

Island Sensitivity and Case Matching in Uyghur Pseudo-Prolepsis

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Introduction (1/3)

Lohninger et al. (2022): Cross Clausal A-Dependencies (CCADs) come in two flavors: (1) the matrix object moves from the embedded clause (hyperraising), or (2) the matrix object is base generated in either the matrix clause or SpecCP + Mandatory binding relationship (high-topic, prolepsis).

(1) Hyperraising (Movement)

$$[_{VP} V [_{\text{Hyperraised Object}}]_1 [_{C'} \dots t_1 \dots]]$$

(2) Prolepsis (Base Generation)

$$[_{VP} V [_{\text{Proleptic Object (PO)}}]_i [_{C'} \dots [_{\text{Resumptive (RES)}}]_i \dots]]$$

Introduction (2/3)

This presentation discusses a construction in Uyghur (3), where a matrix object binds an argument within an embedded CP.

- (3) Tursun **Aygül-ni**_i [**u**_i polu-ni yé-d-i dep]
Tursun Aygül-ACC [3SG.NOM pilaf-ACC eat-PST-3 COMP]
oyla-y-du.
think-NPST-3
'Tursun thinks of Aygül_i that she_i ate the pilaf.'

Shklovsky and Sudo (2014); Major (2021b) a.o.: constructions like (3) are prolepsis.

I will show that these constructions fit neither into prolepsis or movement, and suggest a third category of dependency, dubbed pseudo-prolepsis.

Introduction (3/3)

What is at stake? Current popular theories regarding binding in movement (copy-trace and predicate abstraction) and prolepsis (base generated null operator) cannot easily account for the generalizations of Uyghur pseudo-prolepsis.

Our theory must then either (1) modify accounts of hyperraising such that pseudo-prolepsis may be a form of hyperraising, (2) modify accounts of prolepsis such that pseudo-prolepsis may be a form of prolepsis, or (3) define a new form of CCAD.

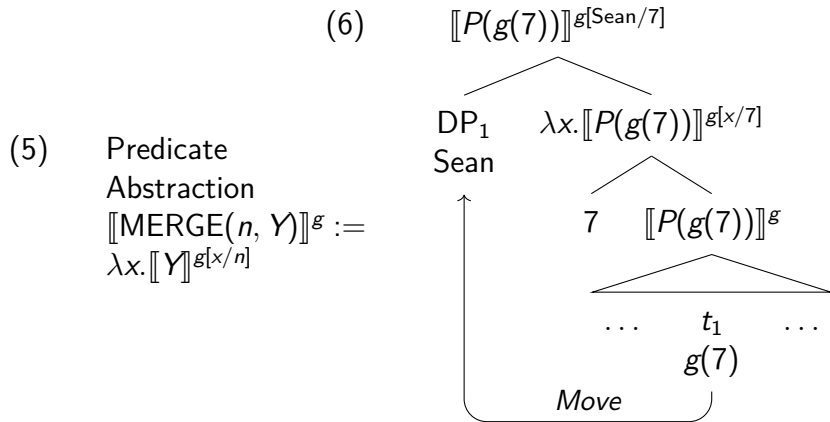
I will briefly explore these options, and tentatively provide an answer using option (3).

Roadmap

- (4)
 - a. Discuss theories of binding under hyperraising and prolepsis and their consequences.
 - b. Introduce Uyghur pseudo-prolepsis: case matching, island sensitivity, and PO-RES DP mismatches.
 - c. Possible solutions; pseudo-prolepsis is 'Binding-by-Agree'.
 - d. How we can 'semantically save' Binding-by-Agree.

Movement and Prolepsis (1/4)

Movement causes the index of a trace to be inserted into the syntax below the landing site. Predicate abstraction ensures binding.



