Cross-Clausal Dependencies and Indexical Shift in Uyghur

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Note: ❒ represents sentences/interpretations for which I have not yet tested the grammaticality.

1 Introduction

A-Dependencies (Fancily: 𝔄-Dependencies) are syntactic phenenomena whereby two positions on different sides of a finite clause boundary reflect some dependency between then, via case marking, agreement, or movement.

(1) Domain 𝔄 (Lohninger et al. 2022:2 ex 2): Configurations in which
   a. A matrix A-element (argument (position), case assigner, agreement head) is in
   b. An obligatory dependency (Agree, movement, binding, predication) with another element (operator, argument (position), obligatorily bound pronoun, gap)
   c. Situated in an embedded finite clause.

For instance, Zulu Raising-to-Object involves movement of the subject of an embedded finite clause, leading to both subject agreement with the embedded predicate and object agreement with the matrix predicate (2a).

(2) a. Raising to Object (Zulu; Halpert and Zeller 2015:476 ex 2)
   ngi-ya-**m**-funa **uSipho** [(ukuthi) **apheke** iqanda].
   1SG-YA-G1.OBJ-want AUG.G1.Sipho [that G1.SUBJ.cook AUG.G5.egg]
   'I want Sipho to cook an egg.'
   b. *I want **Sean** [that **cooks** an egg].
   Intended: 'I want Sean to cook an egg.'

Why are these important? 𝔄-Dependencies across finite clauses pose a serious theoretical problem to the general observation that finite clauses are more or less independent in terms of argument structure.

Additionally, assuming phasal syntax, material which moves out of a finite clause must move through SpecCP, and thus through an A′ position. Moving from an A′ position to an A position violates *Improper A-after-A′*.

(3) Improper A-after-A′ (Lohninger et al. (2022):13 ex 22):
An A-dependency involving X cannot follow a pure A′-dependency with X.

Lohninger et al. (2022) argue that the typology of 𝔄-Dependencies can be broken down into five configurations of the interaction between A and A′ features in the left periphery of a clause. In this presentation, I argue that two 𝔄-Dependencies in Uyghur do not fit neatly into this typology, and instead suggest an extension to the theory in Lohninger et al. (2022), in which an additional functional head, corresponding the Shifty Operator in theories of indexical shift (Anand and Nevins 2004; Shklovsky and Sudo 2014; Deal 2020), is located between the A′ and A-domains of the left periphery. This addition both accounts for the distribution of Uyghur's constructions, as well as gives explanation to the interaction of indexical shift and 𝔄-Dependencies in Uyghur (and hopefully Buryat and Nez Perce as well).

2 Two 𝔄-Dependencies in Uyghur

One kind of finite clause in Uyghur are those embedded under either directly under the verb *de* "say", or under *dep*, which I gloss as a complementizer, historically (and, according to Major Under Review, synchronically) derived from *dé-* "say" and the converbial ending *-p*. In these constructions, the subject of the embedded clause is nominative and tense and subject agreement occur on the embedded verb, just like a matrix clause.

(4) a. **Typical Matrix Clause**
Aygül tort-ni yé-d-i.
Aygül cake-ACC eat-PST-3
'Aygül ate the cake.'

b. **No 𝔄-Dependency: Nominative Subject Only**
Mahinur [**Aygül** tort-ni yé-d-i dep] oyla-y-du.
Mahinur [Aygül cake-ACC eat-PST-3 COMP] think-NPST-3
'Mahinur thinks that Aygül ate the cake.'

In much of the literature on Uyghur complement clauses (Sudo 2010; Asarina 2011; Şener and Şener 2011; Shklovsky and Sudo 2014; Major 2021), attention has been paid to an 𝔄-Dependency, called *Accusative Subject Constructions*, in which the subject of the embedded clause receives accusative, rather than nominative case. Such a configuration is only possible given an embedded structure, suggesting that the licensing of the accusative is at least partially a matrix phenomenon.

(5) **Accusative Subject Construction: Accusative Subject Only**

a. * Aygül-ni tort-ni yé-d-i.
Aygül-ACC cake-ACC eat-PST-3
Intended: 'Aygül ate the cake.'

b. Mahinur **Aygül-ni** tort-ni yé-d-i dep oyla-y-du.
Mahinur Aygül-ACC cake-ACC eat-PST-3 COMP think-NPST-3
'Mahinur thinks that Aygül ate the cake.'

Another 𝔄-Dependency is noted in some of the literature: what Major (Under Review) and Ra-

binovitch (2022) have called prolepsis. To avoid confusion with the strict definition of prolepsis in Lohninger et al. (2022), I will call this construction the *Pseudo-Proleptic Construction*. Such a configuration includes both an accusative subject, as well as a resumptive nominative pronoun.

(6) **Pseudo-Proleptic Construction: Accusative Subject + Nominative Subject Pronoun**

a. * Aygül-ni u tort-ni yé-d-i.
Aygül-ACC 3SG.NOM cake-ACC eat-PST-3
Intended: 'Aygül ate the cake.'

b. Mahinur **Aygül-ni u** tort-ni yé-d-i dep oyla-y-du.
Mahinur Aygül-ACC 3SG.NOM cake-ACC eat-PST-3 COMP think-NPST-3
'Mahinur thinks that Aygül ate the cake.'

At a first glance, one might think that *Accusative Subject Constructions* can be derived from *Pseudo-Proleptic Construction* with pro-drop of the nominative subject. However these constructions can be distinguished by other means, which I highlight below.

2.1 Indexical Shift

Under typical *dep* clauses, first and second person indexicals undergo obligatory shift to refer to the author and addressee of the embedded attitude, rather than those of the overall utterance. Note that while in (7), there is no explicit addressee of the embedded context, it is still impossible to have *sening öyüngde* be understood as referring to the utterance addressee's house.[1] Also note that the embedded verb agrees with the first person subject.

(7) **No 𝔄-Dependency: Must Shift**

Bügün, Aygül [tort-ni tünügün **men** **séning** öy-**üng**-de
today Aygül cake-ACC yesterday 1SG.NOM 2SG.GEN house-POSS.2SG-LOC
yé-d-**im**] dé-d-i.
eat-PST-1SG say-PST-3

Literal: 'Yesterday, Aygül$_i$ said (to j) that I$_{i/*auth}$ ate cake at your$_{j/*addr}$ house.'
Colloquial: 'Yesterday, Aygül$_i$ said (to j) that she$_{i/*auth}$ ate cake at his$_{j/*addr}$ house.'

For *Accusative Subject Constructions*, shift of both the accusative subject, as well as material internal to the embedded clause is banned: note that neither *méni* (the accusative subject) nor *séning* (inside the embedded clause) can be interpreted as shifted. This is particularly strange: while accusative subjects have been noted to never shift in other languages like Buryat (Bondarenko 2017) and Japanese (Saito 2018), neither Buryat nor Japanese ban indexical shifting under accusative subjects. Additionally, accusative subjects do not have agreement on their verb (defaulting to third person), unlike their nominative counterparts.[2]

[1] Unless the utterance addressee happens to be the addressee of the embedded attitude.

[2] Buryat also does not allow subject agreement with accusative subjects (Bondarenko 2017), though Turkish does (Şener 2008).

(8) **Accusative Subject Construction: Cannot Shift** (embedded material does not shift)

Bügün, Aygül [tort-ni tünügün **méni séning** öy-**üng**-de yé-d-**i**]
today Aygül cake-ACC yesterday 1SG.ACC 2SG.GEN house-POSS.2SG-LOC eat-PST-3
dé-d-i.
say-PST-3

'Yesterday, Aygül$_i$ said (to j) that I$_{*i/auth}$ ate cake at your$_{*j/addr}$ house.'

