

# Towards Data Collection on Uyghur Prolepsis and ECM

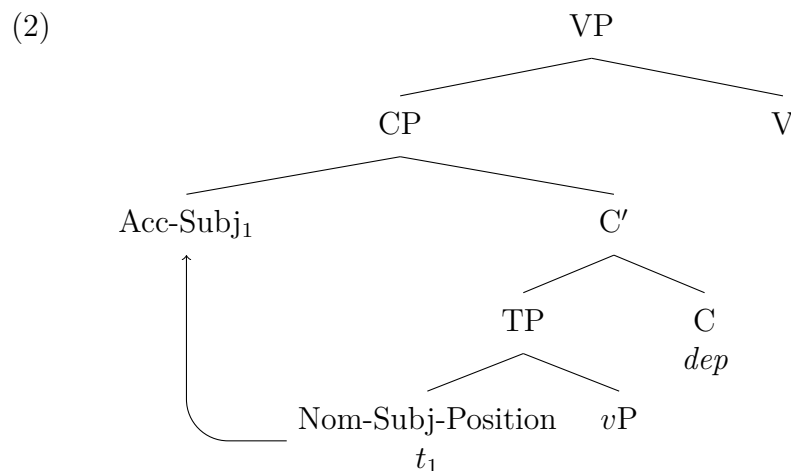
Jack Rabinovitch

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Uyghur (Turkic) allows for exceptional case marking into finite clauses headed with *dep*.

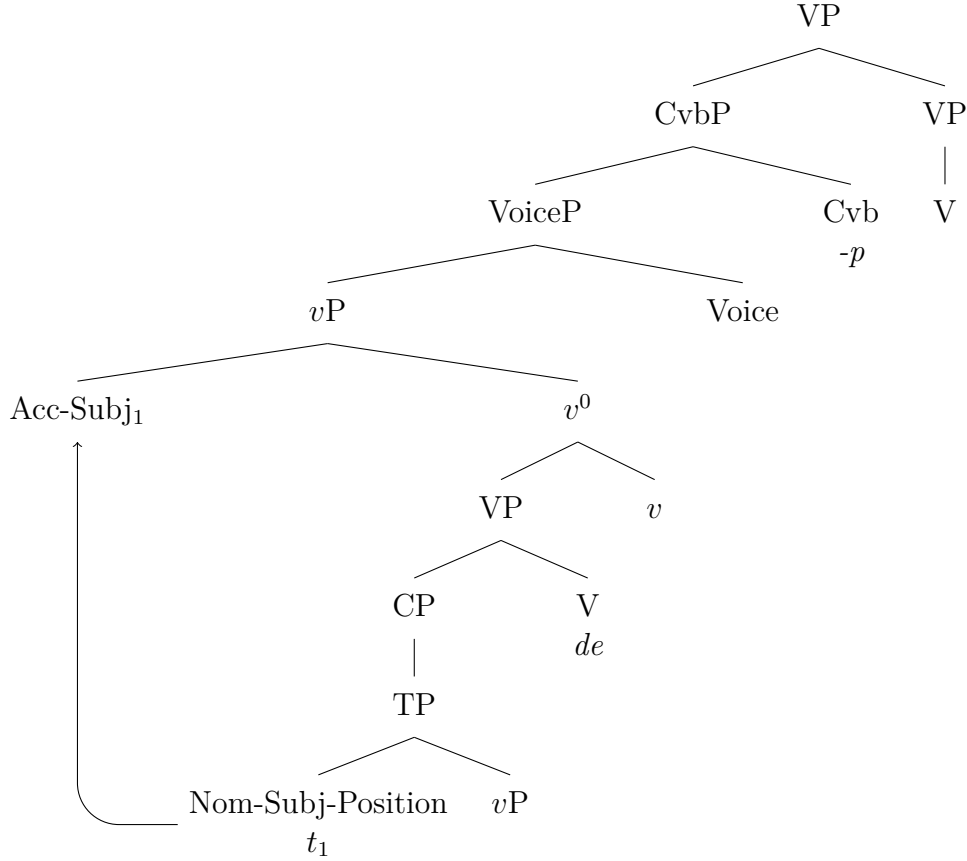
- (1) a. { Aygöl / \*Aygöl-ni } tort-ni yé-d-i.  
       { Aygul / Aygöl-ACC } cake-ACC eat-PST-3  
       ‘Aygöl ate the cake.’  
   b. Tursun { Aygöl / Aygöl-ni } tort-ni yé-d-i dep oyla-y-du.  
       Tursun { Aygul / Aygöl-ACC } cake-ACC eat-PST-3 COMP think-NPST-3  
       ‘Tursun thinks that Aygöl ate the cake.’

There are two primary analyses of this construction in Uyghur. The first analysis (2) takes the embedded clause to be the complement of the matrix verb, and takes *dep* to be a complementizer which heads the embedded clause. Accusative subjects are base generated in the same position as nominative subjects, but move into the left periphery of the clause (Sudo 2010; Shklovsky and Sudo 2014; Deal 2020).



The second analysis (3) takes the embedded clause to be an adjunct of the matrix verbal projection, attached via *dep*, which is assumed to be a converb composed of the verb root *de* “say” and the converbial ending *-p*. In this analysis, accusative subjects are base generated in the same position as nominative subjects, but move out of the embedded clause into the *vP* domain of the converbial *de* (Major and Mayer 2019; Major 2021, Under Review)

(3)



In Rabinovitch (2022), I found data which suggests that Uyghur additionally allows for proleptic constructions (4), in which a nominative subject is generated low and an accusative subject is generated high up.

- (4)   Aygül Ghéni-ni   u           tort yé-d-i    dé-d-i.  
       Aygül Ghéni-ACC 3SG.NOM cake eat-PST-3 say-PST-3  
       ‘Aygül said of Ghéni<sub>i</sub> that he<sub>i</sub> ate cake.’

I want to capture data regarding how Uyghur’s proleptic structures fit into the story of how ECM works, and hopefully use it to shed light on which analysis of Uyghur ECM is a better fit for the data.

(5)   Map of the Handout

- a.   Background on converbs (Major Under Review) and null subject dropping in Uyghur (Rabinovitch 2022).
- b.   A set of diagnostics used to determine the nature of ECM in Uyghur, some questions regarding how to use them and how I may apply them to proleptic structures.

Note: for this presentation, I will use □ to mark grammaticality judgments for sentences which I have not tested yet.

- (6)   Ayaka love-□(□s) her cat. →

- a. Test: Ayaka love her cat.
- b. Test: Ayaka loves her cat.

# 1 Background

## 1.1 Converbs in Uyghur

Uyghur employs converb constructions. Converbs include converbial endings on verbs which take relatively small sized complements (in Uyghur, these complements are VoicePs). Here the converbial ending *-(u)p* attaches to the VoiceP *pro métalni ur-*.

(7) (Major Under Review:4 ex 11a)

Ahmat métal-ni ur-up tüzle-wat-i-du.  
 Ahmat metal-ACC hit-CVB flatten-PROG-NPST-3

‘Ahmet is flattening the metal by pounding it.’

*Dep* can be analyzed the verb *say* and the converbial ending *-p*. In (8), *dep* is clearly interpreted as an adjunct, referring to a speech act independent of (but concurrent with) the matrix event of leaving.

