

Genitive Subject Licensing in Uyghur Subordinate Clauses*

Alya Asarina (alya@mit.edu) & Jeremy Hartman (hartmanj@mit.edu)

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1 Introduction

In this talk, we discuss embedding constructions in Uyghur, illustrated in (1) and (2).¹

Complex NP:

- (1) [men-niŋ ket-ken-(liq)] heqiqet-**im** muhim
[I-gen leave-RAN-(LIQ)] fact-**1sg** important
'The fact that I left is important.' (Uyghur)

Verb complement:

- (2) Ötkür [Ajgül-nuŋ ket-ken-(lik)-i-ni] bil-i-du/di-d-i
Ötkür [Aygül-gen leave-RAN-(LIQ)-3-acc] know-impf-3/say-past-3
'Ötkür knows/said that Aygül left.' (Uyghur)

We show that:

- Despite first appearances, possessor agreement shows up in the same place in (1) and (2). Possessor agreement in (2) is on a null head noun.
- *-liq* is a (defective) complementizer, so (1) and (2) display agreement across a CP boundary.

Outline:

Section 2. Background: D-licensing vs. C-licensing of genitive embedded subjects in Altaic, and the location of possessor agreement as a diagnostic for type of licensing.

Section 3. Uyghur data: *Apparent* evidence of both D-licensing and C-licensing in Uyghur, depending on the type of embedded clause.

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¹The Uyghur data in this handout comes from the authors' fieldwork.

Section 4. Proposal: Genitive subjects in Uyghur are uniformly licensed by D. Phonologically null head nouns in Uyghur can produce the appearance of clause-internal licensing.

Section 5. Size of the embedded clause: Uyghur embedded clauses with genitive subjects can be full CPs. Contra Kornfilt (2008) and Miyagawa (to appear), D-licensing does not always correspond to a reduced embedded clause.

Section 6. *-liq* as defective C: Consequences for the theory of phases. Agreement across a CP boundary in Uyghur and other languages.

2 Background

Two types of licensing have been proposed for genitive subjects in Altaic:

- D-licensing: Genitive is licensed by a *clause-external D head*.
- C-licensing: Genitive is licensed by a *clause-internal C head*.

The placement of possessor agreement with the genitive subject has been used as a diagnostic for D-licensing vs. C-licensing. Kornfilt (2008)

- agreement on external noun → D-licensing
- agreement on verbal complex → C-licensing

C-licensing: agreement on verbal complex in Turkish:

- (3) [ben-im al-dıŋ-**ım**] at iyi-dir
[I-gen buy-nliz-**1sg**] horse good-is
'The horse I bought is good.' (Turkish) (Miyagawa (to appear), ex. 3, citing Jaklin Kornfilt (p.c.))

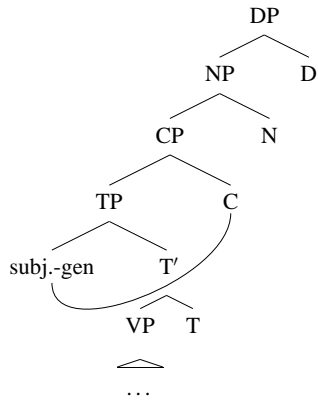
D-licensing: agreement on external head-noun in Dagur:

- (4) [mini au-sen] mer^v-**min**^v sain
[I-gen buy-perf] horse-**1sg** good
'The horse I bought is good.' (Dagur) (Hale (2002), ex. 1)

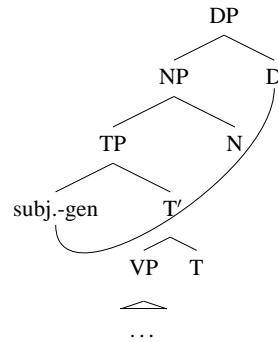
It has been proposed that the variation in genitive licensing correlates with the size of the embedded clause. (Kornfilt (2008), Miyagawa (to appear), see also Hale (2002))

- C-licensing occurs when the embedded clause is a full CP.
- D-licensing occurs when the embedded clause is reduced (TP/AspP).

(5) a. **C-licensing:**



b. **D-licensing:**



3 D-licensing vs. C-licensing in Uyghur

Applying the agreement-placement diagnostic to Uyghur, we find mixed results.

