

# Revisiting the syntax of monsters in Uyghur

Travis Major

November 9, 2020

## Abstract

This paper is written in response to Shklovsky and Sudo (2014), who propose a syntactic analysis of Uyghur *indexical shift*, a process by which embedded indexicals, such as “you” and “I” are interpreted relative to the reported context, as opposed to the present discourse context. Based on novel data, I offer an alternative analysis, which argues that there are two distinct types of tensed embedded clause that differ in clause structure, size, and the functional heads present within the structure. I correlate these properties with case, agreement, and indexical shift.

Keywords: indexical shifting, Uyghur, raising-to-object, attitude report, finiteness

## 1 Introduction

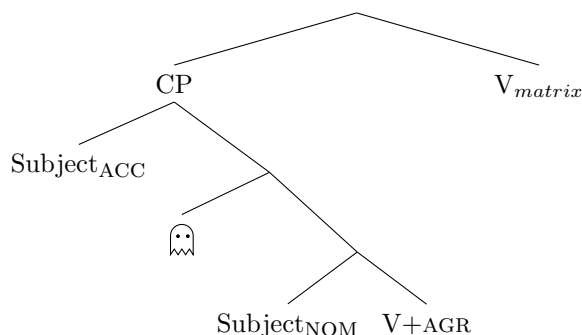
In recent years, there has been increased focus on the syntactic and semantic properties of counterexamples to Kaplan (1977)’s claim that indexicals like “I” and “you” must be invariably interpreted relative to utterance discourse context. These counterexamples, which involve indexicals getting interpreted relative to a reported context is known as *indexical shift*. This paper is written in response to Shklovsky and Sudo (2014) (henceforth S&S), based on their syntactic analysis of indexical shift (and its absence) in Uyghur.<sup>1</sup> The present paper builds upon S&S by introducing novel data that enriches the empirical landscape and offers an alternative analysis for the contrast in (1).

- (1) a. Ahmet [men ket-ti-m] dé-d-i. *Indexical Shift*  
Ahmet [1SG.NOM leave-PAST-1SG] say-PST-3  
‘Ahmet said that I<sub>Ahmet/\*Speaker</sub> left.’ (S&S, 386)
- b. Ahmet [méni ket-t-i] dé-d-i.  
Ahmet [1SG.ACC leave-PAST-3] say-PST-3

‘Ahmet said that  $I_{Speaker/*Ahmet}$  left.’ (S&S, 386)

Notice that the 1st person pronoun in (1-a) is interpreted as the matrix subject *Ahmet*, has nominative case, and triggers phi-agreement on the embedded verb. The 1st person pronoun in (1-b) is obligatorily interpreted as the current speaker, bears accusative case, and does not show expected 1st person, singular agreement on the embedded verb. S&S argue that both cases in (1) contain an (monstrous) operator, represented by  $\hat{\lambda}$  (adopted from Anand and Nevins (2004)), which shifts indexicals in its scope by overwriting the context parameter that the indexicals are interpreted against (i.e. the context of the current speech act versus the reported speech act). S&S argue for the structure in (2).

(2) *Shklovsky and Sudo 2014, 393*

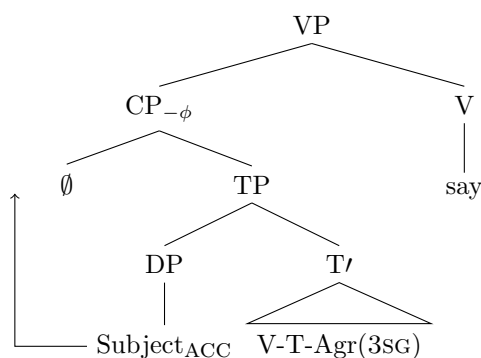


Under this analysis, accusative subjects are situated in a position higher than  $\hat{\lambda}$ , and thus are interpreted relative to the current speech context (1sg = current speaker). Nominative subjects, however, remain within the scope of the operator and are thus interpreted relative to the reported context (1sg = matrix subject), which bears resemblance to direct quotation in English. Arguably the most substantial implication of this analysis is that it provides syntactic support in favor of  $\hat{\lambda}$  as an independent lexical item, offering support for Anand and Nevins (2004) over Schlenker (2003), who argues that attitude verbs involve quantification over contexts, where indexical shift is the result of the embedded context variable getting bound by a quantifier distinct from the matrix clause. The syntactic structure that intervenes between the attitude verb and the position where shift takes place, namely the landing site of accusative subjects, requires an analysis that allows indexical shift to be introduced in a structurally lower position than the attitude verb. This would require non-trivial modification to Schlenker (2003) to account for the empirical facts, but is captured straightforwardly by the operator analysis.

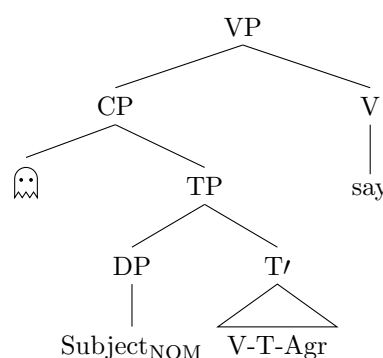
This paper retains some ingredients from the analysis in S&S and Sudo (2012), but argues that

the two critical examples in (1) are actually two independent constructions: one which contains the monstrous operator (1-a) and one that does not (1-b). These two constructions differ in size (i.e. contain different functional heads), which are responsible for the interpretive differences. Moreover, accusative subjects are licensed only when the embedded clause is reduced or truncated, does not host the operator, and does not trigger expected agreement on the embedded verb (similar to non-finite embedded clauses in English), as in (3). When the operator is merged, on the other hand, the structure is large enough to enable feature transmission from  $C^\circ$  to  $T^\circ$  (Chomsky (2004, 2008)), which is necessary to license nominative case on the subject and the expected  $\phi$ -agreement on  $T^\circ$  (4).

(3) *No indexical shift*



(4) *Indexical Shift*



The first implication of the analyses in (3) and (4) is that the monstrous operator and accusative subjects are in complementary distribution, which eliminates the option of using the position of accusative subjects as that the operator takes scope from a position that is structurally lower than the matrix verb. With regard to cases where indexical shift does occur, I handle them in essentially the same manner as S&S, where all indexicals in the scope of the operator obligatorily shift, but argue that the operator is selected by the matrix verb. I argue that the matrix verb can either select an accusative complement or the monster, but never both. Given the fact that this relationship is one of C-selection in addition to other syntactic facts related to case, agreement, and clause structure, I maintain that the monstrous operator approach to indexical shift better accounts for the data than one that assumes it to be a general property of attitude verbs themselves.

This paper proceeds as follows: in section 2, I provide an empirical overview of tensed embedded clauses with accusative subjects, illustrating that they merge low, raise from their external merge position in the embedded clause, and are interpreted like accusative elements elsewhere in the language. Section 3 discusses indexical shift and illustrates that the monster that triggers indexical

shift is in complementary distribution with accusative subjects. More specifically, I show that the structure necessary to introduce the monster is absent in all environments where the embedded subject receives accusative case. In the final section, I provide discussion and conclusions.

## 2 Empirical Landscape for accusative subjects

### 2.1 Uyghur Background

Uyghur is a head-final SOV language with a rich case/agreement system.

- (5)    Tursun dost-i-gha                kitab-lar-(ni) ber-d-i.  
       Tursun friend-3POSS-DAT book-PL-ACC give-PST-3  
       ‘Tursun gave his friend (the) books.’

There are multiple embedding strategies in Uyghur, but this paper exclusively discusses two: nominalized embedded clauses (6-a) and tensed embedded clauses (6-b).

- (6)    a.    Tursun [Ali-ning ket-ken-lik-i-ni]                dé-d-i.                                *Nominalization*  
               Tursun Ali-GEN leave-PERF-COMP-3-ACC say-PST-3  
               ‘Tursun said that Ali left.’  
       b.    Tursun [Ali-(ni) ket-t-i]                dé-d-i.                                *Tensed Embedded Clause*  
               Tursun Ali-ACC leave-PST-3 say-PST-3  
               ‘Tursun said that Ali left.’

Nominalizations like (6-a) are not full TPs, but rather AspPs (headed by *ken*) that are selected by the complementizer *lik* (Asarina, 2011). Note that these nominalizations also bear agreement and case-marking on their right edge, although this is not crucial for this paper. This paper focuses almost exclusively on tensed embedded clauses like (6-b), which contain full TPs.

These embedded clauses are able to host the same tense/evidentiality morphology found in root clauses (*-d/t-* in the examples above). In addition to encoding tense, tense-markers in Uyghur also encode evidentiality (7).<sup>2</sup>

- (7)    a.    Ali ket-t-i/ip-tu.  
               Ali leave-PST-3/PST.INDIR-3  
               ‘Ali left (I saw vs. I heard/inferred).’  
       b.    Tursun Ali-(ni) ket-t-i/ip-tu                dé-d-i.  
               Tursun Ali-ACC leave-PST-3/PST.INDIR-3 say-PST-3  
               ‘Tursun said Ali left (Tursun saw vs. Tursun heard/inferred).’