(8) (Major Under Review:8 ex 25b)

Mahinur Tursun-ni ket-t-i de-p ket-t-i.  
 Mahinur Tursun-ACC leave-PST-3 say-CVB leave-PST-3

‘Mahinur left, saying Tursun left.’

In (9), it is less obvious of whether or not the *dep* clause is adjunct like. It seems to embed the content of the thinking event, more like a complement CP in other languages. Here, *dep* has been analyzed by many as a complementizer, not as a decomposed converb.

(9) (Major Under Review:8 ex 25a)

Mahinur Tursun-ni ket-t-i de-p oyla-y-du.  
 Mahinur Tursun-ACC leave-PST-3 say-CVB think-NPST-3

‘Mahinur thinks that Tursun left.’

Major (Under Review) argues that *dep* in both (8) and (9) is composed of *de* and *-p*, forming a converbial phrase which attaches as an adjunct to the matrix VP. Uyghur’s *verbum dicendi* *de* is unique in that it can embed a full (root) CP. Thus *dep* clauses are ConvPs containing a VoiceP, whose verb is *de*, which itself contains a root CP.

## 1.2 Partial Null Subject Dropping

Uyghur is a Partial Null Subject language, in which first and second, but not third person matrix subjects may drop.

- (10) a. (Men) tort-ni yé-d-üm.  
1SG.NOM cake-ACC eat-PST-1SG  
'I ate cake.'
- b. (Sen) tort-ni yé-d-üng.  
2SG.NOM cake-ACC eat-PST-2SG  
'You ate cake.'
- c. { U / \* $\emptyset$  } tort-ni yé-d-i.  
{ 3SG.NOM / *pro* } cake-ACC eat-PST-2SG  
'He ate cake.'

In typical embedded environments, however, first, second, and third person subjects may drop.

- (11) a. Tursun (men) tort-ni yé-d-üm dé-d-i.  
Tursun 1SG.NOM cake-ACC eat-PST-1SG say-PST-3  
'Tursun said that he<sub>i</sub> ate cake.'
- b. Tursun (Aygül-ge) (sen) tort-ni yé-d-üng dé-d-i.  
Tursun Aygül-DAT 2SG.NOM cake-ACC eat-PST-2SG say-PST-3  
'Tursun said (to Aygül<sub>i</sub>) that she<sub>i</sub> ate cake.'
- c. Tursun (u) tort-ni yé-d-i dé-d-i.  
Tursun 3SG.NOM cake-ACC eat-PST-2SG say-PST-3  
'Tursun<sub>i</sub> said that he<sub>j</sub> ate cake.'

Some interesting data about subject drop, prolepsis, and interpretation of wh-items from Rabinovitch (2022).

- (12) Tursun kim-ni kör-d-i dé-d-i  
Tursun who-ACC see-PST-3 say-PST-3
- a. ✓ 'Who did Tursun<sub>i</sub> say she<sub>j</sub> saw?' (Wide Scope)
- b. ✗ 'Tursun<sub>i</sub> said, 'Who did she<sub>j</sub> see?'' (Narrow Scope)
- (13) Tursun u kim-ni kör-d-i dé-d-i  
Tursun 3SG.NOM who-ACC see-PST-3 say-PST-3
- a. ✓ 'Who did Tursun<sub>i</sub> say she<sub>j</sub> saw?' (Wide Scope)
- b. ✓ 'Tursun<sub>i</sub> said, 'Who did she<sub>j</sub> see?'' (Narrow Scope)
- (14) Tursun uni kim-ni kör-d-i dé-d-i  
Tursun 3SG.ACC who-ACC see-PST-3 say-PST-3
- a. ✓ 'Who did Tursun<sub>i</sub> say she<sub>j</sub> saw?' (Wide Scope)
- b. ✓ 'Tursun<sub>i</sub> said, 'Who did she<sub>j</sub> see?'' (Narrow Scope)
- (15) Tursun uni u kim-ni kör-d-i dé-d-i  
Tursun 3SG.ACC 3SG.NOM who-ACC see-PST-3 say-PST-3
- a. ✗ 'Who did Tursun<sub>i</sub> say (of her) that she<sub>j</sub> saw?' (Wide Scope)
- b. ✓ 'Tursun<sub>i</sub> said (of her), 'Who did she<sub>j</sub> see?'' (Narrow Scope)

I assume in Rabinovitch (2022) that Uyghur narrow scoping interrogative complements contain an additional Force projection (Suñer 1993; Etxepare 2008). This projection (1) allows

for prolepsis, and (2) makes the embedded clause act like a matrix clause with respect to PNS. How this works, however, I am still not sure.

(16)

	Wide wh	Narrow wh
Covert Subj	✓ No Force, dropped Subj	✗ Force → cannot drop Subj
Nom Subj	✓ No Force, in situ Subj	✓ Force, in situ Subj
Acc Subj	✓ No Force, Subj Raising	✓ Force, Subj Raising
Acc + Nom Subj	✗ No Force → no prolepsis	✓ Force, proleptic

We should expect dropping to be allowed in proleptic structures when the subject is first or second person then. In (17), raised NCIs but not proleptic ones can occur with embedded negation.

(17) Major Under Review:24 ex 82

- a. Mahinur héchqaysi-miz-ni (biz) nan ye-d-uq dé-mi-d-i.  
 Mahinur no.which-1PL.POSS-ACC we bread eat-PST-1PL say-NEG-PST-3  
 ‘Mahinur didn’t say of any of us, we ate bread.’
- b. \*Mahinur héchqaysi-miz-ni (biz) nan ye-mi-d-uq dé-d-i.  
 Mahinur no.which-1PL.POSS-ACC we bread eat-NEG-PST-1PL say-PST-3  
 Intended: ‘Mahinur said of none of us, we ate bread.’

Prolepsis also differs from raising in that prolepsis requires shift, while raising prohibits shift.

(18) Based on Major Under Review:24 ex 83

Mahinur héchqaysi-miz-ni (\*biz) nan yé-mi-d- $\{i/*uq\}$  dé-d-i.  
 Mahinur no.which-1PL.POSS-ACC 1pl bread eat-NEG-PST-3/1PL say-PST-3  
 ‘Mahinur said of none of us, we ate bread.’

Prolepsis and raising cannot co-occur (19) — though we can have what looks like raising and ForceP co-occur, as in (14b).

- (19) \* Tursun { Aygül-ni / uni } uni kim-ni kör-d-i dé-d-i.  
 Tursun { Aygül-ACC / 3SG.ACC } 3SG.ACC who-ACC see-PST-3 say-PST-3  
 Intended: ‘Tursun said of Aygül<sub>i</sub>: who did she<sub>i</sub> see?’

Why is prolepsis licensed only in these instances? Possibility: the proleptic DP merge position is in SpecForceP, and thus can only be licensed when SpecForceP is present; proleptic DP (not the ForceP itself) prevents raising constructions by blocking (locality?).

## 2 Diagnostics Set I: The Merge Position of Dep Clauses

This set of diagnostic attempts to find more about *dep* clauses in general.

## 2.1 Scrambling in (Clear) Adjunct Clauses

Accusative subjects of Seeming-Complement Clauses can scramble into the left periphery of the matrix clause.

