Island Sensitivity and Case Matching in Uyghur Pseudo-Prolepsis
Jack Isaac Rabinovitch

Abstract. Movement and binding constitute two classes of dependencies between nominals. Movement dependencies tend to have stricter locality requirements and involve connectivity effects between positions, while binding can often occur over longer distances and does not involve featural connectivity between the two positions. While the objects in movement are restricted to be identical — only surfacing differently in the case of deletion or use of pronominals — the objects of a binding dependency can have independent lexical content (Nunes 1995; Aoun et al. 2001). This paper concerns a kind of dependency between two DPs in Uyghur, originally classified as proleptic (Major 2021a; Rabinovitch 2022), in which the two positions associated with the dependency possess the locality restrictions and case connectivity effects of movement, while also having the independence of form associated with a binding dependency. This paper argues that this construction, dubbed here as ‘pseudo-prolepsis’, is a form of subextraction, in which a complex DP contains two coreferent DPs, one of which undergoes movement into a higher position. Locality and connectivity properties of the dependency derive from this movement, while the presence of a coreferent DP in the base position gives the illusion that the movement involves a chain of two lexically independent elements. The existence of ‘pseudo-prolepsis’ demonstrates that the independence of form between two elements in a dependency is not sufficient to rule out a movement dependency or diagnose binding.

Keywords. prolepsis; Uyghur; Turkic; cross-clausal dependencies; subextraction; connectivity; islands; case matching

1. Introduction. Major (2021a) and Rabinovitch (2022) describe an apparently proleptic construction in Uyghur, in which a DP at the left of an embedded clause is interpreted as necessarily coreferent with a pronoun or DP within the embedded clause.¹ This DP is understood as having an aboutness relation with the embedded proposition, denoting what the proposition of the embedded clause is ‘about’. In (1-a), the DP Aygül-ni is marked with accusative case and is necessarily coreferent with the nominative subject pronoun u or DP u güzel ayal; the resulting sentence denotes a belief about Aygül, namely that she ate the pilaf. Similarly, in (1-b), Aygül-ni is necessarily coreferent with the object pronoun uni or DP u güzel ayal-uni, and is understood as holding an aboutness-relation with the embedded proposition.

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While previously described as proleptic because of the mandatory binding between lexically independent DPs, this construction has two properties which give pause to the notion that it is truly prolepsis: island sensitivity and case connectivity.

While the relationship between proleptic object and resumptive in proleptic constructions is understood to be island insensitive (Salzmann 2017; Lohninger et al. 2022), the apparent proleptic construction in Uyghur is ungrammatical when the higher DP and its correlate pronoun/DP are separated by islands. In (2), the DP Abliz-ni appears to the left of the embedded clause; the relative clause island, denoted in angle brackets, contains a pronoun/DP which can potentially corefer with Abliz-ni. However, the sentence is ungrammatical — neither an interpretation where Abliz-ni corefers with the embedded pronoun/DP, nor one where the two have disjoint reference, is grammatical.

(2) * Reyhan Abliz-ni [ Ghéni < { uni / u güzel ayal }i/sj er-ni/sj ] kör-gen ayal-ni >
Reyhan Abliz-acc [ Ghéni < { 3sg.acci/sj / dem.dist man-acci/sj } see-pfv girl-acc >
yaxshi kör-i-du ] dep ishin-i-du.

good see-npst-3 COMP believe-npst-3

Intended: ‘Reyhan believes about Abliz that Ghéni liked the girl that saw {him/that man}i/sj.’

While proleptic objects and resumptives are generally understood as not undergoing any feature sharing with one another (Lohninger et al. 2022), the apparent proleptic construction in Uyghur requires that the higher DP matches the case of its correlate pronoun/DP if the correlate pronoun/DP has oblique case. In (3), the higher DP Aygül-ge appears to the left of the embedded clause; the correlate is a dative pronoun uninggha or DP u güzel ayal-gha which mandatorily corefers with the Aygül-ge. While higher DPs which correspond to nominative (1-a) or accusative (1-b) correlates surface as accusative, Aygül-ge can only be marked with dative case, matching the dative of the correlate.

(3) Roshen Aygül-{ni/ge/*din} [ Ghéni { uninggha / u güzel ayal-gha }i/sj ]
Roshen Aygül-{acc/dat/abl} [ Ghéni { 3sg.dat / dem.dist beautiful girl-dat }i/sj ]
gül ber-d-i ] dep ishin-i-du.

flower give-pst-3 COMP believe-npst-3

‘Roshen believes of Aygül that Ghéni gave {her/that beautiful girl}i/sj a flower.’

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2 That is, no agreement related feature sharing — often the two DPs will have the same \(\phi\)-features, but these generate in each position independently, and are the same due to coreference, rather than agreement.
Properties like island sensitivity and case matching are not only incompatible with prolepsis, but are generally diagnostic of movement, rather than binding configurations (Salzmann 2017; Lohninger et al. 2022). However, the ability for the two DPs to have completely different lexical content at first sight rules out that the two spell-out different parts of a single movement chain. The question thus arises: is this construction in Uyghur reducible to one of the two dependency types? If so, what explains its peculiar properties?

