spanish, Ormazabal and Romero (2013b) argue that the relevant difference between DOM and unmarked objects is that the former require Case but the latter do not. One important difference between the Spanish and Turkish/Uyghur cases, however, is that while in Turkish/Uyghur the presence of a [uCase] (and, thus, DOM) correlates with the projection of a DP layer (and the lack of [uCase] with the absence of DP layer), in Spanish both DOM and unmarked objects seem to project a DP layer (Ormazabal and Romero, 2013b). Thus, as suggested by an anonymous reviewer, the relevant difference between Spanish and Turkish/Uyghur may be whether D obligatorily bears [uCase] (as in Turkish/Uyghur) or not (as in Spanish).

[10] An interesting question arises as to why the Spec$v$P position correlates with specificity for DPs located there. As suggested by an anonymous reviewer, a way to approach the issue may be to treat specificity as an LF effect that emerges due to vP's predicate status (rather than a property encoded as a syntactically active feature). I agree that this restriction on Spec$v$P may, in fact, be an LF effect that is connected to vP's predicate status (see also fn. 11). There may even be a connection with QR, which also has been argued to target the edge of vP due

to vP's predicate status.

[11]Another possibility is that it is the structure position itself, Spec$v$P, which imposes a specific interpretation on the DP (rather than only DPs with a [+SPECIFIC] feature being able to move to Spec$v$P). In other words (and this is what is important for present purposes), it is by occupying a particular position that specificity effects are induced. Such an effect can also be observed with Icelandic *wh*-objects under object shift. In Icelandic multiple *wh*-questions, the *wh*-object can surface either in its base, VP-internal position (ia) or VP-externally in the object shift position (ib), as indicated by the position of the *wh*-phrase with respect to negation. Interestingly, when the *wh*-object surfaces in the object shift position (as in (ib)) it must receive a d-linked interpretation in this position (see Diesing (1996) for discussion of the semantic effects of object shift). Further, under regular *wh*-object movement to SpecCP, as in (ii), d-linked interpretation is not forced.

i. a. Hver les ekki hvað?
Who reads not what
'Who doesn't read what?'

b. Hver les hvað ekki?
Who reads what not
'Who doesn't read what (among these books)?'

ii. Hvað las Maria?
What read Maria
'What did Maria read?'

What the above facts indicate is that whether or not a d-linked interpretation is forced is a reflex of whether or not the DP moves to the object shift position in the derivation. If the DP does not as in (ia) and (ii), then a d-linked interpretation is not forced. But if the DP does move to this position, as in (ib), then a d-linked interpretation is forced. In this respect, Icelandic

and Uyghur are parallels. The parallelism between Icelandic and Uyghur is even more obvious with Uyghur's *wh*-objects (as discussed in §2.3); Uyghur's ACC-marked *wh*-phrases must be interpreted as d-linked in clause-medial position. But when fronted further, the ACC-marked *wh*-phrase lose the obligatory d-linked interpretation. Given the parallelism, this may suggest that Uyghur's ACC-objects derive their specific/d-linked interpretations through movement to a particular position, as is standardly assumed to be the case with Icelandic.

[12]In both Turkish and Uyghur, there is no specificity requirement on DPs which are merged as external arguments (EAs). This can be interpreted as indicating that the EA is merged in a projection above vP (see e.g. Pylkkänen 2008), where no such requirement is imposed. Alternatively, multiple specifiers may matter here, with the specificity requirement imposed only on the innermost Spec. In this case, the EA is merged in Spec$v$P and the DO moves to Spec$v$P, tucking in a lower Spec$v$P (Richards, 1997). Since it is not located in the innermost Spec the specificity requirement is not imposed on the EA (there are other ways to implement this intuition, e.g. by appealing to Bošković (2016a) approach to multiple edges).

[13] Note that I keep the assumption of the standard analysis that the relevant Case licensing requires movement. This issue is discussed in more detail below.

[14]The present analysis is neutral regarding the identity of F^0. I tentatively suggest that the issue may be related to a difference between Uyghur and Turkish's aspectual field. As shown by Sugar (2019), the Uyghur aspectual field includes both a high and low, i.e. 'outer' and 'inner', aspectual head (see e.g. Travis 2010). Meanwhile, Turkish appears to lack a position associated with a low or 'inner' aspectual head (but does instantiate a position associated with a high or 'outer' aspectual head; see Kornfilt 1996; Kelepir 2001; Zanon 2014; Fenger 2020 for discussion of the Turkish aspectual field). I tentatively suggest that the presence of this lower aspectual head in Uyghur is related to the difference in phasal boundaries between the two languages, more precisely, that the presence of the lower aspectual head correlates with the phase boundary in Uyghur being above vP. This is a speculative suggestion that obviously requires

much more work (especially in the contextual phasehood approach, where particular projections do not rigidly correspond to phasal or non-phasal projections, with the broader syntactic context mattering). I only note here that it has been argued by a number of authors (e.g. Wurmbrand 2013; Bošković 2014; Harwood 2015; Todorovic 2016) that aspect affects middle-field phase boundaries.

[15]See Rodríguez-Mondoñedo 2007 for an implementation and independent evidence for this approach with respect to DOM. Villa-García 2015 provides further independent evidence for this approach to Case with regards to Spanish. He observes that DPs which are clearly base-generated in the left-periphery receive Case from a lower functional head, where the DP can only probe downwards to receive Case.