The full range of tense/evidentiality morphology permitted in root clauses is also permitted in tensed embedded clauses, as shown in (7-b) shows. When embedded, tense/evidentiality is anchored to the matrix subject, not the speaker.<sup>3</sup> This same contrast is not available in nominalizations, as indicated by the translations. The take home message here is that tensed embedded clauses have many of the same properties as root clauses. However, tensed embedded clauses are different from root clauses, most importantly in that they allow accusative subjects (7-b), which is a major focus of this paper.

## 2.2 Properties of accusative subject tensed embedded clauses

This section motivates the following analytical conclusions: a) accusative subjects are base-generated inside the embedded clause, b) accusative subjects raise into the matrix clause, c) accusative case is licensed in the matrix clause, and d) accusative subjects are in complementary distribution with the monster, as in (3).

### 2.2.1 Accusative subjects are base-generated in the embedded clause

There are two critical pieces of data introduced by S&S that show that accusative subjects merge inside the embedded clause as opposed to being proleptic (i.e. generated in the matrix clause and controlling a pronominal element in the embedded clause)<sup>4</sup>. The first piece of evidence they provide involves negative concord items, such as *hichkim* ‘nobody’, which require clausemate negation.

- (8) Héchkim ket-\*(mi)-d-i.  
 nobody leave-NEG-PST-3  
 ‘Nobody left.’

Crucially for the present, *hichkim-ni* can be licensed by negation on the embedded verb, which serves as strong evidence that *hichkim* merges downstairs, within the clause that bears negation.

- (9) Ahmet [héchkim-ni ket-\*(mi)-d-i] dé-di.  
 Ahmet nobody-ACC leave-NEG-PST-3 say-PST.3  
 ‘Ahmet said that nobody left.’

If *hichkim* were base-generated in the matrix clause, it would not meet the requirement for clausemate negation in (9), and would thus be predicted to be ungrammatical, contrary to fact. The most straightforward explanation for this fact is that the embedded subject merges into the structure as the embedded subject.

This is further corroborated by the behavior of sentential idioms, where the idiomatic meaning

is preserved, despite the subject being accusative-marked.<sup>5</sup> The grammaticality of (10) is explained by raising, but incompatible with prolepsis.

- (10) a. Toqquz qiz-ning tolghiq-i teng kel-d-i.  
 nine girl-GEN labor-3POSS together arrive-PST-3  
 ‘Times are hard.’ (literally: ‘Nine girls’ labor pains came all at once’)
- b. Tursun [toqquz qiz-ning tolghiq-i-ni teng kel-d-i] dé-d-i.  
 Tursun nine girl-GEN labor-3POSS-ACC together arrive-PST-3 say-PST-3  
 ‘Tursun said that times are hard.’ (Adapted from *Shklovsky and Sudo 2014, 388*)

In order for the idiomatic interpretation to arise in (10-b), it must be the case that the full idiom is constructed inside the embedded clause. In order for this to maintain, the subject must get accusative case via a process subsequent to merging into the structure as the external argument of the embedded clause.

### 2.2.2 Accusative subjects raise

The process by which accusative case is assigned involves raising out of the embedded TP. The first argument for raising comes from the behavior of embedded subjects under passivization, which is suggestive that case-licensing is correlated with the voice specification of the matrix verb. Unsurprisingly, accusative case cannot be assigned under passivization in matrix clauses (11-a), but an accusative subject is acceptable when the embedded verb is passivized (11-b).<sup>6</sup>

- (11) a. Istakan>(\*ni) buz-ul-d-i.  
 glass-ACC break-PASS-PST-3  
 ‘The glass was broken.’ (S&S, 392:28a)
- b. Ahmet [istakan(-ni) buz-ul-d-i] dé-d-i.  
 Ahmet cup-ACC break-PASS-PST-3 say-PAST-3  
 ‘Ahmet said that the cup was broken.’ (S&S, 392:28b)

Given that passivization blocks accusative assignment within the same clause, the acceptability of (11-b) is an argument in favor of raising into a higher position, where it gets accusative case from the matrix clause.<sup>7</sup>

Passivization of the matrix verb provides supporting evidence that accusative subjects raise. (12) illustrates an incompatibility between passivization of the matrix verb and an accusative subject, which suggests both that the subject raises into the matrix clause and that accusative case-assignment is tied to the matrix verb.

- (12) (Manga) [Aygül-(*\*ni*) ket-t-i] dé-yil-d-i.  
 1SG.DAT Aygül(-ACC leave-PST-3 say-PASS-PST-3  
 ‘It was told to me that Aygül left.’

Further novel evidence for raising comes from reciprocal binding, which like their English counterparts are subject to Principle A and therefore must have a local c-commanding antecedent. The cases in (13) do not clearly show that the accusative subject involves raising into the matrix clause, but does suggest that it at least raises to a position more local to the matrix subject.<sup>8</sup>

- (13) a. Tursun bilen Ali bir-bir-i-ni kör-d-i.  
 Tursun with Ali one-one-3POSS-ACC see-PST.3  
 ‘Tursun and Ali saw each other.’  
 b. \*Tursun bilen Ali Mahinur-(*ni*) bir-bir-i-ni kör-d-i dé-di.  
 Tursun with Ali Mahinur-ACC one-one-3POSS-ACC see-PST.3 say-PST.3  
 Intended: ‘Tursun and Ali said that Mahinur saw each of them.’  
 c. Tursun bilen Ali bir-bir-i-*\*(ni)* ut-i-du dé-d-i.  
 Tursun with Ali one-one-3POSS-ACC win-NONPST-3 say-PST.3  
 ‘Tursun and Ali said eachother will win.’

(13-a) shows a simple reciprocal construction in Uyghur, which involves both the reciprocal pronoun *bir birini* and the reciprocal morpheme *-üsh-* on the verb. (13-b) shows that the reciprocal cannot be licensed long distance. (13-c) is only grammatical if the reciprocal has accusative-marking, as the nominative/unmarked form yields ungrammaticality. (13-c) is inconclusive with regard to the precise position of the accusative subject, but it does illustrate that the the accusative-marked reciprocal meets the locality requirements, while the nominative form does not. Given the complications in determining the precise syntactic height in head final languages, readers may not be convinced that the reciprocal is in the embedded clause, as opposed to the matrix. If we consider what I believe to be the closest English equivalent, it is suggestive that the reciprocal is in the matrix clause:

- (14) a. They know each other (now) to have been brilliant as junior faculty (although neither would have admitted it back then).  
 b. \*They know that each other were brilliant.

Notice that “each other” can occur to the left of a matrix adverbial in (14-a), where the embedded clause is non-finite. However, when the complement clause is finite, a reciprocal subject is unacceptable, as in (14-b). I argue throughout this paper that clauses with accusative subjects roughly correlate with non-finite clauses in English, making (14) the ideal comparison between English and Uyghur.

In Uyghur, it is difficult to determine the exact position that accusative subjects reside, even if we try to apply the same tests. Word order is flexible and allows scrambling, I have already shown that reconstruction is possible (and sometimes necessary). For this reason, it is difficult to determine what data like (15) shows us.

- (15) a. Mahinur Tursun-ni Alim-gha ket-t-i dé-d-i.  
 Mahinur Tursun-ACC Alim-DAT leave-PST-3 say-PST-3  
 ‘Mahinur said to Alim that Tursun left.’  
 b. Mahinur Tursun-ni tünügün két-i-du de-d-i.  
 Mahinur Tursun-ACC yesterday leave-NON.PST-3 say-PST-3  
 ‘Mahinur said yesterday that Tursun will leave.’

The fact that the accusative subject “Tursun” can occur to the left of of the addressee “Alim ” in (15-a) or to the left of a matrix temporal adverb, as in (15-b) is clear evidence that accusative subjects are able to occur in the matrix clause. However, whether the precise position where accusative case is assigned is in the matrix clause remains inconclusive. Given the similarities between the Uyghur constructions in (15) and the English pattern in (14), it seems likely that the accusative subject is in the matrix clause, although I do not have access to clearer evidence.

One final piece of novel evidence in favor of accusative subjects raising into the matrix clause comes from prosodic phrasing. The model of Uyghur intonation this argument is based on is from (Redacted) and the explicit discussion of Uyghur indexical shift and its prosodic/intonational correlates can be found in (Redacted). For the present, the only critical piece involves the phrasing of accusative subjects, the tone on the right edge of the accusative subject, and the juncture between the accusative subject and the rest of the embedded clause, as shown in (53).