In this paper, I argue that the apparently proleptic constructions discussed above are actually derivable as a form of subextraction, in which a complex DP containing both the higher DP and the coreferent pronoun/DP is generated within an argument position of the embedded clause, from which the higher DP undergoes movement into the left periphery of the embedded CP, stranding its coreferent pronoun/DP. Because such a configuration involves a movement, rather than binding dependency, I call it pseudo-prolepsis to distinguish it from ‘true’ proleptic constructions. I show how subextraction is correctly able to predict the properties of pseudo-prolepsis. The existence of pseudo-prolepsis demonstrates that the difference in form of two coreferent DPs is not a sufficient diagnostic to dismiss possible movement dependencies.

Throughout this paper I use the terms ‘pseudo-proleptic object’ to refer to the higher of the two DPs in a dependency (c.f. the proleptic object in true prolepsis), and ‘correlate’ to refer to the lower of the two DPs (c.f. the resumptive pronoun/DP in true prolepsis).

2. **Pseudo-Prolepsis is not Proleptic.** Prolepsis is a cross-clausal dependency involving two syntactic elements: a proleptic object and a resumptive pronoun or DP. The proleptic object is base generated in an A-position of the matrix clause, and mandatorily binds a resumptive pronoun or DP (Davies 2005; Salzmann 2006, 2017; Lohninger et al. 2022). Because such a binding dependency involves two distinct elements, prolepsis in many languages can involve a configuration in which the proleptic object and resumptive are non-identical full DPs. For example, in German, the resumptive can be a demonstrative pronoun (4-a) or a DP with more material than the proleptic object itself (4-b).

(4) German, Salzmann 2017 p. 4 ex. 6a, 7
   a. der Typ, von dem, ich vermute, dass der Maria heiraten will the guy of who.DAT 1SG.NOM suspect.1SG COMP dem Maria marry-INF want.3SG
   ‘the guy of whom I suspect he wants to marry Maria’
   b. Das ist ein Schweinchen, von dem, ich glaube, dass alle hoffen, dass niemand das putzige Tierchen, essen will.
   ich glaube, dass alle hoffen, dass niemand das putzige Tierchen, essen will.
   ‘This is a piglet of which, I believe that everyone hopes that no one wants to eat the sweet little animal.’

As seen briefly in the introduction, Uyghur’s pseudo-proleptic constructions allow for the correlate to vary between pronoun and DP as well (1), where either a third person pronoun u or a full DP with a demonstrative and adjective u güzel ayal ‘that beautiful girl’ are acceptable. Because the binding relationship in prolepsis is mandatory, proleptic clauses are only grammatical in the presence of both a proleptic object and a bound resumptive. In the German (5), the word *Computern* has a salient semantic relationship with the embedded clause (perhaps *aboutness*). However, because no syntactic constituent in the embedded clause is coreferent
with *Computern*, there is no possible binding relation, and the configuration is ungrammatical.

(5) German Salzmann 2017 p. 6 ex. 9a

* Von Computern finde ich, dass jeder einen PC kaufen sollte.

Intended, literal: ‘Of computers, I think that everyone should buy a PC.’

Uyghur pseudo-prolepsis functions similarly; a pseudo-proleptic object cannot be licensed if there is no syntactic position for the correlate. In (6-a), the word *compiyotér-lar-ni* ‘computers’ is pragmatically salient as what the embedded clause is ‘about’, but is not available as a pseudo-proleptic object because there is no syntactic position for a correlate. Such a meaning can only be constructed paraphrastically, as in (6-b), where *compiyotér-lar-ning* appears as a topic. From this we can tell that pseudo-prolepsis at the very least involves a mandatory dependency, as opposed to a simple (non-binding) *aboutness* relation like in (6-b).


   A ygül computer-pl-acc [ PC all-abl good ] comp believe-npst-3

   Intended, literal: ‘A ygül believes of computers that PCs are the best’


   A ygül [ computer-pl-gen in-poss3-dat PC all-abl good comp ] believe-npst-3

   ‘A ygül believes that among computers, PCs are the best’

If Uyghur pseudo-prolepsis is an instance of prolepsis, then what else would we expect from the construction? Because prolepsis is regulated by non-movement binding, we expect it to be as (un)restricted as other binding dependencies with respect to locality. We also expect that the pseudo-proleptic object, as a proleptic object, to be base-generated outside of the embedded clause. Being generated outside of the embedded clause would restrict the pseudo-proleptic object to receiving case locally from the matrix clause, and would also prevent any kind of reconstruction of the pseudo-proleptic object into the embedded clause. These expectations are not borne out. I take the rest of this section to demonstrate that the island sensitivity and case-matching effects of pseudo-prolepsis are evidence for a movement dependency.

2.1. ISLAND SENSITIVITY. Island sensitivity is generally thought to be a property of movement, with islandhood being defined by an inability for movement/agreement processes to happen between items inside and outside of the island (Ross 1967; Chomsky 1973).