[16]An alternative approach to Case licensing would be one where the object DP receives ACC-Case *in situ via* Agree with v's ϕ-probe, with raising of the object DP triggered by an [EPP] feature (cf. Chomsky 2001). Such an approach, however, would have to posit that in the case of Uyghur the [EPP] feature can appear either on v or F depending on whether the object DP is undergoing scrambling or not. This is because (as shown above) all ACC-DPs must raise out of the VP but only DPs which bear a [+SPECIFIC] feature can raise to Spec$v$P (ACC-DPs which are [-SPECIFIC] must raise directly to SpecFP). See Bošković to appear for an implementation of the EPP which would actually allow the needed variation.

[17]An alternative derivation for (35b) is that the relevant landing site is SpecFP without moving again to a higher position. Note that there is no difference between this derivation and the one described above in terms of interpretative effects of the moving DP.

[18]This parallel between the C/T and F/v domain regarding DP licensing may be explained in terms of Feature Inheritance as proposed in Chomsky 2008. On this proposal [uϕ] features (and [EPP] or 'edge features') originate on phase heads and are inherited by the head selected by the phase head. I suggest that feature inheritance fails to occur if the relevant DP undergoes movement to the phase edge. In this case, [uϕ] probes and licenses the DP from the phase

head and triggers raising to its Spec due to the [EPP]. On this proposal, subject *wh*-movement to SpecCP (skipping SpecTP) is explained in terms of T failing to inherit [uϕ] (and [EPP]) from C (since movement to the phasal edge is independently required). This proposal can be directly to extended to the F/v domain in Uyghur. Here, [uϕ] and [EPP] would originate on the phase head F. If the DP need not undergo movement to the phase edge, i.e. SpecFP, then [uϕ] and [EPP] are inherited by v which probes and licenses the DP (and triggers raising to Spec$v$P). However, if the DP must move to the phase edge, SpecFP, then feature inheritance fails and [uϕ] probes and licenses the DP from F (and triggers raising to SpecFP due to [EPP]). This account can derive the correct pattern for Uyghur's ACC-object DPs since it is only those ACC-object DPs which undergo scrambling that must move directly to SpecFP. Given the discussion here, they move directly to SpecFP due to F failing to pass its features to v. Further, this account can uniformly explain the observation that in both the C/T and F/v domains the DP does not move to SpecTP/Spec$v$P when it moves to the phase edge, i.e. SpecCP/SpecFP.

[19]Other languages that allow verb-stranding ellipsis include: Persian (Rasekhi, 2018); Russian (Gribanova, 2013); Uzbek (Gribanova, 2020), among others.

[20]See Kornfilt 1996; Kelepir 2001; Ince 2009; Zanon 2014; Major 2017; Fenger 2020, for discussion on this point regarding syntactic head movement.

[21]Note that this analysis of verb-stranding ellipsis in Uyghur may also explain the relative rarity of languages that instantiate verb-stranding ellipsis, since under the above analysis such ellipsis would be possible only in languages where a higher phrase other than vP is the middle-field phase. I leave to future research to verify this suggestion for other languages. In addition, note that this analysis (and explanation for the relative rarity of verb-stranding ellipsis) can be recast if FP is not present in Turkish at all and the complement of T is the phase vP. In this case, I suggest that verb-stranding ellipsis must involve phasal ellipsis (see Lewis to appear for another case of ellipsis constrained in this manner) and that vP cannot be elided if headed by a trace (cf. Lasnik 1999) (note, however, that while the verb-stranding ellipsis

argument is compatible with FP either being absent or present in Turkish, the scope argument in §4.1 may require the former).

[22]Note that Major's (2021) analysis of Uyghur's raising-to-object constructions treats *dep* as a verbal element which heads a vP/VP layer below the matrix VP and selects for CP (with a null C; the ACC-object still raises to Spec$v$P). Regarding the discussion below, nothing would essentially change if this analysis instead of (65) is adopted for Uyghur.

[23]Note that this NOM/ACC alternation observed in Japanese with embedded subjects is distinct from the NOM/ACC alternation observed on direct objects, where the latter is a clause-internal phenomena. For discussion see: Kuno 1973, *i.a.*.

[24]As observed by an anonymous reviewer, many native Turkish speakers observe a contrast between cases of long-distance scrambling an oblique object over an accusative subject (as in (68a)) with cases of long-distance scrambling an accusative object over an accusative subject, where speakers judge the former cases as less degraded than the latter cases (although both are still more degraded than the grammatical cases where the object long-distance scrambles over a nominative subject, as in (68b)). As suggested by the reviewer, this indicates that performance factors may play a role regarding the ungrammaticality of long-distance scrambling over accusative subjects. Importantly, for the present point, the crucial observation is that long-distance scrambling over an accusative subject in general is more degraded than over a nominative subject, thus, suggesting that formal syntax plays a role as well (along with performance factors).

[25]Note that, as argued in Bošković 2016a, this outermost edge effect only applies to multiple Spec configurations where the highest Spec is occupied by a DP which heads a chain. In other words, the effect is neutralized if the highest Spec is occupied by a lower copy, i.e. trace, in a chain (on a par with relativized minimality effects). In the present case, this means that the matrix subject DP, which is presumably generated in the matrix Spec$v$P, does not count as an edge position with respect to the outermost edge effect.

[26]See also Bošković 2008, 2016b for a similar analysis of Kinande's object-agreement patterns, which parallel Bemba's in several important respects regarding obligatory object agreement-drop under Ā-movement (see also Schneider-Zioga 1995 regarding Kinande).