- (20) Aygül-ni herbir oqughuchi kel-d-i dep bil-i-du.  
Aygül-ACC each student come-PST-3 COMP know-NPST-3  
‘Each student believes that Aygül left.’

Question: do *dep* clauses which are clearly adjuncts also allow for this kind of scrambling?

- (21) ☐ Aygül-ni herbir oqughuchi kel-d-i dep ket-t-i.  
Aygül-ACC each student come-PST-3 COMP leave-NPST-3  
‘Each student left, saying that Aygül came.’

## 2.2 Passivization of Proleptic DPs and Long Distance Passives

I have tested and found that Uyghur does not allow for the passivization of raised accusative subjects.

- (22) (Uyghur, elicited)
- a. Sadiq Aygül-ni tünügün Roshén-ni kör-d-i dep ishin-i-du  
Sadiq Aygül-ACC yesterday Roshén-ACC see-PST-3 COMP believe-NPST-3  
‘Sadiq believes that Aygül saw Roshén yesterday.’
- b. \*Aygül Sadiq teripidi tünügün Roshén-ni kör-d-i dep  
Aygül Sadiq by yesterday Roshén-ACC see-PST-3 COMP  
ishin-il-i-du  
believe-PASS-NPST-3  
Intended: ‘Aygül was believed by Sadiq to have seen Roshén yesterday.’

Can proleptic DPs be passivized?

- (23) (Uyghur, elicited)
- a. ☐ Sadiq Aygül-ni u tünügün Roshén-ni kör-d-i dep  
Sadiq Aygül-ACC 3SG.NOM yesterday Roshén-ACC see-PST-3 COMP  
ishin-i-du  
believe-NPST-3  
‘Sadiq believes that Aygül saw Roshén yesterday.’
- b. ☐ Aygül Sadiq teripidi u tünügün Roshén-ni kör-d-i dep  
Aygül Sadiq by 3SG.NOM yesterday Roshén-ACC see-PST-3 COMP  
ishin-il-i-du  
believe-PASS-NPST-3  
‘Aygül was believed by Sadiq to have seen Roshén yesterday.’

Does Uyghur allow for long distance passives?

- (24) (Uyghur, elicited)
- Roshén Sadiq teripidin Aygül-□(□ni) tünügün kör-d-i dep  
 Roshén Sadiq by Aygül-ACC yesterday see-PST-3 COMP  
 ishin-il-i-du.  
 believe-PASS-NPST-3
- ‘Roshén was believed (by Sadiq) to have been seen by Aygül yesterday’
- (25) (Uyghur, elicited)
- Roshén Aygül tünügün kör-d-i dep □(□ Sadiq teripidin )  
 Roshén Aygül yesterday see-PST-3 COMP ( Sadiq by )  
 ishin-il-i-du.  
 believe-PASS-NPST-3
- ‘Roshén was believed (by Sadiq) to have been seen by Aygül yesterday’
- (26) (Uyghur, elicited)
- Roshén Aygül-ni tünügün kör-d-i dep □(□ Sadiq teripidin )  
 Roshén Aygül-ACC yesterday see-PST-3 COMP ( Sadiq by )  
 ishin-il-i-du.  
 believe-PASS-NPST-3
- ‘Roshén was believed (by Sadiq) to have been seen by Aygül yesterday’

## 2.3 Can Arguments and Dep Clauses Co-occur?

Major (Under Review) suggests that while *dep* clauses are adjuncts, non-oblique participial clauses are arguments. This suggests that they should be able to co-occur.

- (27) a. Reyhan Tursun tort-ni yé-d-i dep bil-i-du  
 Reyhan Tursun cake-ACC eat-PST-3 COMP know-NPST-3  
 ‘Reyhan knows that Tursun ate the cake.’
- b. Reyhan Tursun-ning tort-ni yé-gen-lik-i-ni bil-i-du  
 Reyhan Tursun-GEN cake-ACC eat-IPF-NMZ-POSS3-ACC know-NPST-3  
 ‘Reyhan knows that Tursun ate the cake.’

In a light verb construction *söz qil* ‘speak/make words’. The *dep* phrase is not attached to the nominal *söz*.

- (28) (Major Under Review:10 ex 32)
- Yighin-ning axir-i-da Mahinur {söz-ni} tilshunasliq toghrisida {söz-ni} [  
 meeting-gen end-3poss-loc Mahinur word-acc linguistics about word-acc [  
 Tursun-ning maqali-si yaxshi de-p ] {söz} qil-d-i.  
 Tursun-GEN article-3poss good say-CVB ] word make-PST-3

‘At the end of the meeting, Mahinur made words (spoke) about linguistics, saying Tursun’s article is good.’

We would expect, if non-oblique participial clauses are arguments, that they should not be able to co-occur with the the argument *söz*.

(29)	Mahinur	□{söz-ni}	[	Aygül	polu ye-gen-lik-i-ni ]
	meeting-gen	end-3poss-loc	Mahinur	word-acc	[ Aygül pilaf
	□{söz}		qıl-d-i.		
	eat-IPV-NMZ-POSS3-ACC		word	make-PST-3	
	‘Mahinur made words (spoke) that Aygül ate pilaf.’				

We might also expect the non-oblique participial clause and *dep* clause to be able to co-occur.

(30) □ Reyhan Tursun tort-ni yé-d-i dep Tursun-ning tort-ni  
 Reyhan Tursun cake-ACC eat-PST-3 COMP Tursun-GEN cake-ACC  
 yé-gen-lik-i-ni { bil-i-du / dé-d-i }  
 eat-IPF-NMZ-POSS3-ACC { know-NPST-3 / say-PST-3 }  
 ‘Reyhan knows/said that Tursun ate the cake.’

Though this may be bad for independent reasons (unwieldy and unnecessary).

Also, we should test to see if all *dep* clauses act like this, (nominative subject, accusative subject, prolepsis).

(31)	a.	Reyhan	□{söz-ni}	Tursun	Ürümchi-din	ayril-d-i	dep	□{söz}
		Reyhan	word-ACC	Tursun	ÜrümchiABL	separate-PST-3	COMP	word
		qıl-d-i.						
		make-PST-3						
		‘Reyhan made words (spoke) that Tursun left Ürümchi.’						
	b.	Reyhan	□{söz-ni}	Tursun-ni	Ürümchi-din	ayril-d-i	dep	□{söz}
		Reyhan	word-ACC	Tursun-ACC	ÜrümchiABL	separate-PST-3	COMP	word
		qıl-d-i.						
		make-PST-3						
		‘Reyhan made words (spoke) that Tursun left Ürümchi.’						
	c.	Reyhan	□{söz-ni}	Tursun-ni	u	Ürümchi-din	ayril-d-i	dep
		Reyhan	word-ACC	Tursun-ACC	3SG.ACC	ÜrümchiABL	separate-PST-3	COMP
		□{söz}	qıl-d-i.					
		word	make-PST-3					
		‘Reyhan made words (spoke) that Tursun left Ürümchi.’						

The same goes for predicates which license both an argument and a *dep* clause, such as *éyt* ‘tell’.



(32) (Based on Major Under Review:10 ex 33)

Mahinur {xewer-ni} manga {xewer-ni} [Tursun-(ni) ket-t-i de-p]  
 Mahinur news-ACC 1SG.DAT news-ACC Tursun-ACC leave-PST-3 say-CVB  
 {xewer-(ni)} éyt-t-i.  
 news-ACC tell-PST-3

‘Mahinur told me the news, saying Tursun left.’

