

# Raising in Uyghur

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## Abstract

In this paper, I discuss the properties of raising constructions in Uyghur, a Turkic language spoken in Central Asia. Uyghur exhibits Raising of genitive subjects, which I argue are structurally case-marked. This makes untenable the Activity Condition proposed by Chomsky (1998, 2001). Genitive case assignment to subjects of embedded CPs in Uyghur is also in conflict with the strong version of the Phase Impenetrability Condition proposed by Chomsky (1998). On the basis of Uyghur data, I thus argue in favor of the weaker version of the Phase Impenetrability Condition proposed by Chomsky (2001). Chomsky's (2001) Phase Impenetrability Condition prohibits raising out of CPs, but does not block genitive case assignment.

## 1 Introduction

In this paper, I argue against the Activity Condition (Chomsky 1998, 2001), and for a weak version of the Phase Impenetrability Condition (Chomsky 2001). My evidence comes from raising constructions in Uyghur, a Turkic language spoken in Central Asia. I begin with a discussion of some English data that motivate the Activity Condition (AC) and the Phase Impenetrability Condition (PIC). The two proposals make overlapping predictions for raising possibilities in English. Consider the following data illustrating the English raising paradigm:

- (1) Infinitive:  
a. John seems [ t to like tea. ]  
  
b. \*It seems [ John to like tea. ]
- (2) Tensed clause:  
a. \*John seems [ (that) t likes tea. ]  
  
b. It seems [ (that) John likes tea. ]

The raising predicate *seem* can embed an infinitival clause, as in (1a), with the embedded subject raising to the matrix subject position. *Seem* can also embed a tensed clause, as in (2b), and take an expletive subject. Raising out of an infinitive clause embedded by *seem* is obligatory, as seen in (1b). However, the subject of a tensed clause embedded by *seem* cannot raise to the matrix subject position, as (2a) demonstrates. Unfortunately, the English examples (1a) and (2a) do not form a minimal pair. They differ in the following ways:

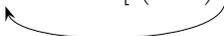
- (3) a. **Tense:** The embedded clause that permits raising is an infinitive. The embedded clause that prohibits raising is tensed.
- b. **Agreement:** The embedded clause that permits raising does not show agreement with the subject. The embedded clause that prohibits raising does show agreement with the subject.
- c. **Case:** No case is assigned to the subject in the embedded clause that permits raising (Chomsky 1995). Case (nominative) is assigned to the subject in the embedded clause that prohibits raising.
- d. **Clause size:** The embedded clause that permits raising is a TP (though see Gallego 2007; Richards 2007, to appear). The embedded clause that prohibits raising is a CP.

A priori, any one of the factors in (3), or a combination of these factors, could be responsible for raising being permitted in (1a) but not in (2a). At least two conditions that predict the contrast have featured prominently in the literature: the Activity Condition (given in (4)), and the Phase Impenetrability Condition, two versions of which are given in (5).

- (4) **Activity Condition (AC):** A goal must be active (i.e. bear some unvalued feature) to be a valid target for Agree. (adapted from Chomsky 2001)
- (5) a. **Chomsky’s (1998) Phase Impenetrability Condition (PIC<sub>strong</sub>):** In phase  $\alpha$  with head H, the domain of H is not accessible to operations outside  $\alpha$ , only H and its edge are accessible to such operations.
- b. **Chomsky’s (2001) Phase Impenetrability Condition (PIC<sub>weak</sub>):** 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.

The AC and the PIC both rule out (2a) (repeated as (6b)), but for different reasons.

- (6) a. John seems [ t to like tea. ]  

- b. \*John seems [ (that) t likes tea. ]  


Under the AC, the crucial difference between (6a) and (6b) is (abstract) case assignment. In (6b), but not in (6a), the subject is assigned case in the embedded clause. It thereby loses its only unvalued feature, Case, and cannot be targeted for agreement and raising by the matrix T. Under the PIC, the relevant contrast is the “size” of the embedded clause, and specifically whether or not it is a *phase*. The embedded CP in (6b) is a phase, whereas the embedded TP in (6a) is not. Under the PIC<sub>strong</sub>, the phasehood of CP suffices to block raising out of the embedded clause. Under the PIC<sub>weak</sub>, raising out of the embedded clause is also prohibited on the assumption that v, including raising v, is a strong phase. The embedded subject in (6b) cannot agree with the matrix T and raise across both the CP and vP boundaries, as the embedded TP (i.e. the domain of C) is spelled out as soon as matrix v is merged. The embedded TP in (6a) is not the complement of a phase head, so raising is permitted.

For either version of the PIC to rule out raising out of CP, we must assume that raising cannot proceed through the specifier of the embedded CP. Since the edge of CP is spelled out later than the domain of C (i.e. TP), neither implementation of the PIC would block raising from the specifier of CP. However, raising through the specifier of CP would violate the *ban on improper movement* (Chomsky 1973; May 1979), which prohibits A-bar movement (e.g. to the specifier of CP) that is followed by A-movement (e.g. raising). Various accounts for the ban on improper movement have

been proposed (van Riemsdijk and Williams 1981; Müller and Sternefeld 1993; Obata and Epstein 2008). I will simply take it as a given (for English and for Uyghur). Note that under the  $PIC_{weak}$  the complement of C becomes opaque *immediately* when the next strong head (the matrix v) is merged. There is thus no opportunity for an embedded subject to raise from the embedded TP to the specifier of the matrix vP – this movement would violate the  $PIC_{weak}$ . Consequently, under both versions of the PIC, only the specifier of the embedded CP is potentially an “escape hatch” for movement out of the embedded CP.

The AC and the PIC (either variant) thus both rule out raising out of a CP in English. The overlap between the AC and the PIC has been observed in the literature. Nevins (2004) argues that the AC is incorrect, and that its effects are better explained by other rules of the grammar, including the PIC. Stjepanović and Takahashi (2001) argue that the effects of the PIC should be reduced to other principles, while Bošković (2005) proposes that neither the AC nor the PIC should be assumed. In Uyghur embedding constructions, case and embedded clause size can vary independently, which makes it possible to distinguish the effects of the AC and the PIC. The ability of the embedded subject to raise does not correlate with its case properties, which argues against the validity of the AC. Availability of raising *does* depend on the size of the embedded clause, which supports the PIC. In particular, the  $PIC_{weak}$  makes the right predictions for Uyghur, whereas the  $PIC_{strong}$  incorrectly rules out genitive case assignment into an embedded CP.

The rest of the paper is structured as follows. In section 2, I present an analysis of Uyghur nominalized embedding constructions. I use both syntactic and semantic tests to pinpoint the structural position of the embedded subject. In section 3, I turn to raising embedding predicates. Determining whether raising takes place in a head-final language like Uyghur is a non-trivial task, and I provide several independent types of supporting evidence. I also show that the Activity Condition is incompatible with Uyghur data. In section 4, I present data on nominalized CP embedding, and propose an analysis that supports Chomsky’s (2001) version of the Phase Impenetrability Condition. Section 5 concludes.

## 2 Nominalized vP embedding by non-raising predicates

In this section, I introduce an Uyghur nominalized embedding construction. I demonstrate the nominal nature of the embedded clause based on the possessor agreement and case morphology it can bear. I suggest that an embedded clause with a genitive subject is essentially a possessed DP, with the genitive subject moving to the specifier of DP. I show that a subject that is not marked genitive remains inside vP, and must correspondingly be a low-scoping (“non-specific”) indefinite, as observed by Diesing (1992) for other languages. The availability of a high-scope or definite interpretation for a noun phrase in Uyghur thus diagnoses its having moved to a position outside vP.

### 2.1 Nominalization

In this section, I argue that embedded phrases bearing the suffix *-ish* (henceforth ***-ish* phrases**) are nominal. An *-ish* phrase is illustrated in (7), with a simple possessed DP shown for comparison in (8).

- (7) Possessed *-ish* phrase:  
 men-\*(**iq**) kitap oqu-f-**im**                    muhim/exmijetlik  
 I-\*(**gen**) book read-ISH-**1sg.poss** important/useful  
 ‘My reading a book is important/useful.’

- (8) Possessed DP:  
 men-\*(**iŋ**) kitav-**im**          muhim/exmijetlik  
 I-\*(**gen**) book-**1sg.poss** important/useful  
 ‘My book is important/useful.’

Two points of similarity between (7) and (8) suggest that *-ish* phrases are nominal. One is that the subject of an *-ish* phrase bears the same case as a possessor (genitive). The second is that the *-ish* phrase bears possessor agreement.

The possessee in Uyghur agrees with the possessor in person and number. Possessor agreement matches the past tense agreement paradigm except for the first person plural form, which matches the present/future agreement paradigm. First person plural agreement on an *-ish* phrase and on a simple possessee is illustrated in (9), and contrasted with past tense agreement in (10). The correspondence between agreement on *-ish* phrases and past tense agreement for other person-number combinations can be seen in examples throughout the paper.

- (9) a. Possessor agreement on *-ish* phrase:  
 biz-niŋ oqu-f-**imiz**          jaχʃi  
 we-gen read-ISH-**1pl.poss** good  
 ‘Our reading is good.’  
 b. Possessor agreement on possessee:  
 biz-niŋ kal-**imiz**  
 we-gen cow-**1pl.poss**  
 ‘our cow’

- (10) Past tense agreement:  
 biz χet jaz-d-**uq**  
 we letter write-past-**1pl.past**  
 ‘We wrote a letter.’

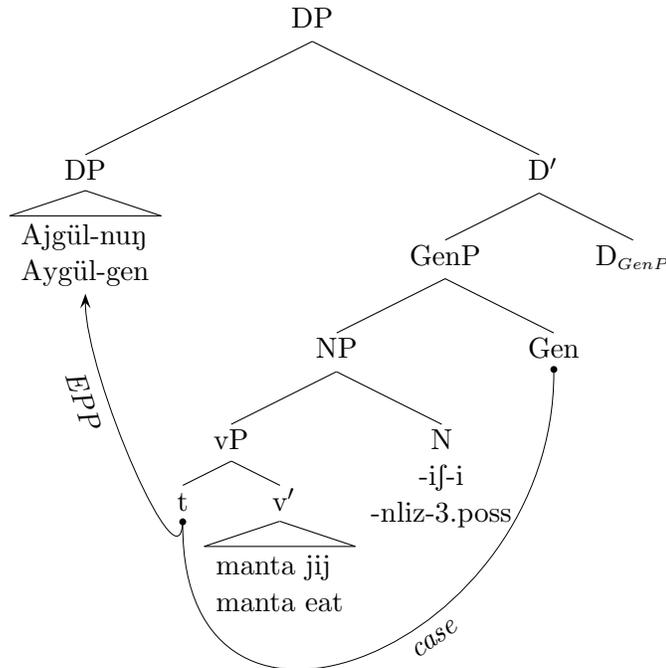
A third indicator that *-ish* phrases are nominal is their ability to bear case-marking. There is no overt nominative morphology, so this fact was not evident in the examples above. Accusative case-marking on an *-ish* phrase, however, is seen in (11a), where the *-ish* phrase is the object of a verb. The *-ish* phrase may also bear ablative case as the quirky object of *qorqmaq* (‘to fear’), as seen in (11b).

- (11) Nominalized vP embedded by a verb:  
 a. Ötkür [ Ajgül-nuŋ manta jij-if-i-**ni**          ] ojli-wat-i-du  
 Ötkür [ Aygül-gen manta eat-ISH-3.poss-**acc** ] imagine-prog-impf-3  
 ‘Ötkür is imagining Aygül eating manta.’  
 b. men [ Ajgül-nuŋ ömütfük jij-if-i-**din**          ] qorq-i-men  
 I [ Aygül-gen spider eat-ISH-3.poss-**abl** ] fear-impf-1sg  
 ‘I’m afraid of Aygül eating spiders.’

## 2.2 *-ish* phrase structure

I propose that *-ish* is a nominalizing suffix that selects for a vP. The genitive subject of an *-ish* phrase is generated in the specifier of a vP and moves to the specifier of DP, as illustrated in (12).

- (12) Structure of an *-ish* phrase embedded by a non-raising predicate:



I propose that the functional projection Gen assigns genitive case to the *-ish* phrase subject, which is the closest DP. Gen is an independent functional projection, and not a feature of D, as the *-ish* phrases discussed in section 3 are smaller than DP but nevertheless license genitive case for their subjects. I further suggest that there are two variants of D in Uyghur, presented in (13).

