Narrow Scoping Content Question Items in Shifty Contexts: A Case of Surprising Non-Quotation in Uyghur

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January 7, 2022

Background

Common diagnostic of Indexical Shift (IS): scope of content question items (wh-items, CQI)

Wide scope interpretation of CQIs $\Rightarrow$ indexical shift.

Narrow scope interpretation of CQIs $\Rightarrow$ quotations.

This diagnostic has been used to distinguish quotation from non-quotational shifty sentences in Uyghur (Turkic), a language with mandatory indexical shift of first and second person pronouns in embedded finite clauses (Sudo 2010; Shklovsky and Sudo 2014).

Goals

I show novel data collected with a Uyghur speaker in the United States that shows:

(1) a. Typical Partial Null Subject (PNS) patterns except for embedded subjects: drop without antecedent.
b. Non-quotational narrow scope reading of content question items (CQI) in places where wide scope is expected to be mandatory
c. Circumstances with narrow scope CQIs do not allow subject drop without antecedent.

I will argue the following:

(2) a. In Uyghur C^0 without a ForceP projection licenses third person subject drop: (1a)
b. Uyghur allows ForceP embedding: (1b) and (1c)

Roadmap

(3)
a. Analysis of Uyghur as a Partial Null Subject (PNS) language
b. A Breakdown of the CQI Scope Diagnostic
c. Interaction of CQI scope and Null Subjects
d. Proposal: Embedded ForcePs
e. Implications and Conclusion

Uyghur as a Partial Null Subject Language

Properties of PNS languages (Holmberg 2005; Holmberg et al. 2009; Holmberg and Sheehan 2010).

(4) Subjects cannot be dropped unless:

a. They have a generic interpretation (dropping becomes mandatory)

b. They are controlled by an antecedent in a higher clause (dropping becomes optional)

c. For some languages: first and second person pronouns may drop

Uyghur as a Partial Null Subject Language

Uyghur allows first and second person dropping.

(5) (Men) tort-ni yé-d-üm?
1SG.NOM cake-ACC eat-PST-1
'I ate cake'

(6) (Sen) kim-ni kör-d-üng ?
2SG.NOM who-ACC see-PST-2
'Who did you see?'

Even with discourse referent, third person matrix subjects cannot drop.

(7) Tursun tünügün bazar-gha bar-d-i. *(U) kim-ni
Tursun yesterday store-DAT go-PST-3 3SG.NOM who-ACC
kör-d-i?
see-PST-3
'Yesterday, Tursun went to the market. Who did he see?'

Uyghur as a Partial Null Subject Language

Third person dropping is mandatory when the subject has a generic reading (8).

(8) Yaponiye-de (*ular) Yaponche sözle-y-du.
Japan-LOC 3PL.NOM Japanese speak-PRES-3
'They (generic) speak Japanese in Japan.'

Third person subjects controlled by an antecedent in a higher clause may drop (9).

(9) Ayishe xoshal i-d-i, chünki (u) nahayiti köp
Ayishe happy COP-PST-3 because 3SG.NOM many lot
sowghat tapshur-up al-d-i.
gift submit-CVB take-PST-3
'Ayishe$_i$ was happy because she$_i$ received many gifts.'

Uyghur as a Partial Null Subject Language

Given all of the above, it seems that Uyghur is a PNS language.