(7) Island Sensitivity to Movement:

   For a movement island <XP> and an element YP:

   * YP_1 . . . < . . . t_1 . . . >_XP

While the sentence in (2) involves a movement island, there is no reason why the ungrammaticality in (2) could not derive from restrictions on locality in binding in general, rather than movement-specific restrictions. If the island sensitivity of pseudo-prolepsis is a byproduct of restrictions on locality in binding, rather than movement, then the island sensitivity seen in (2) would not be diagnostic of movement. As we will see, various islands which prevent pseudo-proleptic dependencies from forming all generally allow for binding into the island.

2.1.1. RELATIVE CLAUSE ISLANDS. The sentence in (2), repeated in (8), demonstrates the inability for pseudo-prolepsis to target a correlate within a relative clause island. Here, neither the
third person pronoun *uni* nor a complex DP like *u er-ni* ‘that man’ can be the correlate of the pseudo-proleptic object *Abliz-ni*, and, as the correlate is required in a pseudo-proleptic clause, the resulting sentence is ungrammatical.

   Intended: ‘Reyhan believes about Abliz, that Ghéni likes the girl that saw {him/that man}i/j.’

Compare (8) to the grammatical sentence in (9), where the island external element *Ghéni* is targeted as the correlate rather than a NP internal element *Abliz-ni*.

   ‘Reyhan believes about Ghéni, that {he/that man}i/j likes the girl that saw Abliz.’

Does this sensitivity to relative clause islands extend to binding in general? In order to test for this we first should discuss that Uyghur finite embedded clauses undergo mandatory indexical shift. Generally, the DP arguments of attitude verbs are participants in the attitude: the attitude holder/author, or the target/addressee of an embedded speech report. As a result, when the subject or other arguments of an attitude predicate bind into the embedded clause, the bound DPs surface with first/second person, reflecting the that those referents are assigned shifted first/second person features. The availability for shifted indexicals to exist within islands then demonstrates an ability for binding into an island in Uyghur. In (10), the quantified DP *her bir oqughuchi* ‘every student’ in the subject of the matrix clause binds a first person pronoun *méni* within a relative clause island. The first person pronoun *méni* shifts to refer to (the quantified over) attitude holder of the embedded clause, demonstrating that binding into relative clause islands is generally allowed in Uyghur.3

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3 One possibility is that the rules which govern binding into third person pronouns differs from those of binding into indexicals. If this is the case, it is unclear whether the availability for binding in (10) is a proper counter-example to the inability for pseudo-prolepsis into a relative clause island. Luckily, Uyghur’s first person pronouns have a *de se* requirement (Sudo 2010): DPs referring to an attitude holder only surface as first person if the DP is interpreted *de se*, where the attitude holder is aware that they are the individual which they have a given attitude about. Attitude verb subjects (the attitude holder) can thus bind non-*de se* third person pronouns. The sentence in (i) has a *non-de se* context, in which each student holds an attitude about themselves, unaware that they are the individuals about which they have an attitude. Here, a third person pronoun *uni* within a relative clause island may still be bound by the matrix subject *her bir oqughuchi* ‘every student’, further demonstrating that binding is not sensitive to such islands.

(i) **Context:** Every student has a video taken of them; for each video, the student is facing away from the camera, so that a viewer cannot tell who the student is. A girl and the teacher Ghéni appear in the video. The girl looks at the student, and then smiles at Ghéni, who smiles back. Each student sees the video of themselves, and, not recognize themselves, comes to the conclusion that Ghéni likes the girl who sees the person in the video.

*Her bir oqughuchi* öz-i, i-ken-lik-i-ni bil-mey, [ Ghéni < *uni* kör-gen ayal-ni > every student, self-poss3, cop-ptcp-nmz-poss3-acc know-NEG [ Ghéni < 3SG.ACC see-ptcp girl-ACC >
2.1.2. Conjunct Islands. Pseudo-prolepsis is also sensitive to conjunct islands. In (11), a pseudo-proleptic object is unable to surface with either a pronominal \( u \) or a DP \( u \) er ‘that man’ correlate within a conjunct island denoted in angle brackets.

\[
\text{(11) } \text{ Reyhan Muhemmet-ni, } [\text{tünügün } < \{ u \ / \ u \ \text{er} \} i/j \text{ we Abliz } > \text{polu}
\]
\[
\text{ Reyhan Muhemmet-acc, } [\text{yesterday } < \{3\text{SG.NOM} / \text{DEM.DIST man} \} i/j \text{ and Abliz } > \text{pilaf}
\]
\[
\text{yé-d-i } ] \text{ dep ishin-i-du.}
\]
\[
eat-pst-3 \text{ comp believe-npst-3}
\]
\[
\text{Intended: ‘Reyhan believes of Muhemmet, that yesterday \{he/that man\} \text{ and Abliz ate pilaf.’}
\]

Compare to the grammatical (12), where the entire conjunct is targetted for for pseudo-prolepsis.