- (13) D in Uyghur:  
 $D_{GenP}$ : selects for GenP, has EPP  
 $D_{NP}$ : selects for NP, does not have EPP

In the remainder of this section, I provide evidence that the verbal part of an *-ish* phrase is a vP (and not larger) and that the subject of the *-ish* phrase is generated in the verbal domain. In the following section, I further demonstrate that the genitive subject moves out of the vP.

No morpheme may intervene between the verb root and *-ish*. In particular, negation and aspectual morphology, which may appear in the nominal clauses discussed in section 4, are prohibited in *-ish* phrases. The lack of negation and aspect in *-ish* phrases is expected if *-ish* selects a bare vP.

- (14) No negation in *-ish* phrase:  
 men-ij oqu-(\***mas**)-if-im            muhim  
 I-gen read-(\***neg**)-nliz-1sg.poss important  
 ‘My (\*not) reading is important.’
- (15) No aspect in *-ish* phrase:  
 \*men-ij oqu-(wat)-~~an~~-if-im            muhim  
 I-gen read-(prog)-RAN-nliz-1sg.poss important  
 intended: ‘My {having read}/{reading right now} is important.’

The theta-role properties of the *-ish* phrase subject indicate that it is generated inside vP, and not as part of the nominal structure. Kratzer (1996) observes for English gerunds that a subject generated in the verbal domain is more restricted in its theta-role than a subject generated in the

nominal domain.

- (16) a. Subject generated in verbal domain – restricted theta-role:  
 Ötkür(’s) reading “Response to Years” is important.  
 b. Subject generated in nominal domain – unrestricted theta-role:  
 Ötkür’s reading of “Response to Years” is important.

In (16a), Ötkür has to be the agent of the reading event, i.e. the reader. He cannot, for example, be the organizer or the host of the reading, as is possible in (16b). The semantic difference between (16a) and (16b) corresponds to a structural difference in the base position of the subject. It has been proposed since Abney (1987) that in (16a) the subject of the gerund is generated in the verbal domain, whereas in (16b) the subject is generated in the nominal domain. As a result, only the subject in (16a) is assigned an agent theta-role in its base position. In the Uyghur example in (17), the subject must be the agent of the reading event, just as in (16a).

- (17) *-ish* phrase subject – restricted theta-role:  
 Ötkür-nuŋ “jil-lar-va dʒavap-ni” oqu-f-i muhim  
 Ötkür-gen “year-pl-dat response-acc” read-nliz-3.poss important  
 ‘Ötkür(’s) reading “Response to Years” is important.’  
 ≠ ‘Ötkür’s reading of “Response to Years” is important.’

The fact that Ötkür must be the reader in (17) indicates that the *-ish* phrase subject is generated in the verbal domain. In the next section, I demonstrate that the genitive-marked subject does not remain in-situ.

## 2.3 Unmarked subjects and existential closure

In this section, I discuss the unmarked (as opposed to genitive-marked) subject option for *-ish* phrases. The surface position of the unmarked *-ish* phrase subject is lower than the surface position of the genitive-marked subject. The unmarked subject must receive a low-scoping indefinite interpretation, which Diesing (1992) argues to be a property of vP-internal subjects. I thus propose that unmarked *-ish* phrase subjects are generated in the specifier of vP and remain in that position. The syntactic and semantic contrasts discussed in this section provide evidence that the genitive-marked subject raises out of its base position in the specifier of vP. In the discussion below, I additionally sketch a semantic proposal for why vP-internal subjects may not be definite.

### 2.3.1 Structure of unmarked subject *-ish* phrases

An *indefinite* subject of an *-ish* phrase can be genitive, or it can be *unmarked*.

- (18) Indefinite *-ish* phrase subject – genitive or unmarked:  
 qiz-(niŋ) kil-if-i muhim  
 girl-(gen) come-nliz-3.poss important  
 ‘It’s important for a girl to come.’

Unmarked embedded subjects are syntactically lower than genitive-marked ones. For example, as shown in (19), the adverb *æte* (‘tomorrow’) may precede or follow a genitive-marked subject, but has to precede an unmarked subject.

- (19) Unmarked subject is lower than genitive subject:
- a. (æte)      Ajgül-nuñ/qiz-niñ (æte)      kil-if-i      muhim  
 (tomorrow) Aygül-gen/girl-gen (**tomorrow**) come-nliz-3.poss important  
 ‘It’s important for Aygül/{a girl} to come tomorrow.’
- b. (æte)      qiz (??æte)      kil-if-i      muhim  
 (tomorrow) girl (??**tomorrow**) come-nliz-3.poss important  
 ‘It’s important for a girl to come tomorrow.’

I propose that unmarked and genitive-marked subjects are generated in the same position, the specifier of vP. Genitive-marked subjects then raise, whereas unmarked subjects do not. The syntactic difference between the genitive subject construction and the unmarked subject construction is whether Gen is present in the structure, and correspondingly whether  $D_{GenP}$  or  $D_{NP}$  is merged. The unmarked subject structure is shown in (20a), with a genitive-marked subject structure given for comparison in (20b).

- (20) a. Unmarked subject *-ish* phrase:
- 
- b. Genitive-marked subject *-ish* phrase:
- 

When Gen is present, it assigns genitive case to the *-ish* phrase subject.  $D_{GenP}$ , which selects for a GenP and bears EPP, heads the DP and attracts the genitive-marked subject to its specifier. When Gen is absent, no genitive case is assigned. The DP is headed by  $D_{NP}$ , which selects for an NP and does not have an EPP feature. The unmarked subject consequently remains in situ. Assuming that *æte* (‘tomorrow’) must occur at least as high at the edge of vP, the proposed structures in (20) explain why *æte* must precede an unmarked subject but may follow a genitive-marked subject.

### 2.3.2 Semantic properties of genitive vs. unmarked *-ish* phrase subjects

In this section, I show that the semantic properties of unmarked *-ish* phrase subjects indicate that they are inside vP, whereas genitive-marked subjects are outside the vP domain. As seen above, an indefinite *-ish* phrase subject may be genitive or unmarked. A definite subject of an *-ish* phrase under a non-raising predicate is obligatorily genitive, as seen in (7) above and as (21) further illustrates.

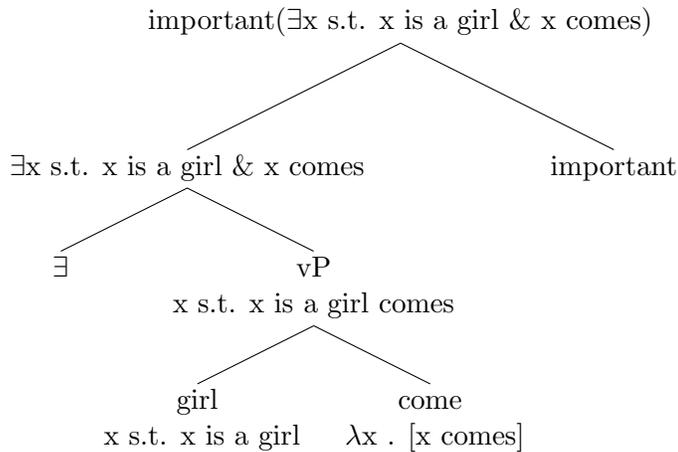
- (21) Definite *-ish* phrase subject – genitive-marked only:  
 Ajgül-\*(**nuŋ**) kil-if-i                    muhim  
 Aygül-\*(**gen**) come-nliz-3.poss important  
 ‘It’s important for Aygül to come.’

An unmarked *-ish* phrase subject must not only be indefinite – it must be a *low-scoping indefinite*. Whereas a genitive *-ish* phrase subject can take scope above or below the embedding predicate (example (22)), and unmarked *-ish* phrase subject can only take scope below the embedding predicate (example (23)).

- (22) Genitive *-ish* phrase subject – high or low scope:  
 qız-niŋ kil-if-i                    muhim  
 girl-gen come-nliz-3.poss important  
 ‘It’s important for a girl to come.’  
 important >  $\exists$ ;  $\exists$  > **important**
- (23) Unmarked *-ish* phrase subject – low scope only:  
 qız kil-if-i                    muhim  
 girl come-nliz-3.poss important  
 ‘It’s important for a girl to come.’  
 important >  $\exists$ ; \*  $\exists$  > **important**

Example (22) can mean that there is a particular girl and it is important for that girl to come, or that it is important that some girl (any girl) come. By contrast, an unmarked subject obligatorily takes low scope – (23) cannot mean that it is important for a particular girl to come. Diesing (1992) observes that cross-linguistically vP-internal subjects must be low-scoping indefinites. She proposes that there is an existential closure operator at the edge of vP, which binds all free variables in its scope. An indefinite subject inside vP is thus interpreted as a bound variable, whereas indefinites outside of vP are interpreted as existential quantifiers. Consider what this entails for the interpretation of *-ish* phrase subjects. If an unmarked subject is in the specifier of vP, as proposed above, it is existentially bound. This results in the following semantic derivation (with English words used for ease of presentation), where the subject must get a low-scope reading.<sup>1</sup>

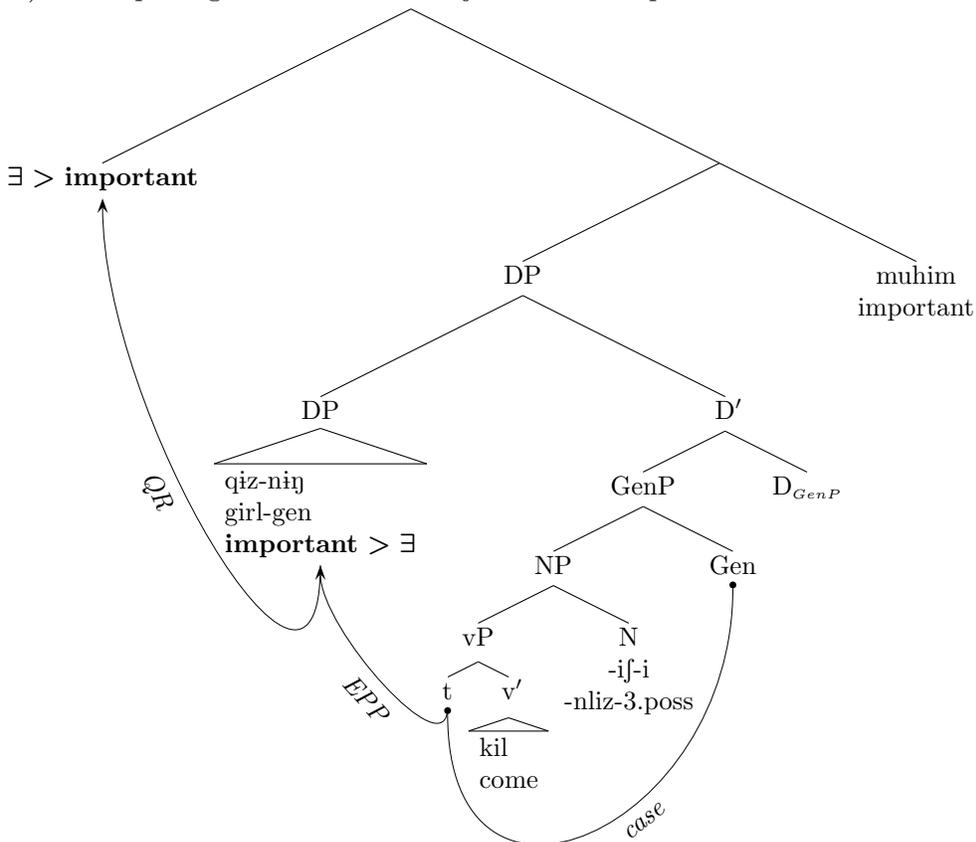
- (24) Unmarked *-ish* phrase subject inside vP:



<sup>1</sup>I abstract away from tense and intensionality.

The only denotation derived for example (23) with an unmarked subject is one where ‘important’ takes scope over ‘girl’: it is important that there exist some girl who comes. This is the right prediction, and provides additional confirmation that unmarked *-ish* phrase subjects are inside vP, whereas genitive-marked subjects move outside vP. An indefinite genitive subject is not existentially bound, but is interpreted as a quantifier. It takes scope below the embedding predicate in its surface position, but it can also take scope above the embedding predicate through quantifier raising (QR).<sup>2</sup>

(25) Scope of genitive-marked subject of an *-ish* phrase:



The fact that unmarked indefinite *-ish* phrase subjects take obligatory low scope, while genitive-marked indefinites may scope above or below the embedding predicate, has now been accounted for. What remains to be addressed is why definite subjects must be genitive-marked. Diesing (1992) observes, but does not explain, the fact that cross-linguistically definites cannot remain inside the scope of existential closure. This generalization extends to Uyghur – recall that definite subjects of *-ish* phrases must be genitive-marked, i.e. outside of vP and thus outside the scope of existential closure.

