

## Island Sensitivity and Case Matching in Uyghur Pseudo-Prolepsis

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**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.<sup>1</sup> 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 result-ing 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-ni*, and is understood as holding an aboutness-relation with the embedded proposition.

\*This conference proceedings is a part of a general papers on cross-clausal dependencies in Uyghur. I would like to thank my advisors Tanya Bondarenko, Kate Davidson, and Susi Wurmbrand for their help, advice, and patience with me in this project. I would also like to thank my consultant Gülnar Eziz for her help in data collection and companionship, as well as Travis Major, Hande Sevgi, Daria Bikina, Yağmur Sağ, and attendees and organizers of Tu+ for their enthusiasm, support, and helpful comments. I would finally like to thank the two anonymous reviewers for their suggestions and comments. Data for this paper was collected with a native speaker of Uyghur in the United States through targeted elicitation. Authors: Jack Isaac Rabinovitch, Harvard University ([jrabinovitch@g.harvard.edu](mailto:jrabinovitch@g.harvard.edu)).

<sup>1</sup>Uyghur additionally has an accusative subject construction which does not involve an overt coreferent DP, but rather a gap. Discussion on this construction is outside of the scope of this paper; see Asarina (2011), Shklovsky and Sudo (2014) and Major (2021a,b) for discussion of this construction and Major (2021b) and Rabinovitch (2022) for discussion on the distinction between Uyghur’s accusative subject and (pseudo-)proleptic constructions.

- (1) a. Roshen **Aygül-ni**<sub>i</sub> [ { **u** / **u** **güzel ayal** }<sub>i/\*j</sub> polu-ni yé-d-i ]  
 Roshen Aygül-ACC<sub>i</sub> [ { 3SG.NOM / DEM.DIST beautiful girl }<sub>i/\*j</sub> pilaf-ACC eat-PST-3 ]  
 dep ishin-i-du.  
 COMP believe-NPST-3  
 ‘Roshen believes about Aygül<sub>i</sub> that {she/that beautiful girl}<sub>i/\*j</sub> ate the pilaf.’
- b. Roshen **Aygül-ni**<sub>i</sub> [ Ghéni { **uni** / **u** **güzel ayal-ni** }<sub>i/\*j</sub> söy-d-i ]  
 Roshen Aygül-ACC<sub>i</sub> [ Ghéni { 3SG.ACC / DEM.DIST beautiful girl-ACC }<sub>i/\*j</sub> kiss-PST-3 ]  
 dep ishin-i-du.  
 COMP believe-NPST-3  
 ‘Roshen believes about Aygül<sub>i</sub> that Ghéni kissed {her/that beautiful girl}<sub>i/\*j</sub>.’

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**<sub>i</sub> [ Ghéni < { **uni**<sub>i/j</sub> / **u** **er-ni**<sub>i/j</sub> } kör-gen ayal-ni >  
 Reyhan Abliz-ACC<sub>i</sub> [ Ghéni < { 3SG.ACC<sub>i/j</sub> / DEM.DIST man-ACC<sub>i/j</sub> } 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<sub>i</sub> that Ghéni likes the girl that saw {him/that man}<sub>i/j</sub>.’

While proleptic objects and resumptives are generally understood as not undergoing any feature sharing with one another (Lohninger et al. 2022),<sup>2</sup> 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}**<sub>i</sub> [ Ghéni { **uninggha** / **u** **güzel ayal-gha** }<sub>i/\*j</sub>  
 Roshen Aygül-{ACC/DAT/ABL} [ Ghéni { 3SG.DAT / DEM.DIST beautiful girl-DAT }<sub>i/\*j</sub>  
 gül ber-d-i ] dep ishin-i-du.  
 flower give-PST-3 ] COMP believe-NPST-3  
 ‘Roshen believes of Aygül<sub>i</sub> that Ghéni gave {her/that beautiful girl}<sub>i/\*j</sub> a flower.’