\[
\text{(12) Reyhan < Muhemmet-ni } [\text{tünügün } < \{ u \ \text{lar} / \ u \}
\]
\[
\text{ Reyhan < Muhemmet-acc and Abliz-acc } > [\text{yesterday } \{3\text{PL.NOM} / \text{DEM.DIST}
\]
\[
oqughuchi-lar \} i, \text{ polu yé-d-i } ] \text{ dep ishin-i-du.}
\]
\[
\text{student-pl } \} i, \text{ pilaf eat-pst-3 } \text{ comp believe-npst-3}
\]
\[
\text{‘Reyhan believes of [Muhemmet and Abliz], that yesterday \{ they / those students \} \text{ and Abliz ate pilaf.’}
\]

Binding into conjunct islands is generally allowed in Uyghur, as shown by the ability for a quantified subject to bind pronominals within conjunct islands. In (13) \( \text{her bir oqughuchi} \) ‘every student’ binds the shifted first person pronoun \( \text{men} \) within a conjunct island.

\[
\text{(13) Her bir oqughuchi, } [\text{tünügün } < \text{Muhemmet we men } > \text{polu yé-d-uq } ] \text{ dep}
\]
\[
\text{every student, } [\text{yesterday } < \text{Muhemmet and 1SG.NOM } > \text{pilaf eat-pst-1pl } ] \text{ comp}
\]
\[
ishin-i-du.
\]
\[
\text{believe-npst-3}
\]
\[
\text{‘Every student, believes that (s)he, and Muhemmet ate pilaf yesterday.’}
\]

2.1.3. Adjunct Islands. This pattern continues to holds for adjunct islands. In (14), a pseudo-proleptic object is ungrammatical with an adjunct island internal correlate, regardless whether it is pronominal \( u \) or a DP \( u \) eqilliq proféssor ‘the clever professor’.

\[
\text{(14) } \text{ Abliz Ghéni-ni, } [\text{Ayğül dukan-ghan bar-d-i, } < \text{chünkí } \{ u \ / \ u \ \text{eqilliq}
\]
\[
\text{ Abliz Ghéni-acc, } [\text{Ayğül store-dat } \text{go-pst-3 } < \text{because } \{3\text{SG.NOM} / \text{DEM.DIST clever }
\]
\[
\text{profésor } i/j \text{ süt ich-meq-chi } ] \text{ dep ishin-i-du.}
\]
\[
\text{professor } i/j \text{ milk drink-inf-desir } ] \text{ comp believe-npst-3}
\]
\[
yaxshi kor-i-du ] \text{ dep ishin-i-du.}
\]
\[
good see-npst-3 \text{ comp believe-npst-3}
\]
\[
\text{‘Every student, without recognizing himself/herself, believes that Ghéni likes the girl that saw him/her.’}
\]
Intended: ‘Abliz believes of Ghéni that Aygüł went to the store because {he/the clever professor}i/j wanted to drink milk.’

When pseudo-prolepsis targets an island-external correlate (15), grammaticality is restored.

because Ghéni milk drink-inf-desir > ] comp believe-npst-3
‘Abliz believes of Aygüł, that {she/the clever professor}i went to the store because Ghéni wanted to drink milk.’

Binding into adjunct islands is acceptable in Uyghur; in (16), the quantified subject her bir oqughuchi ‘every student’ binds the shifted first person pronoun men.

‘Every studenti believes Aygüł went to the store because (s)hei wanted to drink milk.’

Across all three islands, binding into the island from a DP in the matrix clause is allowed, while pseudo-prolepsis targetting a correlate within the island is disallowed, suggesting that pseudo-prolepsis patterns with movement, and not binding, with respect to island constaints.

2.2. Case Matching. Because proleptic objects are generated within the matrix clause and are only related to resumptives via binding, they cannot receive features associated with the position of their resumptives, such as case (Salzmann 2017; Lohninger et al. 2022). If pseudo-prolepsis is truly proleptic, we expect case marking on the pseudo-proleptic object and its correlate to be unrelated, each licensed by their own, independent positions. When the correlate receives oblique case marking, however, pseudo-proleptic objects appear to match in case with their correlates. In (3), repeated in (17), a DP at the left edge of an embedded clause corefering to a dative argument of the embedded predicate is necessarily marked dative. If pseudo-proleptic constructions could be marked exclusively with accusative, (17) should be fine with an accusative pseudo-proleptic object, and yet, only dative case is allowed.

flower give-pst-3 ] comp believe-npst-3
‘Roshen believes of Aygüł, that Ghéni gave {her/that beautiful girl}i/*j a flower.’

Pseudo-proleptic clauses in which the correlate is ablative have variable acceptability (varying among a single speaker across sessions) — when acceptable, however, the pseudo-proleptic object must be assigned ablative case, matching the correlate.

(18) Roshen Aygüł-{*ni/*ge/*din}, [ Ghéni { uningdin / u güzel ayal-din }i/*j Roshen Aygüł-{acc/dat/abl} [ Ghéni { 3sg.abl / dem.dist beautiful girl-abl }i/*j
qorq-i-du dep ishin-i-du.

fear-NPST-3 COMP believe-NPST-3

‘Roshen believes of Aygül, that Ghéni fears {her/that beautiful girl}_i suc.