Pseudo-Proleptic Constructions enforce indexical shift in like typical *dep* clauses, and mark subject agreement on the embedded clause. In (9a), the second person nominative subject is optional, but agreement is mandatory, unlike *Accusative Subject Constructions*; either way, the second person marking is interpreted as shifted *and* coreferent with the accusative DP, thus resulting in an interpretation in which Aygül is the addressee of the embedded attitude (even though this would typically be encoded syntactically with dative, rather than accusative case).

(9) **Pseudo-Proleptic Construction: Must Shift** (material other than the raised DP)

a. Tursun **Aygül-ni (sen)** kim-ni kör-d-**üng** dé-d-i.
Tursun Aygül-ACC 2SG.NOM who-ACC see-PST-2SG say-PST-3
Literal: 'Tursun said of Aygül$_i$: who did you$_{i/*addr}$ see?'
Colloquial: 'Tursun said (to Aygül$_i$) of Aygül$_i$: who did she$_{i/*addr}$ see?'

b. Tursun **méni u** tünügün Muhemmet-ni kör-d-i dep
Tursun 1SG.ACC 3SG.NOM yesterday Muhemmet-ACC see-PST-3 COMP
ishin-i-du.
believe-NPST-3
'Tursun believes that I saw Muhemmet yesterday.'

Note that the higher DP within the construction does not undergo shift, such as the *méni* in (9b), which is interpreted as the matrix author, not the embedded author.

2.2 Selection

Accusative Subject Constructions must target the subject of the embedded clause as the higher accusative DP. In (7), the accusative object has scrambled to the left of the nominative subject, but indexical shift is still mandatory within the embedded clause, suggesting that even when accusative objects move into higher positions, they cannot form *Accusative Subject Constructions*.

For *Pseudo-Proleptic Constructions*, while the highest DP is typically the subject of the embedded clause (9b), other arguments of the embedded clause may be selected to form the higher DP, such as the direct object as in (10), where the object *Aygülni* can be pronounced in a higher position, with a resumptive accusative pronoun *uni* in the base generated position (10b). Like *Subject-Pseudo-Proleptic Constructions*, such a configuration is not allowed in the matrix clause (10c).

(10) **Pseudo-Proleptic Construction: Direct objects may be targeted as higher DP**

a. **No $\mathfrak{A}$-Dependency**
Roshén Ghéni **Aygül-ni** söy-d-i dep ishin-i-du
Roshén Ghéni Aygül-ACC kiss-PST-3 COMP believe-NPST-3

‘Roshén believes that Ghéni kissed Aygül.’

b. **Pseudo-Proleptic Construction**

Roshén **Aygül-ni** Ghéni **uni** söy-d-i dep ishin-i-du
Roshén Aygül-ACC Ghéni 3SG.ACC kiss-PST-3 COMP believe-NPST-3
‘Roshén believes that Ghéni kissed Aygül.’

c. **This construction must be embedded**

* **Aygül-ni** Ghéni **uni** söy-d-i.
Aygül-ACC Ghéni 3SG.ACC kiss-PST-3
Intended: ‘Ghéni kissed Aygül.’

The same can be done with indirect objects in Uyghur as well (11). Note that while nominative and accusative targets get accusative case for their higher DP, dative targets receive dative case in the higher position as well as the lower one.

(11) **Pseudo-Proleptic Construction: Indirect objects may be targeted as higher DP**

a. **No 𝔄-Dependency**

Roshén Ghéni **Aygül-ge** gül ber-d-i dep ishin-i-du.
Roshén Ghéni Aygül-DAT flower give-PST-3 COMP believe-NPST-3
‘Roshén believes that Ghéni gave Aygül a flower.’

b. **Pseudo-Proleptic Construction**

Roshén **Aygül-{ge/*ni}** Ghéni **uninggha** gül ber-d-i dep ishin-i-du.
Roshén Aygül-DAT/ACC Ghéni 3SG.DAT flower give-PST-3 COMP believe-NPST-3
‘Roshén believes that Ghéni gave Aygül a flower.’

c. **This construction must be embedded**

* **Aygül-ge** Ghéni **uninggha** gül ber-d-i.
Aygül-DAT Ghéni 3SG.DAT flower give-PST-3
Intended: ‘Ghéni gave Aygül a flower.’

2.3 Interpretation of Wh-Items

Another difference between *Accusative Subject Construction* and *Pseudo-Proleptic Construction* is how they interact with the interpretation of wh-items. For embedded clauses with no 𝔄-Dependency, wh-items can either be interpreted with a quotative interpretation, where they reflect a question asked in the embedded attitude, or they can have an LF-raising interpretation, in which they are interpreted as something being asked of the author of the overall utterance.[3]

(12) **No 𝔄-Dependency: Wh-Items can be interpreted as Quotative or with LF Raising**

Reyhan Ghéni **kim-ni** kör-d-i dé-d-i.
Reyhan Ghéni who-ACC see-PST-3 say-PST-3

✓ Quotative Interpretation: ‘Reyhan said: Who did Ghéni see?’
✓ LF-Raising Interpretation: ‘Who did Reyhan say Ghéni saw?’

[3]For true embedded questions like ‘Reyhan said who Ghéni saw.’, or ‘Aygül knows who came.’, embedding under *dep* becomes more restricted, though still possible in certain configurations: see Rabinovitch (to appear).

Accusative Subject Constructions have the same distribution of interpretations as embedded clauses with no 𝔄-Dependency: both quotative and LF-raising interpretations are acceptable.

(13) **Accusative Subject Construction: Wh-Items can be interpreted as Quotative or with LF Raising**

a. Reyhan Ghéni-ni **kim-ni** kör-d-i dé-d-i.
Reyhan Ghéni-ACC who-ACC see-PST-3 say-PST-3
✓ Quotative Interpretation: 'Reyhan said: Who did Ghéni see?'
✓ LF-Raising Interpretation: 'Who did Reyhan say Ghéni saw?'

b. Tursun séni **kim-ni** kör-d-i dé-d-i.
Tursun 2SG.ACC who-ACC see-PST-3 say-PST-3
✓ Quotative Interpretation: 'Tursun said (to j): Who did you$_{addr/*j}$ see?'
✓ LF-Raising Interpretation: 'Who did Tursun say (to j) that you$_{addr/*j}$ saw?'

Pseudo-Proleptic Constructions, however, are restricted to having only quotative interpretations.

(14) **Pseudo-Proleptic Construction: Wh-Items can only be interpreted as Quotative**

a. Reyhan Ghéni-ni u **kim-ni** kör-d-i dé-d-i.
Reyhan Ghéni-ACC 3SG.NOM who-ACC see-PST-3 say-PST-3
✓ Quotative Interpretation: 'Reyhan said: Who did Ghéni see?'
✕ LF-Raising Interpretation: 'Who did Reyhan say Ghéni saw?'

b. Tursun Aygül-ni (sen) **kim-ni** kör-d-üng dé-d-i.
Tursun Aygül-ACC 2SG.NOM who-ACC see-PST-2SG say-PST-3
✓ Quotative Interpretation: 'Tursun said (to Aygül$_i$): Who did she$_i$ see?'
✕ LF-Raising Interpretation: 'Who did Tursun say (to Aygül$_i$) that she$_i$ saw?'

2.4 Summary

I summarise the differences between *Accusative Subject Constructions* and *Pseudo-Proleptic Constructions* in (15).