<sup>2</sup> 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**<sub>i</sub> ich vermute, dass **der**<sub>i</sub> Maria heiraten will  
 the guy of who.DAT<sub>i</sub> 1SG.NOM suspect.1SG COMP DEM<sub>i</sub> Maria marry.INF want.3SG  
 ‘the guy of whom<sub>i</sub> I suspect he<sub>i</sub> wants to marry Maria’
- b. Das ist ein Schweinchen, **von dem**<sub>i</sub> ich glaube, dass alle hoffen,  
 this is a piglet of which.DAT<sub>i</sub> 1SG.NOM believe.1SG COMP all hope.3PL  
 dass niemand **das putzige Tierchen**<sub>i</sub> essen will.  
 that no.one the sweet little.animal<sub>i</sub> eat.INF want.3SG  
 ‘This is a piglet of which<sub>i</sub> I believe that everyone hopes that no one wants to eat the sweet little animal<sub>i</sub>.’

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.  
of computers.DAT find.1SG 1SG.NOM COMP everyone a PC buy.INF should.3SG  
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).

- (6) a. \* **Aygül compiyotér-lar-ni** [ PC hemmi-din yaxshi ] dep ishin-i-du.  
Aygül computer-PL-ACC [ PC all-ABL good ] COMP believe-NPST-3  
Intended, literal: ‘Aygül believes of computers that PCs are the best’  
b. **Aygül** [ compiyotér-lar-ning ich-i-de PC hemmi-din yaxshi dep ] ishin-i-du.  
Aygül [ computer-PL-GEN in-POSS3-DAT PC all-ABL good COMP ] believe-NPST-3  
‘Aygül 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:

- \*  $YP_1 \dots < \dots t_1 \dots >_{XP}$

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.

- (8) \* Reyhan **Abliz-ni<sub>i</sub>** [ Ghéni < { **uni** / **u** **er-ni** }<sub>i/j</sub> kör-gen ayal-ni > yaxshi Reyhan Abliz-ACC<sub>i</sub> [ Ghéni < { 3SG.ACC / DEM.DIST man-ACC }<sub>i/j</sub> see-PFV girl-ACC > good kör-i-du ] dep ishin-i-du.  
see-NPST-3 ] COMP believe-NPST-3  
Intended: ‘Reyhan believes about Abliz<sub>i</sub> that Ghéni likes the girl that saw {him/that man}<sub>i/j</sub>.’

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

- (9) Reyhan **Ghéni-ni<sub>i</sub>** [ { **u** / **u** **er** }<sub>i</sub> < Abliz-ni kör-gen ayal-ni > yaxshi Reyhan Ghéni-ACC<sub>i</sub> [ { 3SG.NOM / DEM.DIST man }<sub>i</sub> < Abliz-ACC see-PFV girl-ACC > good kör-i-du ] dep ishin-i-du.  
see-NPST-3 ] COMP believe-NPST-3  
‘Reyhan believes about Ghéni<sub>i</sub> that {he/that man}<sub>i</sub> 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.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>3</sup> 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<sub>i</sub>** öz-i<sub>i</sub> i-ken-lik-i-ni bil-mey, [ Ghéni < **uni<sub>i</sub>** kör-gen ayal-ni > every student<sub>i</sub> self-POSS3<sub>i</sub> COP-PTCP-NMZ-POSS3-ACC know-NEG [ Ghéni < 3SG.ACC<sub>i</sub> see-PTCP girl-ACC >

- (10) **Her bir oqughuchi<sub>i</sub>** [ Ghéni < **méni<sub>i</sub>** kör-gen ayal-ni > yaxshi kor-i-du ] dep every student<sub>i</sub> [ Ghéni < 1SG.ACC<sub>i</sub> see-PTCP girl-ACC > good see-NPST-3 ] COMP ishin-i-du.  
believe-NPST-3

‘Every student<sub>i</sub> believes that Ghéni likes the girl that saw him/her<sub>i</sub>.’

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.

- (11) \* Reyhan **Muhammad-ni<sub>i</sub>** [ tünügün < { **u** / **u er** }<sub>i/j</sub> we Abliz > polu Reyhan Muhammad-ACC<sub>i</sub> [ yesterday < { 3SG.NOM / DEM.DIST man }<sub>i/j</sub> and Abliz > pilaf yé-d-i ] dep ishin-i-du.  
eat-PST-3 ] COMP believe-NPST-3

Intended: ‘Reyhan believes of Muhammad<sub>i</sub> that yesterday {he/that man}<sub>i/j</sub> and Abliz ate pilaf.’