Is this truly a case of case matching, or perhaps some effect of the matrix predicate? The examples we have seen so far involve the verb ishin ‘believe’, which can only take a dative object. In (19-a), a human-denoting object of believe must take dative case. In (19-b) a nominalized clausal object denoting the content of a belief must also receive dative case.

(19)  a. Tursun Aygül-{*ni/ge/*din} ishin-i-du.

Tursun Aygül- {ACC/DAT/ABL} believe-NPST-3

‘Tursun believes Aygül.’


Tursun Aygül-GEN Meryem-ACC see-PTCP-NMZ-POSS3-{ACC/DAT/ABL} believe-NPST-3

‘Tursun believes that Aygül saw Meryem.’

How can we tell that the dative case marking on the pseudo-proleptic object in (17) is truly an instance of case matching and not somehow licensed by the matrix clause? Uyghur contains a host of other attitude verbs which license various cases, including bil ‘know’, which licenses accusative case, qorq ‘fear’, which licenses ablative case, and warqiri ‘scream’, which generally does not take objects. In (20), bil ‘know’ licenses both DP and TP nominalization objects, interpreted as themes (things known by the attitude holder) and receive accusative case.

(20)  a. Tursun Aygül- {ni/*ge/*din} bil-i-du.

Tursun Aygül- {ACC/DAT/ABL} know-NPST-3

‘Tursun knows Aygül.’

b. Tursun Aygül-ning Meryem-ni kör-gen-lik-i- {ni/*ge/*din} bil-i-du.

Tursun Aygül-GEN Meryem-ACC see-PTCP-NMZ-POSS3- {ACC/DAT/ABL} know-NPST-3

‘Tursun knows that Aygül saw Meryem.’

In (21), qorq ‘fear’ licenses both DP and TP nominalization objects, interpreted as themes (things feared by the attitude holder) and receive ablative case.

(21)  a. Tursun Aygül- {*ni/*ge/din} qorq-i-du.

Tursun Aygül- {ACC/DAT/ABL} fear-NPST-3

‘Tursun fears Aygül.’


Tursun Aygül-GEN Meryem-ACC see-PTCP-NMZ-POSS3- {ACC/DAT/ABL} fear-NPST-3

‘Tursun fears that Aygül saw Meryem.’

In (22), warqiri ‘scream’ is unable to license any DP or TP nominalized object.

(22)  a. * Tursun birnémi-ler-{ni/ge/din} warqiri-d-i.

Tursun one.what-PL- {ACC/DAT/ABL} scream-PST-3

Intended: ‘Tursun screamed something.’


Tursun Aygül-GEN Meryem-ACC see-PTCP-NMZ-POSS3- {ACC/DAT/ABL} scream-PST-3

Intended: ‘Tursun screamed that Aygül saw Meryem.’
Despite this, *ishin* ‘believe’, *bil* ‘know’, *qorq* ‘fear’, and *warqiri* ‘scream’ all act identically with respect to case licensing on pseudo-proleptic objects. In (23), we see (1-a) tested across our four verbs and various cases. The correlate is either a nominative pronoun *u* or DP *u güzel ayal* ‘that beautiful girl’; the pseudo-proleptic object can only ever surface as accusative.

(23) Roshen *Aygül-{ni/*ge/*din}i*; [ { *u* / *u* güzel ayal }i; polu-ni
Roshen *Aygül-{acc/dat/abl}i*; [ { 3sg.nom / dem.dist beautiful girl }i; pilaf-acc
yé-d-i ] dep { *bil* / *qorq* / *warqiri* / *ishin* }-i-du.
eat-pst-3 comp { know / fear / scream / believe }-npst-3
‘Roshen *{knows/fears/screams/believes} about Aygül, that she/that beautiful girl}i; ate the pilaf.’

(24), expanded from (1-b), involves a correlate in the object position of an accusative-licensing verb. The correlate is either the accusative pronoun *uni* or DP *u güzel ayal-ni* ‘that beautiful girl’. Only accusative pseudo-proleptic objects are acceptable, regardless of matrix predicate.

(24) Roshen *Aygül-{ni/*ge/*din}i*; [ Ghéni { *uni* / *u* güzel ayal-ni }i
Roshen *Aygül-{acc/dat/abl}i*; [ Ghéni { 3sg.acc / dem.dist beautiful girl-acc }i;
söy-d-i ] dep { *bil* / *qorq* / *warqiri* / *ishin* }-i-du.
kiss-pst-3 comp { know / fear / scream / believe }-npst-3
‘Roshen *{knows/fears/screams/believes} about Aygül, that Ghéni kissed her/that beautiful girl}i.’

In (25), expanded from (17), the dative correlate, pronoun *uninggha* or DP *u güzel ayal-gha* can only correspond to a dative pseudo-proleptic object, regardless of the embedded verb.

(25) Roshen *Aygül-{*ni/*ge/%din}i*; [ Ghéni { *uninggha* / *u* güzel ayal-gha }i
Roshen *Aygül-{acc/dat/abl}i*; [ Ghéni { 3sg.dat / dem.dist beautiful girl-dat }i;
gül ber-d-i ] dep { *bil* / *qorq* / *warqiri* / *ishin* }-i-du.
give-pst-3 comp { know / fear / scream / believe }-npst-3
‘Roshen *{knows/fears/screams/believes} of Aygül, that Ghéni gave her/that beautiful girl}i; a flower.’