(33)	Tursun-ni <sub>1</sub> Mahinur □{xewer-ni} manga □{xewer-ni} [ t <sub>1</sub> ket-t-i de-p Tursun- <sub>1</sub> Mahinur news-ACC 1SG.DAT news-ACC [ leave-PST-3 say-CVB ] □{xewer-(ni)} éyt-t-i. ] news-ACC tell-PST-3 Tursun-ni ‘Mahinur told me the news, saying Tursun left.’
(34)	Mahinur □{xewer-ni} manga □{xewer-ni} [Tursun-ni u ket-t-i Mahinur news-ACC 1SG.DAT news-ACC Tursun-ACC 3SG.NOM leave-PST-3 de-p] □{xewer-(ni)} éyt-t-i. say-CVB news-ACC tell-PST-3 ‘Mahinur told me the news, saying Tursun left.’

These tests should help to determine if proleptic *dep* clauses or proleptic DPs somehow interact with the object position of verbs.

## 2.4 Non neg-raising

Can embedded NPIs be licensed by a non-NEG-raising predicate: find out, know, forget, etc.?

(35)	□ Tursun [ men héchkim-ni kör-d-üm dep ] bil-mi-d-i. Tursun [ 1SG.NOM nobody-ACC see-PST-1SG COMP ] know-NEG-PST-3 ‘Tursun <sub>i</sub> didn’t know that he <sub>i</sub> saw anyone.’
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One issue, however, is that factivity seems to disappear when embedded under *dep* clauses (Major Under Review, see Ozyildiz 2017 for similar facts in Turkish), and so if factivity is a determiner of neg-raising, then this is not a good diagnostic.

- (36) □ Tursun [ men Roshen-ni kör-d-üm ] dé-mi-d-i, emma u  
 Tursun [ 1SG.NOM Roshen-ACC see-PST-1SG ] say-NEG-PST-3 but 3SG.NOM  
 yene [ men Roshen-ni kör-mi-d-üm ] dé-mi-d-i.  
 also [ 1SG.NOM Roshen-ACC see-NEG-PST-1SG ] say-NEG-PST-3  
 ‘Tursun<sub>i</sub> didn’t say that he<sub>i</sub> saw Roshen, but he<sub>i</sub> also didn’t say that he<sub>i</sub> didn’t see Roshen.’
- (37) □ Tursun [ men héchkim-ni kör-d-üm ] dé-mi-d-i, emma u  
 Tursun [ 1SG.NOM nobody-ACC see-PST-1SG ] say-NEG-PST-3 but 3SG.NOM  
 yene [ men héchkim-ni kör-mi-d-üm ] dé-mi-d-i.  
 also [ 1SG.NOM nobody-ACC see-NEG-PST-1SG ] say-NEG-PST-3  
 ‘Tursun<sub>i</sub> didn’t say that he<sub>i</sub> saw anyone, but he<sub>i</sub> also didn’t say that he<sub>i</sub> saw nobody.’

## 2.5 What bans NCIs from Scrambling?

Accusative and nominative subject NCIs may be licensed by embedded negation.

- (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.’

When a nominative subject co-occurs with an accusative subject, however, the accusative subject NCI can no longer be licensed by embedded clause negation.

- (39) (Uyghur, elicited)

\* Ahmet héchkim-ni u ket-mi-d-i dé-d-i  
 Ahmet nobody-ACC 3SG.NOM leave-NEG-PST-3 say-PST-3

‘Ahmet said nobody left.’

We can test this by looking at the interaction of NCI licensing and scrambling in Uyghur.

- (40) (Uyghur, elicited)

\* Héchkim-ni<sub>1</sub> Ahmet *t*<sub>1</sub> ket-mi-d-i dé-d-i  
 nobody-ACC Ahmet leave-NEG-PST-3 say-PST-3

‘Ahmet said nobody left.’

This may be discourse based: perhaps there are definiteness/specificity requirements on scrambling?

Testing with ‘everyone’.

- (41) □{ her bir oqughuchi-ni } Roshen □{ her bir oqughuchi-□(ni) } etken chay bilen  
 every student-ACC Roshen every student-ACC milk tea with  
 nan yé-d-i dep oyla-y-du.  
 bread eat-PST-3 COMP believe-NPST-3  
 ‘Roshen believes that every student ate milk tea with bread.’

Testing with matrix object *héchkim*.

- (42) □{héchkim-ni} Tursun □{héchkim-ni} kör-d-i  
 nobody-ACC Tursun nobody-ACC see-PST-3  
 ‘Tursun did not see anyone.’

Testing with proleptic *héchkim*.

- (43) (Uyghur, elicited)  
 □{héchkim-ni} Ahmet □{héchkim-ni} u ket-t-i dé-mi-d-i  
 nobody-ACC Ahmet nobody-ACC 3SG.NOM leave-PST-3 say-NEG-PST-3  
 ‘Ahmet said of nobody<sub>i</sub> that they<sub>i</sub> left.’

### 3 Diagnostic Set II: Distribution of Prolepsis

#### 3.1 Prolepsis Without ‘External’ Speech Act

Does Prolepsis require there to be an ‘actual’ speech act being referenced?

- (44) □ Roshen Aygöl-ni u etken chay bilen nan yé-y-du dep  
 Roshen Aygöl-ACC 3SG.NOM milk tea with bread eat-NPST-3 COMP  
 oyla-y-du.  
 believe-NPST-3  
 ‘Roshen believes of Aygöl<sub>i</sub> that she<sub>i</sub> eats milk tea with bread.’

#### 3.2 Accusative Subject CP under Passives, Unaccusatives, and Oblique Case Licensing Verbs

*dep*-CPs can be licensed in passive sentences

- (45) Aygöl tünügün Roshén-ni kör-d-i dep ( Sadiq teripidi )  
 Aygöl yesterday Roshén-ACC see-PST-3 COMP ( Sadiq by )  
 ishin-il-i-du  
 believe-PASS-NPST-3  
 ‘That Aygöl saw Roshén yesterday was believed (by Sadiq).’

Can *dep*-CPs with accusative or proleptic subjects?

- (46) Aygül-ni □(□u) tünügün Roshén-ni kör-d-i dep ( Sadiq teripidi )  
 Aygül-ACC 3SG.NOM yesterday Roshén-ACC see-PST-3 COMP ( Sadiq by )  
 ishin-il-i-du  
 believe-PASS-NPST-3  
 ‘That Aygül saw Roshén yesterday was believed (by Sadiq).’

*dep* headed accusative subject CPs are licensed in unaccusative clauses (but they are clearly adjunct-like)

- (47) (Major Under Review:15 ex 52)

Mahinur [ Tursun-ni ket-t-i de-p ] kel-d-i, biraq  
 Mahinur Tursun-ACC leave-PST-3 say-CVB come-PST-3 but  
 ket-mi-gen idi.  
 leave-NEG-PTPL.PST AUX.PST.3

‘Mahinur came, saying Tursun left, but he didn’t leave.’

Is the same true of nominative/proleptic *dep*-CPs?