(26) Definite *-ish* phrase subject – genitive-marked only (= (21)):

Ajgül-\*(**nuŋ**) kil-if-i                    muhim  
 Aygül-\*(**gen**) come-nliz-3.poss important  
 ‘It’s important for Aygül to come.’

<sup>2</sup>I propose in section 3 that the *-ish* phrase in (25) actually raises to a higher position, but this has no impact on the relative scope of the *-ish* phrase subject and the matrix predicate.

The theory of Heim (1982) provides a way to express the requirement that definites be outside the scope of existential closure. Heim (1982) treats non-pronominal, non-quantificational DPs as variable-containing expressions of type  $t$ . Thus, for instance *a/the girl* would have the denotation **x is a girl**.<sup>3</sup> Diesing (1992) proposes that existential closure obligatorily binds all unbound variables in its scope. Suppose that a separate principle prevents pronouns and variables inside definites from being bound. Pronouns and definites would then be forced to be interpreted outside the scope of existential closure. In the context of *-ish* phrase subjects, this means that a definite subject of an *-ish* phrase must be genitive-marked.

### 3 Nominalized vP embedding by raising predicates

In this section, I discuss embedding of *-ish* phrases by modal adjectives, which I argue to be raising predicates. In section 3.1, I introduce some data that distinguish embedding by modal adjectives from embedding by other predicates discussed above. I then present my proposal for the structure of modal adjective embedding. Sections 3.2 and 3.3 provide arguments against a control analysis of modal adjectives and in support of a raising analysis (respectively). After an interim summary in section 3.4, in section 3.5, I discuss how raising of genitive embedded subjects in Uyghur presents a problem for the Activity Condition.

#### 3.1 Structure of raising constructions

In this section, I discuss *-ish* phrase embedding by three modal adjectives, which I propose are raising predicates.

- (27) Uyghur modal adjectives:  
**kirek:** deontic/epistemic necessity  
**lazim:** deontic/epistemic necessity  
**mumkin:** epistemic possibility

Unlike unmarked subjects of *-ish* phrases embedded by other predicates, unmarked subjects of *-ish* phrases embedded by modal adjectives may precede adverbs like *æte* ('tomorrow').

- (28) Unmarked subject precedes adverb:  
qiz æte kil-iʃ-i kirek/lazim/mumkin  
girl **tomorrow** come-nliz-3.poss necessary/necessary/possible  
'It's necessary/possible for a girl to come tomorrow.'

These unmarked subjects also do not obey the semantic restrictions discussed above. They can be definite (example (29)) and they can take scope over the embedding predicate (example (30)).

- (29) Unmarked *-ish* phrase subject – definite:  
**men** kitap oqu-ʃ-im kirek/lazim/mumkin  
**I** book read-nliz-1sg.poss necessary/necessary/possible  
'I {have to}/might read a book.'

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<sup>3</sup>This framework yields a different derivation for the unmarked *-ish* phrase subject structure from that given in (24) above, but the outcome that the subject must take low scope carries over.

(30) Unmarked *-ish* phrase subject – high or low scope:

qiz kil-if-i kirek  
 girl come-nliz-3.poss necessary  
 ‘A girl has to come.’  
 necessary >  $\exists$ ;  $\exists$  > **necessary**

These data demonstrate that the unmarked subject of an *-ish* phrase embedded by a modal adjective is not in its base position inside vP. I argue below that the subject of an *-ish* phrase embedded by a modal adjective raises to the specifier of the matrix TP. Following Trinh (ms. 2009), I propose that the subject of an *-ish* phrase embedded by a modal adjective raises because the *-ish* phrase that combines with a modal adjective is too functionally impoverished to satisfy the EPP of T.

(31) Proposal for modal (vs. non-modal) adjectives:

- a. The *-ish* phrase that combines with non-modal adjectives (and verbal predicates) is a DP.
- b. The *-ish* phrase that combines with modal adjectives is an NP/GenP.
- c. T in Uyghur has an EPP property that must be satisfied by a DP.

(32) Consequently:

- a. When the embedding predicate is a non-modal adjective, the *-ish* phrase raises to spec, TP to satisfy EPP.
- b. When the embedding predicate is a modal adjective, the **subject** of the *-ish* phrase raises to spec, TP to satisfy EPP.

Note that an *-ish* phrase subject under *kirek* or *lazim* (‘necessary’) may be genitive, as well as unmarked.<sup>4</sup>

(33) *-ish* phrase subject may be genitive:

**men-ij** kitap oqu-f-im kirek/lazim  
**I-gen** book read-nliz-1sg.poss necessary  
 ‘I have to read a book.’

I propose that the modal adjective example in (34) has the structure shown in (35).

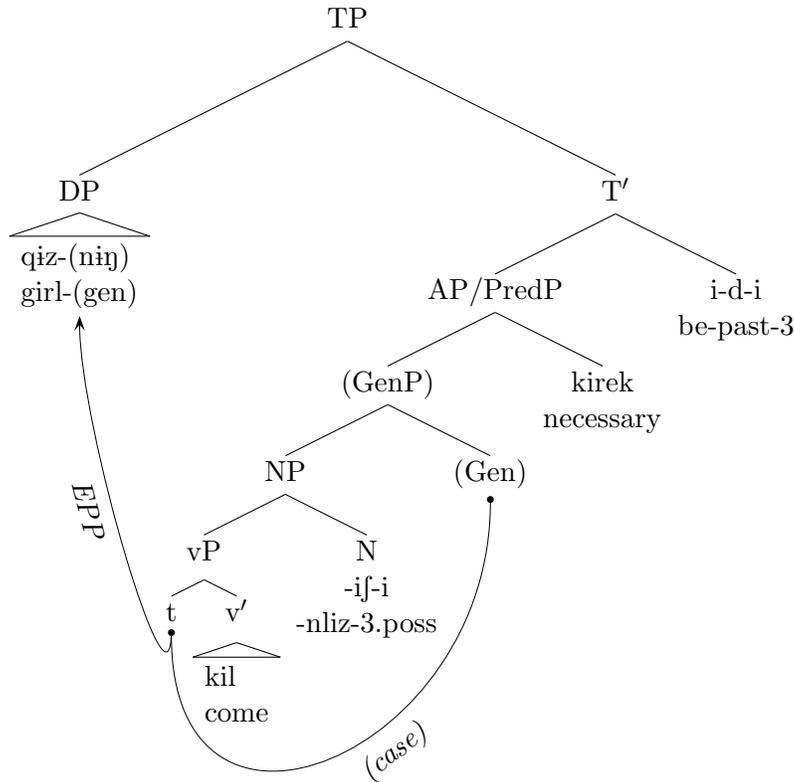
(34) *-ish* phrase embedded by a modal adjective:

qiz-(nij) kil-if-i kirek i-d-i  
 girl-(gen) come-nliz-3.poss necessary be-past-3  
 ‘It was necessary for a girl to come.’

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<sup>4</sup>*Mumkin* (‘possible’) is incompatible with genitive subjects; why this is the case is an open question.

- (35) Modal adjective – subject of *-ish* phrase satisfies EPP of T:

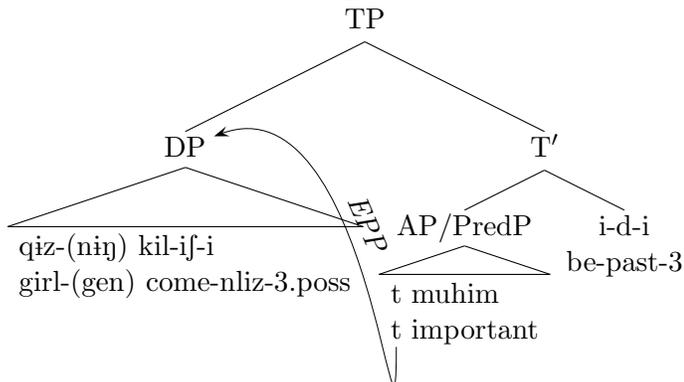


For *-ish* phrase embedding by *non-modal* adjectives, as in (36), I propose the structure shown in (37).

- (36) *-ish* phrase embedded by a non-modal adjective:

qiz-(niŋ) kil-if-i                    muhim    i-d-i  
 girl-(gen) come-nliz-3.poss important be-past-3  
 ‘It was important for a girl to come.’

- (37) Non-modal adjective – *-ish* phrase satisfies EPP of T (*structure abbreviated*):

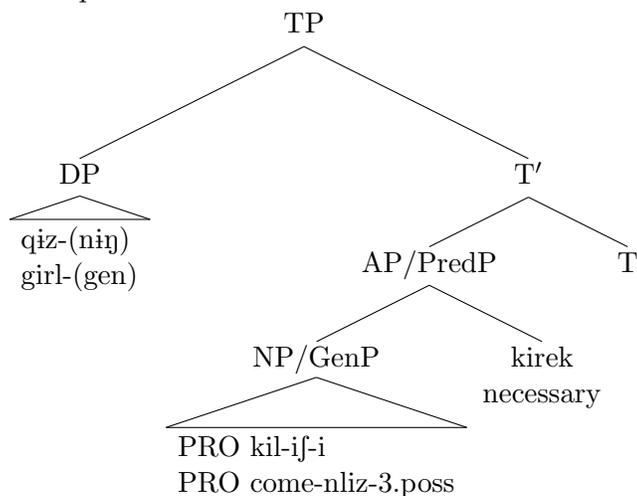


With non-modal adjectives, the *-ish* phrase is a DP and can therefore satisfy the EPP of T, while with modal adjectives the *-ish* phrase is an NP/GenP, and so cannot satisfy the EPP of T. The subject of the *-ish* phrase satisfies the EPP property of T instead. This proposal correctly predicts that an unmarked subject of an *-ish* phrase embedded by a *modal* adjective may precede adverbs and is not existentially bound inside vP – it is in the matrix subject position.

### 3.2 Evidence against a control analysis

Before presenting further evidence that the semantic subject of an *-ish* phrase embedded by a modal adjective is in the matrix subject position, I argue against a control analysis of the construction (illustrated in (38)).

(38) *Not* a possible structure:



Uyghur control constructions have different agreement properties from embedding by modal adjectives. Agreement on the *-ish* phrase under a modal adjective is required with 1st and 2nd person subjects, as seen in (39).<sup>5</sup> This is in contrast with control constructions, where agreement on the *-ish* phrase is prohibited, as (40) shows.

(39) Modal adjective – agreement on *-ish* phrase required:

men ket-if-\*(**im**)                      kirek/mumkin  
 I    leave-nliz-\*(**1sg.poss**) necessary/possible  
 ‘It’s necessary/possible for me to leave.’

(40) Control construction – agreement on *-ish* phrase prohibited:

men kitap oqu-f-\*(**im**)-ni                      ojli-wat-i-men/tirif-t-im  
 I    book read-nliz-\*(**1sg.poss**)-acc want-prog-impf-1sg/try-past-1sg  
 ‘I want/tried to read a book.’

Since control constructions prohibit agreement on the *-ish* phrase, whereas modal adjective constructions require it (in the 1st and 2nd person), embedding by modal adjectives cannot receive a control analysis.

### 3.3 Evidence for raising of *-ish* phrase subject

In this section, I use three types of evidence to show that the subject of an *-ish* phrase embedded by a modal adjective raises out of the *-ish* phrase. This is the case both for unmarked and for genitive subjects. Since Uyghur is a head-final language, the task is not a trivial one. T (when overt) is sentence-final, and so the subject does not overtly move over it. The first line of argument in section 3.3.1 comes from further embedding the adjective construction. We find that when the predicate is a non-modal adjective, the entire *-ish* phrase acts as its subject. When the predicate is a modal

<sup>5</sup>Agreement on an *-ish* phrase embedded by a modal adjective with an unmarked 3rd person subject is optional. I will not address here how this optionality comes about.

adjective, the subject of the *-ish* phrase acts as the subject of the predicate. The embedding data indicate that the subject of the *-ish* phrase moves *to the matrix subject position*. It thus undergoes raising, and not some A-bar movement operation. Section 3.3.2 shows that the subject moves out of the *-ish* phrase in modal adjective constructions but not non-modal adjective constructions using the placement of a topic marker as evidence. Section 3.3.3 does the same using the distribution of a focus marker.