First, almost all DPs in the language display a low tonal target on the left edge and a high target (labeled Ha or H-) on the right side. Furthermore, the only low target on the right edge of any prosodic constituent in the language is at the right edge of Intonational Phrases (labeled L% in the figure below), which roughly correlate with clauses, as can be seen at the right edge of the entire utterance (across the verb *dedi*). Thus the right edge of the accusative subject *meni* bearing a low target and a large prosodic juncture shows the signature properties of an Intonational Phrase juncture. Given any theory that assumes that the grammar prefers to match prosodic constituents with syntactic constituents (e.g. *Match Theory* (Selkirk, 2011)), the only reasonable analysis of (53) is that the matrix subject and embedded subject are forming an Intonational Phrase, which suggests that they also form a syntactic unit to the exclusion of the rest of the embedded clause. This is fully in line with and supportive of an analysis by which the embedded subject raises into the matrix



clause (i.e. accusative subjects are not located within the embedded CP).

One argument offered by S&S, which was brought up by a reviewer, points to data involving coordination as evidence that accusative subjects remain inside the embedded clause, as in (16). There are two instances of accusative case that occur under what appears to be a single attitude verb *bil-* “believe”, which gives the impression that the accusative subject remains inside the embedded clause.

- (16) Herbir oqughuchi [Aygül-ni ket-ti dep] we [Ahmet-ni kel-di dep]  
 each student Aygül-ACC leave-PST.3 C and Ahmet-ACC come-PST.3 C  
 bil-i-du.  
 know-NONPST-3  
 ‘Each student believes that Aygül left and Ahmet came.’  
 (Shklovsky and Sudo 2014, 392:30)

If we assume that *dep* is a simple complementizer, as S&S do, we are left to assume that the conjunction of both *dep* clauses is situated within the scope of the attitude verb, which would lead to the conclusion that the landing site of accusative subjects is CP-internal. However, as argued for in (redacted, redacted), there is evidence that *dep* is synchronically composed of the light verb *de-* “say” and the converbial (clause-chaining) suffix *-(I)p*.<sup>9</sup> I offer a simplified version of the analysis in (redacted) in (17).

- (17) Subject<sub>k</sub> [<sub>VP</sub> PRO [Subject-ACC<sub>j</sub> [ t<sub>j</sub> Verb<sub>EC</sub>]<sub>i</sub> say-ip ] [<sub>VP</sub> t<sub>k</sub> (*pro*<sub>i</sub>) Verb<sub>matrix</sub>]

In short, this analysis suggests that accusative assignment is internal to the *dep* clause, is correlated with *de-* “say”, and is unrelated to the higher verb (e.g. “know” in (16)). Moreover, this analysis predicts that there will be one accusative subject licensed for each instance of *dep*, each of which involves the subject introduced under *de-* “say” raising as the result of the same process described throughout this section.

Another aspect of the analysis in (17) further suggests that the inflected verb does not select the *dep* clause, but instead selects *pro*, which co-refers with the clause introduced under *dep*. The clearest evidence for this coordination and co-reference structure comes from the availability of a pronominal element to occur overtly under the inflected verb, as shown in (18).

- (18) a. Herbir oqughuchi shundaq oyla-y-du.  
 Each student so think-NONPST-3  
 ‘Each student thinks so.’

- b. Herbir oqughuchi [[Aygül-ni ket-t-i de-p] we [Ahmet-ni kel-d-i de-p]]<sub>k</sub>  
 Each student Aygül-ACC leave-PST-3 say-IP and Ahmet-ACC come-PST-3 say-IP  
 shundaq<sub>k</sub> oyla-y-du.  
 so think-NONPST-3  
 ‘Each student thinks it’s so that Aygul left and Ahmet came.’

The clausal anaphor *shundaq* “so” stands in place for salient propositions when introduced by a speech/attitude verb. In constructions involving *dep*, *dep* introduces the embedded clause and *oyla*- “think” is still able to introduce the clausal anaphor. For this reason, I suggest that *shundaq* or *pro* co-refers with the entire coordinate structure consisting of both *dep* clauses, which is incompatible with a subordination analysis where the *dep* clause functions as an argument of the attitude verb.

One final data point that supports the analysis in (17), further illustrating that (16) is mis-analyzed by S&S, comes from environments where coordination of *dep* clauses with accusative subjects occurs in the absence of attitude verbs. Notice in (19) that accusative subjects are permitted in each *dep* clause, despite the fact that the verb *ket*- “leave” clearly does not take a clausal complement.

- (19) Herbir oqughuchi<sub>k</sub> [PRO<sub>k</sub> héchkim-ni ket-mi-d-i de-p] we [PRO<sub>k</sub> héchkim-ni  
 each student nobody-ACC leave-NEG-PST.3 say-IP and nobody-ACC  
 kel-mi-di de-p] ket-t-i.  
 come-PST-3 de-IP leave-NONPST-3  
 ‘Each student having said that nobody left and nobody came, left.’

The grammaticality of this construction is predicted by a clausal conjunction analysis, but does not fit into a standard subordination template. Crucially, this data illustrates that the question is whether accusative subjects involve raising out of the clause introduced by *dep*, entirely untethered to the inflected verb. This data suggests that the same puzzle holds, however, as it is inconclusive as to whether the accusative subject raises into the left periphery of the clause introduced by *dep* or into position above the the position where *de*- “say” merges into the structure.

### 2.2.3 Locus for Accusative Case

S&S argue against accusative subjects raising out of the embedded clause and additionally claim that the embedded clause can license only a single instance of accusative case.

- (20) Tursun méni nan-(?ni) yaq-t-i dé-d-i.  
 Tursun I.ACC bread-(ACC) bake-PST-3 say-PST-3  
 ‘Tursun said that I baked bread.’

For (20), S&S indicate that accusative case is available for either the embedded subject or object, but

not both. (20) is marked as being outright ungrammatical in Shklovsky and Sudo (2014); however, all of the speakers that I have consulted find it slightly odd, but grammatical. S&S attribute this ungrammaticality to the “double accusative constraint” (Halpert, 2009). This constraint was motivated by the dispreference for accusative-marked objects when causees are accusative-marked, as shown in (21-b).<sup>10</sup>

- (21) a. Muhemmet Aygöl-ge gül-(ni) ber-d-i.  
 Muhemmet Aygöl-DAT flower-(ACC) give-PST-3  
 ‘Muhemmet gave Aygöl a flower.’  
 b. Men Muhemmet-\*(ni) Aygöl-ge **gül-(?ni)** ber-güz-d-üm.  
 1SG Muhemmet-(ACC) Aygöl-DAT flower-(ACC) give-CAUS-PST-1SG  
 ‘I made Muhemmet give Aygöl a flower.’

Both Halpert and S&S interpret this as evidence that a single clause can contain license only a single instance of accusative case, meaning that when the subject obligatorily receives accusative case, there is no way for the object to become accusative-marked. However, there are situations where accusative-marking on objects is essentially obligatory, like when the object is separated from the verb by a manner adverbial. Notice that accusative-marking becomes obligatory in (22).

- (22) Men Muhemmet-ni Aygöl-ge **gül-\*(ni)** téz ber-güz-d-üm.  
 1SG Muhemmet-ACC Aygöl-DAT flower-(\*ACC) quickly give-CAUS-PST-1SG  
 ‘I made Muhemmet quickly give Aygöl a flower.’

Given the grammaticality of the accusative-marked object in (22), we are lead to conclude that if there is actually a ban against two accusatives in the same clause, causatives consist of two clauses, which extends to accusative subjects of tensed embedded clauses. More specifically, if we look at constructions that generally require accusative case, the weak constraint against double-accusatives simply evaporates. These include cases where the object is a pronoun (23-a), the familiar case of embedded manner adverbials (23-b), or all cases where the object is scrambled (23-c).

- (23) a. Tursun méni **siz-\*(ni)** kör-d-i dé-d-i.  
 Tursun I.ACC you-(ACC) see-PST-3 say-PST-3  
 ‘Tursun said that I saw you.’  
 b. Tursun méni **nan-\*(ni) asta** yaq-t-i dé-d-i.  
 Tursun I.ACC bread-(ACC) slowly bake-PST-3 say-PST-3  
 ‘Tursun said that I baked bread.’  
 c. **Nan-\*(ni)** Tursun méni yaq-t-i dé-d-i.  
 bread-(ACC) Tursun I.ACC bake-PST-3 say-PST-3  
 ‘Tursun said that I baked bread.’

A detailed (morpho-)syntactic analysis of the cases in (23) is not necessary to make the present point. The critical property that falls out from the data above is that the object is not in competition with the subject for accusative case within the embedded clause. In other words, subjects and objects seem to get accusative case in different positions. If the “double accusative constraint” is operative, it suggests that both causativized ditransitives and tensed embedded clauses consist of more than one clause. If the constraint is not operative, it no longer serves as a relevant diagnostic and thus no longer needs to be addressed.<sup>11</sup> Regardless, either interpretation is compatible with the analysis that accusative subjects are derived by raising from the embedded clause into the matrix clause, as supported by reciprocal binding, passivization, and prosodic phrasing.