(6) **Agreement with Uyghur Genitive Subjects:**

agreement on external N:	agreement on verbal complex:
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • relative clauses • complex NPs 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • verb complements • adjective complements • postposition complements • sentential subjects

On our analysis, agreement that looks to be on the verbal complex is actually on a *null* external head noun. Uyghur is thus uniformly D-licensing.

3.1 Agreement on External N in Uyghur (vs. Turkish)

In Uyghur, agreement with genitive subjects is on the external head noun in:

- relative clauses
- complements to nouns

Relative Clauses – agreement on N:

- (7) [Ötkur-niñ oqu-ƞan] kitav-i uzun
 [Ötkur-gen read-RAN] book-3 long
 ‘The book that Ötkur read is long.’ (Uyghur)

- (8) [men-iñ ji-gen] tamaq-ım jaχji
 [I-gen eat-RAN] food-1sg good
 ‘The food I ate is good.’ (Uyghur)

Noun complements – agreement on N:

- (9) [Ötkur-niñ tamaq ji-gen-(liq)] ifaret-i muhim
 [Ötkur-gen food eat-RAN-(LIQ)] sign-3 important
 ‘The sign that Ötkur ate food is important.’ (Uyghur)
- (10) [men-niñ ket-ken-(liq)] heqiqet-ım muhim
 [I-gen leave-RAN-(LIQ)] fact-1sg important
 ‘The fact that I left is important.’ (Uyghur)

In these environments, agreement placement in Uyghur contrasts with agreement placement in Turkish. Agreement always shows up on the verbal complex in Turkish.

Turkish relative clause – agreement on verbal complex (repeated from (3)):

- (11) [ben-im al-diğ-ım] at iyi-dir
 [I-gen buy-nliz-1sg] horse good-is
 ‘The horse I bought is good.’ (Turkish) (Miyagawa (to appear), ex. 3, citing Jaklin Kornfilt (p.c.))

Turkish Complex NP – agreement on the verbal complex:

- (12) [ben-im aile-m-i terket-tiğ-ım] söylenti-si
 [I-gen family-1sg-acc abandon-DIK-1sg] rumor-cmpm
 ‘the rumor that I abandoned my family’ (Turkish) (Kornfilt (2003))

So far it looks like genitive subjects in Uyghur are always licensed by D.

3.2 Agreement on Verbal Complex

In Uyghur, agreement with genitive subjects is on the verbal complex in:

- complement clauses to verbs, adjectives, postpositions
- subject clauses

Verb complement – agreement on the verbal complex:

- (13) Ötkur [Ajgül-nuñ ket-ken-(lik)-i-ni] bil-i-du/di-d-i
 Ötkur [Aygül-gen leave-RAN-(LIQ)-3-acc] know-impf-3/say-past-3
 ‘Ötkur knows/said that Aygül left.’ (Uyghur)

Adjective complement – agreement on the verbal complex:

- (14) men [Tursun-niñ tamaq-ni yi-gin-i-din] χuƞal
 I [Tursun-gen food-acc eat-RAN-3-abl] happy
 ‘I am happy that Tursun ate the food.’ (Uyghur)

Postposition complement – agreement on the verbal complex:

- (15) [Tursun-niŋ ket-ken-(lik)-i] utʃun, men tamaq ji-d-im
[Tursun-gen leave-RAN-(LIQ)-3] because, I food eat-past-1sg
'Because Tursun left, I ate.' (Uyghur)

Sentential subject – agreement on the verbal complex:

- (16) [sen-ij kel-gen-(liq)-ij] meni ʒufal kil-d-i
[you-gen come-RAN-(LIQ)-2sg] I-acc happy do-past-3
'Your coming made me happy.' (Uyghur)

3.3 Summary of Uyghur Agreement Placement

(17) **Agreement placement in Uyghur:**

Type of subordinate clause:	Agreement appears on:
Relative clauses:	clause-external head noun
Complement clauses to N:	clause-external head noun
Complement clauses to V/A/P:	clause-internal verbal complex
Sentential subject:	clause-internal verbal complex

We *reject* the following interpretation of these facts:

- Overt agreement placement straightforwardly diagnoses the licensing head.
- The licensing of genitive subjects in Uyghur is simply not uniform. Uyghur employs D-licensing in RCs and complement clauses to nouns, and C-licensing in sentential subjects and complement clauses to V/A/P.