### 3.3.1 Embedding

In this section, I use an Exceptional Case Marking operation that targets embedded subjects to identify the *-ish* phrase subject as the subject of the modal adjective clause. As shown by Shklovsky and Sudo (to appear), the subject of a proposition embedded without nominalization in Uyghur can bear nominative or accusative case. When the subject bears nominative case, any pronoun it contains receives a shifted interpretation. That is, the pronoun is interpreted with respect to the embedded context, and not with respect to the matrix context. For example, a first-person pronoun is interpreted as referring to the subject of the sentence, as illustrated in (41).<sup>6</sup>

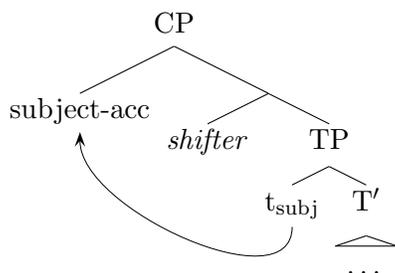
- (41) Nominative subject – shifted reading:  
 Ahmet [ **men-iŋ qiz-im** ket-t-i ] didi  
 Ahmet [ **I-gen girl-1sg.poss** leave-past-3 ] said  
 ✓ ‘Ahmet said that his daughter left.’ [shifted]  
 ✗ ‘Ahmet said that my daughter left.’ [non-shifted]

Any pronoun in an accusative-marked subject, on the other hand, receives a non-shifted interpretation. Thus the first-person pronoun in the subject of (42) can only refer to the speaker.

- (42) Accusative subject – non-shifted reading:  
 Ahmet [ **men-iŋ qiz-im-ni** ket-t-i ] didi  
 Ahmet [ **I-gen girl-1sg.poss-acc** leave-past-3 ] said  
 ✗ ‘Ahmet said that his daughter left.’ [shifted]  
 ✓ ‘Ahmet said that my daughter left.’ [non-shifted]

Shklovsky and Sudo (to appear) propose that an accusative-marked subject moves from the embedded subject position. It moves above a projection that shifts the context below it, and thereby receives a matrix interpretation, rather than a shifted one.

- (43) Accusative-marked embedded subject:



Embedded *subjects* may thus be exceptionally accusative-marked, with a corresponding non-shifted interpretation. The ECM operation targets subjects: quirky objects, for instance, cannot

<sup>6</sup>This data is from my own elicitation sessions, but much of my understanding of these constructions is derived from Shklovsky and Sudo (to appear) and p.c. with the authors.

be marked accusative in the same way (and thereby made to receive a non-shifted interpretation), as (44) shows.

- (44) Ablative object – shifted reading only:  
 Ötkür [ men-**{din/\*i}** Ajgül qorq-u-du ] didi  
 Ötkür [ I-**{abl/\*acc}** Aygül fear-impf-3 ] said  
 ✓ ‘Ötkür said that Aygül is afraid of him.’ [shifted]  
 ✗ ‘Ötkür said that Aygül is afraid of me.’ [non-shifted]

Since the accusative-marking operation targets the embedded subject, in this section I use the possibility of a noun phrase receiving accusative case in an embedded context as a subjecthood diagnostic. The *-ish* phrase that combines with a *non-modal* adjective behaves like a subject. In an embedded context, the *-ish* phrase can be unmarked (nominative) or accusative-marked. When the *-ish* phrase is unmarked, its pronominal possessor receives a shifted interpretation. When the *-ish* phrase is marked accusative, its pronominal possessor receives a non-shifted interpretation.

- (45) Non-modal adjective – nominative *-ish* phrase, shifted reading:  
 Ötkür [ **men-iñ oqu-f-im** muhim ] didi  
 Ötkür [ **I-gen read-nliz-1sg.poss** important ] said  
 ✓ ‘Ötkür said that his studying is important.’ [shifted]  
 ✗ ‘Ötkür said that my studying is important.’ [non-shifted]
- (46) Non-modal adjective – accusative *-ish* phrase, non-shifted reading:  
 Ötkür [ **men-iñ oqu-f-im-ni** muhim ] didi  
 Ötkür [ **I-gen read-nliz-1sg.poss-acc** important ] said  
 ✗ ‘Ötkür said that his studying is important.’ [shifted]  
 ✓ ‘Ötkür said that my studying is important.’ [non-shifted]

Similarly, a pronominal object in an *-ish* phrase embedded by a non-modal adjective receives a shifted interpretation when the *-ish* phrase is unmarked, and a non-shifted interpretation when the *-ish* phrase is marked accusative.

- (47) Non-modal adjective – nominative *-ish* phrase, shifted reading:  
 Ötkür [ Ajgül-nuñ **meni kör-ıf-i** muhim ] didi  
 Ötkür [ Aygül-gen **I-acc see-nliz-3.poss** important ] said  
 ✓ ‘Ötkür said that Aygül seeing him is important.’ [shifted]  
 ✗ ‘Ötkür said that Aygül seeing me is important.’ [non-shifted]
- (48) Non-modal adjective – accusative *-ish* phrase, non-shifted reading:  
 Ötkür [ Ajgül-nuñ **meni kör-ıf-i-ni** muhim ] didi  
 Ötkür [ Aygül-gen **I-acc see-nliz-3.poss-acc** important ] said  
 ✗ ‘Ötkür said that Aygül seeing him is important.’ [shifted]  
 ✓ ‘Ötkür said that Aygül seeing me is important.’ [non-shifted]

The *-ish* phrase that combines with a non-modal embedding adjective is in subject position, and can therefore be marked accusative when the whole construction is embedded. Modal adjectives behave differently from non-modal adjectives in direct embedding constructions. With modal adjectives, the *-ish* phrase as a whole cannot be marked accusative.

- (49) Modal adjective – no accusative marking on *-ish* phrase:  
 \*Mehemmet [ Ajgöl- $\{\emptyset/nin/ni\}$  oqu-f-i-**ni** kirek ] didi  
 Mehmet [ Aygöl- $\{\text{nom/gen/acc}\}$  read-nliz-3.poss-**acc** necessary ] said  
 intended: ‘Mehemmet said that Aygöl’s studying is necessary.’

Instead, the subject of the *-ish* phrase can raise and receive accusative marking. The interpretive difference is the same as above – a nominative (unmarked) pronominal subject must be shifted, while an accusative-marked subject receives a non-shifted reading.<sup>7</sup>

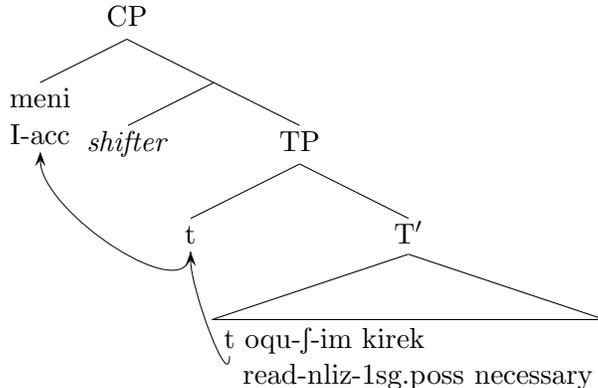
- (50) Modal adjective – nominative subject, shifted reading:  
 Ötkür [ **men** oqu-f-im kirek ] didi  
 Ötkür [ **I** study-nliz-1sg.poss necessary ] said  
 ✓ ‘Ötkür said that his studying is necessary.’ [shifted]  
 ✗ ‘Ötkür said that my studying is necessary.’ [non-shifted]
- (51) Modal adjective – accusative subject, non-shifted reading:  
 Ötkür [ **meni** oqu-f- $\{i/i\}$  kirek ] didi  
 Ötkür [ **I-acc** read- $\{3/2\text{sg}\}$  necessary ] said  
 ✗ ‘Ötkür said that his studying is necessary.’ [shifted]  
 ✓ ‘Ötkür said that my studying is necessary.’ [non-shifted]

When the embedding predicate is a modal adjective, the subject of the *-ish* phrase can bear accusative marking in an ECM context. This identifies the subject of the *-ish* phrase as the subject of the entire embedded clause. Note that the subject of an *-ish* phrase embedded by a non-modal adjective cannot be accusative-marked.

- (52) Non-modal adjective – no accusative marking on subject of *-ish* phrase:  
 \*Mehemmet [ Ajgöl-**ni** oqu-f-i muhim ] didi  
 Mehmet [ Aygöl-**acc** study-nliz-3.poss important ] said  
 intended: ‘Mehemmet said that Aygöl’s studying is important.’

The subject of an *-ish* phrase under a modal adjective thus raises to the main clause subject position. Following the proposal of Shklovsky and Sudo (to appear), the accusative-marked *-ish* phrase subject moves further yet, above the shifting projection.

- (53) Accusative-marked embedded subject:



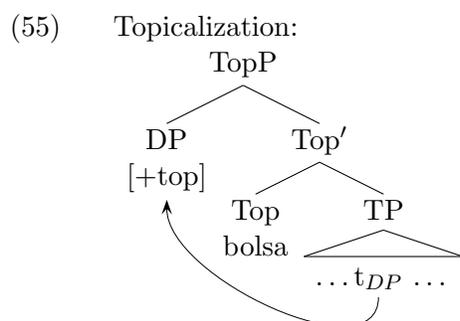
<sup>7</sup>Note that the possessor agreement on the *-ish* phrase in (51) is shifted; I do not address the topic of shifted agreement in this paper.

### 3.3.2 Topicalization

In this section, I use topic-marking as a test of constituency. I show that an *-ish* phrase embedded by a non-modal adjective can be topicalized as a single constituent, whereas an *-ish* phrase embedded by a modal adjective cannot be. The “conditional copula particle” *bolsa* (composed of *bol* (‘be’) plus *sa* (conditional marker)) acts as a topic marker (Johanson and Csató 1998; De Jong 2007).<sup>8</sup> The topicalized phrase appears as the leftmost constituent, followed by *bolsa*.

- (54) Topicalized subject:  
 men **bolsa** oqu-d-um  
 I **top** read-past-1sg  
 ‘As for me, I read.’

For concreteness, I propose that *bolsa* is projected in Top above TP (Rizzi 1997) and attracts the closest topic-marked noun phrase to its specifier.<sup>9</sup>



Note that topicalization of a possessor out of a noun phrase is degraded.

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<sup>8</sup>That *bolsa* marks topics can be seen from its incompatibility with focus, as the following examples illustrate for question answers.

- (i) Question:  
 kitap-ni kim oqu-d-i?  
 book-acc who read-past-3  
 ‘Who read the book?’
- (ii) Answer:  
 a. men (kitap-ni) oqu-d-um  
 I (book-acc) read-past-1sg  
 ‘I read the book.’  
 b. #men bol-sa-(m) oqu-d-um  
 I be-SA-(1sg) read-past-1sg  
 ‘As for me, I read the book.’

Note that it is not the case that *bolsa* is ruled out in answers to questions. For example, (iii) is a fine answer to the question, “What did you do yesterday?”

- (iii) men bol-sa-m tünügün kitap oqu-d-um  
 I be-SA-1sg yesterday book read-past-1sg  
 ‘As for me, I read a book yesterday.’

(Agreement with nominative topicalized DPs appears optionally on *bolsa*, which I do not address here.)

<sup>9</sup>I set aside the potential concern that *bolsa* is found in the left periphery despite the fact that Uyghur is consistently head-final.

- (56) Topicalized possessor:  
 ??Ötkür-nuñ **bolsa** gül-i güzel  
 Ötkür-gen **top** flower-3.poss pretty  
 ‘As for Ötkür, his flower is pretty.’

An *-ish* phrase embedded by a non-modal adjective behaves like a possessed subject. It can be topicalized by *bolsa* (as (57) shows), but its possessor cannot be topicalized on its own (seen in (58)).<sup>10</sup>

- (57) Non-modal adjectives – topicalized *-ish* phrase:  
 men-iñ oqu-f-im **bolsa** muhim/eñmijetlik/qimmet  
 I-gen read-nliz-1sg.poss **top** important/useful/expensive  
 ‘As for my reading, it’s important/useful/expensive.’
- (58) Non-modal adjectives – *-ish* phrase subject cannot be topicalized:  
 \*men-iñ **bolsa** oqu-f-im muhim/eñmijetlik/qimmet  
 I-gen **top** read-nliz-1sg.poss important/useful/expensive  
 intended: ‘As for me, my reading is important/useful/expensive.’

Modal adjectives display the opposite pattern. The subject of the *-ish* phrase can be topicalized (example (59)), whereas it is impossible to topicalize both the *-ish* phrase and its subject (example (60)).