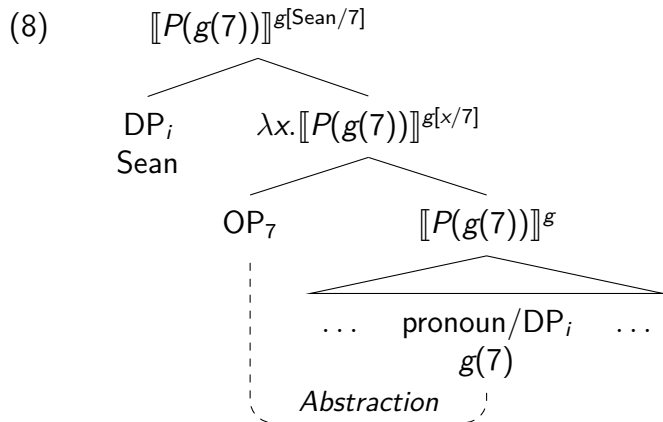
Movement and Prolepsis (2/4)

(7) Movement

- a. Insertion of index during movement (✓ uncontroversial)
- b. Movement is Island Sensitive
- c. Copy-Trace:
 - (i) Lower form is a trace: ✓ unpronounced, (language specifically) spelled out as pronoun, ✗ full unique DP
 - (ii) Higher form comes from below: can have features it gained before movement (agreement, case licensing, etc.)

Movement and Prolepsis (3/4)

Prolepsis: empty operator is generated high in CP, represents an index, inserted via some prolepsis-specific (syncategorematic) process (Salzmann 2017; Deal 2018; Lohninger et al. 2022).



Movement and Prolepsis (4/4)

(9) Prolepsis

- a. Prolepsis specific insertion of index for predicate abstraction (?? stipulative)
- b. No Movement, so not Island Sensitive
- c. Two unique syntactic objects:
 - (i) Lower form is unique syntactic object: (language specifically) dropped, ✓ spelled out as pronoun, ✓ full unique DP (if it can be bound, e.g. epithets)
 - (ii) Higher form has no syntactic relationship to lower form: they must corefer, but no features can percolate upwards.

Uyghur Pseudo-Prolepsis (1/8)

Uyghur attitude verbs can license various cases on objects.

- (10) a. Tursun Aygöl- $\{\text{ni}/\text{*ge}/\text{*din}\}$ bil-i-du.
Tursun Aygöl- $\{\text{ACC}/\text{DAT}/\text{DIN}\}$ know-NPST-3
'Tursun knows Aygöl.'
- b. Tursun Aygöl- $\{\text{*ni}/\text{ge}/\text{*din}\}$ ishin-i-du.
Tursun Aygöl- $\{\text{ACC}/\text{DAT}/\text{ABL}\}$ believe-NPST-3
'Tursun trusts/believes Aygöl.'
- c. Tursun Aygöl- $\{\text{*ni}/\text{*ge}/\text{din}\}$ qorq-i-du.
Tursun Aygöl- $\{\text{ACC}/\text{DAT}/\text{ABL}\}$ fear-NPST-3
'Tursun fears Aygöl.'

Uyghur Pseudo-Prolepsis (2/8)

Uyghur POs take accusative case, interpreted as aboutness topics.

- (11) a. Roshen **Aygül**-{**ni**/***ge**/***din**}_i [**u**_i
Roshen Aygül-{ACC/DAT/ABL} [3SG.NOM
polu-ni yé-d-i dep] qorq-i-du.
pilaf-ACC eat-PST-3 COMP] fear-NPST-3
'Roshen fears about Aygül_i that she_i ate the pilaf.'
- b. Roshen **Aygül**-{**ni**/***ge**/***din**}_i [Ghéni **uni**_i
Roshen Aygül-{ACC/DAT/ABL} [Ghéni 3SG.ACC
soy-d-i dep] qorq-i-du.
kiss-PST-3 COMP] fear-NPST-3
'Roshen fears about Aygül_i that Ghéni kissed her_i.'

Perhaps result of accusative licensing from *dep* (Major 2021b,a), which is derived from the accusative licensing verb *de* "to say".

Uyghur Pseudo-Prolepsis (3/8)

Pseudo-prolepsis should not be confused with constructions in which a theme object and CP co-occur.

- (12) Roshen Aygöl-{*ni/*ge/din} [Ghéni uni
Roshen Aygöl-{ACC/DAT/ABL} [Ghéni 3SG.ACC
soy-d-i dep] qorq-i-du.
kiss-PST-3 COMP] fear-NPST-3
'Roshen fears Aygöl_i (because/that) Ghéni kissed her_i.'