- (48) a. □ Mahinur [ Tursun ket-t-i de-p ] kel-d-i, biraq  
 Mahinur Tursun leave-PST-3 say-CVB come-PST-3 but  
 ket-mi-gen idi.  
 leave-NEG-PTPL.PST AUX.PST.3  
 ‘Mahinur came, saying Tursun left, but he didn’t leave.’  
 b. □ Mahinur [ Tursun-ni u ket-t-i de-p ] kel-d-i, biraq  
 Mahinur Tursun-ACC 3SG.NOM leave-PST-3 say-CVB come-PST-3 but  
 ket-mi-gen idi.  
 leave-NEG-PTPL.PST AUX.PST.3  
 ‘Mahinur came, saying Tursun left, but he didn’t leave.’

*dep* headed accusative subject CPs are licensed by predicates which license Oblique Case objects

- (49) a. Bala ömüchük-tin qorq-i-du.  
 boy spider-ABL fear-NPST-3  
 ‘The boy is afraid of spiders.’  
 b.\*□ Bala ömüchük-ni qorq-i-du.  
 boy spider-ACC fear-NPST-3  
 ‘The boy is afraid of spiders.’

- (50) a. Bala müshük-{üm/\*i} chashqan yé-d-i dep qorq-i-du.  
 boy cat-POSS1/POSS3 mouse eat-PST-3 COMP fear-NPST-3

- ‘The boy<sub>i</sub> is afraid that his<sub>i</sub> cat ate mice.’
- b. Bala müshük-{\*üm/i}-ni chashqan yé-d-i dep qorq-i-du.  
 boy cat-POSS1/POSS3-ACC mouse eat-PST-3 COMP fear-NPST-3  
 ‘The boy<sub>i</sub> is afraid that his<sub>i</sub> cat ate mice.’

Is this possible with proleptic CPs?

- (51) a.  $\square$  Bala müshük-i-ni u chashqan yé-d-i dep qorq-i-du.  
 boy cat-POSS3-ACC 3SG.NOM mouse eat-PST-3 COMP fear-NPST-3  
 ‘The boy<sub>i</sub> is afraid that his<sub>i</sub> cat ate mice.’
- b.  $\square$  Bala müshük-i-din u chashqan yé-d-i dep qorq-i-du.  
 boy cat-POSS3-ABL 3SG.NOM mouse eat-PST-3 COMP fear-NPST-3  
 ‘The boy<sub>i</sub> is afraid that his<sub>i</sub> cat ate mice.’

### 3.3 Accusative Subject CPs with ‘Stative’ Instances of SAY

Are proleptic constructions licensed in the same configurations of raising re: accusative licensing?

Major (Under Review) shows that there are instances where accusative case cannot be licensed (though they are not reliant on the ability of the matrix verb to license accusative case). These occur when there is no animate matrix subject and the predicate is unaccusative.

- (52) (Major Under Review:34,35 ex 111, 112)

(Bu xeweri) бүгүн yighin-da [ Mahinur-(\*ni) kéler yil Qeshqer-ge  
 this news today meeting-LOC Mahinur-ACC coming year Kashgar-DAT  
 bar-i-du de-p ] éniq bol-d-i.  
 go-NPST-3 say-CVB clear become-PST-3

‘The news became clear at the meeting today that Mahinur would go to Kashgar next year.’

- (53) (Major Under Review:36 ex 116)

Bashliq-ik бүгүн yighin-da [ Mahinur-(ni) kéler yil Qeshqer-ge  
 boss-3SG.POSS today meeting-LOC [ Mahinur-ACC coming year Kashgar-DAT  
 bar-i-du de-p ] bu xewer-(ni) éniq qil-d-i.  
 go-NPST-3 say-CVB ] this news-ACC clear make-PST-3

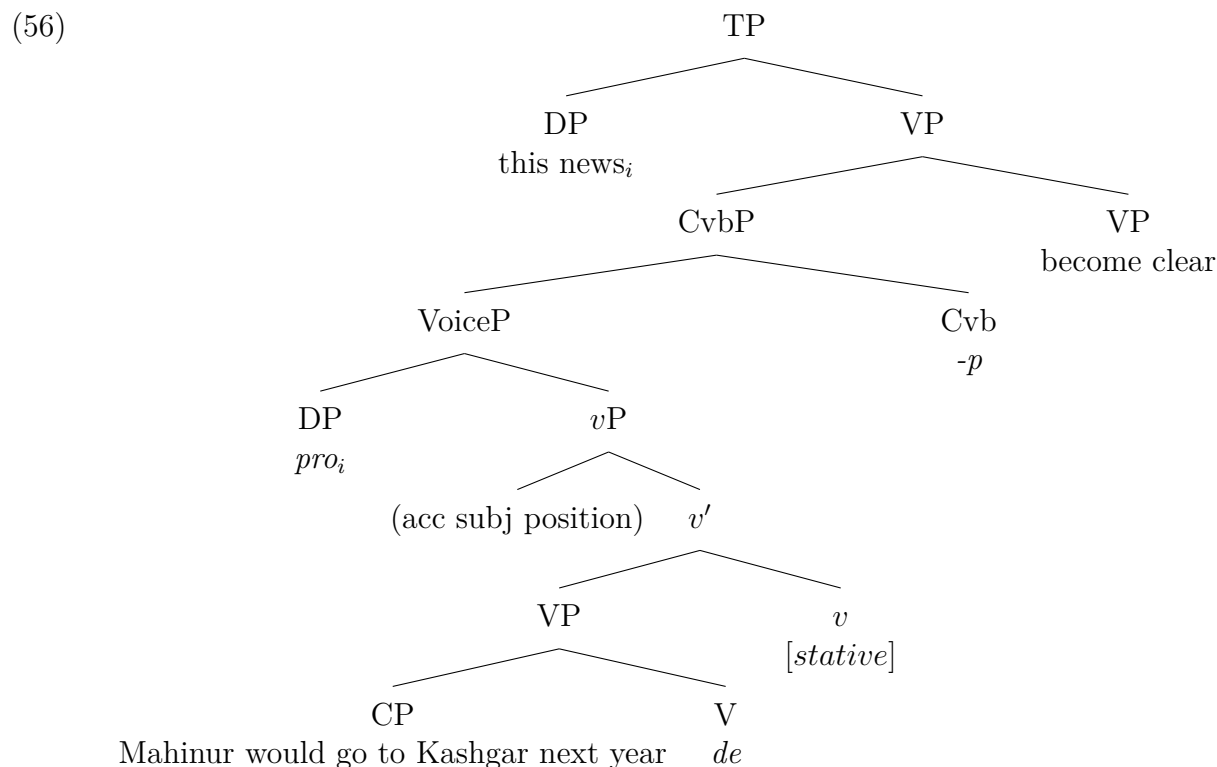
‘Her boss made the news clear at the meeting today that Mahinur would go to Kashgar next year.’

For Major (Under Review), the difference between these lie in whether or not *de* “say” is interpreted as eventive: referring to a (external or internal) speech act produced by an individual, or stative: referring to a communicative state or content of some object. English distinguishes between these types of SAY as well, allowing present tense generally for stative but not eventive SAY in the past.