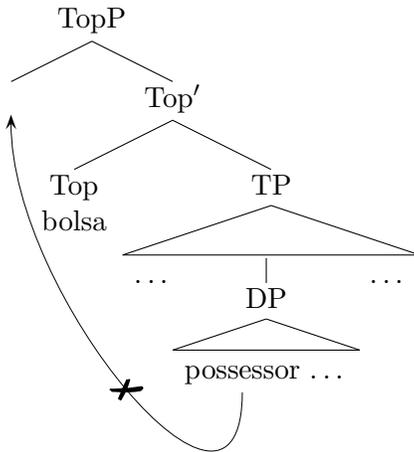
- (59) Modal adjectives – topicalized *-ish* phrase subject:  
 a. men-(iñ) **bolsa** oqu-f-im kirek/lazim  
 I-(gen) **top** read-nliz-1sg.poss necessary  
 ‘My reading is necessary.’  
 b. men **bolsa** oqu-f-im mumkin.  
 I **top** read-nliz-1sg.poss possible  
 ‘My reading is possible.’
- (60) Modal adjectives – topicalized *-ish* phrase impossible:  
 \*men-(iñ) oqu-f-im **bolsa** kirek/lazim/mumkin.  
 I-(gen) read-nliz-1sg.poss **top** necessary/necessary/possible  
 intended: ‘As for my reading, it’s necessary/possible.’

The pattern seen with modal adjectives is expected if the subject of the *-ish* phrase is extracted out of the *-ish* phrase before the topicalization operation applies. It is correctly predicted that unlike possessors, the raised subject of an *-ish* phrase *can* be topicalized.

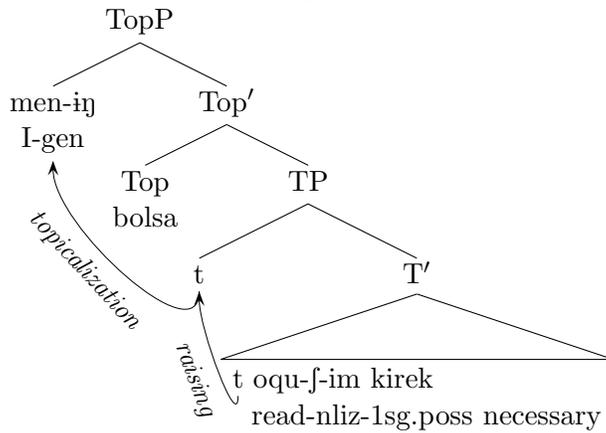
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<sup>10</sup>The data on the use of *bolsa* with *kirek* (‘necessary’) and *qimmet* (‘expensive’) is also found in Trinh (ms. 2009).

(61) No topicalization of possessor:



(62) Topicalized raised *-ish* phrase subject:



The *-ish* phrase under a modal adjective cannot be topicalized as a whole, because its subject has raised out by the point in the derivation when *bolsa* is merged. The data thus indicate that raising is obligatory. Without the raising proposal, we could not account for the different patterns seen for non-modal and modal adjectives.

### 3.3.3 Focus-marking

The focus particle *-mu* (‘also’, ‘even’) can also be used to determine constituency. In particular, it can affix directly to a focused element (example (63)), or to a phrase containing a focused element (example (64)).<sup>11</sup>

<sup>11</sup> *Mu* cannot appear on an element that does not contain (or is not contained in) the target of focus.

(i) *-mu* prohibited:

Ötkür kitap-ni oqu-d-i, we Ötkür-(\*mu) *çet-ni* oqu-d-i.  
 Ötkür book-acc read-past-3, and Ötkür-(\*MU) *letter-acc write-past-3*  
 ‘Ötkür read a book, and Ötkür wrote a letter.’ (Hartman (ms. 2009))

- (63) *-mu* on focused constituent:  
 Ötkür eqilliq, we *John*-mu eqilliq  
 Ötkür smart and *John*-MU smart  
 ‘Ötkür is smart, and John is also smart.’ (Hartman (ms. 2009))
- (64) *-mu* on phrase containing the focused constituent:  
 men-iñ qız-im eqilliq. [ *Ötkür-nuñ* qız-i ]-mu eqilliq.  
 I-gen daughter-1sg.poss smart. [ *Ötkür-gen* daughter-3.poss ]-MU smart.  
 ‘My daughter is smart. Ötkür’s daughter is also smart.’ (Hartman (ms. 2009))

*-Mu* can appear on an entire DP when the possessor is focused, as in example (64). Similarly, with non-modal adjectives *-mu* can appear on the *-ish* phrase when subject of the *-ish* phrase is focused.

- (65) Non-modal adjectives – focused subject, *-mu* on *-ish* phrase:  
 Ötkür-nuñ ket-if-i muhim/eçmijetlik/jaxfi. *Aygül-nuñ*-(mu)  
 Ötkür-gen leave-nliz-3.poss important/useful/good. *Aygül-gen*-(MU)  
 ket-if-i-(**mu**) muhim/eçmijetlik/jaxfi.  
 leave-nliz-3.poss-(**MU**) important/useful/good.  
 ‘Ötkür’s leaving is important/useful/good. Aygül’s leaving is also important/useful/good.’

As (66) and (67) show, when the subject of an *-ish* phrase embedded by a *modal* adjective is focused, *-mu cannot* be affixed to the *-ish* phrase.

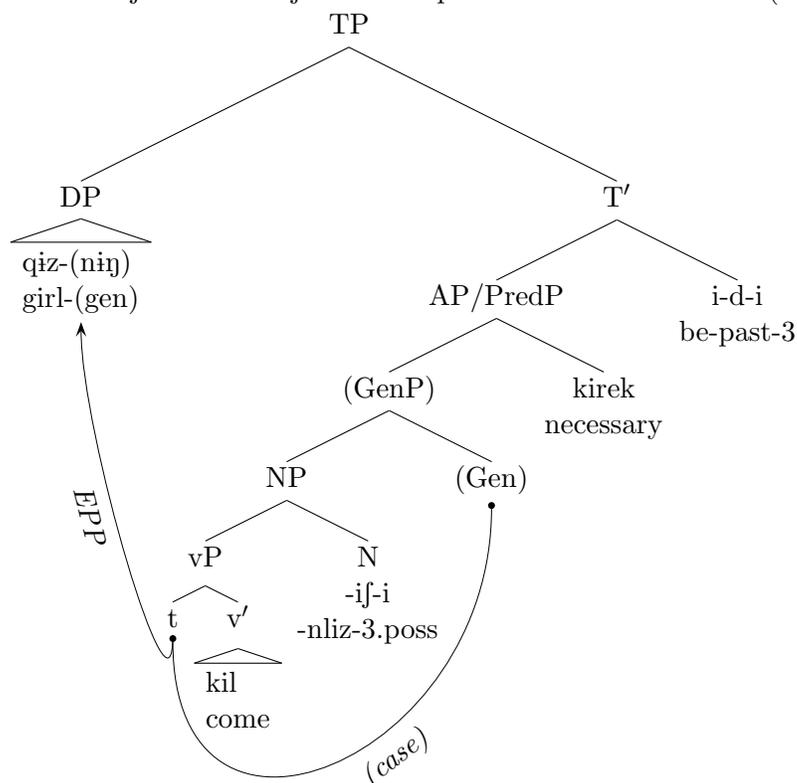
- (66) Modal adjectives – focused subject, *\*-mu* on *-ish* phrase (genitive subject):  
 Ötkür-nuñ ket-if-i kirek/lazim. *Aygül-nuñ*-(mu) ket-if-i-(**\*mu**)  
 Ötkür-gen leave-nliz-3.poss necessary. *Aygül-gen*-(MU) leave-nliz-3.poss-(**\*MU**)  
 kirek/lazim  
 necessary  
 ‘Ötkür’s leaving is necessary. Aygül’s leaving is also necessary.’
- (67) Modal adjectives – focused subject, *\*-mu* on *-ish* phrase (unmarked subject):  
 Ötkür ket-if-i kirek/lazim/mumkin. *Aygül*-(mu) ket-if-i-(**\*mu**)  
 Ötkür leave-nliz-3.poss- necessary/nec./possible. *Aygül*-(MU) leave-nliz-3.poss-(**\*MU**)  
 kirek/lazim/mumkin.  
 necessary/nec./possible  
 ‘Ötkür’s leaving is necessary/possible. Aygül’s leaving is also necessary/possible.’

The inability of an *-ish* phrase with a focused subject to host *-mu* is predicted if the subject of the *-ish* phrase obligatorily raises out of the *-ish* phrase.<sup>12</sup> Crucially, an *-ish* phrase embedded by a modal adjective *is* able to host *-mu* when the focused element remains inside the *-ish* phrase. This is illustrated for a focused object in (68) and (69).

<sup>12</sup>The fact that the subject of the *-ish* phrase is inside it at an earlier point in the derivation evidently does not license *-mu* on the *-ish* phrase.



(71) Modal adjective – subject of *-ish* phrase satisfies EPP of T (= (35)):



Several lines of evidence converge on the conclusion that modal adjectives are raising predicates, whereas non-modal adjectives are not. I have shown that unmarked *-ish* phrase subjects are low (inside vP) under non-modal adjectives, but not under modal adjectives. I have also shown that when an *-ish* phrase is embedded under a non-modal adjective, it behaves as a subject for the purposes of ECM, and as a unit for topicalization and focus. When an *-ish* phrase is embedded under a modal adjective, the *-ish* phrase subject behaves as a sentential subject for ECM. The *-ish* phrase does not behave as a unit for for topicalization and focus.

### 3.5 Implications for the Activity Condition

Having established that the subject of a clause embedded by a modal adjective obligatorily raises, regardless of case-marking, I now show that this presents a problem for the Activity Condition, repeated in (72).

(72) **Activity Condition (AC):** A goal must be active (i.e. bear some unvalued feature) to be a valid target for Agree. (adapted from Chomsky 2001)

In this section, I argue that genitive *-ish* phrase subjects in Uyghur bear *structural* genitive case. Consequently, these embedded subjects do not bear an unvalued Case feature at the point in the derivation when raising takes place. Since unvalued Case is the feature that makes nouns active,<sup>13</sup> examples of raising such as (73) show that the Activity condition does not hold in Uyghur.

<sup>13</sup>It is theoretically possible that Uyghur noun phrases have some unvalued feature other than Case that allows the Activity Condition to be satisfied. For example, Carstens and Diercks (to appear) propose that noun class plays such a role in Luyia. I discard this approach as unmotivated for Uyghur.

- (73) Uyghur raising:  
 Mehemmet-(niŋ) [ t oqu-f-i ] kirek  
 Mehemmet-(gen) [ t read-nliz-3.poss ] necessary  
  
 ‘Mehemmet has to read.’

The raised subject in (73) may bear genitive case, which is assigned to it in the embedded clause. The genitive morphology is preserved under raising. A similar phenomenon is found in Icelandic, where inherent (“quirky”) case assigned in the embedded clause is retained when the embedded subject raises.