Instead, we *propose*:

- **Uyghur is uniformly D-licensing.**
- **The appearance of C-licensing is due to the fact that embedding nouns can be null in Uyghur.**

4 Null Nouns

The idea that some subordinate clauses are embedded by null head nouns has been proposed before in the Altaic literature. (See Lees (1965), Aygen (2002) for Turkish; Maki and Uchibori for Japanese, but cf. Kornfilt (1984, 2003) for arguments against this analysis for Turkish and Takahashi (2009) for arguments against this analysis for Japanese.) In this section we argue that, for Uyghur, the null head noun analysis:

- straightforwardly accounts for the agreement pattern in (17)
- allows us to maintain that genitive subjects are licensed in a uniform way across subordinate clause types

- is empirically motivated by similarities between null nouns and their overt counterparts

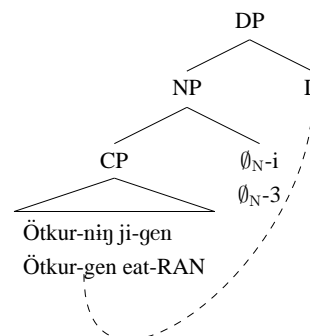
It is natural to assume that “headless” RCs, which have a free relative interpretation, are headed by null nouns.

“Headless” RCs:

- (18) [Ötkur-niŋ ji-gen-i] jaxʃi
[Ötkur-gen eat-RAN-3] good
'What Ötkur ate is good.'
- (19) [men-ij al-ɤan-im] nan/qizil
[I-gen buy-RAN-1sg] bread/red
'The thing I bought is bread/red.'

We assume the following structure.

(20) **“Headless” RC structure:**



Crucially, when the head noun is null, the possessor agreement appears phonologically on the verbal complex, creating the illusion of clause-internal licensing.

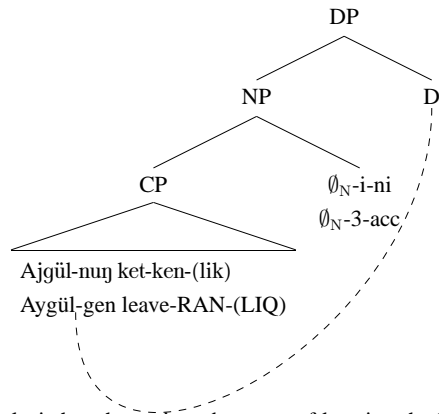
Our proposal:

- The apparent “C-licensing” in (13)-(16) above is the same phenomenon.
- In (13), for example, the verb does not directly embed a clause, but rather embeds a complex DP with a null head noun. The clause is the complement of the null head noun.
- The null head noun is the real host of the agreement (and case) that phonologically shows up on the clause, as shown below.

Verb complement – agreement on the verbal complex (repeated from (13)):

- (21) Ötkur [Ajgöl-nuŋ ket-ken-(lik)-i-ni] bil-i-du/di-d-i
Ötkur [Aygöl-gen leave-RAN-(LIQ)-3-acc] know-impf-3/say-past-3
'Ötkur knows/said that Aygöl left.' (Uyghur)

(22) Structure for embedded clause in (21):



This analysis has the major advantage of keeping the locus of possessor agreement (and the licensing of genitive subjects) uniform across all types of embedded clauses. We present two pieces of evidence for the null head-noun analysis below.