(15)

Property	Accusative Subject	Pseudo-Prolepsis
Higher DP corresponds to:	embedded subject	any embedded argument
Higher DP case:	accusative	accusative or dative
Lower position is:	always covert	overt[4]
Higher DP shifts:	no	no
Embedded clause shifts:	no	yes (same as no 𝔄)
Wh-item interpretation:	same as no 𝔄	necessarily quotative

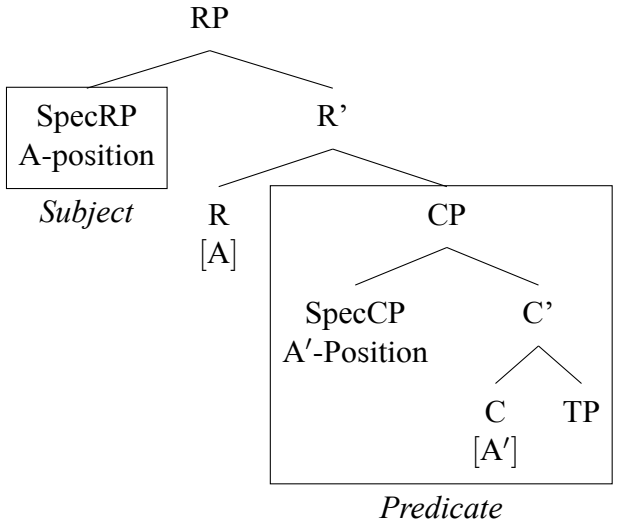
Hopefully you are now at least partially convinced that Uyghur has these two interesting 𝔄-Dependency constructions. Now the question is: how do these two constructions fit into the typology of 𝔄-Dependencies in general. I will first discuss Lohninger et al.'s (2022) account of the typology of 𝔄-Dependencies, and show how Uyghur does not quite fit in here.

[4]We have seen that second person nominative pronouns may drop, while their covert presence is still reflected in second person agreement on the embedded verb. Uyghur is a partial null subject language with a somewhat complicated pattern of dropping (see Rabinovitch 2022), and as far as I can tell, resumptive subjects respect this pattern; I have not checked resumptive objects, but I assume they would necessarily be pronounced, as is typical in Uyghur.

3 The Typology of Lohninger et al. (2022)

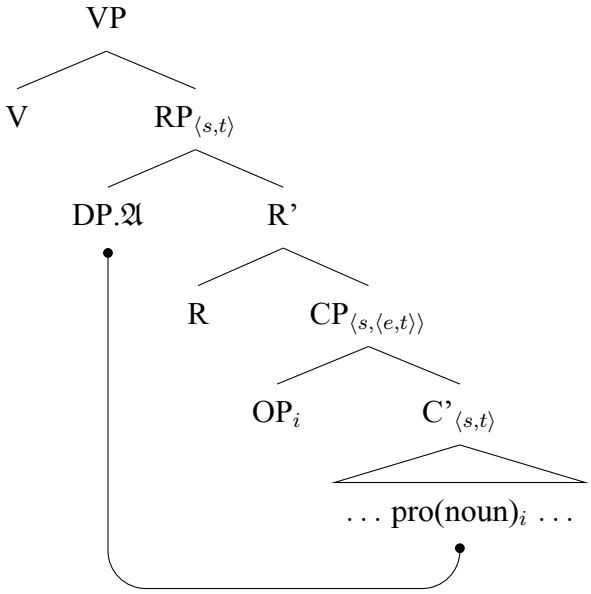
Lohninger et al. (2022) argues that 𝔄-Dependencies are able to skirt *Improper A-after-A′* due to the fact that the dependencies involve not only an A′ position in the left periphery of an embedded clause, but additionally an A position. Following den Dikken (2006, 2017) a RP (Relator Phrase) may be built on top of an embedded CP, creating a predication relationship between it's specifier (thus an A-position) and its complement (the CP).

(16)



Prolepsis is the clearest case of such a configuration: a proleptic DP is generated in SpecRP, while SpecCP is filled with an operator which binds a pronoun in the embedded clause. The operator 'opens up' the argument where the pronoun once filled, allowing for a predication relationship between SpecRP and CP, mediated by R.

(17) **Prolepsis via an Operator in SpecCP**



Lohninger et al. (2022) follows the *Synthesis Model of Complementation* (Wurmbrand and Lohninger

2019; Bryant 2021), in which verbs do not select for complements of certain syntactic categories, but instead have semantic requirements on their complements, limiting the distribution of the kinds of clausal complements possible under a given verb. Because the predication relationship introduced by R does not change the semantics of the complement (both an RP and its equivalent CP are of type $\langle s,t \rangle$, and have identical truth conditions), proleptic constructions should surface wherever CPs can, with no difference in selectional requirements, a fact observed by Salzmann (2017).

(18) a. **English with no 𝔄-Dependency**
✓ Anna says that Liam will arrive tomorrow.
✓ Sean knows that the boy saw the cat.
✓ James lied that Ayaka wasn't home.

b. **English Prolepsis**
✓ Anna says about Liam$_i$ that he$_i$ will arrive tomorrow.
✓ Sean knows about the cat$_i$ that the boy saw it$_i$.
✓ James lied about Ayaka that she$_i$ wasn't home.

Additionally, proleptic DPs cross-linguistically must be referential, specific, or generic. Landau (2011) suggests that only referential elements may saturate predicates, and because the operator in Spec,CP and R-head necessarily enforce a predication relationship, proleptic DPs must thus be referential. However, Lohninger et al. (2022) argue that the R-head does not impose (the same) semantic restrictions, and thus take the basic function of R to be a simple saturation operation relating the specifier and complement via predication.

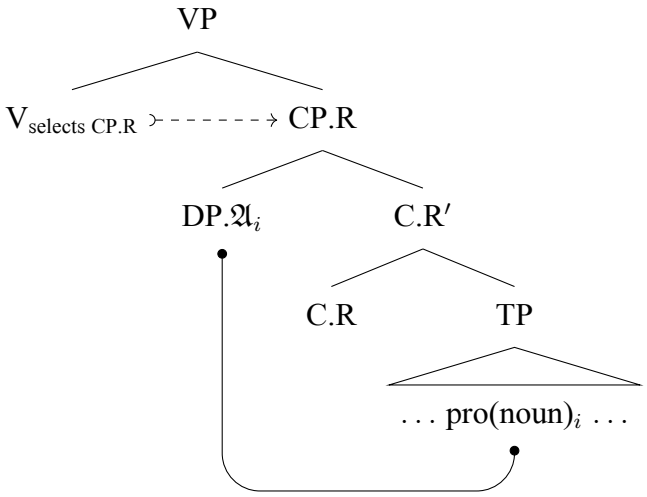
(19) (Lohninger et al. 2022:4 ex 6)

a. I know of firemen that they are available. [only generic]
b. Nova said of a secretary that she is looking for him. [only specific]

(20) *I thought about [no girl at the party]$_i$ that she$_i$ is happy.

Lohninger et al. (2022) also assumes that it is also possible that C and R are able to undergo feature bundling in some languages. In such languages, a 'C.R' head may be generated, which itself carries A′ features of a C-head as well as the A features of an R-head. From this, they argue that four configurations may arise. The first of these occurs when a DP is generated in SpecCP.R which, like its proleptic counterpart, controls some item within the embedded TP (21).

(21) **High Topic CC$\mathfrak{A}$**



The main difference between such a construction and prolepsis is that C.R may come with some semantic meanings which make its projected CP.R incompatible as the complement of certain predicates. We expect that while prolepsis should have the same restrictions as CPs without an $\mathfrak{A}$-Dependency, these 'high topic' constructions should have such restrictions. One example can be seen in Brazilian Portuguese, where what looks like prolepsis is restricted to certain predicates like *parecer* "seem".

(22) **Brazilian Portuguese High Topic-to-Subject**
(Brazilian Portuguese; Martins and Nunes 2010:145 ex 3b)

Os meninos parecem [que **eles viajaram** ontem].
the boys seem.3PL [that they traveled.3PL yesterday]

'The boys seem to have traveled yesterday.'