### 2.3 Interpretation of accusative subjects

This section makes two additional empirical points. The first serves as indirect evidence that the accusative that appears on embedded subjects is actually functionally equivalent to the accusative that appears on direct objects in general. Given this fact, there is good reason to hypothesize that the mechanism responsible for accusative on ordinary direct objects be the same mechanism responsible for accusative on embedded subjects. The analysis put forth here argues in favor of raising to object, meaning that the same structural dependency is available, and thus we do not need to stipulate new machinery to account for the presence of accusative case. Because the restrictions on accusative case are tied to specificity/familiarity, this needs to be taken into account when evaluating the argumentation in S&S’s discussion of attitudes and the position in which these subjects are interpreted. I suggest that the interpretation of accusative versus nominative subjects is tied to the same restrictions as embedded objects.

First, it is well-known across Turkic languages, that accusative case is not really optional object-marking, but rather serves as differential object marking (see Enç (1989); Enç (1991); Zidani-Eroğlu (1997); Predolac (2017) for a detailed discussion of Turkish, which differs only minimally from Uyghur). These studies have proposed a range of analyses to account for the distribution of accusative case, its semantic contributions, and its licenser. For present purposes, it is sufficient to correlate accusative case-marking with givenness or salience within the discourse. In other words, accusative-marking is obligatory whenever the object is discourse-salient, which encompasses definiteness, givenness, or simple mention in the discourse. There is a clear contrast between the presence and absence of accusative-marking on referential objects (24-a), while accusative is required in (24-b) for object pronouns and proper names (24-b).

- (24) a. Tursun nan-(ni) yaq-t-i.  
 Tursun bread-(ACC) bake-PST-3  
 ‘Tursun baked (the contextually salient/aforementioned) bread.’  
 b. Tursun siz/Ali-\*(ni) kör-d-i.  
 Tursun you/Ali-ACC see-PST-3.  
 ‘Tursun saw you/Ali.’

Accusative subjects have the same interpretive properties as the objects above. In other words, they are obligatorily discourse-salient when accusative-marked <sup>12</sup>, which can either indicate that the NP has been mentioned in the discourse, that it is part of the common ground, or that it is definite/specific. The contrast between the examples below illustrate that accusative case on raised embedded subjects is essentially identical to objects:

- (25) Context: Alim and I (the speaker) are roommates and have been talking about a suspicious man who has been wandering the street by our house for months. Alim returns home to find the garden destroyed. Our neighbor, Tursun describes the suspicious man as the culprit. I return home and ask Alim what happened, and he reports what the neighbor said:

- a. Tursun **kishi-\*(ni)** mén-ing güllük-üm-ni veyran qil-iptu  
 Tursun person-ACC I-GEN garden-1SG.POSS-ACC destruction do-PST.INDIR.3  
 dé-di.  
 say-PST.3  
 ‘Tursun said that that (specific) person destroyed my garden.’

- (26) Context: Alim and I are roommates. He returns home and sees that the garden has been destroyed. He asks our neighbor, Tursun, who tells him that some person he didn’t recognize was the culprit. Alim has no idea who Tursun is referring to. I return home, notice the garden, ask Alim, and he reports:

- a. Tursun (bir) **kishi-\*(ni)** mén-ing güllük-üm-ni veyran qil-iptu  
 Tursun some person-ACC I-GEN garden-1SG.POSS-ACC destruction do-PST.INDIR.3  
 dé-di.  
 say-PST.3  
 ‘Tursun said that some person destroyed my garden.’

The first context involves an entity that already exists in the common ground, which leads to obligatory accusative marking on the subject (25). In a similar context where the embedded subject is neither part of the common ground nor discourse-salient, an accusative subject is banned (26). This is essentially the same pattern we find for simple objects, such as (24-a). These examples are similar enough to suggest that the same mechanism could be at play for both accusative objects and subjects, but this requires further investigation.<sup>13</sup>

There are additional interpretive factors that are related to this puzzle. For instance, S&S illustrate that *de dicto* readings of accusative subjects are available, meaning they they must be interpreted below the attitude verb (27).

- (27) Tursun [tulpar-ni kel-d-i] dé-d-i, ema tulpar yoq.  
 Tursun [winged.horse-ACC arrive-PST-3] say-PST-3 but winged.horse not.exist  
 ‘Tursun said that a winged horse arrived, but winged horses do not exist.’ (S&S, 392:29)

First, as with the previous examples, *tulpar* “winged horse” can only be accusative-marked if the *tulpar* has been mentioned earlier in the discourse or if it is otherwise already in the common ground. This is consistent with the previous data, where despite the fact that there is no commitment that winged horses exist, there is a specificity requirement. The fact that this sentence is possible without requiring a commitment to the existence of winged horses suggests that reconstruction back into the embedded clause is possible; however, this is hardly surprising given that reconstruction is in principle, always an option.

The same fact holds for cases like (28), for which “my friend” can be interpreted either *de re* or *de dicto*. As noted above, this ambiguity is unsurprising, and is straightforwardly correlated with whether or not the accusative subject reconstructs.

- (28) Ahmet [bir dostu-m-ni Ürümchilik dep] oyla-y-du.  
 Ahmet a friend-1SG.POSS-ACC Urumchian DEP think-NONPST-3  
 ‘Ahmet thinks my friend is from Urumchi.’ (S&S, 392:32)

Despite the fact that the *de re* versus *de dicto* ambiguity is predicted, it is unclear why the reconstructed reading does not force, or at least allow, the 1st person genitive on “friend” under S&S.<sup>14</sup> The next section offers an explanation for this problem.

### 3 An alternative analysis of monsters

This section presents the analytical points that I adopt from S&S, namely the way that they handle embedded clauses that do exhibit indexical shift. I present their argumentation and analysis for these constructions and then spell out the details of an alternative account that adequately accounts for the empirical landscape sketched out in the previous sections. More specifically, I demonstrate that the monstrous operator is simply absent when the embedded subject bears accusative case. I propose that the absence of agreement on the embedded verb and accusative case-marking are symptoms of the same source: the embedded clause is reduced, lacking structure in the left periphery responsible

for case-licensing and agreement. The result is that the embedded verb bears default, 3rd person agreement and the subject gets accusative case.

### 3.1 Accounting for indexical shift

For present purposes, I follow the proposal in S&S and Sudo (2012) to account for indexical shift in Uyghur. Whenever indexical shift does occur, it is the result of the monster merging into the left periphery of the embedded clause, causing all indexicals in its scope to be interpreted relative to the context of the reported speech act. The embedded clause in (29-a), based on the italicized speech below, is ambiguous between a direct quotation and an indirect speech report that contains shifted indexicals, although both interpretations correspond to entirely different prosodic structures (Redacted).

(29) Reported speech act - Tursun says: “*men oyun-ni ut-tu-m* (I won)”.

- a. Tursun (men) oyun-ni ut-t-um dé-d-i.  
     Tursun I game-ACC win-PST-1SG say-PST-3  
     (i) ‘Tursun said, “I won the game”’.  
     (ii) ‘Tursun said that I<sub>Tursun</sub> won the game.’

That the indirect speech report is in fact indirect comes from applying the same set of diagnostics introduced by S&S and Sudo (2012). First, quantification out of quotation is not possible, but this restriction does not hold of non-quotative clauses. The fact that the wh-expression *qachan* is able to take matrix scope from within the clause illustrates that it is not direct quotation (30).

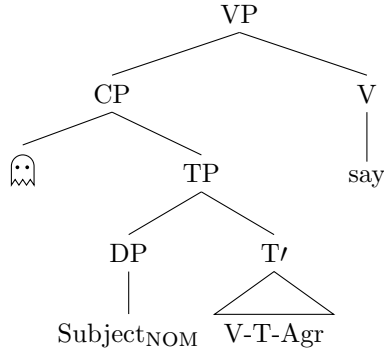
(30) Tursun oyun-ni **qachan** ut-t-um dé-d-i.  
     Tursun game-ACC when win-PST-1SG say-PST.-  
     ‘When did Tursun say he won the game?’

The fact that (30) can be interpreted as a matrix scope question indicates that it is not a case of direct quotation. If it were direct quotation it would be interpreted as equivalent to ‘Tursun said, “When did I win the game?”’. Another test involves negative concord item licensing, for which the logic is similar. Negative concord items like *héchqachan* require negation for licensing (31-a). When these items are embedded, it is predicted that if they reside inside a direct quotation, the licensing negation would have to occur within the quote, otherwise the quoted utterance would be ungrammatical. However, matrix negation can license them, which would not have been present for the quoted utterance, which strongly supports an analysis by which (31-b) is actually an indirect speech report with a shifted indexical.

- (31) a. Tursun **héhqachan** ut-\*(mi)-d-i.  
 Tursun never win-NEG-PST-3  
 ‘Tursun never won.’
- b. Tursun oyun-ni **héhqachan** ut-t-um dé-mi-d-i.  
 Tursun game-ACC never win-PST-1SG say-NEG-PST-3  
 ‘Tursun didn’t say that he never won the game.’