In (18), expanded from (26), the correlate is an ablative pronoun *uningdin* or DP *u güzel ayal-din*. Only ablative pseudo-proleptic objects are acceptable, regardless of the embedded verb.

(26) Roshen *Aygül-{*ni/*ge/%din}i*; [ Ghéni { *uningdin* / *u* güzel ayal-din }i
Roshen *Aygül-{acc/dat/abl}i*; [ Ghéni { 3sg.abl / dem.dist beautiful girl-abl }i;
qorq-i-du ] dep { *bil* / *qorq* / *warqiri* / *ishin* }-i-du.
fear-npst-3 comp { know / fear / scream / believe }-npst-3
‘Roshen *{knows/fears/screams/believes} of Aygül, that Ghéni fears her/that beautiful girl}i.’

The findings of this section are summarised in (27); the choice in matrix predicate does not affect the availability of case. Independence of matrix verb and the pseudo-proleptic object case suggests that dative/ablative pseudo-proleptic objects are truly instances of case matching.
3. Proposal. I propose that the pseudo-proleptic object and its correlate generated as constituent DP/pronouns within a complex DP generated inside the embedded clause, where the pseudo-proleptic object contains aboutness features [\(\text{abt}\)]. I assume that [\(\text{abt}\)] features exist in the syntax in a way similar to topic and focus features — though an aboutness relation need not imply topic or focus. In pseudo-proleptic clauses, a version of the complementizer \(\text{dep}\) which contains a probe which probes for a constituent with [\(\text{abt}\)] features, is merged. Elements which undergo match with the aboutness-features on \(\text{dep}\) move into SpecCP, the landing site for pseudo-proleptic objects. In (28-a), corresponding to the sentence in (28-b), the [\(\text{abt}\)]-featured pseudo-proleptic object \(\text{Aygül-ni}\) is base generated in the embedded complex DP as the sister of the correlate DP \(\text{u güzel ayal-ni}\) before matching with the [\(\text{abt}\)]-probe on \(\text{dep}\) and subextracting from the complex DP into SpecCP.

(28)  

\[
\begin{array}{c|ccc}
\text{Correlate Case} & \text{Pseudo-Proleptic Object Case} \\
& \text{ACCUSATIVE} & \text{DATIVE} & \text{ABLATIVE} \\
\hline
\text{NOMINATIVE (unmarked)} & \checkmark & \times & \times \\
\text{ACCUSATIVE} & \checkmark & \times & \times \\
\text{DATIVE} & \times & \checkmark & \times \\
\text{ABLATIVE} & \times & \times & \% \\
\end{array}
\]

Such a complex DP can exist independent of pseudo-proleptic constructions, such as in (29), where no subextraction has occurred, and both \(\text{Aygül-ni}\) and \(\text{u güzel ayal-ni}\) can occur in their base generated position. Both constituents of the complex DP in (29) are mandatorily assigned accusative case, an observation crucial to our explanation of case matching effects later.
Muhemmet [ Ghéni [ Aygül-*ni] [ u güzel ayal-*ni] ] yaxshi kör-i-du
Muhemmet [ Ghéni [ Aygül-ACC [ DEM.dist beautiful girl-ACC ] ] good see-NPST-3 ]
derp qorq-i-du.
COMP fear-NPST-3

‘Muhemmet fears that Ghéni likes Aygül, [that beautiful girl].’

3.1. ISLAND SENSITIVITY. The subextraction configuration proposed in this paper is able to derive pseudo-proleptic island sensitivity effects. In (30-a), the inability for pseudo-prolepsis to target a correlate within an adjunct island is reanalyzed as an inability for the pseudo-proleptic object to move from a position within a complex DP inside of an adjunct island; the constraint on locality is reducible to a general contraint on movement out of islands (30-b).

(30) a. * Abliz Ghéni-ni, [ Aygül dukan-gha bar-d-i, < chünkî ] [ t₁ [ u eqilliq
Abliz Ghéni-ACC₁ [ Aygül store-DAT go-NPST-3 < because [ t₁ [ DEM.dist clever
professor ] [ Complex-DP milk drink-INF-DESIR ] COMP believe-NPST-3

Intended: ‘Abliz believes of Ghéni, that Aygül went to the store because the clever professor wanted to drink milk.’

b. X [ XP₁ . . . < . . . t₁ . . . > . . . ]

Thus pseudo-prolepsis is a movement dependency — but not one between the two constituent DPs. I assume that this movement is mandatory for pseudo-prolepsis, and that a pseudo-proleptic object cannot be base generated in SpecCP. Attempts to involve pseudo-prolepsis without a correlate like that in (6-a), would require that the pseudo-proleptic object be base generated in SpecCP, violating this restriction.⁴

3.2. CASE MATCHING. To explain the case matching effects in Uyghur, I adopt the Disjunctive Case Hierarchy, proposed by Marantz (2000).⁵ Briefly, under the Disjunctive Case Hierarchy, nominative case is the unmarked case, and is assigned as a last resort in SpecTP; accusative is the downward dependent case, and is licensed when it is c-commanded by another DP within its dependent case assigning domain (assumed to be the TP); dative and ablative cases are lexically assigned. Recall that complex DPs in accusative licensed positions without subextraction mandate accusative case on both constituent DPs (29). The same is true for complex DPs which are generated in a dative case licensed position (31).