(13)	Matrix Object	Theme + CP	Pseudo-prolepsis
	Case:	verb licensed case	accusative*
	Interpretation:	theme	aboutness topic

Uyghur Pseudo-Prolepsis (4/8)

If the RES is dative, however, the PO must also be dative.

- (14) Roshen **Aygül**-{*ni/ge/*din}_i [Ghéni **uninggha**_i
Roshen Aygül-{ACC/DAT/ABL} [Ghéni 3SG.DAT
gül ber-d-i dep] qorq-i-du.
flower give-PST-3 COMP] fear-NPST-3
'Roshen fears about Aygül_i that Ghéni gave her_i a flower.'

Higher position gains features licensed to lower position
(✓ Movement, ✗ Prolepsis)!

Uyghur Pseudo-Prolepsis (5/8)

This construction is also restricted to arguments of the embedded predicate, and cannot occur with NPs within complex NP islands, coordinating islands, possessors, etc..

- (15) * Reyhan Abliz-**{ni/ge/din}**_i [her bir bala [**uni**_i
Reyhan Abliz-**{ACC/DAT/ABL}** [every child [3SG.ACC
kör-gen ayal-ni] yaxshi kör-i-du dep] qorq-i-du.
see-PFV girl-ACC] good see-NPST-3 COMP] fear-NPST-3
Intended: 'Reyhan fears of Abliz_i that every child likes the
woman who saw him_i'

Sensitive to islands (✓ Movement, ✗ Prolepsis)!

Uyghur Pseudo-Prolepsis (6/8)

These facts hold even if we switch out pronouns for full NPs.

- (16) Muhemmet **Aygül-ni**_i [Ghéni [**u** **güzel**
Muhemmet Aygül-ACC [Ghéni [DEM.DIST beautiful
ayal-ni]_i yaxshi kör-i-du dep] qorq-i-du.
girl-ACC] good see-NPST-3 COMP] fear-NPST-3
'Muhemmet fears of Aygül_i; that Ghéni likes [that beautiful
girl]_i.'
- (17) * Reyhan **Abliz-ni**_i [her bir bala [[**u** **er-ni**]_i
Reyhan Abliz-ACC [every child [[DEM.DIST man-ACC]
kör-gen ayal-ni] yaxshi kör-i-du dep] qorq-i-du.
see-PFV girl-ACC] good see-NPST-3 COMP] fear-NPST-3
'Reyhan fears of Abliz_i; that every child loves the woman who
saw [that man]_i.'

Uyghur Pseudo-Prolepsis (7/8)

Person features often mismatch because of indexical shift. Here the first person PO binds a third person (shifted) RES.

- (18) Tursun **méni_i** [**u_i** kim-ni kör-d-i dep]
Tursun 1SG.ACC [3SG.NOM who-ACC see-PST-3 COMP]
ishin-i-du?

believe-NPST-3

Literally: 'Who does Tursun believe of me_i that he_i saw t_1 ?'

'Who₁ does Tursun believe that I_i saw t_1 ?'

Higher form and lower form can differ in structure and phi-features
(× Movement, ✓ Prolepsis)!

Uyghur Pseudo-Prolepsis (8/8)

(19) Pseudo-Prolepsis

- a. Island Sensitive (✓ Movement, ✗ Prolepsis)
- b. Case features must match (✓ Movement, ✗ Prolepsis)
- c. DPs can drastically differ (✗ Movement, ✓ Prolepsis)

How do we solve for this mismatch?

- ## (20)
- a. Pseudo-prolepsis \subset Prolepsis
 - b. Pseudo-prolepsis \subset (Hyperraising) Movement
 - c. Neither

Why choose “Neither” (1/2)

(21) *Pseudo-prolepsis \subset Prolepsis

- a. We would need to allow prolepsis to be (language specifically) island sensitive, and allow for feature transmission between RES and lambda abtractor.
- b. Without the ban on feature transmission, there is no syntactic restriction on prolepsis.
- c. Prolepsis can have covert RES (Madurese, Davies 2005; Nez Perce, Deal 2018, a.o.); thus movement could be subsumed under Prolepsis, without any new empirical insight.

Why choose “Neither” (2/2)

(22) *Pseudo-prolepsis \subset (Hyperraising) Movement

- a. We would need to allow traces to be spelled out as distinct DPs and with feature mismatches from their higher copies.
- b. This may be possible if we invoke parallel merge, or have the RES and PO be partially spelled out versions of a single whole copy; all new stipulations to our system, which may have undesired consequences for movement elsewhere in Uyghur (why do we not see this with other A-Dependencies?).