In summary, facts related to interpretation, wh-questions, and negative concord item licensing serve as strong support that these are indirect speech reports that contain shifted 1st person indexicals (i.e. interpreted as the matrix subject as opposed to the speaker). The structure I assume for indexical shift is provided in (32).

- (32) *Indexical Shift*




The single component responsible for the presence/absence of indexical shift is whether the verb selects for the monster or not. If the monster is selected, indexicals will shift, while if the vacuous complementizer is selected, indexicals will not shift.

### 3.2 Monsters and accusative subjects


The present proposal diverges from S&S with regard to the relationship between monsters and accusative subjects. More specifically, whereas S&S propose that the monster is present even in constructions with accusative subjects (2), the present analysis shows that monsters and accusative subjects are in complementary distribution.

S&S’s analysis predicts that all indexicals that are interpreted within the scope of the monster should shift. As a result, any 1st or 2nd person direct object should shift regardless of whether the subject shifts. This does not happen, as shown for 2nd person in (33-a) and 1st person in (33-b).


- (33) a. Ali méni<sub>k</sub> (\*) [t<sub>k</sub> siz-ni kör-d-i] dé-d-i.  
 Ali I.ACC Op. you-ACC see-PST-3 say-PST-3




‘Ali said that I saw you<sub>hearer<sub>current</sub>/\*hearer<sub>original</sub></sub>’

- b. Ali siz-ni<sub>k</sub> (\*) [t<sub>k</sub> mén-i kör-d-i]] dé-d-i.  
 Ali you-ACC Op. I-ACC see-PST-3 say-PST-3  
 ‘Ali said that you saw me<sub>speaker<sub>current</sub>/\*speaker<sub>original</sub></sub>’

Assuming the analysis in S&S, the embedded subject raises over the monster in both (33-a) and (33-b); however, there is still a context-sensitive indexical within the scope of the monster. Thus, we should find a mismatch between subjects and objects and the context parameters they are interpreted against (i.e. the object should shift, while the subject does not), contrary to fact. As a matter of fact, there is no documented evidence that shift is ever compatible with accusative subjects. The same pattern holds for 1st/2nd person datives embedded under accusative subjects, as demonstrated in (34).

- (34) Ali mén-i<sub>k</sub> (\*) [t<sub>k</sub> siz-ge gül ber-d-i]] dé-d-i.  
 Ali I.ACC Op. you-DAT flower give-PST-3 say-PST-3  
 ‘Ali said that I<sub>Speaker</sub> gave you<sub>current-addressee</sub> a flower.’

In addition to cases like (34), where a dative does not shift, it is also unclear why accusative subjects cannot reconstruct within the scope of the monster under S&S. In other words, even in cases like (35), the fact that reconstruction is optional, should mean that shift is also optional, contrary to fact.

- (35) Ali mén-i<sub>k</sub> (\*) [t<sub>k</sub> ket-t-i]] dé-d-i.  
 Ali I.ACC Op. leave-PST-3 say-PST-3  
 ‘Ali said that I<sub>speaker</sub>/\*Ali left.’

In other words, given that NCIs, subjects of idioms, and de dicto readings all demonstrate that reconstruction is possible (or obligatory), it is unclear what prevents *meni* in cases like (35) from reconstructing below the monster and thus shifting to the matrix subject *Ali*. The present analysis makes this prediction straightforwardly.

To make this point even clearer, notice that even when indexicals are embedded within an NCI subject, they exhibit the same indexical shift patterns as simple 1st and 2nd person pronouns, as shown in (36).

- (36) a. Mahinur [mén-ing héchqaysi dost-um kel-me-y-du] dé-d-i.  
 Mahinur I-GEN no.which friend-1SG.POSS come-NEG-NONPST-3 say-PST-3  
 ‘Mahinur said none of my<sub>Mahinur's</sub>/\*Speaker's friends will come.’

- b. Mahinur [[mén-ing héchqaysi dost-um-ni]<sub>k</sub> [t<sub>k</sub> kel-me-y-du]] dé-d-i.  
 Mahinur I-GEN no.which friend-1SG.POSS-ACC come-NEG-NONPST-3 say-PST-3  
 ‘Mahinur said none of my<sub>Speaker’s</sub>/\*Mahinur’s friends will come.’

(36) offers indisputable evidence for complementary distribution between accusative subjects and monstrous operators. Both the present analysis and S&S predict that (36-a) should shift, given that the subject is nominative (unraised). However, (36-b), is entirely incompatible with S&S, as the accusative subject raises, obligatorily reconstructs for NCI licensing, yet the indexical does not and cannot shift.<sup>15</sup> This is suggestive that the embedding verb can introduce an accusative subject or the monster, but critically not both.

### 3.2.1 Agreement on embedded verbs

The embedded verb invariably exhibits 3rd person agreement when the subject is accusative, regardless of the subject’s  $\phi$ -features. In other words, the embedded verb does not show co-varying agreement, even when the accusative subject is 1st or 2nd person, as illustrated in (37-a) and (37-b) respectively.

- (37) a. Ahmet [méni ket-t-i/\*im] dé-d-i.  
 Ahmet [1SG.ACC leave-PAST-3/\*1SG] say-PST-3  
 ‘Ahmet said that I<sub>speaker</sub> left.’  
 b. Ahmet [siz-ni ket-t-i/\*ingiz] dé-d-i.  
 Ahmet [2SG.ACC leave-PAST-3/2SG] say-PST-3  
 ‘Ahmet said that you<sub>current-addressee</sub> left.’

This observation regarding the agreement mismatch was noted in S&S, but was left as an open question. Given that monsters and accusative subjects are in complementary distribution, the analysis of accusative subjects no longer need to have any direct relationship to constructions that contain monsters. In following with the Raising to Object/ECM literature on Turkish (George and Kornfilt, 1981; Zidani-Eroğlu, 1997)), I argue that the absence of expected agreement is correlated with non-finite clauses, while full agreement is correlated with finite clauses (i.e. tense is not a reliable indicator of finiteness). One crucial difference between Uyghur and Turkish, however, is that the Turkish literature suggests that there is no agreement (3rd person agreement is unmarked in Turkish), whereas Uyghur shows us that the lack of agreement is actually default 3rd person agreement, as shown in Table 1.

The 3rd person in Uyghur has a unique morphological exponent, while in Turkish it is impossible to differentiate between 3rd person agreement and no agreement. Turning back to the construction

at hand, it is clear that there is, in fact, agreement triggered (38).

- (38) Tursun méni két-i-du/\*men dé-d-i.  
 Tursun I.ACC leave-NONPST-3/\*1SG say-PST-3  
 ‘Tursun said that I will leave.’

Because the 3rd person form is triggered, the crucial modification needed for Uyghur is that finiteness correlates with successful/full agreement (i.e. matching  $\phi$ -features between the embedded subject and the embedded verb). The absence of expected case and agreement in Uyghur is thus indicative that the clause is non-finite.<sup>16</sup>

Before getting back to the implications of the finiteness distinction discussed above, two anonymous reviewers point to a set of apparent counterexamples introduced by S&S in their closing pages, provided in (39). These cases appear to be problematic because there happens to be non-default agreement in addition to an accusative-marked argument. At first glance, these data seem inconsistent with the claim that raising for accusative is explicitly correlated with default agreement. However, after some scrutiny, these accusative elements can clearly be shown to be proleptic, and thus the generalization that raising for accusative is strictly correlated with default agreement or “non-finite clauses”.<sup>17</sup>

- (39) (Adapted from S&S, 399:51)
- a. Ahmet Aygöl-ni [(siz) nan ye-p-siz] dé-d-i.  
 Ahmet Aygöl-ACC you bread eat-PST.INDIR-2SG say-PST-3  
 ‘Ahmet said of Aygul, you ate bread.’
  - b. Ahmet méni [(siz) nan ye-p-siz] dé-d-i.  
 Ahmet I.ACC you bread eat-PST.INDIR-2 say-PST-3  
 ‘Ahmet said of me, you ate bread.’
  - c. Men [peqet öz-em-ni-la (men) nan ye-y-men] dé-d-im.  
 I only self-1SG.POSS-ACC-ONLY I bread eat-NONPST-1SG say-PST-1SG  
 ‘I said only of myself, I will eat bread.’

First, in these examples, the accusative element does not actually control agreement. These examples show a 3rd person subject (39-a) and 1st person (39-b) accusative argument controlling 2nd person agreement on the embedded verb. The third example uninterestingly shows a 1st person accusative element occurring with 1st person agreement, but the availability of a nominative pronoun suggests this case, in addition to the other examples are instances of (resumptive) prolepsis.

Given that Uyghur exhibits both raising and prolepsis as options, it is necessary that the relevant controls be applied to each new construction - either the NCI licensing or idiom test. Interestingly,

the controls against prolepsis are not observed in (40), unlike the raising cases provided earlier.