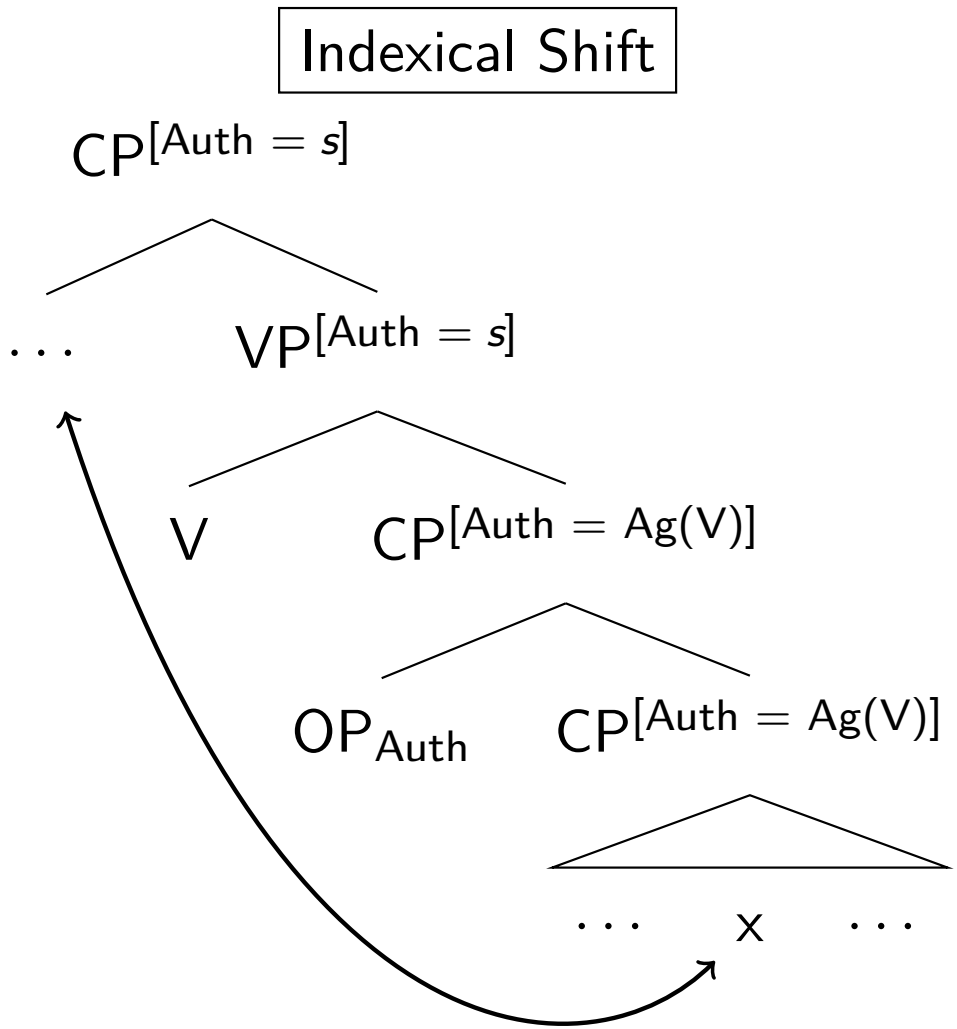
One major difference for Uyghur:

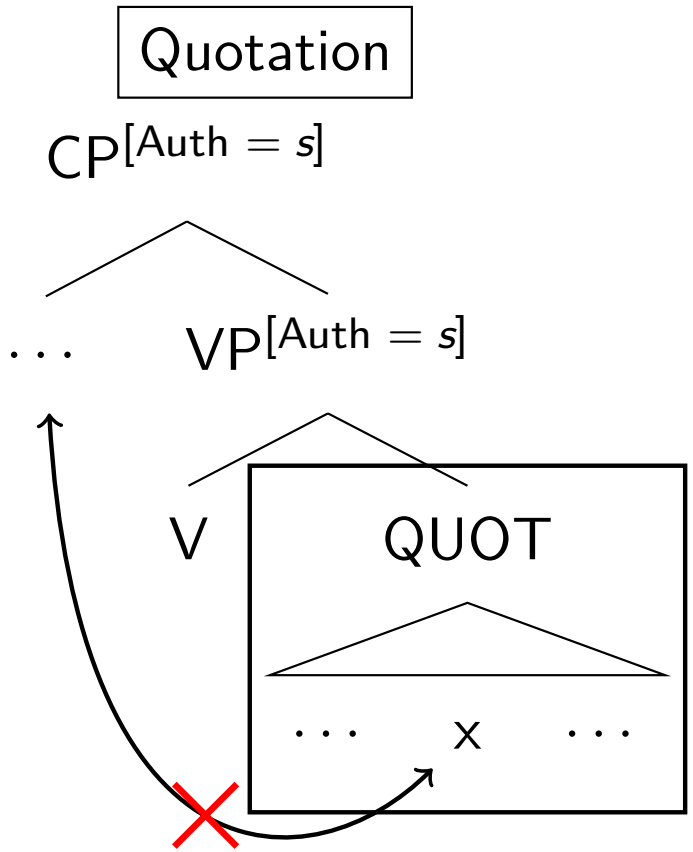
Third person subjects of complement clauses can drop, even when not coreferent with the matrix subject (10).

(10) Tursun (u) kim-ni kör-d-i dé-d-i?
Tursun 3SG.NOM who-ACC see-PST-3 say-PST-3
'Who did Tursun$_i$ say she$_j$ saw?'