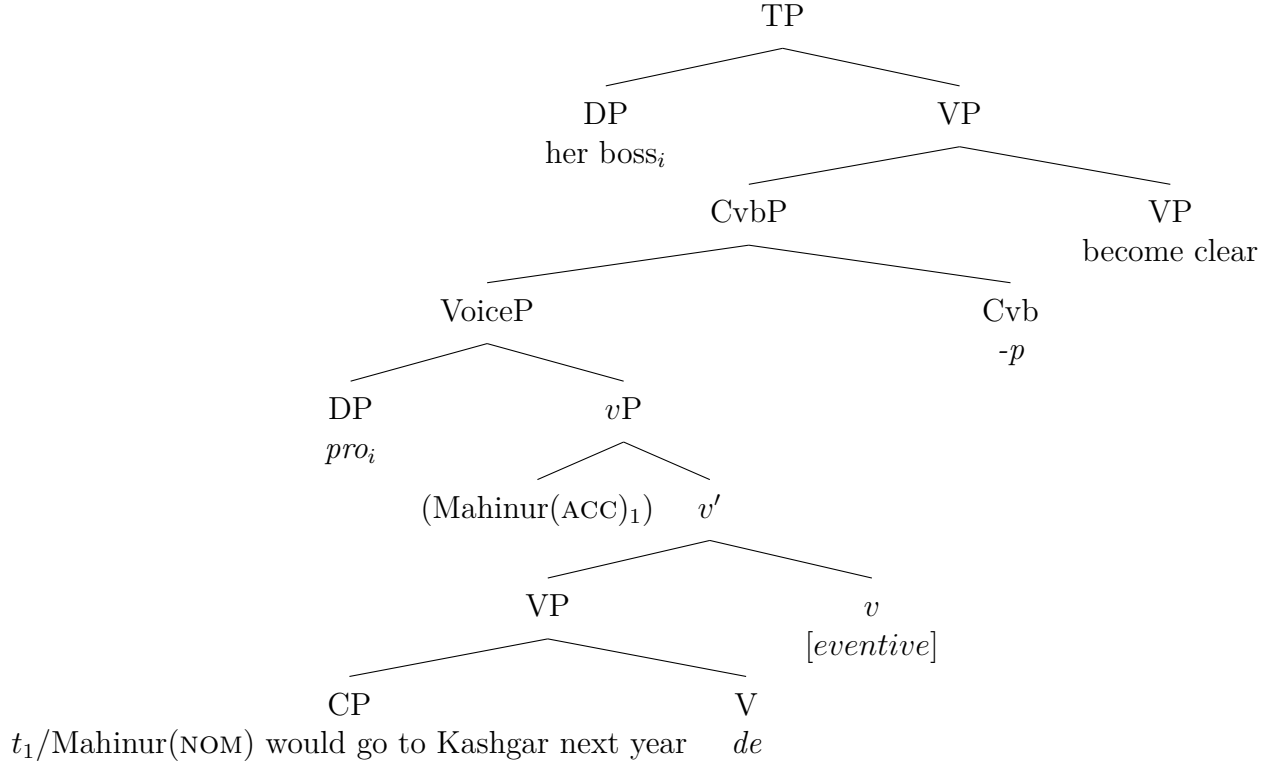
- (54) a. Eventive SAY: Sean said that Liam is nice.  
 b. Stative SAY: The sign says that Liam is nice.

Major (Under Review) argues that the converbial phrase is a VoiceP, and thus has a subject. This subject, if covert, is understood as coreferent with the matrix subject, and thus inanimate subjects of unaccusative clauses force unanimate subjects of their embedded CvbP. This requires a stative reading for SAY, and thus a stative *v*, which Major (Under Review) argues does not license accusative case.

- (55) a. Two kinds of *v*: Eventive *v* licenses accusative case/licenses movement into its specifier, stative *v* does not.  
 b. Subject of embedded CvbPs, if covert, are understood coreferent with matrix subject.  
 c. Inanimate subjects cause stative *v* on SAY.



(57)



In passive clauses, an implicit agent is still able to bind/corefer to the subject of the CvbP.

(58) (Major Under Review:36 ex 117)

Bu xewer-(\*ni) meqsetlik bugün yighin-da [ Mahinur-(ni) kéler yil  
this news-ACC intentionally today meeting-LOC [ Mahinur-ACC coming year  
Qeshqer-ge bar-i-du de-p ] éniq qil-in-d-i.  
Kashgar-DAT go-NPST-3 say-CVB ] clear make-PASS-PST-3

‘The news was intentionally made clear at the meeting today that Mahinur would go to Kashgar next year.’

- (59) □ (Bu xeweri) бүгүн yighin-da [ Mahinur-ni u kéler yil  
 this news today meeting-LOC Mahinur-ACC 3SG.NOM coming year  
 Qeshqer-ge bar-i-du de-p ] éniq bol-d-i.  
 Kashgar-DAT go-NPST-3 say-CVB clear become-PST-3  
 ‘The news became clear at the meeting today that Mahinur would go to Kashgar  
 next year.’
- (60) □ Bashliq-ik бүгүн yighin-da [ Mahinur-ni u kéler yil  
 boss-3SG.POSS today meeting-LOC [ Mahinur-ACC 3SG.NOM coming year  
 Qeshqer-ge bar-i-du de-p ] bu xewer-ni éniq qil-d-i.  
 Kashgar-DAT go-NPST-3 say-CVB ] this news-ACC clear make-PST-3  
 ‘Her boss made the news clear at the meeting today that Mahinur would go to  
 Kashgar next year.’
- (61) □ Bu xewer meqsetlik бүгүн yighin-da [ Mahinur-ni u kéler  
 this news-ACC intentionally today meeting-LOC [ Mahinur-ACC 3SG.NOM coming  
 yil Qeshqer-ge bar-i-du de-p ] éniq qil-in-d-i.  
 year Kashgar-DAT go-NPST-3 say-CVB ] clear make-PASS-PST-3  
 ‘The news was intentionally made clear at the meeting today that Mahinur would  
 go to Kashgar next year.’

### 3.4 Ability for *dep* to embed non-finite clauses

*dep* seems to be able not only to embed finite clauses, but DPs (62a) and participials (62b) as well. The asterisks below indicate that a complement for *dep* is mandatory.

- (62) (Major Under Review:9 ex 29)
- a. Mahinur \*(birnémi-ler-ni) de-p warqiri-di.  
 Mahinur one.what-pl-ACC say-CVB scream-PST-3  
 ‘Mahinur screamed \*(something).’
- b. Mahinur \*(Tursun-ning ket-ken-lik-i-ni) de-p warqiri-di.  
 Mahinur Tursun-GEN leave-PTPL-COMP-3POSS-ACC say-CVB scream-PST-3  
 ‘Mahinur screamed \*(that Tursun left).’

One question is whether this is possible under predicates where *dep* clauses seem more complement like (like think), or where they are modifying their own speech act (like leave)



- (63) a. ☐ Mahinur birnémi-ler-ni de-p oyla-y-du.  
 Mahinur one.what-pl-ACC say-CVB think-NPST-3  
 ‘Mahinur thinks (of) something.’  
 b. ☐ Mahinur Tursun-ning ket-ken-lik-i-ni de-p oyla-y-du.  
 Mahinur Tursun-GEN leave-PTPL-COMP-3POSS-ACC say-CVB think-NPST-3  
 ‘Mahinur thinks that Tursun left.’
- (64) a. ☐ Mahinur birnémi-ler-ni de-p ket-t-i.  
 Mahinur one.what-pl-ACC say-CVB leave-PST-3  
 ‘Mahinur left, saying something.’  
 b. ☐ Mahinur Tursun-ning ket-ken-lik-i-ni de-p ket-t-i.  
 Mahinur Tursun-GEN leave-PTPL-COMP-3POSS-ACC say-CVB leave-PST-3  
 ‘Mahinur left, saying that Tursun left.’