- (74) Ólafi leiddist  
 Olaf-dat bored  
 ‘Olaf was bored.’ (*Icelandic*, Sigurðsson (2002):(22a))
- (75) Ólafi byrjaði [ t að leiðast ]  
 Olaf-dat began [ t to bore ]  
  
 ‘Olaf began to get bored.’ (*Icelandic*, Sigurðsson (2002):(22b))

It has been proposed that despite receiving “quirky” dative case in the embedded clause, the subject in (75) additionally requires abstract structural Case (Sigurðsson 1989; Holmberg and Hróarsdóttir 2003). This allows the Activity Condition to be maintained, as the dative-marked subject still bears an unvalued Case feature. Applying the Activity Condition to Icelandic thus depends crucially on a distinction between structural Case (required by all noun phrases) and non-structural Case. A noun phrase remains “active” so long as it has not received structural Case. I argue that the genitive on *-ish* phrase subjects in Uyghur is a structural Case. The fact that genitive subjects in Uyghur raise thus indicates that the Activity Condition does not hold. In this way, Uyghur provides a novel argument against the Activity Condition not offered by Icelandic data. I argue for the structural nature of Uyghur genitive case based on the fact that it is assigned by a head that does not give the genitive subject its theta-role. I also show that the genitive of Uyghur embedded subjects behaves differently from true quirky cases in Uyghur.<sup>14</sup>

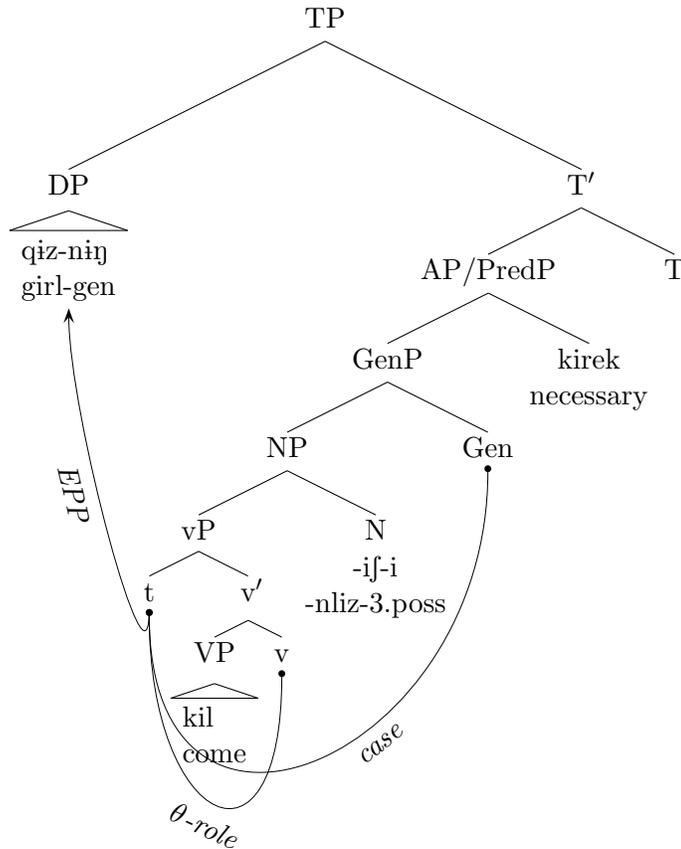
Pesetsky (1982); Chomsky (1986) and others propose that if a head assigns non-structural case, it also assigns a theta-role to the same noun phrase. However, I have argued above that an *-ish* phrase subject receives its (agent) theta-role from *v*, while genitive case is assigned by Gen. Thus there are different heads responsible for theta-role assignment and case-assignment to *-ish* phrase subjects, and consequently genitive case-assignment must be structural. The pattern of case-assignment and theta-role assignment in Uyghur is illustrated in (77).

- (76) *-ish* phrase embedded by a modal adjective:  
 qiz-niŋ kil-if-i kirek  
 girl-gen come-nliz-3.poss necessary  
 ‘It’s necessary for a girl to come.’

---

<sup>14</sup>Note that the argument I present goes against the proposal made by Woolford (2006) that case-preservation under raising is a reliable test for non-structural case.

(77) Modal adjective – different sources for case and theta-role:



The arguments showing that the genitive subject of an *-ish* phrase receives a theta-role from *v*, and not from *Gen*, presented for non-raising embedding predicates above, carry over to raising constructions.<sup>15</sup> A transitive *v* obligatorily assigns an agent theta role to the genitive subjects in (78). The non-agentive interpretation of the subject, available in English *ing-of* gerunds, is not possible in the Uyghur examples below.

(78) *-ish* phrase subject – restricted theta-role:

- a. Ötkür-nuñ “jil-lar-ğa dǵavap-ni” oqu-f-i kirek  
 Ötkür-gen “year-pl-dat response-acc” read-nliz-3.poss necessary  
 ‘Ötkür(’s) reading “Response to Years” is necessary.’  
 ≠ ‘Ötkür’s reading of “Response to Years” is necessary.’
- b. John-niñ sham-ni jandur-ıf-i kirek  
 John-gen candle-acc light-nliz-3.poss necessary  
 ‘John(’s) lighting candles is necessary.’  
 ≠ ‘John’s lighting of candles is necessary.’

In (78a), Ötkür must be the one doing the reading – he cannot be an organizer or a host, for instance, for a reading of “Response to Years”. Similarly, in (78b), John must be the one lighting the candles. The candle-lighting may not simply be one that John attended, or depicted in a painting, for example. The embedded genitive subject must thus be the agent in the examples in

<sup>15</sup>The same facts hold for unmarked subjects of raising predicates, but this is not directly relevant to the present discussion.

(78). This is in contrast with the English examples given in (79), where the subject of the gerund receives a less restricted theta-role from the nominal structure.

- (79) a. Ötkür’s reading of “Response to Years” is necessary.  
 b. John’s lighting of candles is necessary.

As expected, when *v* in the embedded clause is passive or unaccusative, the genitive subject is interpreted as a theme, as shown in (80) and (81).

- (80) *-ish* phrase subject – theme of a passive:  
 χet-niŋ jez-il-if-i kirek  
 letter-gen write-pass-nliz-3.poss necessary  
 ‘It is necessary for the letter to be written.’

- (81) *-ish* phrase subject – theme of an unaccusative:  
 istakan-niŋ ojril-if-i kirek  
 cup-gen fall-nliz-3.poss necessary  
 ‘It is necessary for the cup to fall.’

There is thus clear evidence that the embedded subject receives its theta-role from *v*. Genitive case is not assigned by *v*, however. If it were, we would expect genitive subjects to occur freely in matrix contexts. However, the subject may not be marked genitive in examples like (82) and (83).

- (82) No genitive case on matrix subject:  
 Ötkür-(\*niŋ) “jil-lar-ƚa dzavap-ni” oqu-j-du  
 Ötkür-(\*gen) “year-pl-dat response-acc” read-impf-3  
 ‘Ötkür is reading “Response to Years”.’

- (83) No genitive case on matrix subject of passive:  
 χet-(\*niŋ) jez-il-d-i  
 letter-(\*gen) write-pass-past-3  
 ‘A letter was written.’

I propose that Gen is not available in matrix contexts because it selects for an NP complement, and not for a *v*P or TP. On the hypothesis that the source of genitive case is Gen, and not *v*, the lack of genitive on matrix subjects in (82) and (83) follows. The source of genitive case on the embedded subject is thus different from the source of the theta role for the embedded subject, which indicates that this genitive case is not quirky. Furthermore, the genitive case borne by Uyghur embedded subjects shows different behavior from true quirky case in Uyghur. Example (84) illustrates a quirky dative object. When (84) is passivized, as in (85), the dative case is obligatorily preserved. There is also no alternation with an unmarked or genitive variant when the quirky dative is the subject of an *-ish* phrase, as (86) shows.

- (84) Quirky dative object:  
 men it-ke qara-j-men  
 I dog-dat watch-impf-1sg  
 ‘I’m watching the dog.’

- (85) Quirky dative subject of a passive:  
 it-\*(ke) qara-l-i-du  
 dog-\*(dat) watch-pass-impf-3  
 ‘The dog is watched.’

- (86) Quirky dative preserved on subject of *-ish* phrase:  
 it- $\{ke/*niŋ/*\emptyset\}$  qara-l-if-i muhim/kirek  
 dog- $\{dat/*gen/*\emptyset\}$  watch-pass-nliz-3 important/necessary  
 ‘The dog being watched is important/necessary.’

We thus expect a head assigning quirky case in Uyghur to do so obligatorily, and we expect the quirky case to be preserved under A-movement. The only available explanation for the genitive-unmarked alternation is consequently (as I have proposed) that the genitive-assigning head is itself optional. However, if the genitive-assigning head also assigns the subject theta role, its absence is predicted to result in different theta-role options for the embedded subject. This is not what we find: there is no difference in the theta-roles available to genitive subjects and unmarked subjects in the raising construction. I have thus argued that the genitive assigned to subjects of Uyghur *-ish* phrases is *not* a quirky case. Uyghur genitive embedded subjects raise despite having been assigned structural case, and thus no longer bearing an unvalued feature. Uyghur genitive subject raising is therefore not consistent with the Activity Condition. In the next section, we will see that the  $PIC_{weak}$  does hold in Uyghur.

## 4 CP embedding

In this section, I discuss one type of CP embedding available in Uyghur.<sup>16</sup> I show that the subject case-assignment properties of these embedded CPs argue against the  $PIC_{strong}$ : the embedded subject is marked with genitive case across a CP boundary. I demonstrate that the  $PIC_{weak}$  is consistent with the case properties of the subject, while at the same time correctly ruling out raising out of an embedded CP. Section 4.1 presents the structure of embedded CPs. I review arguments given by Asarina and Hartman (to appear) that the clauses discussed are indeed full CPs, as evidenced by the presence of an overt complementizer. In section 4.2, I show that embedded CPs display a subject case alternation of the same type as seen in *-ish* phrases above. I again use the differences between unmarked and genitive-marked subjects to pin down the properties of each. In section 4.3, I argue that the  $PIC_{strong}$  is too strong to be consistent with the structure of embedded CPs with genitive subjects. Section 4.4 addresses embedding of CPs by raising predicates. I argue that the inability of raising predicates to embed aspect-containing CPs shows that the  $PIC_{weak}$  plays an active role. I also suggest that a CP that does not contain tense or aspect is “defective” in Uyghur. Finally, I provide one more argument for the raising nature of modal adjectives.

### 4.1 Structure of an embedded CP

Let us examine embedded clauses whose verb bears a different suffix: *-liq*. I propose that these clauses are CPs inside nominal morphology. Consider the construction shown in (87) and (88), with the same non-raising embedding predicates as seen above, but a different type of embedded clause.

- (87) “*-liq* phrase” embedding under ‘say’:  
 Ötkür [ Aǰgöl-nuŋ kel-gen-lik-i-ni ] didi  
 Ötkür [ Aygöl-gen come-RAN-LIQ-3.poss-acc ] said  
 ‘Ötkür said that Aygöl came.’

---

<sup>16</sup>As seen in section 3.3.1 above, a verb like ‘say’ can also embed a fully inflected clause without nominal structure. I do not discuss this type of embedding here.

- (88) “-*liq* phrase” embedding under ‘important’:  
 [ Mehemmet-nuɣ hazir oqu-wat-Ɂan-liq-i ] muhim  
 [ Mehemmet-gen now read-prog-RAN-LIQ-3.poss ] important  
 ‘Mehemmet reading right now is important.’

I propose that the embedded clause in (88) (and, similarly, in (87)) has the following morphological structure:

- (89) Structure of the embedded clause:  
 ... oqu -wat -Ɂan -liq -- $\emptyset_N$  -i  
 ... *verb* -progressive -Asp/perfective -C - $\emptyset_N$  -agreement.poss

Just like *-ish* phrases, embedded **-*liq* phrases** bear case marking, as can be seen in (87). The subject of the *-liq* phrase is genitive, and the clause bears corresponding possessor agreement. Like an *-ish* phrase, then, this type of embedded clause is nominal “on the outside”. Asarina and Hartman (to appear) argue that the nominal properties derive from a null embedding noun.<sup>17</sup> I assume their analysis here, but the details of how the nominal nature of the clause comes about are not crucial for our present purposes.

What *is* crucial is the nature of the morpheme *-liq*. Unlike *-ish*, *-liq* is *not* a nominalizer, but a complementizer. Asarina and Hartman (to appear) argue for this analysis based on several properties of *-liq*. As is common for a complementizer (Stowell 1981; Pesetsky and Torrego 2001; Boškovic and Lasnik 2003; Kishimoto 2006), *-liq* alternates with a null variant (seen in (90) and (91)).<sup>18</sup> *-liq* cannot bear possessor agreement and accusative case marking when an overt noun is present (examples (90) and (91)), which indicates that it is not a nominalizer.

- (90) Possessor agreement on N in noun complement clause; optional *-liq*:  
 [ Ötkür-nuɣ tamaq ji-gen-(**liq**) ] ifaret-**i** muhim  
 [ Ötkür-gen food eat-RAN-(**LIQ**) ] sign-**3.poss** important  
 ‘The sign that Ötkür ate food is important.’ (Asarina and Hartman (to appear): (7))
- (91) No possessor agreement on *-liq* in noun complement clause:  
 \* [ Ötkür-nuɣ tamaq ji-gen-(liq)-**i** ] ifaret-(i) muhim  
 [ Ötkür-gen food eat-RAN-(LIQ)-**3.poss** ] sign-(3.poss) important  
 intended: ‘The sign that Ötkür ate food is important.’ (Asarina and Hartman (to appear): (9))

The properties of *-liq* are in contrast with the properties of the nominalizer *-ish*, which is obligatory in the environments where it occurs, and which reliably hosts possessor agreement.

- (92) *-ish* obligatory:  
 Ötkür-nuɣ ket-\*(**if**)-i muhim  
 Ötkür-gen leave-\*(**nliz**)-3.poss important  
 ‘Ötkür leaving is important.’