(31) Roshen [ Ghéni [ Aygül-*∅/*ni/ge] [ u güzel ayal-*∅/*ni/gha] ]
Complex-DP gül ber-d-i dep bil-i-du.
Complex-DP flower give-NPST-3 COMP know-NPST-3

‘Roshen knows that Ghéni gave Aygül, that beautiful girl, a flower.’

I assume that the constituent DPs of a complex DP receive the case assigned to their parent node. In (31), the complex DP is assigned the lexical dative case, and this case assignment is

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⁴ If pseudo-prolepsis involves an A-dependency, this requirement for movement places pseudo-prolepsis in the same category as hyperraising constructions, as opposed to high topic constructions like those in Brazilian Portuguese; see Martins and Nunes 2010; Lohninger et al. 2022.

⁵ Thanks to an anonymous reviewer for recommending this solution, and for the passivization diagnostic to determine its viability.
inherited by its constituents. Because lexical cases are preserved under movement (Marantz 2000), dative and ablative DPs which undergo subextraction maintain their case in the SpecCP. This is what derives the dative marking on the pseudo-proleptic object in (3), repeated with syntactic bracketing in (32).

ber-d-i dep bil-i-du.
give-pst-3 comp know-npst-3
‘Roshen gives the beautiful girl a flower.’

Such a case can explain the case matching effects for dative and ablative case, but accusative case is not lexical, and so its case matching must be licensed by some other mechanism. Indeed, the dependent case theory of Marantz (2000) can help in this case as well. The landing site of pseudo-proleptic subextraction is SpecCP, which makes its dependent case assignment domain the matrix TP, rather than the embedded TP. Because of this, we should expect that pseudo-proleptic objects generally get assigned dependent accusative case in their landing position. While pseudo-proleptic objects extracted from dative and ablative licensed positions maintain their lexical case, pseudo-proleptic objects extracted from nominative and accusative licensed positions do not maintain any case from their base positions. As a result, they are assigned accusative case in SpecCP. For pseudo-proleptic objects extracted from accusative licensed positions, this appears as case matching, because the two positions are both assigned accusative, while pseudo-proleptic objects extracted from nominative positions mismatch in case with their correlate DPs.

Alternatively, one solution without requiring dependent case theory would be one in which accusative case is licensed its position in SpecCP by the complementizer itself. Such an argument has been made by Bao et al. (2015) for Inner Mongolian exceptional (accusative) case marking, where they take the complementizer itself to license accusative case. Similarly, Major (2021a,b) argues that accusative case on proleptic objects and raised subjects in Uyghur is licensed by dep, though he analyzes dep as always converbial, composed of the accusative licensing verb de ‘say’ and the converbial ending -p. Major (2021a,b) is agnostic to whether the accusative case is licensed directly by dep or whether is it derived from dependent case marking which occurs because of the proleptic object/raised subject’s status in SpecP of verbal dep. For this paper, I maintain a complementizer-view of dep, though I believe that the same facts can be derived with a verbal, or hybrid (c.f. Yue 2023) approach.

One reason to maintain a dependent case approach comes from an observation of how pseudo-proleptic objects behave under passivization. Recall the assumed structure for pseudo-proleptic movement out of subject position (33). Here there pseudo-proleptic object Aygülni is mandatorily coreferent with the embedded pronoun/DP, and is mandatorily marked accusative.

(33) Roshen Aygül-*ni₁ [ tüngüün [ t₁ [ u / u güzel ayal ] ]₃ Complex-DP
tüngüün yed-i dep ishin-i-du.
polu-ni ye-d-i ] dep ishin-i-du.
pilaf-ACC eat-pst-3 [ comp believe-npst-3
‘Roshen believes about Aygül, that the beautiful girl ate pilaf yesterday.’

In (34), we have the passive equivalent of (33). Here passive morphology appears on the ma-
trix verb, and is accompanied by nominative Aygül, which appears in subject position, before an optional by-phrase. Aygül appears to be a pseudo-proleptic object that has undergone movement to SpecTP, as evidenced by its mandatory coreference with a correlate.

(34)  
\[ \text{Aygül} \]  
\[ \text{(Roshen teripidin) } t_1 \]  
\[ \text{tünügün} \]  
\[ t_1 \{ u / u \text{ güzel ayal} \} \]  
\[ \text{Complex-DP} \text{ polu-ni ye-d-i } \]  
\[ \text{dep ishin-il-i-du.} \]  
\[ \text{Complex-DP pilaf-acc eat-pst-3 } \]  
\[ \text{COMP believe-pass-npst-3} \]  

‘It is believed (by Roshen) about Aygül, that \{ she / that beautiful girl \}; ate pilaf yesterday.’