Can proleptic DPs be generated in these cases?

- (65) a. ☐ Mahinur Tursun-ni birnémi-ler-ni de-p warqiri-di.  
 Mahinur Tursun-ACC one.what-pl-ACC say-CVB scream-PST-3  
 ‘Mahinur screamed something of Tursun.’  
 b. ☐ Mahinur Tursun-ni uning ket-ken-lik-i-ni de-p  
 Mahinur Tursun-ACC 3.GEN leave-PTPL-COMP-3POSS-ACC say-CVB  
 warqiri-di.  
 scream-PST-3  
 ‘Mahinur screamed of Tursun that he left.’

## 4 Diagnostic Set III: Prolepsis Distinct from Raising

### 4.1 Idiomatic Expression

Can you use proleptic phrases in idiomatic expressions?

- (66) (Major Under Review:22 ex 72a,c)
- a. Burut-ung-ni xet tart-iptu  
 mustache-2SG.POSS-ACC letter pull-PST.INDIR.3  
 ‘You’ve become a man.’  
 Literal: ‘Your mustache pulled a letter’
- b. Mahinur burut-ung-ni xet tart-iptu dep oyla-y-du.  
 Mahinur mustache-2SG.POSS-ACC letter pull-PST.INDIR.3 COMP think-NPST-3  
 ‘Mahinur thinks that you’ve become a man.’

- (67) a. ☐ Burut-ung-ni Mahinur xet tart-iptu dep  
 mustache-2SG.POSS-ACC Mahinur letter pull-PST.INDIR.3 COMP  
 oyla-y-du.  
 think-NPST-3  
 ‘Mahinur thinks that you’ve become a man.’
- b. ☐ Mahinur burut-ung-ni u xet tart-iptu dep  
 Mahinur mustache-2SG.POSS-ACC 3SG.NOM letter pull-PST.INDIR.3 COMP  
 oyla-y-du.  
 think-NPST-3  
 ‘Mahinur thinks that you’ve become a man.’

## 4.2 Scrambling Outside of Proleptic Complements

Can proleptic CPs scramble?

- (68) a. Sadiq Aygöl-□(□ni) □(□u) tünügün Roshén-ni kör-d-i dep  
 Sadiq Aygöl-ACC 3SG.NOM yesterday Roshén-ACC see-PST-3 COMP  
 ishin-i-du  
 believe-NPST-3  
 ‘Sadiq believes that Aygöl saw Roshén yesterday.’
- b. Aygöl-□(□ni) □(□u) tünügün Roshén-ni kör-d-i dep Sadiq  
 Aygöl-ACC 3SG.NOM yesterday Roshén-ACC see-PST-3 COMP Sadiq  
 ishin-i-du  
 believe-NPST-3  
 ‘Sadiq believes that Aygöl saw Roshén yesterday.’

Can proleptic DPs scramble?

- (69) □ Aygöl-ni Sadiq u tünügün Roshén-ni kör-d-i dep  
 Aygöl-ACC Sadiq 3SG.NOM yesterday Roshén-ACC see-PST-3 COMP  
 ishin-i-du  
 believe-NPST-3  
 ‘Sadiq believes that Aygöl saw Roshén yesterday.’

Can non-subject arguments in proleptic CPs scramble to the matrix clause?

- (70) □ Roshén-ni Sadiq Aygöl-ni u tünügün kör-d-i dep  
 Roshén-ACC Sadiq Aygöl-ACC 3SG.NOM yesterday see-PST-3 COMP  
 ishin-i-du  
 believe-NPST-3  
 ‘Sadiq believes that Aygöl saw Roshén yesterday.’

Can adjuncts in proleptic CPs scramble to the matrix clause?

- (71) □ Tünügün Sadiq Aygöl-ni u Roshén-ni kör-d-i dep  
 yesterday Sadiq Aygöl-ACC 3SG.NOM Roshén-ACC see-PST-3 COMP  
 ishin-i-du  
 believe-NPST-3  
 ‘Sadiq believes that Aygöl saw Roshén yesterday.’

## 4.3 Proper Binding Condition

Proper Binding Condition in Uyghur

- (72) (Uyghur, elicited)
- a. Abliz [ Roshén Meryem-ning nén-i-ni yé-d-i dep ] oyla-yd-u.  
 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 ]<sub>1</sub> Abliz [ Roshén  $t_1$  yé-d-i dep ]  
 [ Meryem-GEN bread-POSS3-ACC ] Abliz [ Roshén eat-PST-3 COMP ]  
 oyla-yd-u.  
 think-NPST-3  
 ‘Abliz thinks that Roshén ate Meryem’s bread.’
- c. [ Roshén Meryem-ning nén-i-ni yé-d-i dep ]<sub>1</sub> Abliz  $t_1$   
 [ Roshén Meryem-GEN bread-POSS3-ACC eat-PST-3 COMP ] Abliz  
 oyla-yd-u.  
 think-NPST-3  
 ‘Abliz thinks that Roshén ate Meryem’s bread.’
- d. \* [ Roshén  $t_1$  yé-d-i dep ]<sub>2</sub> [ Meryem-ning nén-i-ni ]<sub>1</sub> Abliz  $t_2$   
 [ Roshén eat-PST-3 COMP ] [ Meryem-GEN bread-POSS3-ACC ] Abliz  
 oyla-yd-u.  
 think-NPST-3  
 ‘Abliz thinks that Roshén ate Meryem’s bread.’
- (73) (Uyghur, elicited)
- a. Abliz Roshén-ni Meryem-ning nén-i-ni yé-d-i dep  
 Abliz Roshén-ACC Meryem-GEN bread-POSS3-ACC eat-PST-3 COMP  
 oyla-yd-u  
 think-NPST-3  
 ‘Abliz thinks that Roshén ate Meryem’s bread.’
- b. \* [  $t_1$  Meryem-ning nén-i-ni yé-d-i dep ]<sub>2</sub> Abliz Roshén-ni<sub>1</sub>  $t_2$   
 [ 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.’

Do proleptic constructions allow for seeming PBC violations? This will only work if scrambling of objects can happen outside of proleptic constructions.