An embedded *-liq* clause is thus a full CP. The suffix glossed as *-ran*, which appears immediately to the left of *-liq* in the above examples, is a clause marker that expresses a perfective meaning when

<sup>17</sup>Arguments for a null head noun, as opposed to “nominalization”, include the consistent availability of overt head nouns, and the fact that the proposed null head nouns match the properties of their overt counterparts.

<sup>18</sup>*-liq* is required in (88), but being obligatory in certain contexts is also consistent with properties of a complementizer.

no other aspectual morphology is present, as in (87).<sup>19</sup> When other aspectual morphology is used, such as the progressive marker *-wat*, *-ran* becomes semantically vacuous, as in (88). Note that it is not possible to embed tense morphology under *-ran* in these constructions.

(93) No tense under *-ran*:

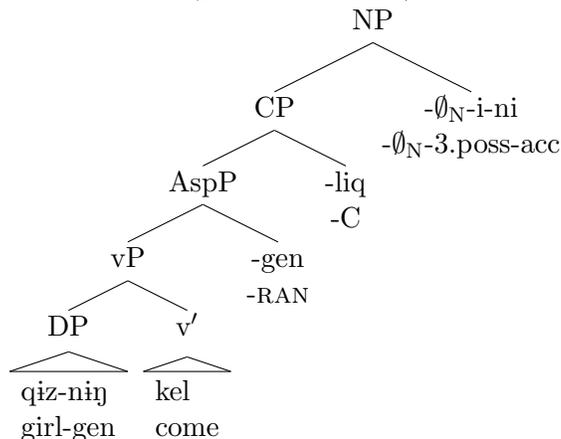
\*Mehemmet [ men-iŋ oqu- $\{d/di/dim\}$ - $\text{ʁan}$ -liq-im-ni ] didi  
 Mehemmet [ I-gen read- $\{past/past-3/past-1sg\}$ -RAN-LIQ-1sg.poss-acc ] said  
 intended: ‘Mehemmet said that I read.’

I thus assume that the complementizer *-liq* embeds an AspP, and not a vP or TP. In sum, I propose the following structure for the embedded CP shown in (94).<sup>20</sup>

(94) Embedded CP:

Ötkür [ qız-niŋ kel-gen-lik-i-ni ] didi  
 Ötkür [ girl-gen come-RAN-LIQ-3.poss-acc ] said  
 ‘Ötkür said that a girl came.’

(95) Embedded CP (*partial structure*):



## 4.2 Subject case alternation

In this section, I discuss the properties of the embedded CP subject. I show that, just like a genitive subject of an *-ish* phrase, a genitive subject of an embedded CP moves out of the specifier of vP. This can be seen from the properties of unmarked embedded subjects, which again are subject to definiteness and scope restrictions that do not apply to genitive subjects. As in *-ish* phrases, genitive case on the subject of a *-liq* phrase embedded by a non-modal adjective is obligatory for definites (example (96)) but not for indefinites (example (97)).

(96) Definite subject – genitive obligatory:

Ötkür [ Aygül-?**(nuŋ)** kel-gen-lik-i-ni ] didi  
 Ötkür [ Aygül-?**(gen)** come-RAN-C-3.poss-acc ] said  
 ‘Ötkür said that Aygül came.’

<sup>19</sup>Phonologically-conditioned allomorphs of *-ran* include  $[-gen]$  (as in (87)) and  $[-ʁan]$  (as in (88)).

<sup>20</sup>In section 4.2 below, I address the structural position and case properties of the embedded subject.

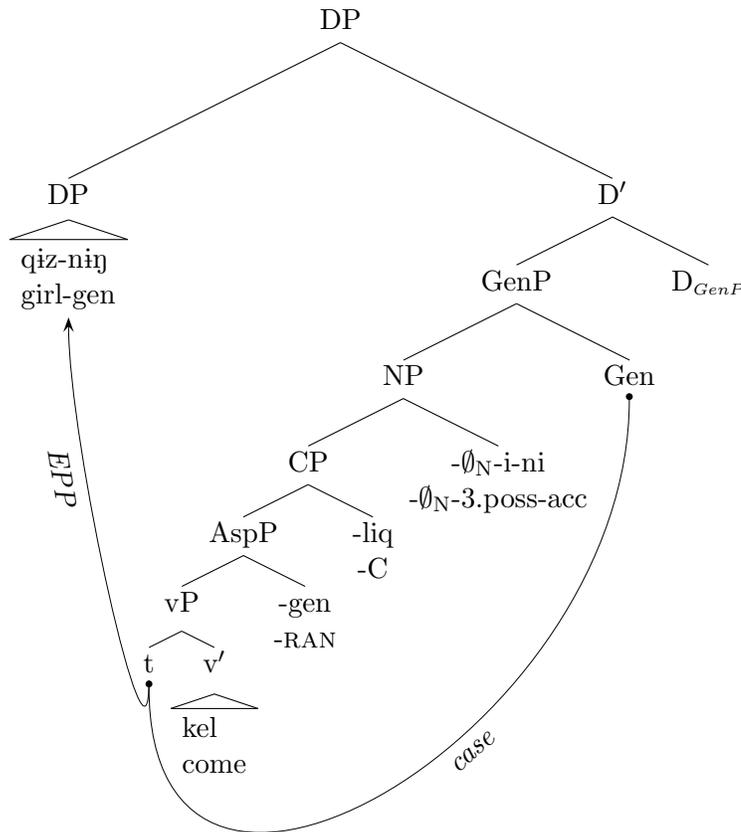
- (97) Indefinite subject – genitive optional:  
 Ötkür [ qız-(**niñ**) kel-gen-lik-i-ni ] didi  
 Ötkür [ girl-(**gen**) come-RAN-C-3.poss-acc ] said  
 ‘Ötkür said that a girl came.’

Just as with *-ish* phrases, word order restrictions show that an unmarked subject of the embedded phrase is lower than a genitive-marked subject. In particular, a locative phrase can follow a genitive-marked subject, but must precede an unmarked subject.

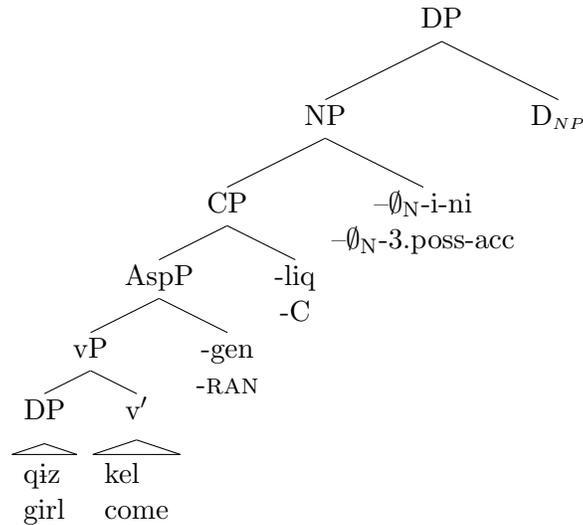
- (98) Unmarked subject is lower than genitive subject:
- a. Mehemmet [ (sorun-**ba**) qız-niñ (**sorun-ba**) kel-gen-lik-i-ni ] didi  
 Mehemmet [ (party-dat) girl-gen (**party-dat**) come-RAN-C-3.poss-acc ] said  
 ‘Mehemmet said that a girl came to the party.’
- b. Mehemmet [ (sorun-**ba**) qız (??**sorun-ba**) kel-gen-lik-i-ni ] didi  
 Mehemmet [ (party-dat) girl (??**party-dat**) come-RAN-C-3.poss-acc ] said  
 ‘Mehemmet said that a girl came to the party.’

This pattern suggests that again two options are possible: Gen in the embedded phrase can be present or absent. When Gen is present, the subject of the *-liq* phrase receives genitive case, and is attracted to the specifier of  $D_{GenP}$ , as (99) illustrates. When Gen is absent, the subject of the *-liq* phrase does not receive genitive case.  $D_{NP}$  does not bear an EPP feature, so the subject is not attracted to the specifier of DP, as shown in (100).

- (99) Embedded CP with genitive subject:



(100) Embedded CP with unmarked subject:



The unmarked subject thus remains inside the scope of existential closure (vP), and it is correctly predicted that it must be indefinite. Note that it is crucial that the *-liq* phrase contains an AspP, and not a TP. I propose that Asp, unlike T, does not bear an EPP feature. The unmarked embedded subject consequently does not raise, but remains inside vP. I thus predict that just like an unmarked subject of an *-ish* phrase, an unmarked indefinite subject of a *-liq* phrase embedded by a non-modal adjective must take low scope with respect to the embedding predicate. An indefinite genitive-marked subject, on the other hand, should be able to take high or low scope. These predictions are borne out, as (101) and (102) demonstrate.

(101) Genitive-marked embedded subject – high or low scope:

Ötkür [ qiz-**niŋ** kel-gen-lik-i-ni ] didi  
 Ötkür [ girl-**gen** come-RAN-C-3.poss-acc ] said  
 ‘Ötkür said that a girl came.’  
 say > ∃; ∃ > **say**

(102) Unmarked embedded subject – low scope only:

Ötkür [ qiz kel-gen-lik-i-ni ] didi  
 Ötkür [ girl come-RAN-C-3.poss-acc ] said  
 ‘Ötkür said that a girl came.’  
 say > ∃; \* ∃ > **say**

Example (101) can mean that there is a particular girl about whom Ötkür said that she came, or that Ötkür said that some unspecified girl came.<sup>21</sup> Example (102), on the other hand, cannot mean that there is a particular girl about whom Ötkür said that she came. The unmarked subject is existentially bound, and must take low scope. Embedded CPs thus display the same case alternation as embedded *-ish* phrases. The facts discussed in this section show that genitive subjects of *-liq* phrases raise out of vP, unlike unmarked subjects. The unmarked subject data demonstrate that aspectual marking (*-ran*) differs from real tense in Uyghur in lacking an EPP property.

<sup>21</sup>I again assume that the high scope of the genitive subject is obtained through quantifier raising (QR).

### 4.3 Phase Impenetrability Condition

Consider the case-assignment relationship established between the embedded *-liq* phrase subject and Gen, and the EPP-attraction relationship between the embedded subject and  $D_{GenP}$ . These relationships cross the embedded CP boundary. The structure in (102) thus violates the  $PIC_{strong}$ , repeated in (103).

- (103) **Chomsky’s (1998) Phase Impenetrability Condition ( $PIC_{strong}$ ):** In phase  $\alpha$  with head H, the domain of H is not accessible to operations outside  $\alpha$ , only H and its edge are accessible to such operations.

In the structure given in (99), the CP is a phase, and the domain of C is AspP. A noun phrase contained inside AspP should thus be inaccessible to operations outside of CP. Note that I assume here that A-bar movement to the specifier of CP is not freely available in order to feed movement to the specifier of DP. This is an instance of the ban on improper movement, as discussed in section 1.

The structure in (102) does *not* violate the  $PIC_{weak}$  (repeated below) on the (admittedly controversial) assumption that DPs are not strong phases (Richards 2006; Sabbagh 2007; Gallego 2009).

- (104) **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.

Assuming that  $D_{GenP}$  does not head a strong phase, no strong phase head has been merged above C at the point where the embedded subject receives genitive case and moves to the specifier of  $D_{GenP}$ . The data discussed in this section thus provide an argument for the  $PIC_{weak}$  over the  $PIC_{strong}$ : constructions violating the  $PIC_{strong}$  but not the  $PIC_{weak}$  are possible in Uyghur.

An alternative suggestion (entertained for other languages and constructions in a number of recent papers, including Sabel 2006; Gallego 2007; Gallego and Uriagereka 2007; Fortuny 2008; Richards 2007, to appear; Wenger 2009; Carstens and Diercks to appear) would be to propose that *-liq* is an instance of “defective” C, which does not instantiate a phase boundary after all. I argue against this proposal for *-liq* in general in section 4.4. Instead, I propose that *-liq* is “defective” when it does not embed an aspectual phrase.

### 4.4 Raising predicates

This section addresses embedding of *-liq* phrases by raising predicates. I argue that the inability of raising predicates to embed *-liq* phrases that contain aspectual marking indicates that the  $PIC_{weak}$  is active in Uyghur. I also suggest that *-liq* phrases that contain negation but no aspect, which *can* be embedded by raising predicates, are “defective”, i.e. not (strong) phases.