4.1 The overt head noun test

It is always possible to make the null noun overt. This includes:

- complement clauses to verbs
- complement clauses to adjectives
- sentential subjects

Null/overt N's with complements to verbs:

(23) Ötkür [Tursun-niñ tamaq yi-gen] \emptyset_N -i-ni bil-i-du/di-d-i
Ötkür [Tursun-gen food eat-RAN] \emptyset_N -3-acc know-impf-3/say-past-3
'Ötkür knows/said that Tursun ate food.' (Uyghur)

(24) Ötkür [Tursun-niñ tamaq yi-gen] heqiqet-i-ni bil-i-du/di-d-i
Ötkür [Tursun-gen food eat-RAN] fact-3-acc know-impf-3/say-past-3
'Ötkür knows/said the fact that Tursun ate food.' (Uyghur)

(25) [sen-ij tamaq yi-gen] \emptyset_N -iñ-ni a[karli-d-im
[you-gen food eat-RAN] \emptyset_N -2sg-acc reveal-past-1sg
'I revealed that you ate the food.' (Uyghur)

(26) [sen-ij tamaq yi-gen] me[pxijet-iñ-ni a[karli-d-im
[you-gen food eat-RAN] secret-2sg-acc reveal-past-1sg
'I revealed the secret that you ate the food.' (Uyghur)

Null/overt N's with complements to adjectives:

(27) men [Tursun-niñ tamaq-ni yi-gin] \emptyset_N -i-din xufal
I [Tursun-gen food-acc eat-RAN] \emptyset_N -3-abl happy
'I am happy that Tursun ate the food.' (Uyghur)

(28) men [Tursun-niñ tamaq-ni yi-gin] heqiqet/xever-i-din xufal
I [Tursun-gen food-acc eat-RAN] fact/news-3-abl happy
'I am happy with the fact/news that Tursun ate the food.' (Uyghur)

4.2 Null nouns share properties of their overt counterparts

Certain head nouns impose idiosyncratic restrictions on their embedded clauses.

- Genitive RC subjects are generally in free variation with unmarked RC subjects.
- RCs headed by the overt noun *waqit* ('time') strongly prefer unmarked subjects.

Restriction against genitive subjects w/ *waqit* ('time'):

(29) [sen-(??iñ) ket-ken] waqit-(??iñ) saet jette idi
[you-(??gen) leave-RAN] time-(??2sg) hour 7 was
'The time that you left at was 7 o'clock.' (Uyghur)

(30) [sen-(*iñ) ket-ken] waqit-(*iñ)-din kiyin, men tamaq ji-d-im
[you-(*gen) leave-RAN] time-(*2sg)-abl after, I food eat-past-1sg
'After the time when you left, I ate.' (Uyghur)

The null counterpart of *waqit* ('time') imposes the same restriction.

Restriction against genitive subjects w/ null variant of *waqit* ('time'):

(31) [sen-(*iñ) ket-ken-(*iñ)-din] kiyin, men tamaq ji-d-im
[you-(*gen) leave-RAN-(*gen)-abl] after, I food eat-past-1sg
'After you left, I ate.' (Uyghur)

What we have proposed so far:

- Uyghur genitive subjects are uniformly licensed by clause-external D heads.
- The appearance of C-licensing is the result of *null head nouns*.

5 LIQ and the Size of the Embedded Clause

We have seen the optional morpheme *-liq* in a number of Uyghur examples above. We now examine its distribution more closely.

- *-liq* is freely available in complement clauses.

Optional *-liq* in complement clauses (repeated from (2) and (1), respectively):

- (32) Ötkür [Aǵgül-nuǵ ket-ken-(lik)-i-ni] bil-i-du/di-d-i
Ötkür [Aǵgül-gen leave-RAN-(LIQ)-3-acc] know-impf-3/say-past-3
'Ötkür knows/said that Aǵgül left.' (Uyghur)
- (33) [men-iǵ ket-ken-(liq)] heqıqet-im muhim
[I-gen leave-RAN-(LIQ)] fact-1sg important
'The fact that I left is important.' (Uyghur)

- Looking only at (32), one might suppose that *-liq* is a nominalizer that attaches to the embedded clause. This would explain why it seems to bear case and agreement suffixes.
- But this is inconsistent with (33), where *-liq* introduces the clausal complement of a noun, and does not create a category that bears case and nominal agreement. Note that *-liq* cannot bear possessor agreement in noun complements.

No possessor agreement on *-liq* in noun complement clause:

- (34) * [Ötkür-niǵ ket-ken-liq-i] heqıqet-(i) muhim
[Ötkür-gen leave-RAN-LIQ-3] fact-(3) important
intended: 'The fact that Ötkür left is important.' (Uyghur)

- The optionality of *-liq* is also unexpected if it is a piece of category-changing derivational morphology. According to our informant, the two options in (32) and in (33) have no difference in meaning.