Both prolepsis and 'high topic' constructions do not involve any movement from within the embedded clause, and as a result, neither construction should have connectivity effects: that is, attributes which would betray that the higher DP is generated in the lower position. This is why islands have no affect on the grammaticality of prolepsis (23) or 'high topics' (24), and why idiomatic interpretation in which the higher DP is part of the idiom is impossible (24).[5]

(23) **English Prolepsis is not sensitive to islands**

a. I believe about Richard$_i$ that [he$_i$ and Linda] are in trouble. [Salzmann 2017:659 ex 54a]
b. I believe about Atin$_i$ that [the story that she$_i$ captured the thief] is untrue. [Salzmann 2017:659 ex 54b]

[5]Idiom tests are not always reliable, however.

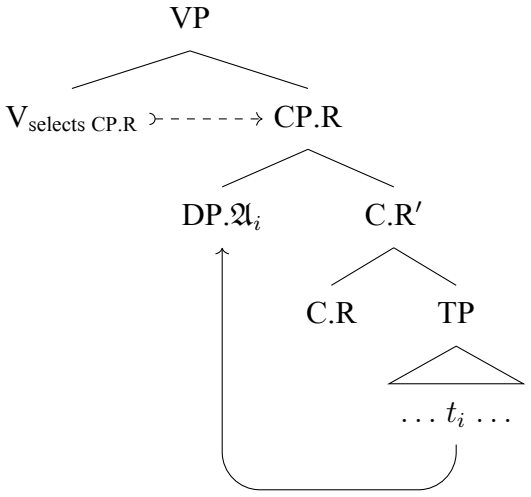
(24) **Brazilian Portuguese High Topic-to-Subject is not sensitive to islands, cannot have idiomatic interpretation**
(Brazilian Portuguese; Wurmbrand and Lohninger 2019:17-18 ex 29)

A vaca parece [que [o fato de que **ela** foi pro brejo] incomodou o Renato].
the cow seems [that [the fact of that it went to.the swamp] disturbed the Renato]

✕ Idiomatic: 'It seems that the fact that things went bad disturbed Renato.'
✓ Literal: 'It seems that the fact that the cow went to the swamp disturbed Renato.'

The other three kinds of 𝔄-Dependencies are grouped together to be called movement-CC𝔄s, as they are cross-clausal 𝔄-dependencies which are caused by movement rather than base generation above C.

(25) **Movement CC𝔄**



Several kinds of connectivity effects distinguish these movement-CC𝔄s from High Topics and Prolepsis.

(26) Connectivity Effect Types:
- a. Case connectivity: the case of a DP reflects case assigned in a lower position (Japanese, Nez Perce, Korean, and Tsez)
- b. Ungrammaticality resulting from a violation of the Proper Binding Condition, in which a trace is moved to c-command its antecedent (Buryat, Japanese, Korean, Mongolian, Romanian, Passamaquoddy).
- c. Binding effects (Buryat, Romanian, Zulu)
- d. NPI/NCI licensing by embedded negation (Brazilian Portuguese[6], Japanese, Korean, Mongolian)
- e. Idiomatic construals of DP.𝔄 with the lower predicate (Brazilian Portuguese, Buryat, Mongolian, Zulu)

Movement to SpecCP.R is induced via a probe from C.R into its complement. This probe is composite, containing the A-features of R, and the A′ features of C. The differences within the three

[6]Brazilian Portuguese has two constructions, one being High Topic and the other being a form of movement-CC𝔄.

Movement-CC$\mathfrak{A}$ configurations has to do with the composite A-A′ probe on C.R which determines the DP.$\mathfrak{A}$ to raise. Lohninger et al. (2022) follow a recent assumption in the literature (Deal 2015, 2022; Coon and Keine 2021; Coon et al. 2021; Scott 2021) that composite features may combine into three different kinds of probes: Conjunctive, Independent, and Dependent probes.

(27) **Three different kinds of probes** (Lohninger et al. 2022)

a. **Conjunctive [A+A′]**: A single probe searches for a goal which has both A and A′ features. A more local goal with only A or A′ features is ignored. The most local goal to satisfy both probes moves.

b. **Dependent [A/A′]**: A single probe searches for a goal which has both A and A′ features. A more local goal with only A or A′ features triggers partial satisfaction, in which the probe stops searching but it cannot trigger movement or agreement. The most local goal to satisfy both probes moves, unless there is an intervening goal which satisfies only one probe, in which case no movement occurs.

c. **Independent [A][A′]**: Two independent probes search each for a goal with A features and a goal with A′ features. The most local goal to satisfy either probe moves.

C.R-heads with each of these probes will cause different distributions of raising: Conjunctive and Dependent probe both require the goal DP to have all the relevant features to a probe, and thus have semantic restrictions on what can undergo movement into their specifier, while the Independent probe does not have such a requirement. Thus we expect semantic restrictions to occur for raising with Conjunctive and Dependent, but not Independent Probes. Additionally, Dependent and Independent probes can only be satisfied by the most local argument (independent probes will satisfy regardless of A′ features, and dependent probes will fail if the most local A position does not also have A′ features), while Conjunctive probes can 'wait' to be satisfied by less local goals; we shall call this reliance on the most local argument for movement 'A-Minimality'.

(28) **Three different kinds of probes for CR**

Property	[A + A′]	[A/A′]	[A][A′]
A-Minimality	No	Yes	Yes
Semantic Restrictions	Yes	Yes	No

Combined together, we have the typology predicted by Lohninger et al. (2022). I use ↑ to represent that a property shown resembles prolepsis more, and ↓ to represent a property is less like prolepsis. Note that the five kinds of $\mathfrak{A}$-Dependency nicely cut along the four properties, such that each $\mathfrak{A}$-Dependency can be placed on a gradient of 'more' to 'less' prolepsis-like.

(29) **Typology of $\mathfrak{A}$-Dependencies in Lohninger et al. (2022)**

Property	Prolepsis	High Topics	Movement CC$\mathfrak{A}$		
			[A + A′]	[A/A′]	[A][A′]
Matrix Selection Restrictions	No ↑	Yes ↓	Yes ↓	Yes ↓	Yes ↓
Connectivity Effects	No ↑	No ↑	Yes ↓	Yes ↓	Yes ↓
A-Minimality	No ↑	No ↑	No ↑	Yes ↓	Yes ↓
DP.$\mathfrak{A}$ Semantic Restrictions	Yes ↑	Yes ↑	Yes ↑	Yes ↑	No ↓

3.1 Problems for Uyghur

Returning to our two constructions of interest: let's see how *Accusative Subject Constructions* and *Pseudo-Proleptic Constructions* fit in!

3.1.1 Matrix Selection Restrictions

Accusative Subject Constructions and *Pseudo-Proleptic Constructions* both seem to have equivalent distribution to embedded clauses with no $\mathfrak{A}$-Dependencies.

(30) **Both constructions work with various attitude verbs**

Ghéni { **Roshén** / **Roshén-ni** / **Roshén-ni u** } nan yé-d-i { dé-d-i / dep
Ghéni { Roshén / Roshén-ACC / Roshén-ACC u } bread eat-PST-3 { say-PST-3 / COMP
oyla-y-du / dep ishin-i-du }.
think-PST-3 / COMP believe-PST-3 }

'Ghéni {said/thinks/believes} that Roshén ate bread.'

Not only do *Accusative Subject Constructions* and *Pseudo-Proleptic Constructions* seem to have no restriction on their matrix predicate, but unergative verbs like *warqiri* "scream", unaccusative verbs like *ket* "leave", and verbs with lexical case like *qorq* "fear" all allow *Accusative Subject Constructions* and *Pseudo-Proleptic Constructions*, suggesting that accusative case on these raised DPs is not derived from the matrix verb. Note that under a non-attitude verb like *ket* "leave", the *dep* clause is interpreted similar to a 'because' clause (cf. Major Under Review).