Why the CQI Scope Diagnostic Matters

Shifty Operator approach to IS (Anand and Nevins 2004; Deal 2020).





Why the CQI Scope Diagnostic Matters

Opacity of Quotation only implies a one way relationship:

(11) Diagnostic: Quotation $\Rightarrow$ Narrow Scope CQI.

Converse is not necessarily true!

Narrow scoping CQI can be licensed in non-quotational contexts cross-linguistically: if matrix predicate takes an interrogative complement.

(12) a. I know [who went to the store]. (Extensional/Responsive)
b. I wonder [who went to the store]. (Intensional/Rogative)

Quotational interpretations act more like intensional complements.

(13) a. I said [who went to the store]. (Extensional/Responsive)
b. I said, "who went to the store?" (Quotational, Intensional)

Why the CQI Scope Diagnostic Matters

The 'true' diagnostic cannot definitively tell us if something is quotational.

So, given where narrow scope is licensed, implicit assumption about quotation:

(14) Narrow Scope CQI ⇒ Quotation iff:

a. Embedding predicate does not license an interrogative complement (anti-rogative), OR

b. Embedding predicate typically licenses an interrogative complement with extensional interpretation, but the complement has an intensional interpretation.

(15) a. ✓ John thought "who went to the store?"
✗ John thought who went to the store.

b. ✓ John said (=asked) "who went to the store?"
✗ John said (=asked) who went to the store.

Null Subjects and CQI Scope

Embedded clauses with overt third person subjects allow both narrow- and wide-scope interpretation of CQIs (true of 'think' and 'believe' verbs too).

(16) 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$_i$ say she$_j$ saw?' (Wide Scope)
b. ✓'Tursun$_i$ said, 'Who did she$_j$ see?'' (Narrow Scope)

With null third person subject, only wide scope CQI is allowed.

(17) Tursun kim-ni kör-d-i dé-d-i
Tursun who-ACC see-PST-3 say-PST-3

a. ✓'Who did Tursun$_i$ say she$_j$ saw?' (Wide Scope)
b. ✗'Tursun$_i$ said, 'Who did she$_j$ see?'' (Narrow Scope)

Follows assumption: null third person → non-quotational → wide-scope.

Null Subjects and CQI Scope

In Uyghur, accusative subjects are disallowed in matrix contexts (18) but permissible in finite complement clauses (19).

(18) *Uni kim-ni kör-d-i?
3SG.ACC who-ACC see-PST-3
Intended: 'Who did she see?'

Shklovsky and Sudo (2014): accusative subjects derive from subject-to-SpecCP movement (above shifty operators).

(19) 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$_i$ say she$_j$ saw?' (Wide Scope)
b. ✓'Tursun$_i$ said, 'Who did she$_j$ see?'' (Narrow Scope)

But wait: If narrow CQI scope in this context implies quotation, then how can we get an accusative subject? $\Rightarrow\!\!\not\Leftarrow$

Force Embedding: Spanish *que* and Force

Etxepare (2010): Spanish embeds ForceP, marked with *que*; adds interrogative force without quotation.

(20) a. Juan tartamudeó **que** con quién se había peleado Luis
Juan stuttered QUE with whom he had fought Luis.
'Juan stuttered: with whom had Luis fought?'

b. *Juan tartamudeó con quién se había peleado Luis.
Juan stuttered with whom he had fought Luis.
[mod. Suñer 1993:64]

(21) a. Juan dijo [**que** quién venía].
Juan said QUE who come-PST
'Juan said: who was coming?'

b. Juan dijo [quién venía].
Juan said who come-PST
'Juan said who was coming.' [mod. Etxepare 2010:618]

Proposal

Like Spanish, Uyghur also allows embedded ForceP.

Matrix questions and intensional complements contain items with a $[i\textsc{Int}]$ feature, distinct from the $[\textsc{wh}]$ feature (Suñer 1993).