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

- (12) Reyhan < **Muhammad-(ni) we Abliz-ni** ><sub>i</sub> [ tünügün { **ular** / **u** Reyhan < Muhammad-ACC and Abliz-ACC ><sub>i</sub> [ yesterday { 3PL.NOM / DEM.DIST **oqughuchi-lar** }<sub>i</sub> polu yé-d-i ] dep ishin-i-du.  
student-PL }<sub>i</sub> pilaf eat-PST-3 ] COMP believe-NPST-3  
‘Reyhan believes of [Muhammad and Abliz]<sub>i</sub> that yesterday { they / those students }<sub>i</sub> 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) *her bir oqughuchi* ‘every student’ binds the shifted first person pronoun *men* within a conjunct island.

- (13) **Her bir oqughuchi<sub>i</sub>** [ tünügün < Muhammad we **men<sub>i</sub>** > polu yé-d-uq ] dep every student<sub>i</sub> [ yesterday < Muhammad and 1SG.NOM<sub>i</sub> > pilaf eat-PST-1PL ] COMP ishin-i-du.  
believe-NPST-3

‘Every student<sub>i</sub> believes that (s)he<sub>i</sub> and Muhammad ate pilaf yesterday.’

2.1.3. ADJUNCT ISLANDS. This pattern continues to hold 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’.

- (14) \* Abliz **Ghéni-ni<sub>i</sub>** [ Aygül dukan-gha bar-d-i, < chünki { **u** / **u eqilliq** Abliz Ghéni-ACC<sub>i</sub> [ Aygül store-DAT go-PST-3 < because { 3SG.NOM / DEM.DIST clever **proféssor** }<sub>i/j</sub> süt ich-meq-chi > ] dep ishin-i-du.  
professor }<sub>i/j</sub> milk drink-INF-DESIR > ] COMP believe-NPST-3

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yaxshi kor-i-du ] dep ishin-i-du.  
good see-NPST-3 ] COMP believe-NPST-3

‘Every student<sub>i</sub>, without recognizing himself/herself<sub>i</sub>, believes that Ghéni likes the girl that saw him/her<sub>i</sub>.’

Intended: ‘Abliz believes of Ghéni<sub>i</sub> that Aygül went to the store because {he/the clever professor}<sub>i/j</sub> wanted to drink milk.’

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

- (15) Abliz **Aygül-ni**<sub>i</sub> [ { **u** / **u** **eqilliq proféssor** }<sub>i</sub> dukan-gha bar-d-i, < Abliz Aygül-ACC<sub>i</sub> [ { 3SG.NOM / DEM.DIST clever professor }<sub>i</sub> store-DAT go-PST-3 < chünki Ghéni süt ich-meq-chi > ] dep ishin-i-du. because Ghéni milk drink-INF-DESIR > ] COMP believe-NPST-3  
‘Abliz believes of Aygül<sub>i</sub> that {she/the clever professor}<sub>i</sub> 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*.

- (16) **Her bir oqughuchi**<sub>i</sub> [ Aygül dukan-gha bar-d-i, < chünki **men**<sub>i</sub> süt every student<sub>i</sub> [ Aygül store-DAT go-PST-3 < because 1SG.NOM<sub>i</sub> milk ich-meq-chi > ] dep ishin-i-du. drink-INF-DESIR > ] COMP believe-NPST-3.  
‘Every student<sub>i</sub> believes Aygül went to the store because (s)he<sub>i</sub> 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 constraints.

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.

- (17) Roshen **Aygül-[\*ni/ge/\*din]**<sub>i</sub> [ Ghéni { **uninggha / u** **güzel ayal-gha** }<sub>i/\*j</sub> Roshen Aygül-**{ACC/DAT/ABL}** [ Ghéni { 3SG.DAT / DEM.DIST beautiful girl-DAT }<sub>i/\*j</sub> gül ber-d-i ] dep ishin-i-du. flower give-PST-3 ] COMP believe-NPST-3  
‘Roshen believes of Aygül<sub>i</sub> that Ghéni gave {her/that beautiful girl}<sub>i/\*j</sub> 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 **Aygül-[\*ni/\*ge/\*din]**<sub>i</sub> [ Ghéni { **uningdin / u** **güzel ayal-din** }<sub>i/\*j</sub> Roshen Aygül-**{ACC/DAT/ABL}** [ Ghéni { 3SG.ABL / DEM.DIST beautiful girl-ABL }<sub>i/\*j</sub>

qorq-i-du ]dep ishin-i-du.  
 fear-NPST-3 ] COMP believe-NPST-3

‘Roshen believes of Aygüli that Ghéni fears {her/that beautiful girl}<sub>i/\*j</sub>.’

