

Island Sensitivity and Case Matching in Uyghur Pseudo-Prolepsis

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Introduction: This paper investigates so-called ‘proleptic’ constructions in Uyghur. I provide novel data from a native speaker consultant in the United States which suggests that these constructions are sensitive to islands and involve a case matching configuration, in which the proleptic objects match in case with their coreferent resumptive pronoun in certain configurations. I argue that this phenomenon can be explained through a modification of the proleptic accounts in Salzmann (2017) (A) and Lohninger et al. (2022) (B), in which the contextual binding relation enforced by an operator in the left periphery of proleptic CPs in argued for in (A) is replaced in Uyghur with a syntactic binding relation induced by an agreement relation between the complementizer and the ‘resumptive’ pronoun in the embedded clause, which enforces island constraints and mediates the aforementioned case matching process. I call such island sensitive instances of ‘prolepsis’ Pseudo-Prolepsis. This account expands the typology of cross-clausal A-dependencies discussed in (B) and provides evidence for the claim that cross-clausal A-dependencies arise due to predication relationships in the left periphery of a clause, while expanding the notion of what may cause such predication relationships.

Background: A major point of interest in Uyghur is the distinction between typical finite embedding and raising constructions. In typical finite embedding, subjects have nominative case, indexical shift of overt first and second person pronouns is mandatory, and verbs agree in person and number with their subjects (1a). In raising constructions, subjects have accusative case, indexical shift in overt pronouns is banned, and verbs have default (third person) agreement (1b).

- (1) a. *Ahmet men Reyhan-ni kör-d-üm dep ishin-i-du.*
Ahmet 1SG.NOM Reyhan-ACC see-PST-1SG COMP believe-NPST-3
‘Ahmet_i believes that he_{i/*auth} saw Reyhan.’
b. *Ahmet méni Reyhan-ni kör-d-i dep ishin-i-du.*
Ahmet 1SG.ACC Reyhan-ACC see-PST-3 COMP believe-NPST-3
‘Ahmet_i believes that I_{auth/*i} saw Reyhan.’

Shklovsky and Sudo (2014), Major (2021), and Rabinovitch (2022) note that Uyghur also has a proleptic construction, containing both an accusative proleptic object and a nominative resumptive pronoun. The proleptic object is unshifted but the nominative resumptive subject (and the entire embedded clause) is shifted and has subject agreement (2); note that the utterance author is shifted to third person (2b).

- (2) a. *Tursun öz-i-ni men Muhemmet-ni kör-d-üm dep ishin-i-du.*
Tursun self-POSS3-ACC 1SG.NOM Muhemmet-ACC see-PST-1SG COMP believe-NPST-3
‘Tursun_i believes (of himself_i) that he_{i/*auth} saw Muhemmet.’
b. *Tursun méni u Muhemmet-ni kör-d-i dep ishin-i-du.*
Tursun 1SG.ACC 3SG.NOM Muhemmet-ACC see-PST-3 COMP believe-NPST-3
‘Tursun_i believes (of me_{auth/*i}) that I_{auth/*i} saw Muhemmet.’

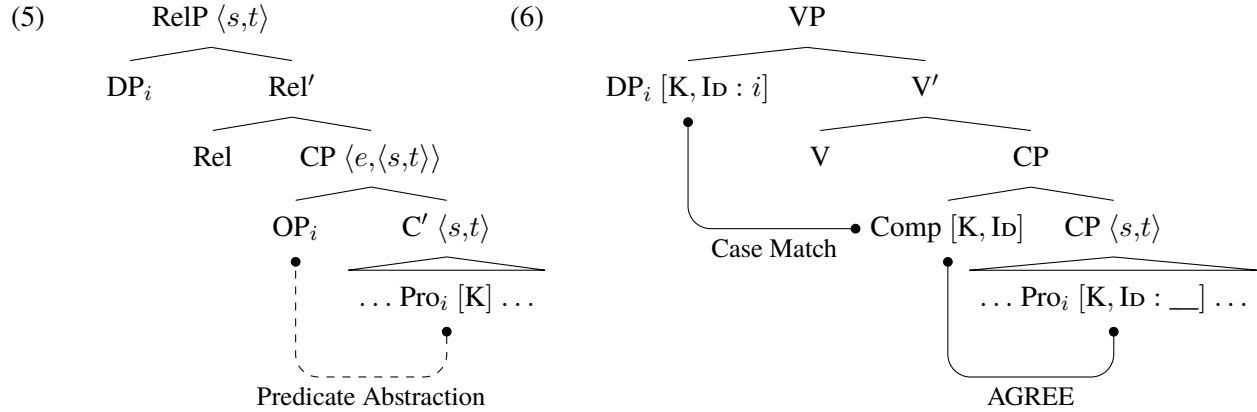
Novel Data: The proleptic object in Uyghur proleptic constructions can be coreferent not only with an embedded subject, but an embedded direct object (3a) or indirect object (3b).

- (3) a. *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 (of Aygül_i) that Ghéni kissed her_i.’
b. *Roshén Aygül-{ge/*ni} Ghéni uningha 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.’

Proleptic objects are marked accusative when the resumptive pronoun is assigned nominative (2) or accusative (3a) case, but is marked dative when the resumptive pronoun is assigned dative (3b). The proleptic object, however, cannot refer to an item within an island, such as the possessor of the subject (4).

- (4) * *Reyhan Abliz-{ni/ning} [(uning) singli-si] Turpan-gha bar-d-i dep ishin-i-du.*
Reyhan Abliz-ACC/GEN [3SG.GEN sister-POSS3] Turpan-DAT go-PST-3 COMP believe-NPST-3
Intended: ‘Reyhan believes of Abliz_i that his_i sister went to Turpan.’

Analysis: (A) and (B) analyze prolepsis as mediated via an empty operator in SpecCP of an embedded clause, which causes non-movement predicate abstraction over the resumptive pronoun (5). Such an analysis allows prolepsis to target syntactic objects within islands but severs any movement or agreement relationship between the proleptic object and the resumptive pronoun. I propose that Uyghur utilizes an agreement relationship between C and resumptive pronoun to mediate predicate abstraction (6), similar to that proposed for Gaelic in Adger and Ramchand (2005). This agreement probe, which targets DPs without referential ID features, is sensitive to islands and thus disallows (4), deriving the distinction between true prolepsis and Pseudo-Prolepsis discussed in this paper. The agreement relation carries with it case features which percolate up into the proleptic object, resulting in the case matching seen in (3b).



I follow Major (2021) in assuming that the accusative case of subjects in raising constructions (1b) is licensed through the complementizer *dep* rather than the matrix predicate. In such a case, *dep* may also license accusative case in proleptic objects; I assume that the proleptic object has case stacking, in which only the most marked case is pronounced (7); when the resumptive pronoun is nominative, the more marked accusative case licensed from *dep* surfaces (2); when the resumptive pronoun is dative (3b), it surfaces as dative rather than the relatively less marked accusative.

	Resumptive Case Feature:	Nominative	Accusative	Dative
(7)	<i>dep</i> -licensed Feature:	Accusative	Accusative	Accusative
	Surface Case on Proleptic Object:	Accusative	Accusative	Dative

Implications: I argue that Pseudo-Prolepsis neatly expands (B)’s typology of cross-clausal A-dependencies in a predictable way, adding an additional dimension of variation in the strategy employed to induce predicate abstraction required for the predication relationship at the heart of cross-clausal A-dependencies. I further discuss diagnostics to distinguish prolepsis and pseudo-prolepsis and how they may be tested on similar constructions in other languages.

Bibliography

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