(31) **Various Predicates which do not License Accusative**

a. **Scream does not select any object** (Major Under Review:9 ex 29)
Mahinur (*birnémi-ler-ni) warqiri-d-i.
Mahinur one.what-pl-ACC scream-PST-3
'Mahinur screamed (*something).'

b. **Leave is unaccusative**
Tursun (*birnémi-ler-ni) ket-t-i.
Tursun one.what-pl-ACC leave-PST-3
'Tursun left (#*something)'

c. **Fear selects an ablative but no accusative object**
Bala ömüchük-{tin/*ni} qorq-i-du.
Boy spider-{ABL/ACC} fear-NPST-3
'The boy is afraid of spiders.'

(32) **Accusative Subject Construction: Can Occur under Predicates which do not License Accusative**

a. (Major Under Review:28 ex 92b)
Mahinur Tursun-ni ket-t-i dep warqiri-d-i.
Mahinur Tursun-ACC leave-PST-3 COMP scream-PST-3
'Mahinur screamed that Tursun left.'

b. (based on Major Under Review:28 ex 92c)
Mahinur Tursun-ni ket-t-i dep ket-t-i.
Mahinur Tursun-ACC leave-PST-3 COMP leave-PST-3
'Mahinur left because (according to Mahinur,) Tursun left.'

c. Bala müshük-i-ni chashqan-(ni) yé-d-i dep qorq-i-du.
boy cat-POSS3-ACC mouse-ACC eat-PST-3 COMP fear-NPST-3
'The boy$_i$ is afraid that his$_i$ cat ate mice'

(33) **Pseudo-Proleptic Construction: Can Occur under Predicates which do not License Accusative**

a. Mahinur Tursun-ni u ket-t-i dep warqiri-d-i.
Mahinur Tursun-ACC 3SG.NOM leave-PST-3 COMP scream-PST-3
'Mahinur screamed that Tursun left.'

b. Mahinur Tursun-ni u ket-t-i dep ket-t-i.
Mahinur Tursun-ACC 3SG.NOM leave-PST-3 COMP leave-PST-3
'Mahinur left because (according to Mahinur,) Tursun left.'

c. ❒ Bala müshük-i-ni u chashqan-(ni) yé-d-i dep qorq-i-du.
boy cat-POSS3-ACC 3SG.NOM mouse-ACC eat-PST-3 COMP fear-NPST-3
'The boy$_i$ is afraid that his$_i$ cat ate mice'

The variety of verbs which allow *Accusative Subject Constructions* and *Pseudo-Proleptic Constructions*, and the lack of any coherent semantic class to which these constrictions are restricted, demonstrates that both of these constructions do not have matrix selection restrictions (↑).

3.1.2 Connectivity Effects

Accusative Subject Constructions have several phenomena which show connectivity effects. Here I will show two: the distribution of NCI licensing for accusative subjects, and violations of the Proper Binding Condition.

In Uyghur, the NCI *héchkim* "nobody/anybody" can only exist in the scope of negation; either via clausemate negation (34), (35), or from the presence of negation in the superordinate clause (36).

(34) **Héchkim** ket-*(**mi**)-d-i.
nobody leave-NEG-PST-3
'Nobody left.'

(35) **Héchkim** Roshén polu yé-d-i dep ishin-**me**-y-du.
nobody Roshén pilaf eat-PST-3 COMP believe-neg-npst-3
'Nobody believes that Roshén ate pilaf.'

(36) (Shklovsky and Sudo (2014):384 ex 8)

Tursun [men **héchkim-ni** kör-d-üm] dé-**mi**-d-i.
Tursun [1SG.NOM nobody-ACC see-PST-1SG] say-NEG-PST-3

'Tursun$_i$ didn't say that he$_i$ saw anyone.'

The negation which licenses *héchkim* cannot belong to a clause subordinate to the NCI. This can be

seen through the difference in grammaticality between the grammatical (36), in which *héchkim* is within the matrix clause and negation is clausemate, and the ungrammatical (37), in which negation belongs to the embedded clause.

(37) (Uyghur, elicited)

* **Héchkim** Roshén-(ni) polu yé-**mi**-d-i dep ishin-i-du.
nobody Roshén pilaf eat-NEG-PST-3 COMP believe-npst-3

Intended: 'Nobody believes that Roshén ate pilaf.'

Despite this restriction, *héchkim* can appear as an accusative subject of *Accusative Subject Constructions* while licensed by negation within the embedded clause (38), suggesting that at least at some point in its derivation, the accusative subject *héchkim* is within the embedded clause.

(38) (Shklovsky and Sudo 2014:388 ex 17)

Ahmet **héchkim-(ni)** ket-**mi**-d-i dé-d-i
Ahmet nobody-ACC leave-NEG-PST-3 say-PST-3

'Ahmet said nobody left.'

The Proper Binding Condition (PBC) states that traces must be bound. This should ban instances of remnant movement where the remnant moves to a position higher than the constituent which has moved out of the remnant. Such a configuration is illustrated in (39).

(39) [[. . . t_1 . . .]$_2$ [. . . XP$_1$ . . . [. . . t_2 . . .]]]

Such a configuration can occur in Uyghur through the combination of two kinds of movement: the first being object scrambling, and the second being CP scrambling. In (40a), we have a typical sentence with an embedded clause. In (40b), we demonstrate object scrambling, in which the embedded object can move into the left of the matrix clause, leaving a trace in the embedded object position. In (40c), we demonstrate CP scrambling, in which the entire embedded CP scrambles to the left of the matrix clause, leaving it's own trace. If we apply object scrambling and then CP scrambling, then the trace of the object, which is within the CP, has moved above the object itself, and is thus not bound by the object anymore, resulting in an ungrammatical sentence (40d).

(40) **Proper Binding Condition Violation via Object and CP Scrambling**

a. Abliz [Roshén Meryem-ning nén-i-ni yé-d-i dep] oyla-y-du.
Abliz [Roshén Meryem-GEN bread-POSS3-ACC eat-PST-3 COMP] think-NPST-3
'Abliz thinks that Roshén ate Meryem's bread.'

b. [Meryem-ning nén-i-ni]$_1$ Abliz [Roshén t_1 yé-d-i dep]
[Meryem-GEN bread-POSS3-ACC] Abliz [Roshén eat-PST-3 COMP]
oyla-y-du.
think-NPST-3
'Abliz thinks that Roshén ate Meryem's bread.'

c. [Roshén Meryem-ning nén-i-ni yé-d-i dep]$_1$ Abliz t_1 oyla-y-du.
[Roshén Meryem-GEN bread-POSS3-ACC eat-PST-3 COMP] Abliz think-NPST-3
'Abliz thinks that Roshén ate Meryem's bread.'

d. * [Roshén t_1 yé-d-i dep]$_2$ [Meryem-ning nén-i-ni]$_1$ Abliz t_2
[Roshén eat-PST-3 COMP] [Meryem-GEN bread-POSS3-ACC] Abliz
oyla-y-du.
think-NPST-3
'Abliz thinks that Roshén ate Meryem's bread.'

A similar thing occurs when we replace the object movement with the movement involved in the *Accusative Subject Construction*, namely, the movement of the subject from its base position into its higher, accusative case licensed position.

(41) (Uyghur, elicited)

a. Abliz Roshén-ni Meryem-ning nén-i-ni yé-d-i dep oyla-yd-u
Abliz Roshén-ACC Meryem-GEN bread-POSS3-ACC eat-PST-3 COMP think-NPST-3
'Abliz thinks that Roshén ate Meryem's bread.'

b. * [t_1 Meryem-ning nén-i-ni yé-d-i dep]$_2$ Abliz Roshén-ni$_1$ t_2
[Meryem-GEN bread-POSS3-ACC eat-PST-3 COMP] Abliz Roshén-ACC
oyla-yd-u.
think-NPST-3
'Abliz thinks that Roshén ate Meryem's bread.'

The ability for NCI licensing of accusative subjects and violations of the PBC both demonstrate evidence that *Accusative Subject Constructions* contain CP internal movement, resulting in such connectivity effects (↓).