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.’
- b. Tursun Aygül-ning Meryem-ni kör-gen-lik-i-{\*ni/ge/\*din} ishin-i-du.  
 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.’
- b. Tursun Aygül-ning Meryem-ni kör-gen-lik-i-{\*ni/\*ge/din} qorq-i-du.  
 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.’
- b. \* Tursun Aygül-ning Meryem-ni kör-gen-lik-i- {ni/ge/din} warqiri-d-i.  
 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}***<sub>*i*</sub> [ { **u** / **u güzel ayal** }<sub>*i*</sub> polu-ni  
 Roshen Aygül-*{ACC/DAT/ABL}*<sub>*i*</sub> [ { 3SG.NOM / DEM.DIST beautiful girl }<sub>*i*</sub> 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<sub>*i*</sub> that {she/that beautiful girl}<sub>*i*</sub> 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}***<sub>*i*</sub> [ Ghéni { **uni** / **u güzel ayal-ni** }<sub>*i*</sub>  
 Roshen Aygül-*{ACC/DAT/ABL}*<sub>*i*</sub> [ Ghéni { 3SG.ACC / DEM.DIST beautiful girl-ACC }<sub>*i*</sub>  
 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<sub>*i*</sub> that Ghéni kissed {her/that beautiful girl}<sub>*i*</sub>.’

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}***<sub>*i*</sub> [ Ghéni { **uninggha** / **u güzel ayal-gha** }<sub>*i*</sub>  
 Roshen Aygül-*{ACC/DAT/ABL}* [ Ghéni { 3SG.DAT / DEM.DIST beautiful girl-DAT }<sub>*i*</sub>  
 gül ber-d-i ] dep { bil / qorq / warqiri / ishin }-i-du.  
 flower give-PST-3 ] COMP { know / fear / scream / believe }-NPST-3  
 ‘Roshen {knows/fears/screams/believes} of Aygül<sub>*i*</sub> that Ghéni gave {her/that beautiful girl}<sub>*i*</sub> a flower.’

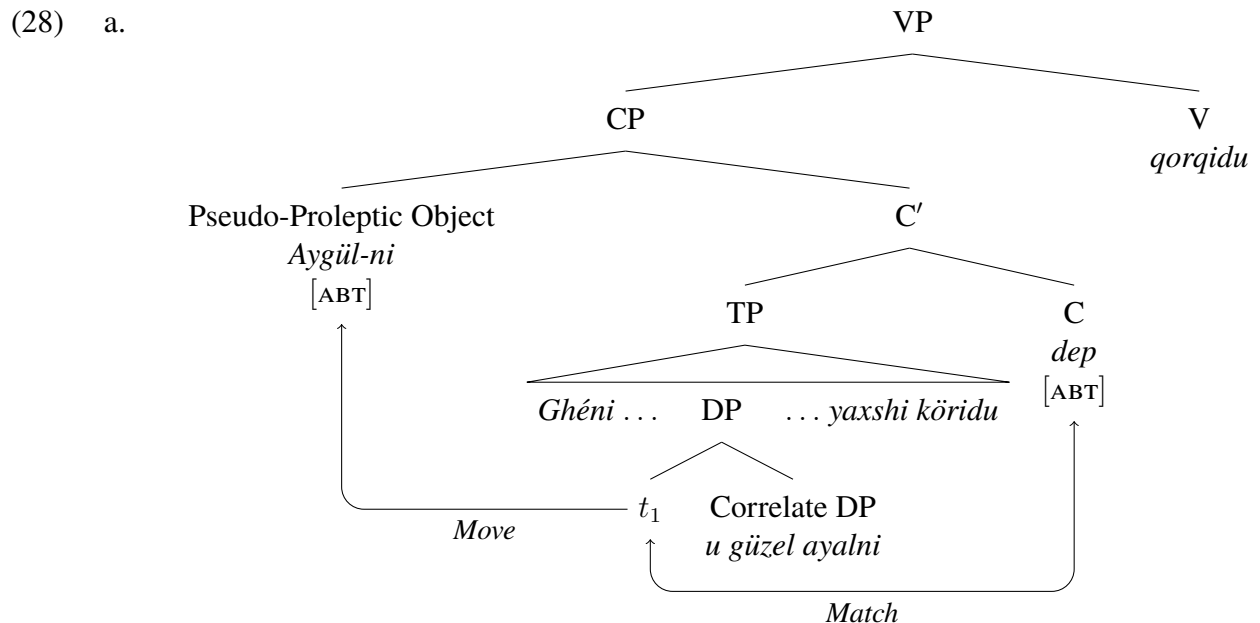
In (18), expanded from (26), the correlate is an ablative pronoun *uningdin* or DP *u güzel ayal-din*. Only ablative pseudo-proleptic objects are acceptable, regardless of the embedded verb.