Unlike complement clauses, relative clauses never allow *-liq*.

No *-liq* on RC:

- (35) [Ötkür-niǵ oqu-ǵan-(*liq)] kitav-i uzun
[Ötkür-gen read-RAN-(*LIQ)] book-3 long
'The book that Ötkür read is long.' (Uyghur)

In sum, *-liq*:

1. is sensitive to the type of the embedded clause
2. is optional and can be dropped without obvious semantic effects
3. does not close off the domain for nominal agreement and case-marking

These properties are characteristic of a complementizer:

1. It is common to observe different complementizer possibilities for complement and relative clauses (see N. Richards (1999) for English and Tagalog).
2. Many languages have null complementizers or allow complementizer-drop.
3. We do not expect a complementizer to create a nominal category.

We therefore analyze *-liq* as a complementizer that introduces clausal complements to nouns (overt or null)², and conclude that Uyghur genitive subjects appear in full-CP embedded clauses.

5.1 Corroborating evidence that Uyghur *-liq*-clauses are CPs

Miyagawa's test for size of the embedded clause:

Miyagawa (to appear) examines the familiar *-ga/-no* paradigm, and argues for a D-licensing approach to GEN subjects in Japanese. The claim is that:

- Embedded clauses with NOM subjects are CPs.
- Embedded clauses with GEN subjects are reduced (TPs).

One piece of evidence: CP-level adverbs (e.g., 'evidently', 'truly', 'fortunately'; Cinque (1999)) are compatible with NOM-subject embedded clauses, but not with GEN-subject embedded clauses.

CP-level adverb with NOM subject only:

- (36) [*saiwai-ni taroo-ga/*-no yonda*] hon
[**fortunately** Taro-nom/*-gen read] book
'the book that Taro fortunately read' (Japanese) (Miyagawa (to appear), ex. 26a)

In contrast, lower TP-level adverbs are compatible with both NOM and GEN subj embedded clauses.

TP-level adverb with NOM or GEN subject:

- (37) [*kitto taroo-ga/-no yonda*] hon
[**probably** Taro-nom/-gen read] book
'the book that Taro probably read' (Japanese) (Miyagawa (to appear), ex. 26b)

- If Miyagawa's test reliably diagnoses size of the embedded clause, we should be able to extend it to Turkish and Uyghur.
- Prediction for Turkish, a C-licensing language: CP-level adverbs should be compatible with GEN-subject embedded clauses.

This prediction is borne out. Turkish embedded clauses allow CP-level adverbs.

CP-level adverb with GEN subject:

- (38) [*anlaşılan öğrenci-ler-in oku-duk-ları*] kitap
[**evidently** student-pl-gen read-DIK-3.pl] book
'the book which the students evidently read' (Turkish) (Jaklin Kornfilt (p.c.))

²Uyghur has another complementizer, *dep*, which introduces true clausal complements to verbs, and embeds fully tensed TPs.

Tensed CP embedding:

- (i) Ötkür [Aǵgül-ni ket-t-i dep] bil-i-du
Ötkür [Aǵgül-acc leave-past-3 that] know-impf-3
'Ötkür knows that Aǵgül left.'

Prediction for Uyghur:

- If Uyghur *-liq*-clauses are indeed full CPs, Uyghur should pattern like Turkish and allow CP-level adverbs in GEN-subj embedded clauses.
- If Uyghur *-liq*-clauses are reduced, Uyghur should pattern like Japanese and disallow CP-level adverbs in GEN-subj embedded clauses.

As illustrated in the examples below, Uyghur does indeed allow CP-level adverbs in GEN-subject embedded clauses.