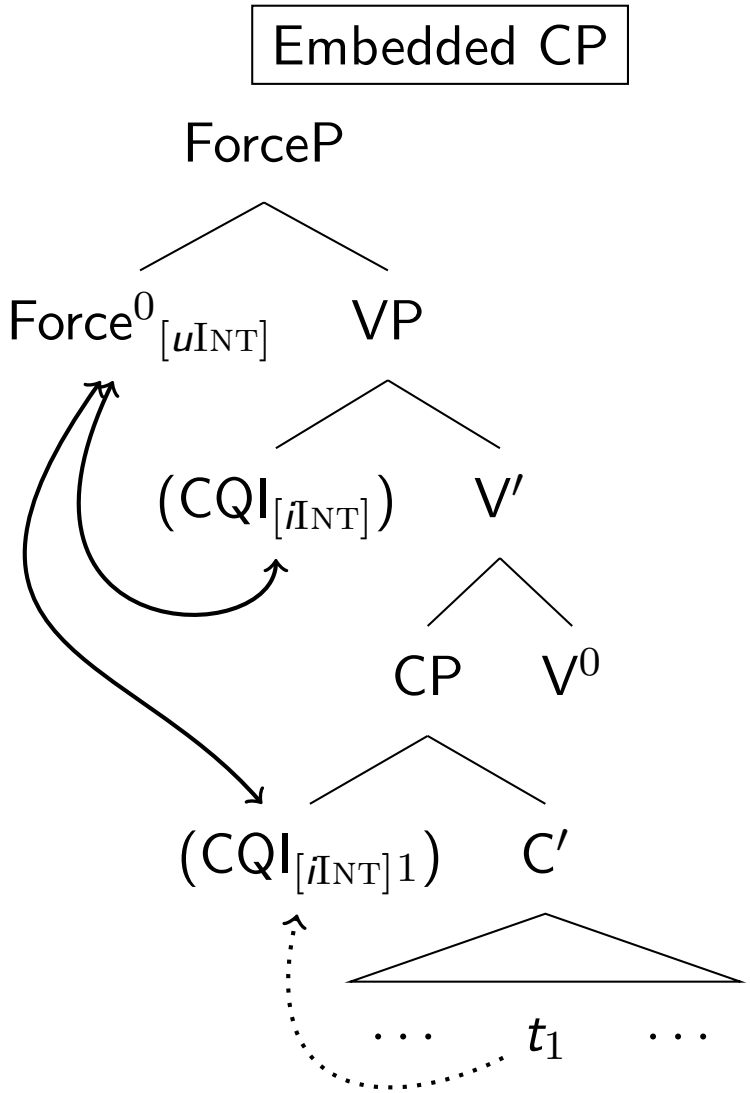
Interrogative Force^{0}s contain an $[u\textsc{Int}]$ feature.

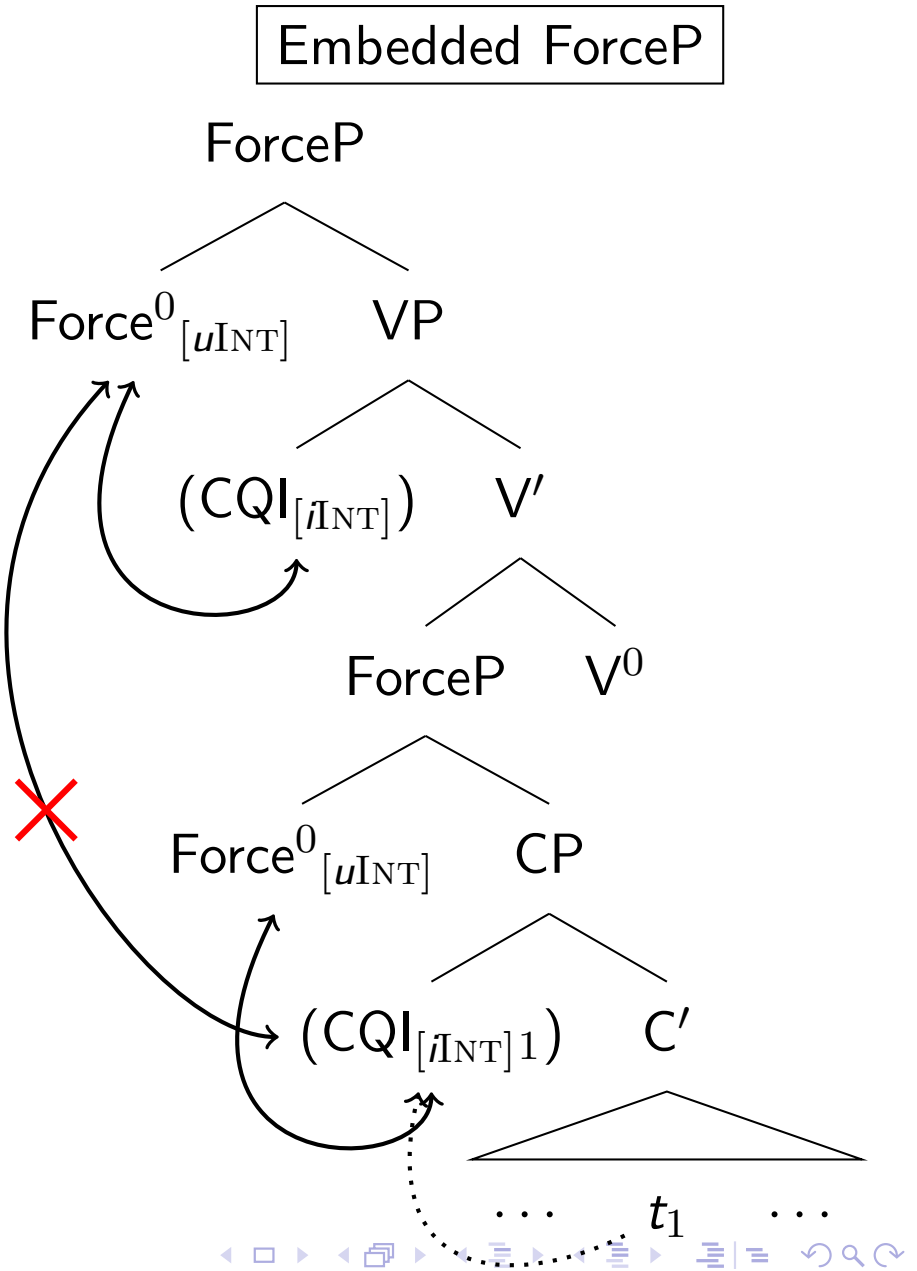
LF movement of featured CQIs allows semantic interpretation, but also allows feature checking.