- (40) a. Mahinur héchqaysi-miz-ni (siz) nan ye-p-siz dé-mi-d-i.  
 Mahinur no.which-1PL.POSS-ACC you bread eat-PST.INDIR say-NEG-PST-3  
 ‘Mahinur didn’t say of any of us, you ate bread.’
- b. \*Mahinur héchqaysi-miz-ni nan ye-me-p-siz dé-d-i.  
 Mahinur no.which-1PL.POSS-ACC bread eat-NEG-PST.INDIR-2SG say-PST-3  
 Intended: ‘Mahinur said of none of us, you ate bread.’

The NCI in this construction can be licensed by negation of the matrix verb (40-a), but not the embedded verb (40-b). NCI subjects control third person agreement, but yet connect to an optional 2nd person pronoun that controls 2nd person agreement. To the extent that these proleptic elements control agreement, it is indirectly mediated via co-reference with *pro* or the overt pronominal subject.

### 3.3 Agreement correlates with clause size

The crucial aspects of the finiteness distinction discussed throughout this section are critical moving forward. I make the assumption that  $T^\circ$  inherits its features from  $C^\circ$  (Chomsky, 2004, 2008). Given this assumption, it comes as no surprise that a structural reduction in the C-domain could be responsible for default (or defective) agreement, as we find with accusative subjects, while a full left periphery could give rise to full agreement. Thus, even though we see tense and evidentiality in these clauses, suggesting these clauses are rather large, it is the dominating C-domain that determines the case/agreement facts, as shown in (41).<sup>18</sup>

- (41) a. Tursun méni ket-t-i/két-ip-tu dé-d-i.  
 Tursun I.ACC leave-PST-3/PST.INDIR-3 say-PST.3  
 ‘Tursun said that  $I_{Speaker}$  left.’
- b. Tursun men ket-t-im/két-ipti-men dé-d-i.  
 Tursun I.NOM leave-PST-1SG/PST.INDIR-1SG say-PST-3  
 ‘Tursun said that  $I_{Tursun}$  left.’

Assuming the presence of a monstrous operator as evidence for a full C-domain in cases like (41-b), it is unsurprising that we find full agreement on/in the T domain in conjunction with indexical shift. Similarly, if the absence of the monster (and thus lack of shift) is evidence for a reduced clause, we can reasonably explain the unavailability of nominative case and the lack of full agreement.<sup>19</sup> In following with the raising literature in better studied languages, the status of these clauses as being non-finite and structurally reduced, has the unsurprising effect of exceptional case being licensed and raising permitted.

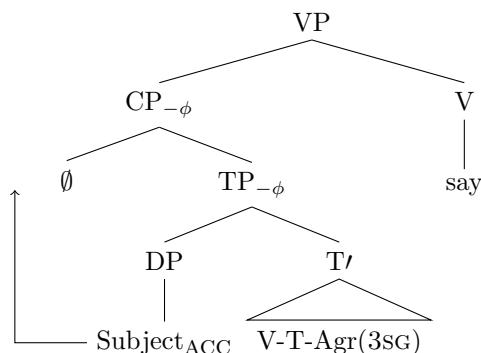
### 3.4 Analysis

At this point, I have illustrated the following: i) monsters and accusative embedded subjects are in complementary distribution (i.e. indexical shift and accusative subjects are in complementary distribution), ii) accusative embedded subjects only raise out of clauses with default agreement, and iii) accusative embedded subjects are more local to matrix subjects than nominative embedded subjects. Having identified these phenomena, this raises the question of how or if they can be accounted for under a unified analysis. Throughout the rest of this section, I discuss some analytical directions that account for the full range of data. Regardless of the analysis we adopt moving forward, the one fact that indisputably needs to be accounted for is that the “monstrous” operator and accusative subjects are in complementary distribution.

#### 3.4.1 “Finiteness” and Raising

One option involves linking these phenomena directly to finiteness/non-finiteness and Subject to Object raising in languages like English. Under this analysis,  $T^\circ$  inherits features from  $C^\circ$ , meaning that a defective  $C^\circ$  is incapable of transferring features to  $T^\circ$  (Chomsky, 2004, 2008). Thus if we make the assumption that case, person/number, and EPP features in tensed embedded clauses are dependent on a full CP, the lack of nominative case and prohibition on movement and defective (default, 3rd person) agreement are predicted. Although the option of an overt complementizer is not available, we can still point to the presence of the monstrous operator (diagnosable by indexical shift) as evidence for a full C(P). Therefore, it is only in environments where the monster merges into the structure that  $T^\circ$  inherits case, EPP, and  $\phi$  features (i.e. allows for a nominative subject and triggers full agreement on the embedded verb), which is precisely what the empirical facts show.

(42) *No indexical shift*



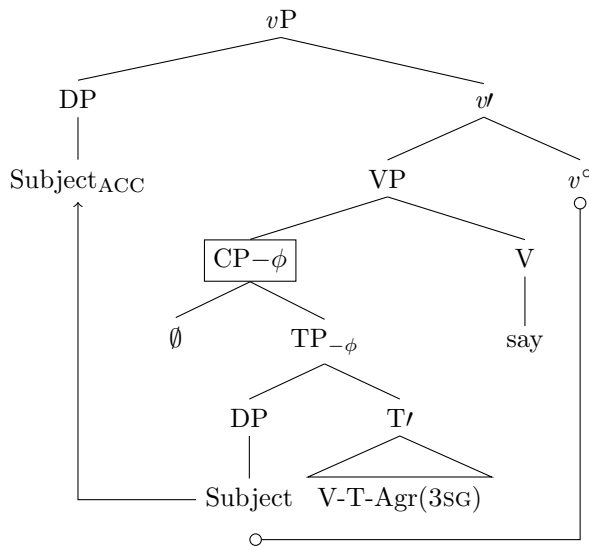
The proposal in (42) suggests the absence of the monster leads to obligatory raising of the

embedded subject, accusative case, and default agreement on the embedded verb. I maintain that this finiteness distinction, however we decide to cash it out, should be maintained to explain the ability to raise (or blocking of raising). As for the precise position that the accusative subject raises into, and why it raises in the first place, is too complex to address in the remaining space, but I do offer some options below.

### 3.4.2 Case-driven movement

The finiteness distinction discussed above predicts that raising should be possible iff the monster does not merge. However, movement is obligatory and this needs to be formally motivated. If we make the assumption that accusative case licensing is mediated by an Agree and attract relationship between a probe  $v^\circ$  and the closest active NP in its c-command domain, it would follow that the embedded subject would raise into Spec,  $vP$  as the result of an EPP feature on  $v^\circ$ . This is represented in (43).<sup>20</sup>

(43) *No indexical shift*



Given the reduced size of the embedded clause (lack of monster),  $T^\circ$  is unable to assign nominative case and is defective for agreement. As a result, the subject remains without case. For this reason, the embedded subject remains active for Agree, enters into an Agree relation with the matrix  $v^\circ$ , from which it gets accusative case and raises into the specifier position.

Furthermore, we must also block Agreement between  $v^\circ$  and the embedded subject when the monster is merged into the left periphery of the embedded clause. One way of accomplishing this would be to resort to the Activity Condition Chomsky (2001), as defined in (44).

- (44) **Activity Condition:** A goal must be active (i.e. bear some unvalued feature, e.g. Case) to be a valid target for Agree. (Asarina, 2011, 17)

If we adopt the Activity Condition, we can argue that when the monster is present and  $C^\circ$  is not defective,  $T^\circ$  inherits the relevant features and assigns nominative case to the embedded subject. As a result of nominative assignment, the subject is no longer active for further Agree (at least as it relates to case), and thus Agreement with  $v^\circ$  and subsequent raising and accusative assignment are prohibited.

However, there are reasons that we may not want to take this route. In particular, Asarina (2011) provides convincing argumentation that the Activity Condition is insufficient to account for a range of constructions in Uyghur (and beyond). Focusing more on genitive constructions and raising, Asarina manages to account for raising (and lack of raising) with the Phase Impenetrability Condition, as opposed to the Activity Condition, which is defined in (45).

- (45) **Chomsky’s (2001) Phase Impenetrability Condition ( $PIC_{weak}$ ):** In phase  $\alpha$  with head H, the domain of H is accessible to operations outside  $\alpha$  only until the next (strong) phase head is merged.

If we assume the monstrous operator to be a strong phase head, while the complementizer in accusative constructions is either non-existent or weak, we can account for the ban on raising, as it renders the clause embedded under it inaccessible. When the monster is not merged, it signifies that the clause is truncated (i.e. there is no strong phase head merged), which leads to default agreement and eliminates the ability for nominative case to be assigned. As a result,  $v^\circ$  probes into its complement and finds the closest DP (the subject), which it attracts into its specifier, assigning it accusative case in the process, which is fully in line with Chomsky (2000)’s analysis of accusative assignment. This gives rise to the same effect, by which raising and accusative licensing are banned when the monster is merged into the structure.