CP-level adverbs with GEN subject:

(39) [**xeqiqi** Aǰǰül-**niq** jaz-**ɨan**] kitiv-i-ni korset!
 [**truly** Ayǰül-**gen** write-RAN] book-3-acc show
 ‘Show (me) the book that Ayǰül truly wrote!’ (Uyghur)

(40) [**xeqiqi** men-**iq** jaǰi kór-i-gen] tamaq-im-ni ber!
 [**truly** I-**gen** well see-impf-RAN] food-1sg-acc give
 ‘Give (me) the food that I truly like!’ (Uyghur)

(41) **xeqiqi** sen-**iq** ket-ken-lik-iq-ni bil-i-men
truly you-**gen** leave-RAN-LIQ-2sg-acc know-impf-1sg
 ‘I know that you truly left.’
 ‘I truly know that you left.’ (Uyghur)

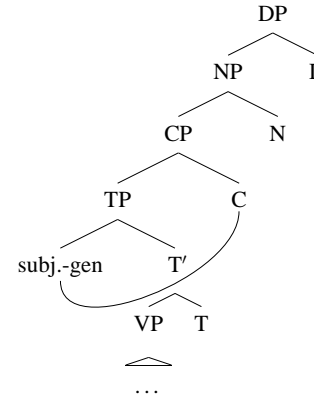
6 Implications of the Analysis

6.1 liq as Defective C

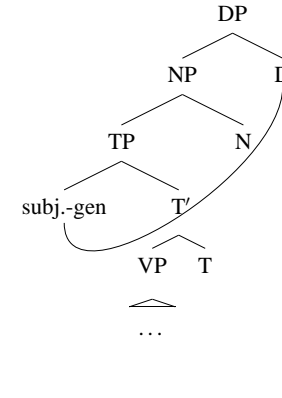
Recall Kornfilt’s (2008) proposal:

- C-licensing occurs when the embedded clause is a full CP.
- D-licensing occurs when the embedded clause is reduced (TP/AspP).

(42) a. **C-licensing:**



b. **D-licensing:**



- Prediction: C-licensing vs. D-licensing should correlate with size of the embedded clause.
- Uyghur, on our analysis, poses a challenge to this correlation.

We have argued that:

- Uyghur is a D-licensing language.
- The embedded clauses that house genitive subjects at least *can* be full CPs. They contain an overt complementizer (*-liq*), and are able to host CP-level adverbs.
- *-liq* is a C head, but it appears to be transparent for purposes of Agreement/Case-assignment by a higher head D.

Our claim: *-liq* is an example of defective C

- In phase theory (Chomsky (2000) et seq.) “defectivity” encodes the fact that certain phasal categories seem to be transparent for locality of Agreement/movement (e.g., defective *v* in passives and unaccusatives).
- Defectivity of a head is sometimes tied to other properties: ϕ -featural incompleteness, inability to license case, etc.
- Here we remain neutral on the correlates of defectivity, and use “defective” simply to describe *a phase head across which Agree operations are possible*.
- Defective C has been the subject of many recent proposals (Sabel (2006); Gallego (2007); Gallego and Uriagereka (2007); Fortuny (2008); M. Richards (2007, 2009); Wenger (2009)), but empirical evidence has been scant.
- If our analysis is correct, Uyghur provides a piece of empirical evidence, since we observe agreement/case-assignment across an overt C⁰.

6.2 Previous, very conceptual arguments for defective C

- C_{def} fills a gap in the inventory of Core Functional Categories (CFCs). (Gallego and Uriagereka (2007), Richards (2007))
- C_{def} is the logical extension of the Chomsky's (2005) "feature-inheritance" between C and T. (Richards (2007, 2009))
- Gallego (2007) proposes that all defective clausal domains are introduced by C_{def} .

C_{def} in English raising/Exceptional Case Marking (ECM) clauses: (Gallego (2007):176)

- (43) a. John_i seems to Mary [C_{def} t_i to T_{def}[t_i v* like Susan]] (*Raising*)
 b. Mary_i believes [John V [C_{def} t_i to T_{def}[t_i v* like Susan]]] (*ECM*)

- Suspiciously, C_{def} is null here.
- The crucial question: Do we ever see overt C_{def} ? Specifically, do we ever see agreement or case-marking over an overt complementizer?³
- That is, we are looking for the configuration in (32), where where X^0 is a ϕ -probe/case-assigner.

- (44) X^0 ... [_{CP} C_{def} [_{TP} Subj ...]]