The domain within which a Force^0 can probe for $[i\textsc{Int}]$ features is the ForceP.

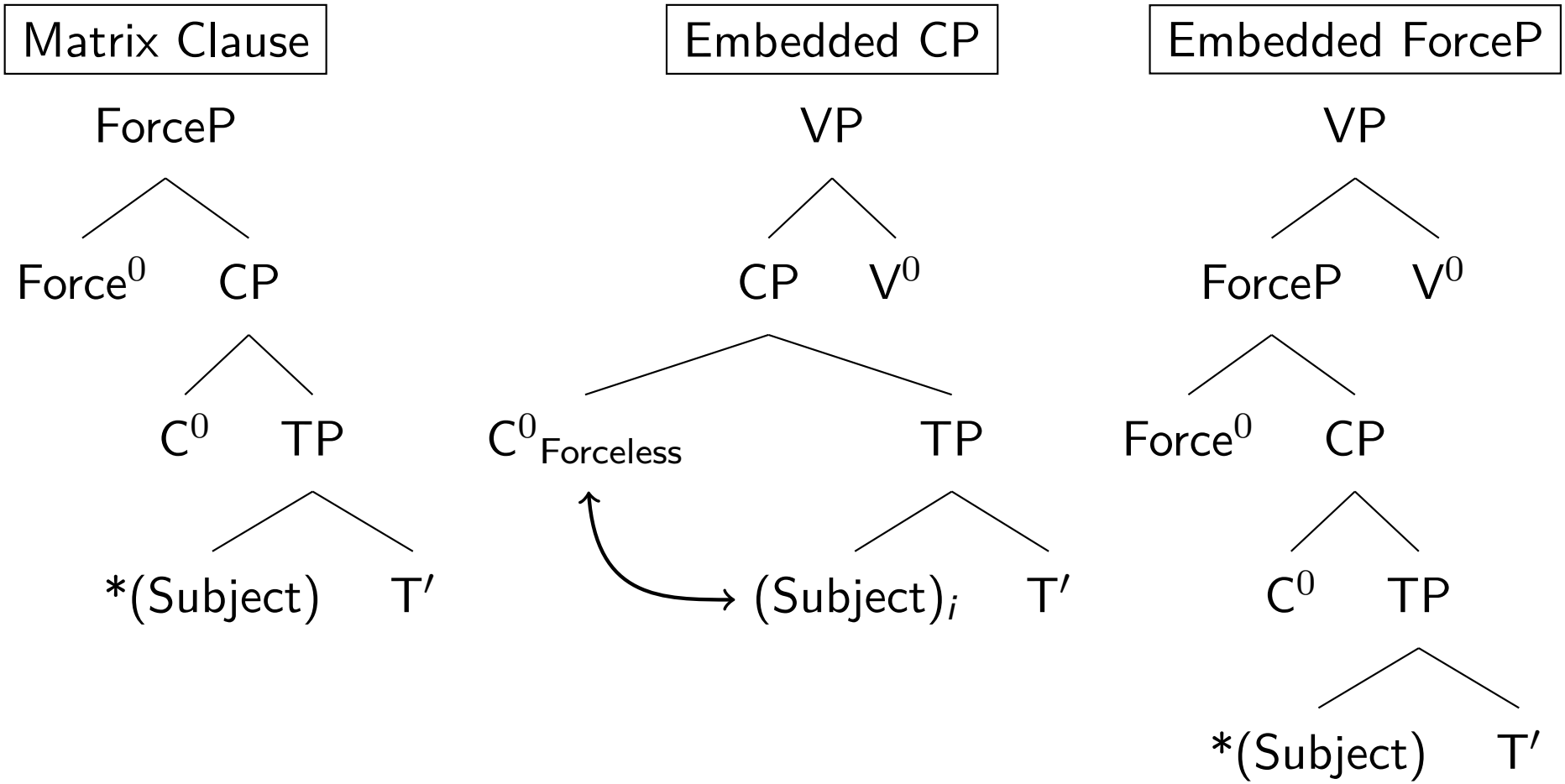
C^0 which do not have a ForceP projection may license null subjects.