- (26) Roshen **Aygül-*{\*ni/\*ge/\*din}***<sub>*i*</sub> [ Ghéni { **uningdin** / **u güzel ayal-din** }<sub>*i*</sub>  
 Roshen Aygül-*{ACC/DAT/ABL}* [ Ghéni { 3SG.ABL / DEM.DIST beautiful girl-ABL }<sub>*i*</sub>  
 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<sub>*i*</sub> that Ghéni fears {her/that beautiful girl}<sub>*i*</sub>.’

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.

Correlate Case	Pseudo-Proleptic Object Case		
	ACCUSATIVE	DATIVE	ABLATIVE
(27) NOMINATIVE (unmarked)	✓	✗	✗
ACCUSATIVE	✓	✗	✗
DATIVE	✗	✓	✗
ABLATIVE	✗	✗	%

**3. Proposal.** I propose that the pseudo-proleptic object and its correlate generated as constituent DPs/pronouns within a complex DP generated inside the embedded clause, where the pseudo-proleptic object contains aboutness features [ABT]. I assume that [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 *dep* which contains a probe which probes for a constituent with [ABT] features, is merged. Elements which undergo match with the aboutness-features on *dep* move into SpecCP, the landing site for pseudo-proleptic objects. In (28-a), corresponding to the sentence in (28-b), the [ABT]-featured pseudo-proleptic object *Aygül-ni* is base generated in the embedded complex DP as the sister of the correlate DP *u güzel ayal-ni* before matching with the [ABT]-probe on *dep* and subextracting from the complex DP into SpecCP.



- b. Muhemmet **Aygül-ni**<sub>1</sub> [ Ghéni [ *t*<sub>1</sub> **u güzel ayal-ni** ] yaxshi kör-i-du ]  
 Muhemmet Aygül-ACC<sub>1</sub> [ Ghéni [ *t*<sub>1</sub> DEM.DIST beautiful girl-ACC ] good see-NPST-3 ]  
 dep qorq-i-du.  
 COMP fear-NPST-3  
 ‘Muhemmet fears of Aygül<sub>i</sub> that Ghéni likes [that beautiful girl]<sub>i</sub>.’

Such a complex DP can exist independent of pseudo-proleptic constructions, such as in (29), where no subextraction has occurred, and both *Aygül-ni* and *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.

- (29) 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 ]  
 dep qorq-i-du.  
 COMP fear-NPST-3  
 ‘Muhemmet fears that Ghéni likes Aygül<sub>i</sub>, [that beautiful girl]<sub>i</sub>.’

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 constraint on movement out of islands (30-b).

- (30) a. \* Abliz **Ghéni-ni**<sub>1</sub> [ Aygül dukan-gha bar-d-i, < chünki [ **t**<sub>1</sub> [ **u** **eqilliq**  
 Abliz Ghéni-ACC<sub>1</sub> [ Aygül store-DAT go-PST-3 < because [ **t**<sub>1</sub> [ DEM.DIST clever  
**proféssor** ] ]<sub>Complex-DP</sub> süit ich-meq-chi > ] dep ishin-i-du.  
 professor ] ]<sub>Complex-DP</sub> milk drink-INF-DESIR > ] COMP believe-NPST-3  
 Intended: ‘Abliz believes of Ghéni<sub>i</sub> that Aygül went to the store because the clever  
 professor<sub>i</sub> wanted to drink milk.’  
 b. ✗ [ XP<sub>1</sub> ... < ... **t**<sub>1</sub> ... > ... ]

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.<sup>4</sup>

3.2. CASE MATCHING. To explain the case matching effects in Uyghur, I adopt the Disjunctive Case Hierarchy, proposed by Marantz (2000).<sup>5</sup> 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-{\*Ø/\*ni/ge}** [ **u** **güzel** **ayal-{\*Ø/\*ni/gha}** ] ]  
 Roshen [ Ghéni [ Aygül-**{NOM/ACC/DAT}** [ DEM.DIST beautiful girl-**{NOM/ACC/DAT}** ] ]  
 ]<sub>Complex-DP</sub> gül ber-d-i ] dep bil-i-du.  
 ]<sub>Complex-DP</sub> flower give-PST-3 ] COMP know-NPST-3  
 ‘Roshen knows that Ghéni gave Aygül<sub>i</sub>, that beautiful girl<sub>i</sub>, 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

<sup>4</sup> 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.