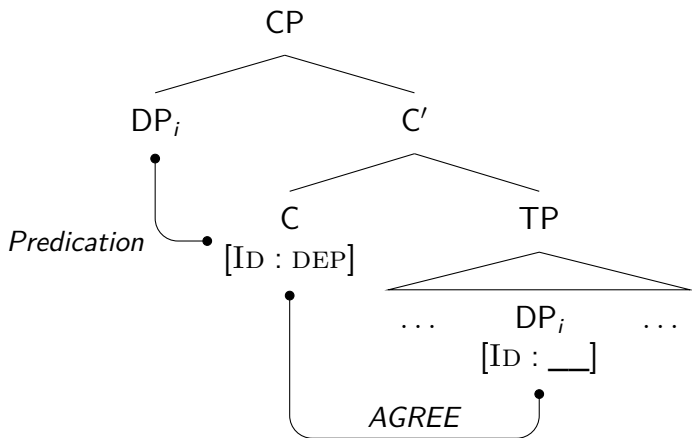
Pseudo-Prolepsis as 'Binding-by-Agree' (1/8)

Binding-by-Agree (Frey 1993; Adger and Ramchand 2005) is a system in which AGREE may target referential features (syntactic representations of assignment function indices).

In these systems, referential features [ID] may have a value (phi-features or an index), may be unvalued, or have a *dependent* value. *Dependent* valued [ID]'s get their reference via predication, and form probes which search for unvalued [ID] features and agree with them, copying their referential features. Adger and Ramchand (2005) assume such a system for Gaelic and Irish apparent wh-movement.

Pseudo-Prolepsis as 'Binding-by-Agree' (2/8)

(23)

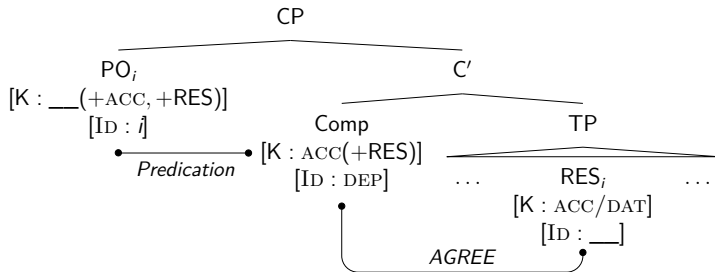


Pseudo-Prolepsis as 'Binding-by-Agree' (3/8)

- (24) Benefits of this system for Pseudo-Prolepsis:
- a. Agree relations are Island Sensitive (✓)
 - b. Agree relations can cause feature percolation (✓)
 - c. DPs are independent and can drastically differ (✓)
- (25) Applying this to Uyghur:
- a. Agreement between complementizer and RES carries case features.
 - b. Complementizer has both inherent ACC features and case features from RES.
 - c. Case stacking cannot be phonologically realized in Uyghur: spellout only one case.

Pseudo-Prolepsis as 'Binding-by-Agree' (4/8)

(26)



(27)

RES Case:	NOM	<u>ACC</u>	<u>DAT</u>
<i>dep</i> -licensed Case:	<u>ACC</u>	<u>ACC</u>	ACC
Surface Case on PO:	ACC	ACC	DAT

Pseudo-Prolepsis as 'Binding-by-Agree' (5/8)

(28) Cons:

- a. Indices and [ID]-features may be seen as redundant
- b. Binding mechanism put wholly into syntax, with no clear compositional semantics
- c. *Dependent* values are stipulative, not a value of any other feature system

(29) A potential solution:

- a. Consider [ID]-features as independent heads: D-heads on top of Uyghur N/ ϕ Ps
- b. 'Agreement' becomes movement, but only of these D-heads.