Recall that the lack of island effects in prolepsis in English and High Topic Constructions in Brazilian Portuguese suggest that no movement occurs within the embedded clause. While the *Pseudo-Proleptic Construction* seems similar to these constructions in the sense that there are two coreferent overt DPs, *Pseudo-Proleptic Constructions* cannot target material within DP islands (42).

(42) * Reyhan Abliz-ni [(uning) singli-si] Turpan-gha bar-d-i dep oyla-y-du.
Reyhan Abliz-ACC [3SG.GEN sister-POSS3] Turpan-DAT go-PST-3 COMP think-NPST-3
Intended: 'Reyhan thinks of Abliz$_i$ that his$_i$ sister went to Turpan.'

Such ungrammaticality suggests that *Pseudo-Proleptic Constructions* involve some movement from the resumptive pronoun position into a higher position, which is blocked by islands such as the complex NP island of *uning singlisi*.

Additionally, recall that when the target of a *Pseudo-Proleptic Construction* is an indirect object, the higher DP receives dative, rather than accusative case (11), repeated in (43).

(43) Roshén **Aygül-{ge/*ni}** Ghéni **uninggha** gül ber-d-i dep ishin-i-du.
Roshén Aygül-DAT/ACC Ghéni 3SG.DAT flower give-PST-3 COMP believe-NPST-3
'Roshén believes that Ghéni gave Aygül a flower.'

Such a configuration suggests that the case assigned to the higher DP in a *Pseudo-Proleptic Construction* comes (at least in some part) from its embedded coreferent DP. Case connectivity effects in which an $\mathfrak{A}$-Dependency reflects case assigned in a lower position can be seen in a number of languages, including Japanese, Nez Perce, Korean, and Tsez. A question then arises as to why higher DPs reflect accusative and dative case of their lower resumptive pronouns, while nomina-

tive case pronouns have higher DPs with accusative case. I hope to answer this as well later in the handout.

Both the case connectivity and island effects in *Pseudo-Proleptic Constructions* reflect connectivity effects suggesting that movement has occured within the embedded clause, similarly to *Accusative Subject Constructions* (↓).

3.1.3 A-Minimality

As demonstrated earlier, *Accusative Subject Constructions* can only target the subject of embedded clauses as their goal, while any argument of is available as the goal of a *Pseudo-Proleptic Construction*. Thus *Accusative Subject Constructions* demonstrate A-Minimality (↓), while *Pseudo-Proleptic Constructions* demonstrate a lack of A-Minimality (↑).

3.1.4 DP.𝔄 Semantic Restrictions

The ability for NCIs to be the target of *Accusative Subject Construction* suggests that *Accusative Subject Constructions* at least do not have restrictions on the referentiality of their targets. However, Uyghur's accusative case is in reality a kind of differential object marking, which is only licensed on DPs which do not have a kind interpretation. We can see this by looking at the difference between sentences which have accusative marking on their objects versus those which do not.

(44) a. **No Accusative Case on Objects is interpreted as kinds**
Bügün, Roshén **polu** yé-d-i.
today Roshén pilaf eat-PST-3
✓ 'Roshén ate pilaf today. (Roshen pilaf-ate.)'
✕ 'Roshen ate the pilaf today.'

b. **Accusative Case on Objects is interpreted as individuals**
Bügün, Roshén **polu-ni** yé-d-i.
today Roshén pilaf-ACC eat-PST-3
✕ 'Roshén ate pilaf today. (Roshen pilaf-ate.)'
✓ 'Roshen ate the pilaf today.'

This seems to extend to accusative subjects: while nominative subjects can either have kind or individual level interpretation, accusative subjects have a strong preference for individual level interpretation.

(45) a. Abliz **it-lar** qawa-y-du dep oyla-y-du.
Abliz dog-PL bark-NPST-3 COMP think-NPST-3
❒ 'Abliz thinks that dogs are barking. (dog-barking is happening).'
❒ 'Abliz thinks that the dogs are barking.'

b. Abliz **it-lar-ni** qawa-y-du dep oyla-y-du.
Abliz dog-PL-ACC bark-NPST-3 COMP think-NPST-3
❒ 'Abliz thinks that dogs are barking. (dog-barking is happening).'
❒ 'Abliz thinks that the dogs are barking.'

This demonstrates that *Accusative Subject Constructions* do have semantic restrictions on their

targets (↑).

Pseudo-Proleptic Constructions have very clear semantic restrictions on their targets: like with proleptic constructions in languages like English, the DP target of *Pseudo-Proleptic Constructions* must be interpreted as referential, generic, or specific, and thus cannot be an negative quantificational element like the NCI *héchkim*.

(46) * Ahmet héchkim-ni u ket-t-i dé-mi-d-i.
Ahmet nobody-ACC 3SG.NOM leave-PST-3 say-NEG-PST-3
Intended: 'Ahmet didn't say anyone left.'

This demonstrates that *Pseudo-Proleptic Constructions* have semantic restrictions on their targets as well (↑).

3.1.5 Neither Fit!

In (47), I spell out the findings in this section, combined with the summary of the two phenomena in (15). Neither 𝔄-Dependency can be grouped into one of the five categories of 𝔄-Dependency in Lohninger et al. (2022). However, we may note that, ignoring Matrix Selection Restrictions, *Accusative Subject Constructions* resembles the movement CC𝔄 with a [A/A′] probe, while *Pseudo-Proleptic Constructions* resembles the movement CC𝔄 with a [A + A′] probe.

(47) **Typology of 𝔄-Dependencies in Uyghur**

Property	Accusative Subject	[A/A′]	Pseudo-Prolepsis	[A + A′]
Matrix Selection Restrictions	No ↑	Yes ↓	No ↑	Yes ↓
Connectivity Effects	Yes ↓	Yes ↓	Yes ↓	Yes ↓
A-Minimality	Yes ↓	Yes ↓	No ↑	No ↑
DP.𝔄 Semantic Restrictions	Yes ↑	Yes ↑	Yes ↑	Yes ↑

4 The Monster Shows Itself

So, how should we derive *Accusative Subject Constructions* and *Pseudo-Proleptic Constructions*? I suggest that Lohninger et al. (2022) is on the right track, but is missing an additional attribute of the left periphery which impacts Uyghur (as well as other languages like Buryat and Nez Perce), namely indexical shift. In the Shifty Operator approach to indexical shift (Anand and Nevins 2004; Shklovsky and Sudo 2014; Deal 2020), indexical shift is mediated by operator(s) in the left periphery of a clause. Material which combines with these operators have indexical shift in their scope, in which certain indexicals refer to the author, addressee, location, etc. of the embedded attitude rather than of the overall utterance. As we have seen, Uyghur 𝔄-Dependencies interact strongly with indexical shift, with *Accusative Subject Constructions* banning indexical shift in their complements and *Pseudo-Proleptic Constructions* mandating shift in their complements (while banning shift in the higher DP).

I suggest that Shifty Operators (affectionately called Monsters in the literature) are functional heads which occupy a position above the A′ domain of the CP, but exist below RPs. Thus the difference between the fully articulated structure of embedded clauses in Lohninger et al. 2022 and this presentation only differ in the addition of a projection.

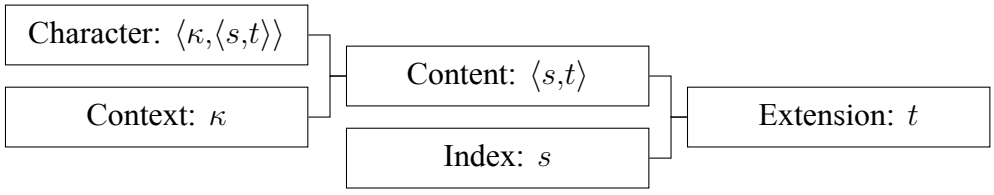
(48) a. **Fully Articulated Structure of Lohninger et al. 2022**
$[_{VP}$ V $[_{RP}$ R $[_{CP}$ C $[_{TP}$ . . .]]]]
b. **Fully Articulated Structure of this handout**
$[_{VP}$ V $[_{RP}$ R $[_{MP}$ M $[_{CP}$ C $[_{TP}$ . . .]]]]]

