Restrictions on Rogative and Responsive Verb Complements in Uyghur - Lightning Talk

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Introduction

Many languages distinguish the complements of extensional and intensional predicates.

(1) a. Extensional Predicates: know, tell
b. Intensional Predicates: wonder, guess, ask

Data from Uyghur (collected with native speaker in Cambridge, MA) suggests:

(2) a. Uyghur syntactically distinguishes the complements of extensional and intensional predicates.
b. Extensional predicates can embed intensional complements when embedded under a modal verb.

My contribution: I suggest that these facts can be explained by:

(3) a. Intensional Predicates are inherently complex: extensional + modal.
b. Intensional Complements are more complex than originally thought: **Three** world arguments rather than **two**.

Uyghur Data

In Uyghur, complementizer ***dep***, derived from *de* "say", embeds interrogative complements of intensional predicates.

(4) Reyhan kim tort-ni yé-d-i **dep** sori-d-i.
Reyhan who cake-ACC eat-PST-3 DEP ask-PST-3
'Reyhan asked who ate the cake.'

dep is incapable of embedding interrogative complements of extensional predicates.

(5) *Reyhan kim tort-ni yé-d-i **dep** bil-i-du.
Reyhan who cake-ACC eat-PST-3 DEP know-NPST-3
Intended: 'Reyhan knows who ate the cake.'

dep is grammatical under an extensional predicate if the extensional predicate is in the complement of a modal verb.

(6) Reyhan kim tort-ni yé-d-i **dep** bil-gü-si kel-d-i.
Reyhan who cake-ACC eat-PST-3 DEP know-DES-POSS.3 want-PST-3
'Reyhan wondered/wanted to know who ate the cake.'

Previous Analyses

As per (Karttunen 1977; Groenendijk and Stokhof 1982); the definitions of Intensional and Extensional Predicates.

(7) a. **Extensional**: complement is index dependent
b. **Intensional**: complement is index independent

Partee and Rooth (1983); Suñer (1993): extensional and intensional complements are of different types:

Both have two world arguments; extensional have one open $\langle s,t\rangle$, intensional have both open $\langle s,\langle s,t\rangle\rangle$

(8) a. $[\![\text{Extensional: } \phi]\!] = \lambda w.\phi(w) = \phi(w')$
b. $[\![\text{Intensional: } \phi]\!] = \lambda w' \lambda w.\phi(w) = \phi(w')$

No type decomposition: verbs take complements directly:

(9) a. $[\![\text{know}]\!] \in \langle\langle s,t\rangle,\langle e,t\rangle\rangle = \lambda p_{\langle s,t\rangle} \lambda x.\text{know}(p, x, a)$
b. $[\![\text{ask}]\!] \in \langle\langle s,\langle s,t\rangle\rangle,\langle e,t\rangle\rangle = \lambda q_{\langle s,\langle s,t\rangle\rangle} \lambda x.\text{ask}(q, x, a)$

How to rescue type mismatch: intensional complement and extensional predicate?

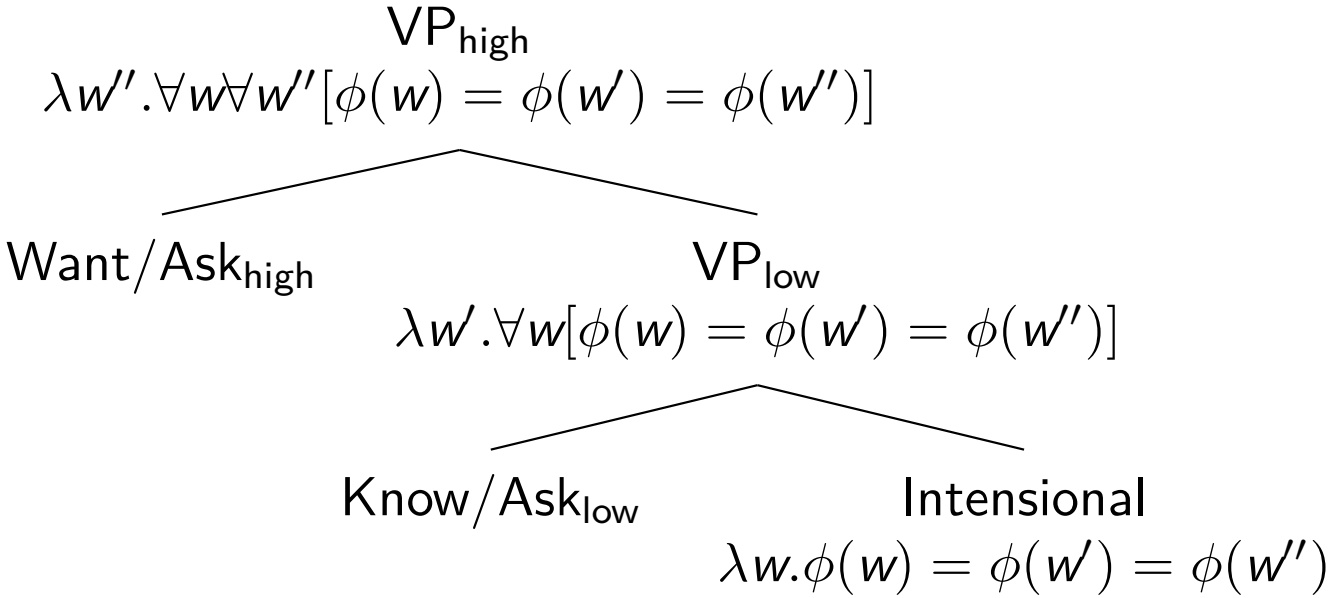
Application of Proposal

Intensional complements have three world arguments: only one is open.

(10) a. $[\![\text{Extensional: } \phi]\!] = \lambda w.\phi(w) = \phi(w')$
b. $[\![\text{Intensional: } \phi]\!] = \lambda w.\phi(w) = \phi(w') = \phi(w'')$

Complex predicates open and quantify over two worlds: this leaves one world to be coreferent with the matrix.

(11)



Consequences

Intensional complements are more complicated than extensional complements: difference is how many worlds, not how many open worlds.

Intensional predicates can be decomposed into two attitude predicates.

Index independence arises from a disconnect between the actual world and the world in which knowledge is held.

(12) $\phi(w) = \phi(w') = \phi(w'') =$
ϕ is true of the actual world; ϕ is true of the wanted world; ϕ is true of the world that is wanted to be known.

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