The fact that Aygül receives nominative case here rather than accusative suggests that it was not assigned accusative case as it passed through the pseudo-proleptic position. Under a model where dep assigns case, one would need to stipulate some ordering as to when accusative case is assigned and when extraction out of SpecCP can occur. Under a dependent case theory approach, however, there is no need to stipulate an ordering; accusative case is only assigned in the final landing position of a DP, and as the pseudo-proleptic object in (34) moves into SpecTP, it will instead receive nominative case.

These facts are complicated, however, when the pseudo-proleptic object is generated outside of a subject position. Take for example, the sentence in (1-b), repeated in (35) with our new assumed bracketing.

(35)  
\[ \text{Roshen Aygül-ni} \]  
\[ \text{(Ghéni) } t_1 \{ \text{ uni } / \text{u güzel ayal-ni} \} \]  
\[ \text{Complex-DP} \]  
\[ \text{Complex-DP} \text{ söy-d-i } \]  
\[ \text{dep ishin-i-du.} \]  
\[ \text{kiss-pst-3 } \]  
\[ \text{COMP believe-npst-3} \]  

‘Roshen believes about Aygül, that Ghéni kissed \{ her / that beautiful girl\}.’

When we attempt to passivize the matrix verb of (35), we get the clause in (36), where passive morphology appears on the matrix verb, but it is accompanied by the accusative Aygülni, which appears in subject position, before an optional by-phrase. Aygülni appears to be the pseudo-proleptic object, as evidenced by its mandatory coreference with a correlate, but it lacks the nominative marking we’d expect if it had moved into SpecTP.

(36)  
\[ \text{Aygül-*(ni)} \]  
\[ \text{(Roshen teripidin) } t_1 \]  
\[ \text{Ghéni} \]  
\[ t_1 \{ \text{ uni } / \text{u güzel ayal-ni} \} \]  
\[ \text{Complex-DP} \text{ söy-d-i } \]  
\[ \text{dep ishin-il-i-du.} \]  
\[ \text{Complex-DP kiss-pst-3 } \]  
\[ \text{COMP believe-pass-npst-3} \]  

‘It was believed (by Roshen) about Aygül, that Ghéni kissed \{ her / that beautiful girl\}.’

There are two possibilities I see here. The first is that Aygülni has not moved into subject position, and just appears to the left of the by phrase due to some other kind of scrambling. This possibility allows us to maintain the approach to case assignment in this paper, but requires us to stipulate why a pseudo-proleptic object which has been subextracted from a non-subject position cannot move into SpecTP. The second option is that somehow DPs which have been subextracted from accusative licensed object positions are assigned accusative case lexically, or in some other way that allows them to maintain their accusative case when they move into
SpecTP of the matrix clause. In this second case, accusative case would only be licensed in SpecCP position for pseudo-proleptic objects which subextract from subject position — in all other cases, case would be assigned before subextraction occurs. However, under such an analysis, it is unclear why DPs subextracted from subject position would not retain the accusative case they receive in SpecCP. I leave distinguishing between these two approaches, or possible other options, to future work.

4. Conclusion. In this paper I show that dependencies in Uyghur previously analyzed as ‘proleptic’ in fact exhibit properties of movement, including island sensitivity and case matching between the higher and lower nominal, and that such movement properties categorize this dependency as a novel form of movement dependency: pseudo-prolepsis. This paper demonstrates that pseudo-prolepsis is a form of subextraction in which movement occurs out of a complex DP containing two coreferent DPs. That pseudo-prolepsis is able to, on the surface, have both properties of movement and binding is derivable without the need for new theoretical machinery, and suggests that investigation into nominal dependencies in general cannot solely rely on the independence of form between two elements as a diagnostic for binding. I finish this paper with some questions for future work which arise from this analysis of pseudo-prolepsis.

Is pseudo-prolepsis a cross-clausal dependency like its true proleptic cousin, or does it only involve an embedded clause? The ability for pseudo-proleptic objects to undergo movement to the matrix SpecTP through passivization suggests that this dependency truly involves cross-clausal movement, in order for A-movement to SpecTP to be licensed, but further investigation is required to confirm this is the case. What is the nature of the complex DP? It appears best paraphrased in English as an appositive; is the complex DP simply an appositive? If so how does that impact the semantics of pseudo-proleptic objects? What should we expect of pseudo-prolepsis cross-linguistically? We might expect that pseudo-prolepsis is limited in languages by whether or not complex DPs are allowed or whether subextraction is allowed generally. Accusative case marking on proleptic objects is generally observed in languages with prolepsis; the necessity of island sensitivity and case matching not only suggests that Uyghur has pseudo-prolepsis, but also raises the question as to what form prolepsis takes in Uyghur, if it exists at all. If prolepsis and pseudo-prolepsis are underlingly such different constructions, the question arises why they would surface so similarly cross-linguistically — this is ultimately part of a larger question of how prolepsis and cross-clausal movement appear so similar despite their differences, a question which pseudo-prolepsis only complicates.

References
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