Such an addition, however, gives us a significantly larger typology: we can choose to bundle R, M, and C, in various configurations, each presumably with their own equivalent of 'High Topic' and their own equivalent of the three movement CC𝔄 configurations.

(49) a. Bundling C + M:
$[_{VP}$ V $[_{RP}$ R $[_{CP.M}$ C.M $[_{TP}$ . . .]]]]
b. Bundling M + R:
$[_{VP}$ V $[_{MP.R}$ M.R $[_{CP}$ C $[_{TP}$ . . .]]]]
c. Bundling C + M + R:
$[_{VP}$ V $[_{CP.M.R}$ C.M.R $[_{TP}$ . . .]]]

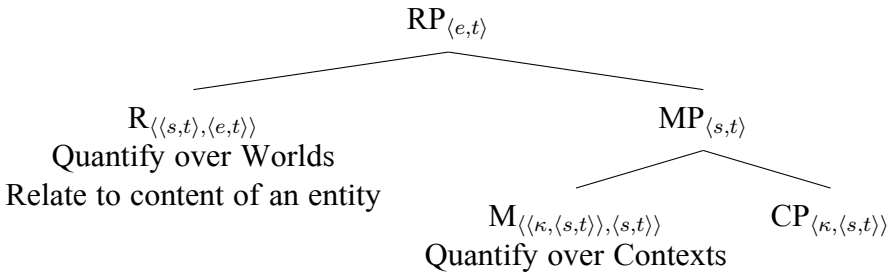
For the majority of languages with CC𝔄, indexical shift is not an issue: we can assume that in these languages, there is no M (Deal 2020) or that the M shifts only the world variable of a context, and does not affect indexicals (Sundaresan 2018, 2020). I take the latter approach, assuming that R and M are both integral parts of an embedded clause, which contribute to their ability to embed. While for Lohninger et al. (2022), RPs simply contribute a predication relationship between CP and SpecRP, I suggest that R functions to close the world argument of the proposition of an embedded CP, while M functions to close the context argument. I follow the Kaplanian structure of a proposition, in which both a world (index) and context are arguments determining the 'character' of a sentence.

(50) Kaplanian Structure of Sentence Meaning (Kaplan 1989, diagram based on Anand 2006:69)



The structure of a Kaplanian sentence is reflected in the way that M and R attach to a CP to make it acceptable for further embedding (as the content of some contentful entity à la Kratzer 2006; Moulton 2009).

(51)



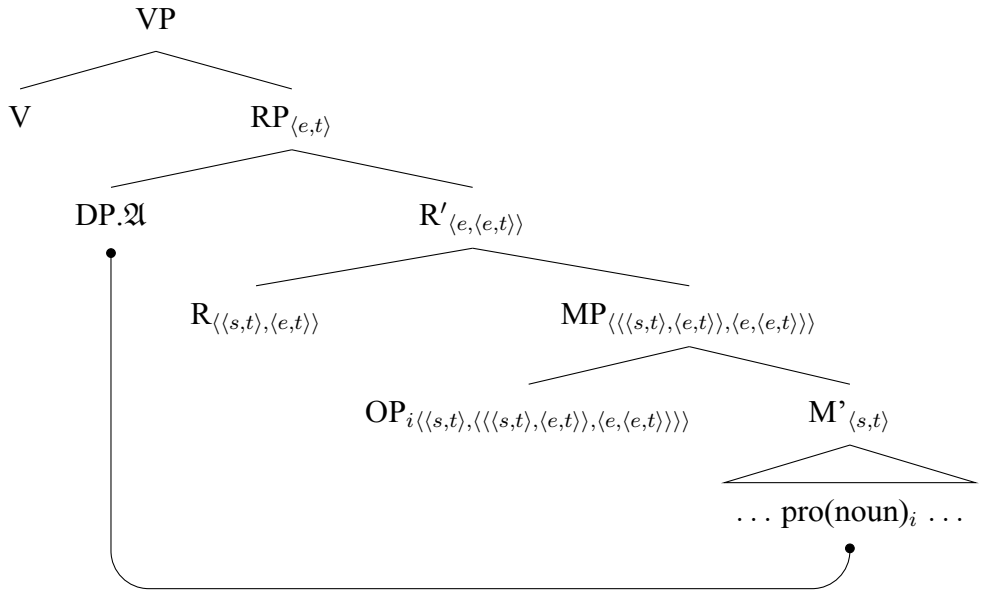
Recall that Lohninger et al. (2022) use the *Synthesis Model of Complementation* (Wurmbrand and Lohninger 2019; Bryant 2021), to argue that a proleptic RP and its equivalent CP are semantically

identical, and thus should have the same distribution, while the projections of merged heads (like CP.R) may come with additional semantics, thus the difference in Matrix Selection Restrictions between prolepsis and other 𝔄-Dependencies. Under this new 'R as quantifier' approach, I assume that all embedded CPs contain R (either as RP, or bundled with M and/or C). Still, a significant semantic difference between 'pure' R heads and R-heads which merge with M and/or C may be still be derived. We can assume that all languages come with some neutral 'pure' R-head, which contributes no additional semantics other than type shifting, while (other 'pure' heads and) all merged heads include some semantic contribution, which makes them incompatible to be selected under certain predicates.

Typical proleptic constructions, then, would be mediated by a functional head whose duties are not just predication: how do we determine that all proleptic constructions cross-linguistically then get referential, specific, or generic interpretation? I argue that this is due to the nature of having the predication of the proleptic DP in a position outside of the scope of the world quantifier in R.

If we take typical prolepsis to be mediated by an operator in SpecMP/SpecCP (similar to Lohninger et al. 2022), then we may take it to combine in the following structure:

(52) **Prolepsis according to this paper**



In prolepsis then the proleptic DP is still in SpecRP mediated by an R-head, albeit with a more complex operator. Note that if we take DP.𝔄 to be of type $\langle s,e\rangle$, $\langle s,\langle e,t\rangle\rangle$, or $\langle s,\langle\langle e,t\rangle,t\rangle\rangle$, then the world which evaluates that DP's reference (or for quantifiers, restrictor) cannot be the world of evaluation of the embedded clause, as R does the world of quantifying over (and thus closing) that world argument. The result is that existential closure of the DP necessarily scopes over the closure of the world, and proleptic DPs are read *de re*: to specific individuals in the real world, or to the members of a salient (generic) kind in the real world.

Keeping the *Synthesis Model of Complementation* but with this modified version of R, I suggest that both forms of 𝔄-Dependency in Uyghur may have a non-bundled (plain) R head, thus allowing for equivalent selection by the verb as CPs with no 𝔄-Dependency. Other than the lack of selectional restrictions (mediated by an independent R-head), *Accusative Subject Constructions* resembles the movement CC𝔄 with a [A/A′] probe, while *Pseudo-Proleptic Constructions* resembles

the movement CC$\mathfrak{A}$ with a [A + A′] probe. Instead of the A features of such a probe being contributed by R, it may be contributed by M instead. Thus I suggest that both constructions involve C.M bundling, where *Accusative Subject Constructions* include an [A/A′] probe on their C.M, and *Pseudo-Proleptic Constructions* include an [A + A′] probe on their C.M.