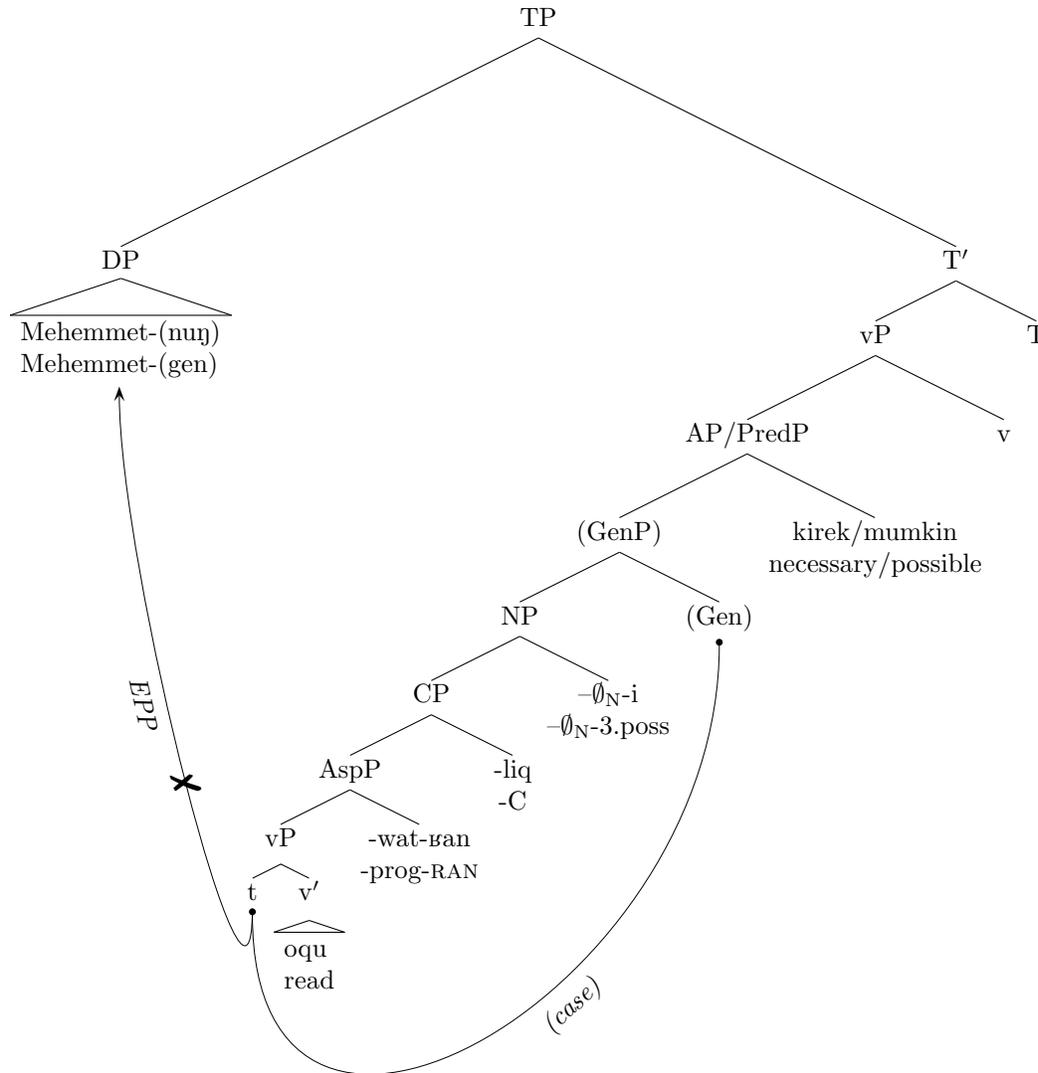
Consider the contrast between the non-raising adjective construction in (105) and the raising adjective construction in (106).

- (105) Aspect-containing CP under non-raising adjective (= (88)):  
Mehemmet-nuŋ hazir oqu-wat-ɣan-liq-i            muhim  
Mehemmet-gen now read-prog-RAN-C-3.poss important  
‘Mehemmet reading right now is important.’

- (106) No aspect-containing CP under raising predicate:  
 \*Mehemmet-(nuj) oqu-wat-kan-liq-i kirek/mumkin  
 Mehemmet-(gen) read-prog-RAN-C-3.poss necessary/possible  
 intended: ‘Mehemmet {has to}/might be reading (right now).’

I propose that (106) is ungrammatical because raising of the embedded subject is ruled out by the PIC, specifically the PIC<sub>weak</sub>. Consider the structure of (106), presented in (107).<sup>22</sup>

- (107) Raising out of CP:



Let us assume that the embedded CP is a (strong) phase, as is the matrix vP. Recall that the latter assumption is also necessary for the PIC<sub>weak</sub> to rule out raising out of CP in English. Raising in (107) is blocked in the same way as raising in the English example in (108).

- (108) \* John seems [ (that) t likes tea. ] (= (2a))

<sup>22</sup>The matrix v head was not shown in previous trees for the sake of simplicity; it is assumed to be present throughout.

The AspP in the embedded CP in (107) is spelled out immediately upon the merger of the matrix v. Consequently, raising of the embedded subject to the specifier of the matrix TP is impossible, regardless of whether movement proceeds through the specifier of vP. The EPP property of the matrix T thus cannot be satisfied, and as a result the construction is ungrammatical. The assumption that *-liq* is *not* a “defective” complementizer is necessary in order for (107) to be correctly ruled out by the PIC<sub>weak</sub>.<sup>23</sup> I crucially assume that the specifier of GenP is not a valid intermediate position for raising.

An aspect-containing clause *may* be embedded by a modal adjective, so long as there is another layer of embedding in between. This suggests that (106) is blocked by syntactic restrictions, and not by semantic ones.

- (109) Aspect under possibility modal:  
 Mehemmet oqu-wat-*ɣan* bul-if-i mumkin  
 Mehemmet read-prog-RAN be-nliz-3.poss possible  
 ‘Mehemmet might be reading.’
- (110) Aspect under necessity modal:  
 siler-(niŋ) oqu-wat-*ɣan* bul-if-iŋ-lar kirek/lazim  
 you.pl-(gen) read-prog-RAN be-nliz-2.poss-pl necessary  
 ‘You need to be reading.’

An interesting complication arises when we consider embedding of *-liq* phrases that do not contain aspect. A *-liq* phrase is used when the embedded clause contains negation, as in (111). (*-ish* phrases are too small to host negation, as (112) shows.)

- (111) Negated *-liq* phrase:  
 Ötkür-nuŋ oqu-**mas-liq-i** muhim/kirek  
 Ötkür-gen read-**neg-C-3.poss** important/necessary  
 ‘It’s important/necessary for Ötkür not to read.’
- (112) No negated *-ish* phrase:  
 \*Ötkür-nuŋ oqu-**mas-if-i** muhim/kirek  
 Ötkür-gen read-**neg-nliz-3.poss** important/necessary  
 intended: ‘It’s important/necessary for Ötkür not to read.’

Crucially, the aspect-less *-liq* phrase in (112) can be embedded by a raising adjective (*kirek*), and not just by a non-raising adjective (*muhim*). The subject of a negated *-liq* phrase embedded by a modal adjective raises. This can be seen from example (113), where a definite unmarked subject is permitted.

- (113) Unmarked definite subject possible:  
 Aŋgöl ket-mas-liq-i kirek  
 Aŋgöl leave-neg-C-3.poss necessary  
 ‘It’s necessary that Aŋgöl not leave’

Example (114) shows that subject raising out of a *-liq* phrase embedded by a modal adjective is obligatory. A negated *-liq* phrase behaves just like an *-ish* phrase with respect to topicalization.

<sup>23</sup>The PIC<sub>strong</sub> would also make correct predictions here, but, as discussed above, it blocks operations that are possible in Uyghur.

- (114) Obligatory raising out of a negated *-liq* phrase:
- a. Ajjül-(nuj) (**bolsa**) oqu-mas-liq-i      (**\*bolsa**) kirek/lazim  
 Ajjül-(gen) (**top**) read-neg-C-3.poss (**\*top**) necessary  
 ‘It’s necessary that Ajjül not read.’
  - b. Ajjül (**bolsa**) oqu-mas-liq-i      (**\*bolsa**) mumkin  
 Ajjül (**top**) read-neg-C-3.poss (**\*top**) possible  
 ‘Ajjül might not read.’

The subject of the embedded phrase can be topicalized, whereas the entire phrase including its subject cannot, indicating that the embedded subject raises out of the CP. ECM constructions confirm that the subject of a *-liq* phrase embedded by a modal adjective raises. The subject of the *-liq* phrase can receive accusative case (and move out of the scope of shifting), whereas the *-liq* phrase itself cannot.

- (115) Modal adjective – accusative subject of *-liq* phrase possible:

doxtur [ **meni** oqu-mas-liq-iñ kirek ] didi  
 doctor [ **I-acc** read-neg-C-2sg.poss necessary ] said  
 ✗ ‘The doctor said that he has to not read.’ [shifted]  
 ✓ ‘The doctor said that I have to not read.’ [non-shifted]

- (116) Modal adjective – accusative *-liq* phrase banned:

\*doxtur [ ~~meni~~ {0/nin/ni} oqu-mas-liq-iñ kirek ] didi  
 doctor [ I-{nom/gen/acc} read-neg-C-2sg.poss-**acc** necessary ] said

Given the discussion above, it is surprising that the subject of a *-liq* phrase can raise – why is raising not blocked by the PIC<sub>weak</sub>? I propose that unlike aspect-containing *-liq* phrases, *-liq* phrases that do not contain aspect are not (strong) phases. This distinction follows from the idea advocated by Gallego (2007) and Richards (2007, to appear) (among others) that there is a correspondence between phasal C and the complement of C being a finite TP (or, for us, AspP). Not being a (strong) phase, the CP in (111) does not block raising of the embedded subject.

#### 4.4.1 Additional argument for raising: negative concord items

An additional argument for a raising analysis for modal adjectives comes from the behavior of negative concord items (NCIs). NCI subjects are licensed by negation on the embedded clause under modal adjectives, but not under control predicates. As shown in (117), the NCI *hitfkim* (‘nobody’) requires negation in order to be licensed.

- (117) *hitfkim* is an NCI:  
 hitfkim oqu-\*(**mi**)-d-i  
 n-body read-\*(**neg**)-past-3  
 ‘Nobody read.’

As (118) shows, an NCI subject of a *-liq* phrase with *kirek* can be licensed by negation in the embedded predicate, regardless of case on the NCI.

- (118) Modal adjective – NCI licensed by negation on embedded phrase:  
 hitfkim-(niñ) ket-**mas**-liq-i kirek  
 n-body-(gen) leave-**neg**-C-3 necessary  
 ‘It’s necessary that nobody leave’

Embedded negation should be able to license an NCI subject if, and only if, the subject is in the scope of negation at LF. A raised subject is expected to be able to reconstruct into the embedded clause, and can therefore be licensed by embedded negation. However, in a control construction, embedded negation will be unable to license the subject. This is exactly what we find. In contrast to modal adjectives, only main clause negation licenses a subject NCI with control predicates. Modal adjectives thus have a raising structure.

- (119) Control construction – NCI licensed by main-clause negation:  
hitʃkim kitap oqu-ʃ-qa      tirif-**mi**-d-i  
n-body book read-nliz-dat try-**neg**-past-3  
‘Nobody tried to read a book.’
- (120) Control construction – NCI not licensed by negation on embedded phrase:  
a. \*hitʃkim kitap oqu-**mas**-liq-qa tirif-t-i  
n-body book read-**neg**-C-dat try-past-3  
b. Ajgül kitap oqu-mas-liq-qa tirif-t-i  
Aygül book read-neg-C-dat try-past-3  
‘Aygül tried not to read a book.’

Since in control constructions a subject NCI is outside of the embedded phrase at all stages of the derivation, it cannot be licensed by negation on the embedded phrase. The data above thus shows that a raising structure is available for modal adjectives with an embedded *-liq* phrase.

## 5 Conclusion

In this paper, I examined the Activity Condition and the Phase Impenetrability Condition in the context of Uyghur genitive-subject embedded clauses. I presented a number of arguments showing that modal adjectives are raising predicates in Uyghur. On the basis of raising of genitive embedded subjects, I argued that the Activity Condition cannot be maintained for Uyghur. I then examined the properties of CP embedding in Uyghur. I showed that the possibility of genitive case licensing for subjects embedded in CPs argues against the PIC<sub>strong</sub>, but is consistent with the PIC<sub>weak</sub>. I then demonstrated that the PIC<sub>weak</sub> successfully rules out raising out of Uyghur CP clauses. A clear avenue for further research is to investigate what these conclusions imply cross-linguistically.

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