Pseudo-Prolepsis as 'Binding-by-Agree' (6/8)

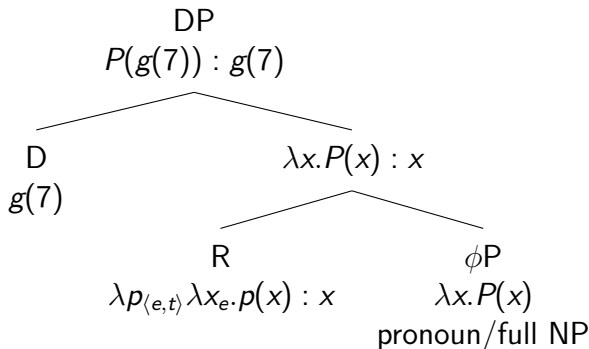
- (30) Pronouns can come in different sizes (Déchaine and Wiltschko 2002; Holmberg et al. 2009)
- a. NP pronouns are predicational, cannot be e -type
 - b. ϕ P pronouns = NP + ϕ -features, can be $\langle e, t \rangle$ or e -type
 - c. DP pronouns = ϕ P + definite/referential features, e

In Rabinovitch (2022), I argue that Uyghur is a partial null subject language: such languages are thought to utilize ϕ P pronouns as their typical pronoun set.

- (31)
- a. Uyghur pronouns are ϕ Ps
 - b. Uyghur has no determiner system: D-heads are covert.
 - c. DP = D + ϕ P
 - d. In RES: D = a null operator, moves to SpecCP via case agreement + EPP

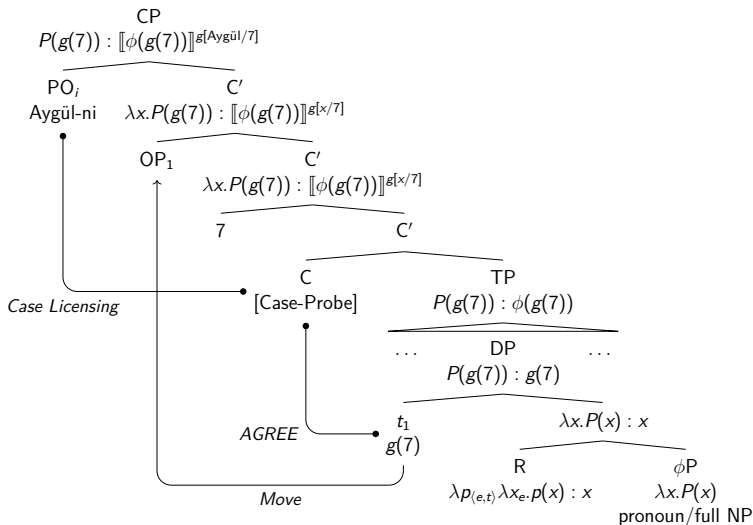
Pseudo-Prolepsis as 'Binding-by-Agree' (7/8)

(32) Proposal for bound DP composed of ϕ Ps:



Pseudo-Prolepsis as 'Binding-by-Agree' (8/8)

(33)



Conclusion

- (34)
- a. Uyghur pseudo-proleptic structures do not fit neatly into accounts of prolepsis or hyperraising.
 - b. I argued that rather than expanding notions of prolepsis or hyperraising to include pseudo-prolepsis, pseudo-prolepsis can be explained as its own phenomena, mediated by 'Binding-by-Agree'.
 - c. Assuming that Movement, Binding-by-Agree, and base generated operators are three methods of invoking predicate abstraction, Pseudo-prolepsis fills a typological gap of a Binding-by-Agree CCAD
 - d. At least for Pseudo-prolepsis, Binding-by-Agree can be derived without a need for referential features, making it more compatible with compositional semantics

Thanks

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Pseudo-Prolepsis vs. Accusative Subjects

Pseudo-Prolepsis includes indexical shift, while accusative subject constructions do not.

- (35) Roshen **méni_i** [tünügün **u_i** méning
Roshen 1SG.ACC [yesterday 3SG.NOM 1SG.GEN
singl-im-ni kör-d-i dep] ishin-i-du.
sister-POSS.1-ACC see-PST-3 COMP] believe-NPST-3
'Roshen_i believes that I saw her_i sister yesterday.'
- (36) Roshen méni [tünügün (méning) singl-im-ni
Roshen 1SG.ACC [yesterday 1SG.GEN sister-POSS.1-ACC
kör-d-i dep] ishin-i-du.
see-PST-3 COMP] believe-NPST-3
'Roshen believes that I_i saw my_i sister yesterday.'