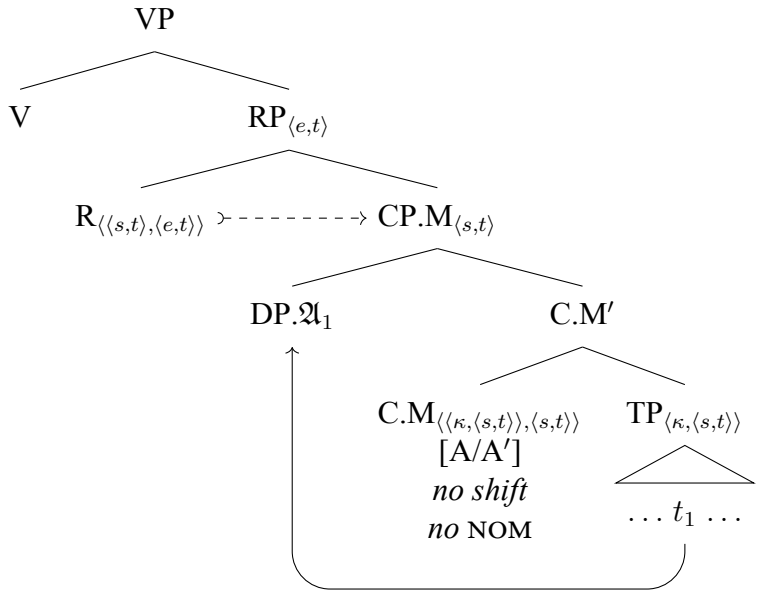
(53) a. **Preliminary Structure of Accusative Subject Constructions**
[$_{\text{VP}}$ V [$_{\text{RP}}$ R [$_{\text{CP.M}}$ DP.$\mathfrak{A}_1$ C.M$_{[\text{A/A}']}$ [$_{\text{TP}}$ … t_1 …]]]]

b. **Preliminary Structure of Pseudo-Proleptic Constructions**
[$_{\text{VP}}$ V [$_{\text{RP}}$ R [$_{\text{CP.M}}$ DP.$\mathfrak{A}_1$ C.M$_{[\text{A+A}']}$ [$_{\text{TP}}$ … t_1 …]]]]

While these structures are able to derive the lack of Matrix Selection Restrictions on each phrase, as well as their connectivity effects, A-minimality, and that they have semantic restrictions, these two nearly identical structures don't account for the other differences between *Accusative Subject Constructions* and *Pseudo-Proleptic Constructions*, namely: the difference in shift on their embedded clause, the fact that one has a resumptive pronoun, the differences in wh-item interpretation, and the difference in the semantic restriction on the DP. To explain these, we must argue more differences between the two.

I argue the following structure for Uyghur *Accusative Subject Constructions*:

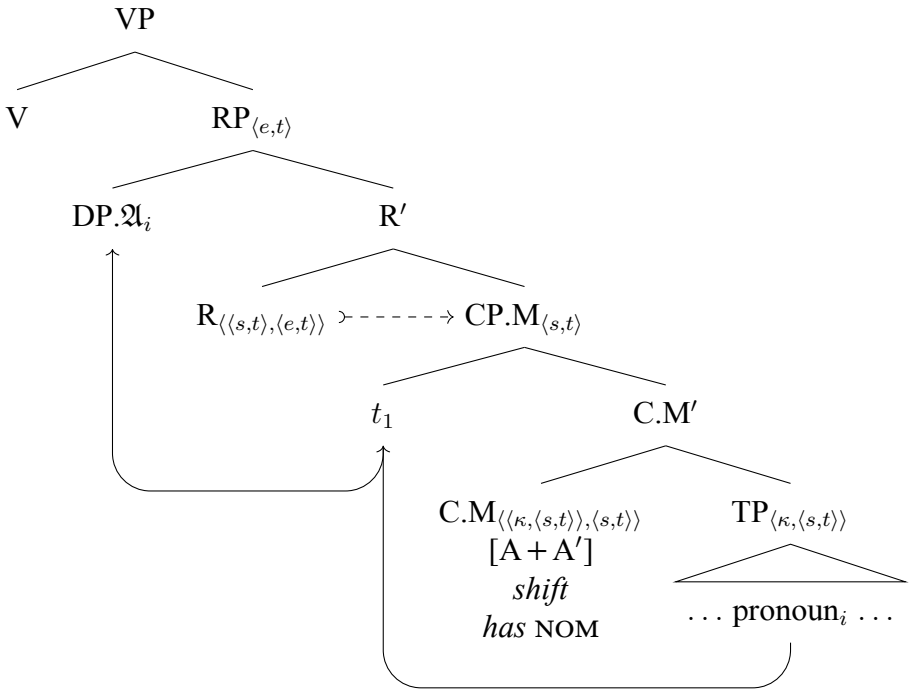
(54) **Uyghur *Accusative Subject Constructions***



Here, Uyghur includes in its lexicon a C.M head which has an [A/A′] probe on it and contributes no indexical shift, and lacks nominative features (as are assumed to exist on C-heads). Thus it can only select subjects (A-minimality) which do not have kind-level semantics (semantic selection) to undergo movement into its specifier. If the subject of the clause is kind level, then it has no position to raise into, but also gets no case, and thus the derivation crashes. I assume that the R-head itself licenses accusative case, and so the raised subject gets accusative case (even under unaccusative predicates). The subject does not raise into SpecRP, and thus can have a *de dicto* interpretation.

I argue the following structure for Uyghur *Pseudo-Proleptic Constructions*:

(55) **Uyghur *Pseudo-Proleptic Constructions***



Here, Uyghur contains in its lexicon another C.M head which has an [A + A′] probe on it and contributes indexical shift and licenses nominative case. Thus the probe can select any argument (no A-minimality) which does not have kind-level semantics (semantic selection) to undergo movement into its specifier. If the target is the subject of the embedded clause, then once in SpecCP.M it is licensed accusative case from R; however, it already has received nominative case, and has thus received two cases. The lower copy receives its original case, while the higher copy receives the most marked case: accusative if the lower copy in nominative or accusative, and dative if the lower copy is dative. For reasons I have yet to determine (any suggestions?), the higher DP moves into SpecRP, and thus receives a *de re* interpretation, and gets the same semantics as true proleptic DPs.

(56) **Typology of 𝔄-Dependencies in Uyghur**

Property	Accusative Subject	Pseudo-Prolepsis
Matrix Selection Restrictions	No ↑	No ↑
Connectivity Effects	Yes ↓	Yes ↓
A-Minimality	Yes ↓	No ↑
DP.𝔄 Semantic Restrictions	Yes ↑	Yes ↑
Lower position is:	always covert	overt*
Higher DP shifts:	no	no
Embedded clause shifts:	no	yes (same as no 𝔄)
Wh-item interpretation:	same as no 𝔄	necessarily quotative

5 A New Typology

The typology outlined in this paper not only (will soon hopefully more accurately) describe the 𝔄-Dependencies in Uyghur, but predicts more interaction between indexical shift and cross-clausal

𝔄-Dependencies cross linguistically. Some other languages which pose good candidates for such effects are Buryat, Nez Perce, Japanese, and Manchu. Buryat, Japanese, and Manchu all have constructions similar to Uyghur's *Accusative Subject Construction*, though they differ in important aspects: Buryat and Japanese allow 𝔄-Dependencies to co-occur with indexical shift (Susi Wurmbrand p.c., Saito 2018), but Buryat has a *de re* restriction on the subject of its raising constructions, suggesting in my typology that it involves movement to SpecRP. Manchu does not have (mandatory?) indexical shift, but indexical subjects are highly prefered to be accusative rather than nominative, suggesting an interaction between the person features of the subject and its tendency to be involved in an 𝔄-Dependency (Ulhisu p.c.). Nez Perce has a proleptic construction which prevents indexical shift and is limited to certain '*res* licensing predicates', which license a manditorily *de re* interpreted object (Deal 2018), suggesting both a limitation to its selection (↓), as well as a position in SpecRP coinciding with a ban on shift.

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