### 3.4.3 Dependent Case Theory (DCT)

As an anonymous reviewer notes, there is similar data in Sakha, where it has been claimed that accusative is actually a dependent case (Baker and Vinokurova, 2010; Levin and Preminger, 2015) that is not licensed by Agree with  $v^\circ$ . Under DCT, the analysis of the Sakha accusative case facts arise from the rule provided in (46).

- (46) **Sakha accusative case rule (Baker and Vinokurova, 2010):** If there are two distinct argumental NPs in the same phase such that NP1 c-commands NP2, then value the case feature of NP2 as accusative unless NP1 has already been marked for case.

The critical part of (46) for the present is the “same phase” part of the definition, which when applied to the embedded subjects requires raising, much like the alternative analyses offered earlier in this section. The primary difference is that DCT predicts that accusative case should appear in environments lacking  $v^\circ$  and the landing site of raised embedded subjects is in spec, CP. If clear evidence were to arise that accusative subjects do not raise into the matrix clause, the complementary distribution between monsters and accusative subjects, and the relationship between agreement and raising would still hold, despite the fact that it would require an independent explanation for where movement takes place and the precise landing site of this movement. More specifically, if we maintain the finiteness contrast in (42), we can still relate the inability to raise to intervention and/or finiteness. In other words, raising into the left periphery from within the clause embedded under the monster is banned, which results in the same ban on accusative subjects being licensed when the monster is merged into the structure.

### 3.5 Accusative subjects and the lexical status of monsters

One final discussion is in order related to one of the main contributions of S&S’s analysis, which is whether Uyghur provides syntactic evidence for the presence and position of a monster in the first place. Under S&S, it is obligatory that the monster be an independent lexical item (Anand and Nevins, 2004), because the landing site for accusative subjects intervenes between the attitude verb and the position where the monster takes scope. For this reason, they reject the possibility that indexical shift is a property of the attitude verb, which is directly responsible for quantifying over contexts, as argued for in Schlenker (1999, 2003). The present paper demonstrates that the monster and accusative subjects are in complementary distribution, which at first glance reopens the possibility that the mechanism responsible for indexical shift is build into the attitude verb itself; however, there are numerous reasons to maintain the presence of an operator present in the syntax.

The recurring generalization motivated in this paper has been that monsters and accusative subjects never co-occur. Given that accusative subjects seem to involve A-movement that cannot occur across monsters, it follows that a syntactic explanation is in order. Given the correlation between the monster and clause size, it follows that additional functional structure is present when shift takes place, as schematized in (47).



- (47) a. Tursun [méni<sub>i</sub> [CP- $\phi$   $\emptyset$  [TP ~~men~~<sub>i</sub> ket-ti ]]] dé-d-i.  
 b. \* Tursun [méni<sub>i</sub> [CP+ $\phi$   $\overset{\curvearrowright}{\curvearrowright}$  [TP ~~men~~<sub>i</sub> ket-ti-m ]]] dé-d-i.

The operator approach involves a syntactic element that when merged gives rise to additional functional structure and yields various morpho-syntactic consequences (case and agreement effects). If we consider the difference between shift/no-shift without an operator, the differences arise from the properties of the binder of the context variable associated with the attitude verb.

- (48) a.  $\lambda c$  Tursun say [c ... ]  
 b.  $\lambda c$  Tursun say  $\lambda c'$  [c' ... ]

Although Schlenker does not use lambda notation in his initial proposal, the gist of his analysis is outlined in (48), where indexical shift is conditioned by whether the context variable in the embedded clause is bound by the matrix clause (48-a) or the embedded clause (48-b).<sup>21</sup> However, under the operator approach, the presence of an independent lexical operator (the monster in this scase) requires more left peripheral structure, which is directly in parallel with the role of the complementizer in finite versus non-finite clauses in English.

Another reason to assume that the monster is an independent lexical item is that it appears that indexical shift or its absence involves selection. In other words, either an accusative argument or the monster is selected, but never both. One of the clearest pieces of evidence comes from comparing tensed embedded clauses to nominalized embedded clauses like (6-a), for which I assume the analysis in Asarina (2011), provided in (49).

- (49) Tursun [CP [AspP mén-ing ket-ken]-lik]- $\emptyset$ -im-ni dé-di.  
 Tursun I-GEN leave-PERF-COMP-NOUN-1SG.POSS-ACC say-PST.3  
 ‘Tursun said that I<sub>Speaker</sub>/\*Tursun left.’

Asarina argues that Uyghur nominalizations are essentially noun complement constructions, which can, but generally do not contain overt nouns. The crucial point here is that the CP is selected by a noun that is generally null, not by the attitude verb itself. Verbs that take clausal complements select for nominalizations that bear particular case-marking, such as (50), where *ishin-* selects a dative complement.

- (50) Tursun Ali-ning ket-ken-lik-i-ge/\*ni ishin-i-du.  
 Tursun Ali-GEN leave-PERF-COMP-3-DAT/ACC believe-NONPST-3  
 ‘Tursun believes that Ali left’

Now let's consider the main verb *de-* “say” with a nominalized complement clause. If indexical shift were triggered inside the speech verb *de-* “say”, there is no reason that the 1st person subject in the embedded clause in (51) should not shift, contrary to fact.

- (51) Tursun (\* $\ddot{\text{w}}$ ) [CP men-ing ket-ken-lik]- $\emptyset$ -im-\*(ni) dé-d-i.  
 Tursun Op I-GEN leave-PART-COMP-NOUN-1SG.POSS-ACC say-PST-3  
 Intended: ‘Tursun said that  $I_{Tursun}$  left.’

If we take the clausal accusative case marker to be licensed by the same source as accusative subjects, it would then follow that the monster cannot be selected if an accusative nominalization is selected. This is precisely what we see in (51). If it were simply an issue of binding, there is no simple semantic reason why there would be no context variable in the embedded clause that would show the same optionality as with tensed embedded clauses. Under this analysis, it is the operator that is only compatible with a tensed embedded clause, which is the only environment where indexical shift can take place.

## 4 Discussion and Conclusions

Given the results of this paper, an important next step is to determine the extent to which the data presented here can account for the empirical facts in related languages that exhibit similar properties, such as: Mishar Tatar (Podobryaev, 2014), Kazan Tatar (personal fieldwork) and Turkish (Şener and Şener, 2011; Özyıldız, 2012). In Turkish, for instance, nominative subjects with agreeing embedded verbs do not obligatorily trigger indexical shift. This means that Turkish has a non-defective embedded clause type that is not dominated by the monster (unlike Uyghur), which definitely requires further research. However, it should be noted that all of these languages have raising constructions with accusative embedded subjects<sup>22</sup> that strictly do not allow indexical shift. For instance, shift is banned for Turkish in (52-a).

- (52) a. Ali beni git-ti/m de-di.  
 Ali I.ACC leave-PST.3/1SG say-PST.3  
 ‘Ali said that  $I_{Speaker/*Ali}$  left.’  
 b. Ali ben git-ti-m de-di.  
 Ali I leave-PST-1SG say-PST.3  
 ‘Ali said that  $I_{Speaker/Ali}$  left.’ (Özyıldız, p.c.)

The analysis in this paper applies straightforwardly to account for the ban on shifting with accusative

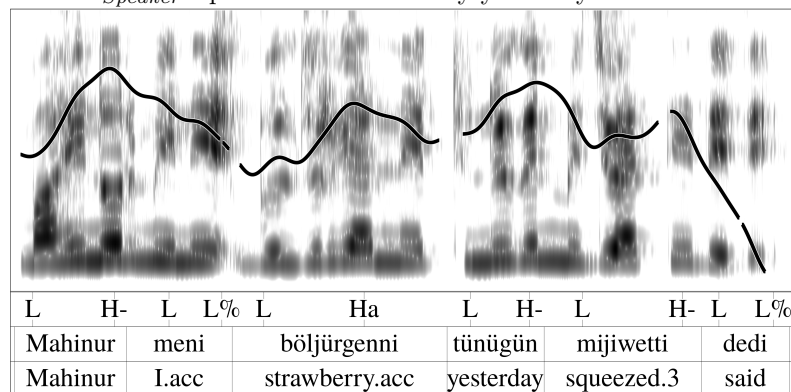
subjects in (52-a). The expansion of the empirical coverage of these ECM-like constructions across languages that show an alternation between them and constructions that display indexical shift, would help us uncover new generalizations about the (morpho-)syntax of indexical shift. It would be especially interesting to determine the extent to which this applies outside of Turkic.