Force^0's Interrogative Probe





Force^0's Null Subject Blocking



Analysis

(16) 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$_i$ say she$_j$ saw?' (Embedded CP)
b. ✓'Tursun$_i$ said, 'Who did she$_j$ see?'' (Embedded ForceP)

(17) cannot have embedded ForceP (narrow scope) and null third person subject.

(17) Tursun kim-ni kör-d-i dé-d-i
Tursun who-ACC see-PST-3 say-PST-3

a. ✓'Who did Tursun$_i$ say she$_j$ saw?' (Embedded CP)
b. ✗'Tursun$_i$ said, 'Who did she$_j$ see?'' (Embedded ForceP)

Analysis

(19) 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$_i$ say she$_j$ saw?' (Embedded CP)
b. ✓'Tursun$_i$ said, 'Who did she$_j$ see?'' (Embedded ForceP)

ForceP blocks CQI movement but not other A′ movement.

Embedded ForceP: subject moves to SpecCP, spelled out with accusative case, CQI stuck in embedded ForceP, gets narrow interpretation.

What about Prolepsis?

Major (2021): Uyghur accusative subjects derive from raising or prolepsis:

Proleptic DP generated in matrix, with embedded resumptive pronoun.

(22) 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 say (of her that) she saw?'
b. ✓'Tursun$_i$ said (of her$_j$): who did she$_j$ see.'

Etxepare (2010): embedded ForcePs form a small clause with a (possibly null) DP which can be C-selected by predicate

(23) [$_{SC}$ DP$_i$ (*que*) [$_{RelP}$ [ForceP] Rel^0 t_i]]

Proposal: Uyghur prolepsis position is the DP in this small clause: only occurs for ForcePs, forcing narrow scope.

Conclusion

Uyghur is a PNS language with a strange twist.

Uyghur allows for the embedding of ForceP (similar to Spanish)

We need to be careful with how we use our CQI scope diagnostic.

Rather than quotation being the arbiter of opacity: perhaps left periphery has varying places where various phenomenon become opaque.

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How do we Derive Null Licensing?

Following Holmberg et al. (2009)

(24) Generic subjects mandatorily unpronounced.

a. Finite T^0 only has case and ϕ features.

b. Deficient (generic) pronouns have only case and ϕ features.

c. $\Rightarrow$ Generic subjects featurally equivalent to T^0 after AGREE.

(25) Embedded subjects can delete if they have a coreferent antecedent: Strong (referential) pronouns are must have a $[i\mathrm{D}]$ feature.

a. Option 1: Generated with $[i\mathrm{D}]$: cannot be null.

b. Option 2: Get $[i\mathrm{D}]$ through A-topic chain: null.
$[_{\mathrm{VP}}$ Subj$_i$ $[_{\mathrm{CP}}$ A-Topic$_i$ $[_{\mathrm{TP}}$ ~~Pronoun~~$_i$ ...]]]

c. Option 3: Undergo movement to some higher position.

How do we Derive Null Licensing?

Rather than a forceless C^0 licensing a null subject directly, they license a null non-controlled A-topic in their specifier: this allows drop