6.3 Some empirical candidates

6.3.1 Obligatory agreement, raising over Modern Greek *na*

Alexiadou and Anagnostopoulou (2002) give examples of raising over *na*:

Raising over *na* in Modern Greek:

- (45) ta pedhia arxisan [**na** t_i trexoun]
 the children_i-nom started-3pl [**NA** t_i run-3pl]
 'The children started to run.' (*Modern Greek*)

- (46) *ta pedhia arxise [**na** t_i trexoun]
 the children_i-nom started-3sg [**NA** t_i run-3pl] (*Modern Greek*)

- *Na* has been analyzed as a complementizer. (Agouraki (1991), Tsoulas (1993))
- Alternative analyses: *Na* is a subjunctive marker or modal particle. (Tsimpli (1990), Philippaki-Warbuton (1994), Rivero (1994))

6.3.2 Raising over Belfast English *for*

Henry (1992) presents examples of raising over *for* in Belfast English.

³Gallego (2007) suggests that the complementizers introducing subjective clauses in Romance are C_{def} , based on the fact that they don't delimit binding domains. However, binding is not a reliable test for defective phasehood, because binding domains do not reliably correspond to strong phases in the first place.

Subject-to-subject raising (and agreement) over *for*:

- (47) a. John_i seems [**for** t_i to be happy].
 b. John_i isn't likely [**for** t_i to win].

Raising-to-object (and case-assignment) over *for*:

- (48) I wanted John_i [**for** t_i to win].

Alternative analysis: *for-to* is a single element.

6.3.3 Raising-to-object (and case assignment) over *to* in Japanese

Kuno (1976) first observed examples of ECM over *to* in Japanese:

Raising-to-object (and case assignment) over *to* in Japanese:

- (49) Taro-wa Hanako-o utsukushi-i **to** omot-ta
 Taro-top Hanako-acc beautiful-be **comp** consider-past
 'Taro considered Hanako to be beautiful.' (*Japanese*) (Ura (2007))

- Several proposals analyze the construction as raising-to-object (Kuno (1976), Authier (1991), Tanaka (1992, 2002); Ura (1994)) or possibly cross-clausal case-assignment without raising. (Bruening (2001), Hiraiwa (2001), Takeuchi (2010))
- Alternative analysis: The object is base-generated in the matrix clause and binds a null pronominal in the embedded clause. (Saito (1985), Oka (2006), Takano (2003))
- Cf. Şener (2008)'s discussion of a similar construction in Turkish, which he argues involves topicalization of the subject to the edge of the embedded clause, where it is assigned accusative case.

6.3.4 Case assignment and agreement over *-liq* in Uyghur

We claim that case-assignment and agreement is possible across the defective complementizer *-liq* in Uyghur.

Case assignment and agreement over C_{def} in Uyghur:

- (50) [men-**ij** ket-ken-**liq**] heqiqet-**im** muhim
 [I-**gen** leave-RAN- C_{def}] fact-**1sg** important
 'The fact that I left is important.' (*Uyghur*)

7 Conclusions and consequences

Conclusions for Uyghur:

- Genitive subjects of subordinate clauses are uniformly licensed by a clause-external D-head.
- Genitive-subject clauses are embedded by (optionally null) head nouns.
- Null head nouns in Uyghur give rise to the *illusion* of clause-internal licensing.
- Genitive subjects in Uyghur can be licensed across an overt $C^0(-liq)$.

Consequences for the cross-linguistic variation in licensing of genitive embedded subjects in Altaic:

- The difference between D-licensing and C-licensing is not reducible to a difference in size of embedded clause.
- For C-licensing languages (Turkish), we agree with Kornfilt (2008): a non-defective $C^0(-dik)$ agrees with, and licenses genitive on, the embedded subject.
- For at least one D-licensing language (Uyghur), we have proposed that defective $C^0(-liq)$ cannot agree with the embedded subject. The higher phase-head D^0 probes across the defective C^0 , agrees with the embedded subject, and licenses genitive.
- Avenue for further research: Do other D-licensing languages have counterparts to Uyghur *-liq*?

Broader consequences – defectivity and phase heads:

- Uyghur presents a rare example of agreement/case-assignment across an overt C^0 .
- New evidence for an empirically elusive, but perhaps theoretically desirable element: “Defective C”

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