## 5 Conclusion

In this paper, I have argued for crucial modifications to S&S’s syntactic analysis of indexical shift in Uyghur. First, I demonstrated that there are two distinct types of clausal embedding different morpho-syntactic and semantic properties: one finite structure that involves a monstrous operator that causes indexicals to shift and gives rise to expected co-varying agreement between a nominative subject and a verb; the other involves a truncated embedded clause that displays default (3rd person) agreement with an accusative subject. As a result of this analysis, the argumentation by S&S that the position of accusative subjects requires that indexical shift be the result of a lexical operator that is not directly associated with speech/attitude verbs no longer holds. However, I suggest based on issues related to intervention and selection that we should maintain the operator analysis anyway.

## Figures

- (53) ‘Adil said that  $I_{Speaker}$  squeezed the strawberry yesterday’ with no indexical shift.



|     | Uyghur            | Turkish              | Translation   |
|-----|-------------------|----------------------|---------------|
| 1sg | ket-i- <b>men</b> | gid-iyor- <b>um</b>  | ‘I leave’     |
| 2sg | ket-i- <b>siz</b> | gid-iyor- <b>sun</b> | ‘You leave’   |
| 3   | ket-i- <b>du</b>  | gid-iyor             | ‘S/he leaves’ |

Table 1: Non-past paradigm for ‘leave’

|                           | Finite EC | Non-finite EC |
|---------------------------|-----------|---------------|
| <b>Monster</b>            | ✓         | ✗             |
| <b>Nominative subject</b> | ✓         | ✗             |
| <b>Full Agreement</b>     | ✓         | ✗             |

Table 2: *Summary of Uyghur tensed embedded clauses*

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## Notes

<sup>1</sup>Uyghur is spoken by approximately 10 million people primarily in The Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region in The People’s Republic of China. In addition to China, there are many speakers in the neighboring regions of Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan, in addition to diaspora communities around the world. All Uyghur Latin characters correspond to their IPA counterparts with the following exceptions: ⟨e⟩ = [ɛ/æ], ⟨é⟩ = [e], ⟨gh⟩ = [ɣ], ⟨j⟩ = [ʤ], ⟨ng⟩ = [ŋ], ⟨ö⟩ = [ø], ⟨r⟩ = [r/r̥], ⟨sh⟩ = [ʃ], ⟨ch⟩ = [tʃ], ⟨ü⟩ = [y], ⟨y⟩ = [j], ⟨zh⟩ = [ʒ]. All transcriptions and spelling conventions are based on standard Uyghur conventions. All examples, including those taken from S&S are modified to reflect standardized Uyghur spellings to the best of my abilities.

This paper uses the following glossing conventions and abbreviations: 1st person = 1, 2nd person = 2, 3rd person = 3, singular = SG, plural = PL, possessive = POSS, ablative = ABL, genitive = GEN, accusative = ACC, dative = DAT, complementizer = COMP, past = PST, indirect past = PST.INDIR perfective = PERF, imperfective = IMPF. I modified all S&S examples to follow the same conventions.

<sup>2</sup>Almost all of the examples use the simple *di/ti* past tense form, but this is strictly for expository purposes. As far as I am aware, the choice of tense has no relevant effect on the data within this paper.

<sup>3</sup>The difference between 3rd person marking is not relevant for present purposes. The differences derive from both morpho-phonological and morpho-syntactic properties that fall outside the scope of this paper.

<sup>4</sup>See S&S for more thorough argumentation against a proleptic analysis.

<sup>5</sup>The example provided in (10) differs from S&S only in the presence of the agreement marker *-i* on *tolghaq*. For all of my consultants, the *-i* agreement marker is required, but the analytical point still holds.

<sup>6</sup>Contrary to what S&S found, the consultants that I have worked with universally reject accusative subjects under passivization.

<sup>7</sup>My consultants find accusative-marking in (20-b) worse than accusative in (19), but still acceptable. For this reason, I labeled these as “?”, contrary to S&S who mark it ungrammatical.

<sup>8</sup>S&S illustrate the height of the subject using the reflexive anaphor *öz* to demonstrate structural height, which is technically inconclusive because it is a long distance anaphor not subject to condition A, not unlike Turkish *kendi* (for discussion of both Uyghur and Turkish reflexives, see Kornfilt (2001)).

<sup>9</sup>See Özyıldız et al. (2018) for an analysis of Turkish *diye* complementation in the same vein. The authors argue that *diye* should be treated as a combination of *de* “say” and a conjunction *-ye*, which is not an instance of standard subordination, but conjunction.

<sup>10</sup>My consultants find accusative-marking acceptable, but slightly marked c.f. S&S.

<sup>11</sup>The Turkic data runs contrary to the double accusative constraint, which does hold in languages like Japanese Hiraiwa (2010).

<sup>12</sup>Predolac (2017) provides detailed discussion for a similar construction in Turkish

<sup>13</sup>Pronouns must receive accusative case (when no shift occurs), as they do in mono-clausal transitive constructions. On the other hand, proper names optionally receive accusative case in subject position, but must get accusative case when they are direct objects in simple transitive contexts. Native speakers recognize a difference, but find it difficult to articulate.

<sup>14</sup>There is further discussion of *dep* in Section 2.2.2, but it is simplified here for expository purposes.

<sup>15</sup>In addition to the verb *de-* “say”, shift is also acceptable in all *dep* environments. This suggests a tight relationship between *de-* “say” and the monster.

- (54) a. Tursun [ $\overset{\circ}{\text{w}}$ ] qiz-im aghrip.qal-d-i de-p] ket-t-i.  
 Tursun Op. daughter-1SG.POSS get.sick-PST-3 say-IP leave-PST-3  
 ‘Tursun mentioned my<sub>Tursun’s/\*Speaker’s</sub> daughter got sick and left.’  
 b. Tursun [qiz-im-ni ( $\overset{\circ}{\text{w}}$ ) aghrip.qal-d-i de-p] ket-t-i.  
 Tursun daughter-1SG.POSS-ACC Op. get.sick-PST-3 say-IP leave-PST-3  
 ‘Tursun mentioned that my<sub>Speaker’s/\*Tursun’s</sub> daughter got sick and left.’

<sup>16</sup>There are other language-internal reasons to assume that 3rd person agreement is a default marker. One such example comes from so-called *izafet* constructions, where the *-i* marker appears unexpectedly on nominals in Noun-Noun constructions (e.g. *eptiday-i jemiyat* ‘origin-3 society’), which happens to be homophonous with the 3rd person form.

One potential solution to this puzzle would be to assume Moore (1998)’s analysis of Turkish, which argues that the tail of the chain created by raising is *pro*. An additional stipulation would be necessary; namely, that *pro* bears 3rd person features, despite the fact that the raised subject bears distinct phi-features. An alternative would be to treat the default, 3rd person morpheme as a morphological requirement as opposed to a syntactic object. A claim of this sort would essentially look like the mirror image of L-insertion in Arregi and Nevins (2012), where a default morpheme is inserted to prevent T<sup>o</sup> occurring initially. Thinking in these terms, the Uyghur 3rd person agreement marker would essentially result in preventing T-finality.

<sup>17</sup>I changed the embedded tense, the translation, and inserted the optional nominal pronominal subject. The tense was changed strictly because it is more natural for speakers.

An anonymous reviewer points to a similar construction in Sakha, another Turkic language, where it is claimed to be possible for an accusative subject to control agreement on the embedded verb. This is not possible in Uyghur, unless the accusative subject is proleptic. In Sakha, I have not seen evidence that 1st and 2nd person accusative subjects are derived by raising. Given that prolepsis is an option in the language, these diagnostics are necessary to reach conclusions about case/agreement.

<sup>18</sup>See Korotkova (To Appear) for relevant discussion of clause size and evidentiality in Turkish.

<sup>19</sup>It is possible that the C-layer is entirely absent, but because the clause hosts tense, evidentiality, and agreement,

it seems less controversial to treat this structure as a CP without an overt complementizer. Nothing hinges on this choice, as assuming the absence of the C-domain equally correlates with non-finiteness based on the logic presented here. Furthermore, an anonymous reviewer compares this data to Sakha, where it is argued that the accusative never escapes the embedded CP. If this were in fact proven for Uyghur (there is no evidence currently), the present analysis as it relates to indexical shift could simply be recast as a ban on raising over the context-shifting operator.

<sup>20</sup>The extent to which the ban against raising out of finite clauses is illicit is questionable given recent work on so-called *hyperraising*, where a number of languages allow raising out of finite clauses. A number of analyses unrelated to indexical shift have been proposed to account for these scenarios, but a deeper discussion is outside the scope of this paper. For more details, see Martins and Nunes (2005, 2010); Ferreira (2009); Zeller (2006); ?; Carstens (2011); Diercks (2012); Halpert (2012); Zyman (2017).

<sup>21</sup>Technically speaking, one could make the argument that the embedded clause in (48-b) is larger, given the presence of the local binder, giving rise to a similar finiteness/clause size distinction discussed throughout this paper, but I am unaware of any parallels with e.g. worlds that would give rise to meaningful case/movement distinctions in the syntax.

<sup>22</sup>ECM constructions also exist in Sakha (Baker and Vinokurova, 2010), another Turkic language, but indexical shift is not discussed.