<sup>5</sup> 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).

- (32) Roshen **Aygül-ge**<sub>1</sub> [ Ghéni [ *t*<sub>1</sub> [ **u**            **güzel**    **ayal-gha** ] ]<sub>Complex-DP</sub> gül  
 Roshen Aygül-DAT<sub>1</sub> [ Ghéni [ *t*<sub>1</sub> [ DEM.DIST beautiful girl-DAT ] ]<sub>Complex-DP</sub> flower  
 ber-d-i    ] dep    bil-i-du.  
 give-PST-3 ] COMP know-NPST-3  
 ‘Roshen knows of Aygül<sub>i</sub> that Ghéni gave that beautiful girl<sub>i</sub> 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 it is derived from dependent case marking which occurs because of the proleptic object/raised subject’s status in Spec<sub>v</sub>P 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-\*(ni)**<sub>1</sub> [ tünügün [ *t*<sub>1</sub> { **u**            / **u**            **güzel**    **ayal** } ]<sub>Complex-DP</sub>  
 Roshen Aygül-ACC<sub>1</sub> [ yesterday [ *t*<sub>1</sub> { 3SG.NOM / DEM.DIST beautiful girl } ]<sub>Complex-DP</sub>  
 polu-ni    ye-d-i    ] dep    ishin-i-du.  
 pilaf-ACC eat-PST-3 ] COMP believe-NPST-3  
 ‘Roshen believes about Aygül<sub>i</sub> that { she / that beautiful girl }<sub>i</sub> 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) **Aygül**<sub>1</sub> ( Roshen teripidin )  $t_1$  [ *tünügün* [  $t_1$  { **u** / **u** **güzel ayal** }  
**Aygül**<sub>1</sub> ( Roshen by )  $t_1$  [ yesterday [  $t_1$  { 3SG.NOM / DEM.DIST beautiful girl }  
 ]<sub>Complex-DP</sub> *polu-ni ye-d-i* ] *dep* *ishin-il-i-du*.  
 ]<sub>Complex-DP</sub> *pilaf-ACC eat-PST-3* ] COMP *believe-PASS-NPST-3*  
 ‘It is believed (by Roshen) about *Aygül*<sub>*i*</sub> that { she / that beautiful girl }<sub>*i*</sub> 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) Roshen **Aygül-ni**<sub>1</sub> [ Ghéni [  $t_1$  { **uni** / **u** **güzel ayal-ni** } ]<sub>Complex-DP</sub>  
 Roshen **Aygül-ACC**<sub>1</sub> [ Ghéni [  $t_1$  { 3SG.ACC / DEM.DIST beautiful girl-ACC } ]<sub>Complex-DP</sub>  
*söy-d-i* ] *dep* *ishin-i-du*.  
*kiss-PST-3* ] COMP *believe-NPST-3*  
 ‘Roshen believes about *Aygül*<sub>*i*</sub> that Ghéni kissed { her/that beautiful girl }<sub>*i/\*j*</sub>.’

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) **Aygül-\*(ni)**<sub>1</sub> ( Roshen teripidin )  $t_1$  [ Ghéni [  $t_1$  { **uni** / **u** **güzel ayal-ni** }  
**Aygül-ACC**<sub>1</sub> ( Roshen by )  $t_1$  [ Ghéni [  $t_1$  { 3SG.ACC / DEM.DIST beautiful girl-ACC }  
 ]<sub>Complex-DP</sub> *söy-d-i* ] *dep* *ishin-il-i-du*.  
 ]<sub>Complex-DP</sub> *kiss-PST-3* ] COMP *believe-PASS-NPST-3*  
 ‘It was believed (by Roshen) about *Aygül*<sub>*i*</sub> that Ghéni kissed { her / that beautiful girl }<sub>*i*</sub>.’

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 underlyingly 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.

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