- (74) (Uyghur, elicited)
- a.  $\square$  Abliz Roshén-ni u Meryem-ning nén-i-ni yé-d-i  
 Abliz Roshén-ACC 3SG.NOM Meryem-GEN bread-POSS3-ACC eat-PST-3  
 dep oyla-yd-u  
 COMP think-NPST-3  
 ‘Abliz thinks that Roshén ate Meryem’s bread.’
- b.  $\square$  [  $t_1$  u Meryem-ning nén-i-ni yé-d-i dep ]<sub>2</sub> Abliz  
 [ 3SG.NOM Meryem-GEN bread-POSS3-ACC eat-PST-3 COMP ] Abliz  
 Roshén-ni<sub>1</sub>  $t_2$  oyla-yd-u.  
 Roshén-ACC think-NPST-3  
 ‘Abliz thinks that Roshén ate Meryem’s bread.’
- (75) (Uyghur, elicited)
- a.  $\square$  Abliz öz-i-ning a’ili-si-ni (biz) turpan-gha bar-i-miz  
 Abliz self-POSS3-GEN family-POSS3-ACC 1PL.NOM Turpan-DAT go-NPST-1PL  
 dep oyla-y-du.  
 COMP think-NPST-3  
 ‘Abliz thinks that Roshén ate Meryem’s bread.’
- b.  $\square$  [  $t_1$  (biz) turpan-gha bar-i-miz dep ]<sub>2</sub> Abliz [ öz-i-ning  
 [ 1PL.NOM Turpan-DAT go-NPST-1PL COMP ] Abliz [ self-POSS3-GEN  
 a’ili-si-ni ]<sub>1</sub>  $t_2$  oyla-y-du.  
 family-POSS3-ACC ] think-NPST-3  
 ‘Abliz thinks that Roshén ate Meryem’s bread.’

## 5 Diagnostic Set IV: Location of Prolepsis

### 5.1 Coordinating Proleptic and Non-Proleptic Clauses

Accusative subject and nominative subject constructions cannot be coordinated. Scrambling can only happen to one of the accusative subjects.

- (76) a. Herbir oqughuchi Aygül-ni ket-t-i (dep) we Ahmet-ni kel-d-i  
 Each student Aygül-ACC leave-PST-3 COMP and Ahmet-ACC come-PST-3  
 dep bil-i-du.  
 COMP know-NPST-3  
 ‘Each student believes that Aygül left and Ahmet came.’
- b. Aygül-ni herbir oqughuchi ket-t-i dep we Ahmet-ni kel-d-i  
 Aygül-ACC each student leave-PST-3 COMP and Ahmet-ACC come-PST-3  
 dep bil-i-du.  
 COMP know-NPST-3  
 ‘Each student believes that Aygül left and Ahmet came.’
- c. \*\* Aygül-ni Ahmet-ni herbir oqughuchi ket-t-i dep we kel-d-i  
 Aygül-ACC Ahmet-ACC each student leave-PST-3 COMP and come-PST-3

- dep bil-i-du.  
 COMP know-NPST-3  
 Intended: ‘Each student believes that Aygöl left and Ahmet came.’  
 Consultant comment: *laughing*: No, this one is messed up.
- d. \* Herbir oqughuchi Aygöl-ni ket-t-i dep we Ahmet kel-d-i dep  
 each student Aygöl-ACC leave-PST-3 COMP and Ahmet come-PST-3 COMP  
 bil-i-du.  
 know-NPST-3  
 Intended: ‘Each student believes that Aygöl left and Ahmet came.’  
 Consultant comment: This needs to be symmetrical

Can proleptic and non-proleptic clauses be coordinated?

- (77) a. ☐ Herbir oqughuchi Aygöl-ni u ket-t-i dep we Ahmet-ni  
 each student Aygöl-ACC 3SG.NOM leave-PST-3 COMP and Ahmet-ACC  
 u kel-d-i dep bil-i-du.  
 3SG.NOM come-PST-3 COMP know-NPST-3  
 ‘Each student believes that Aygöl left and Ahmet came.’
- b. ☐ Herbir oqughuchi Aygöl-ni u ket-t-i dep we Ahmet  
 each student Aygöl-ACC 3SG.NOM leave-PST-3 COMP and Ahmet  
 kel-d-i dep bil-i-du.  
 come-PST-3 COMP know-NPST-3  
 ‘Each student believes that Aygöl left and Ahmet came.’
- c. ☐ Herbir oqughuchi Aygöl-ni u ket-t-i dep we Ahmet-ni  
 each student Aygöl-ACC 3SG.NOM leave-PST-3 COMP and Ahmet-ACC  
 kel-d-i dep bil-i-du.  
 come-PST-3 COMP know-NPST-3  
 ‘Each student believes that Aygöl left and Ahmet came.’

## 5.2 Co-occurrence of Shundaq and Prolepsis

Major (2021) suggests that the word *shundaq* “so” takes the position of object of attitude predicates, and can represent various *dep* clauses.

(78) (Major 2021:12 ex 17)

- a. Herbir oqughuchi shundaq oyla-y-du.  
 Each student so think-NPST-3  
 ‘Each student thinks so.’
- b. Herbir oqughuchi [ Aygöl-ni ket-t-i dep ] we [ Ahmet-ni  
 Each student [ Aygöl-ACC leave-PST-3 COMP ] and [ Ahmet-ACC  
 kel-d-i dep ] shundaq oyla-y-du.  
 come-PST-3 COMP ] so think-NPST-3  
 ‘Each student thinks it so<sub>i+j</sub> that [Aygöl left]<sub>i</sub> and [Ahmet came]<sub>j</sub>.’

Can proleptic DPs and Shundaq co-occur?

- (79) a.  $\square$  Herbir oqughuchi özi-ni Roshén-ning polu-si-ni ye-d-i  
 each student self-POSS3-ACC Roshén-GEN pilaf-POSS3-ACC eat-PST-3  
 dep shundaq oyla-y-du.  
 COMP so think-NPST-3  
 ‘Each student thinks it so that Aygöl ate Roshén’s pilaf.’
- b.  $\square$  Herbir oqughuchi men Roshén-ning polu-si-ni ye-d-im  
 each student 1SG.NOM Roshén-GEN pilaf-POSS3-ACC eat-PST-1SG  
 dep shundaq oyla-y-du.  
 COMP so think-NPST-3  
 ‘Each student thinks it so that Aygöl ate Roshén’s pilaf.’
- c.  $\square$  Herbir oqughuchi öz-i-ni (men) Roshén-ning polu-si-ni  
 each student self-POSS3-ACC 1SG.NOM pilaf-POSS3-ACC eat-PST-1SG  
 ye-d-im dep shundaq oyla-y-du.  
 COMP so think-NPST-3  
 ‘Each student thinks it so that Aygöl ate Roshén’s pilaf.’

### 5.3 Covert Subject in SpecVoiceP of dep

SpecVoiceP determines the agent of the ConverbP, but in *dep* it seems it is always silent.

(80) (Major Under Review:7 ex 23b)

Biz bu musabiqi-de [ Tursun=(la) aldamchiliq qil-ip ] ut-t-uq.  
 1PL.NOM this game-LOC [ Tursun=only cheating do-CVB ] win-PST-1PL  
 ‘We won this game by Tursun cheating.’

Can we do a similar thing with *dep*?

- (81) a. Biz Tursun men charchi-d-im dep ket-t-uq  
 1SG.NOM Tursun 1SG.NOM become.tired-PST-1SG COMP leave-PST-1PL  
 ‘We left, Tursun saying he was tired.’
- b. Biz Tursun öz-i-ni charchi-d-i dep ket-t-uq  
 1SG.NOM Tursun self-POSS3-ACC become.tired-PST-3SG COMP leave-PST-1PL  
 ‘We left, Tursun saying he was tired.’
- c. Biz Tursun öz-i-ni (men) charchi-d-im dep  
 1SG.NOM Tursun self-POSS3-ACC 1SG.NOM become.tired-PST-1SG COMP  
 ket-t-uq  
 leave-PST-1PL  
 ‘We left, Tursun saying he was tired.’

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