

Uyghur

LAGB Language Tutorials

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1 Preliminaries

- (**Mordern**) **Uyghur** (alt.: Uighur) is a Turkic language, spoken by 8–12 million people, primarily by the ethnic Uyghurs.
- Its endonym is *Uyghur tili* [ʊjʁʊr tɯli] or *Uyghurche* [ʊjʁʊrʧæ].
- Historical *lingua franca* for the many ethnic groups inhabiting the oases of the Teklimakan desert in the Tarim Basin, along the Silk Routes.
- Most speakers are found in the **Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region (XUAR)** of China. Speakers can also be found in neighbouring areas like Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, and Uzbekistan, as well as in Turkey, the UK, Germany, the USA, etc.

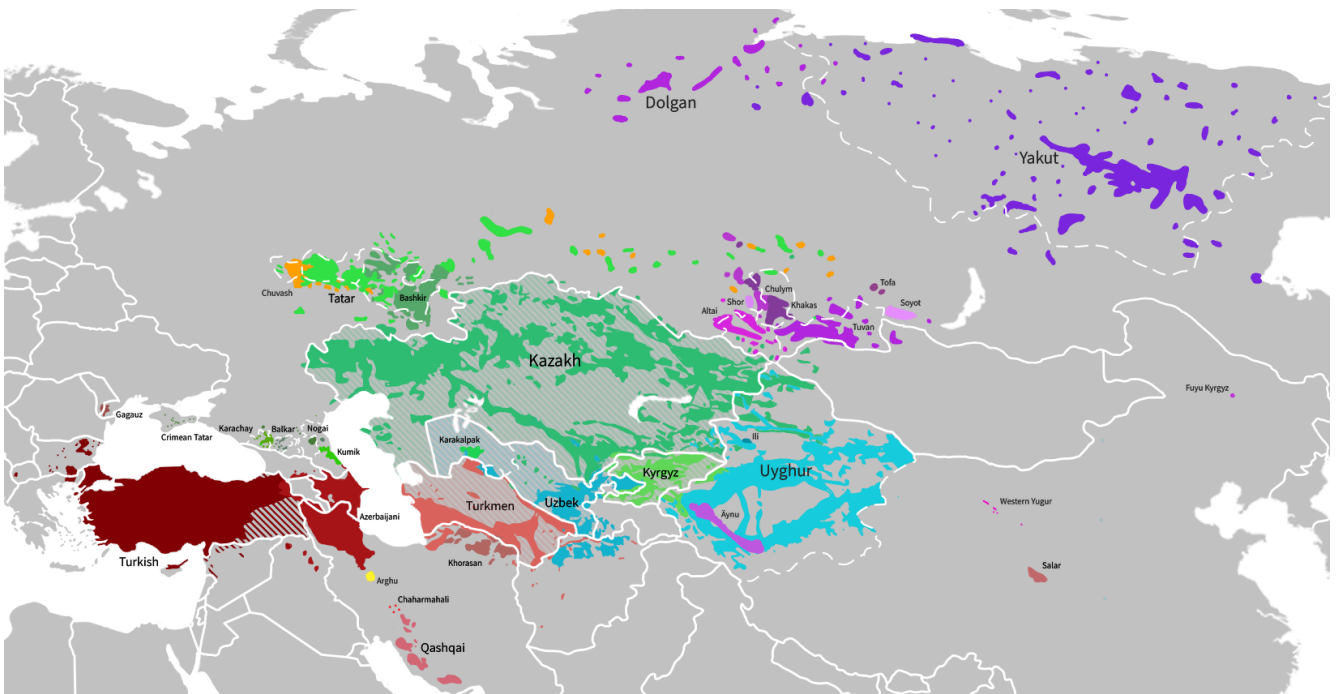


Figure 1: Map of the distribution of Turkic languages across Eurasia (source [Wikipedia](#))

- Uyghur (Karluk Turkic) is not a direct descendent of Old Uyghur (Siberian Turkic), which is ancestral to Western Yugur (aka Yellow Uyghur).

1.1 Placing Uyghur typologically

- (1) U-lar-ning yoqil-ip ket-ken müshük-i b(-)iz-ning öy-de peyda
3-PL-GEN disappear-CVB go-PTCP cat-3POSS 1-PL-GEN house-LOC manifest
bol-up qal-di.
become-CVB result-PST.3SG
'Their cat that had gone missing showed up at our house.'

- In many ways, Uyghur is a fairly representative example of an “Altaic” language.
- It is consistently head-final and agglutinative, with a rich inventory of morphemes, almost always suffixal.
- It makes abundant use of “converbial” constructions to express TAM, often blurring the line between independent auxiliaries and suffixes.
- It has a system of vowel harmony, although not as transparent as that of e.g. Finnish.
- In the noun, there is no encoding of gender. Conversely, nouns show agreement for person and number with their genitives “possessors”, and typically appear with case morphology.

1.2 Placing Uyghur diachronically

- The classification in fig.2 above is historically based on the following criteria:
 - Development of reconstructed word-final $*r^j$ into either /r/ (Chuvash) or /z/ (all others).

Cf. Chuvash *tăxxăr* ~ Uyghur *toqquz* ‘nine’.
 - Intervocalic fricative $*\delta$ remains a coronal obstruent in the NE branch, and becomes a palatal approximant /j/ in all other branches (with some exceptions).

Cf. Sakha *ataχ* ~ Uyghur *ayaq/ayagh* ‘foot’.
 - Loss (in the SW branch) or retention (elsewhere) of a back dorsal $*\gamma$ in syllable onsets of suffixes.

Cf. Azerbaijani *qalan* and Turkish *kalan* ‘left’ ~ Uyghur *qalghan* (-*ghan* is a participial morpheme—see below).
 - Devoicing of suffix- or word-final $*\gamma$ distinguishes the SE branch (incl. Uyghur) from the others. Think of it as fortition (in SE) vs. lenition or even elision (elsewhere).

Cf. Uyghur *səriq*, Uzbek *sariq* ~ Western Yugur *sariy*, Salar *sāri* ‘yellow’.

1.3 A note on the Lexicon

Given its history, Uyghur displays a highly diverse and stratified lexicon. Alongside Turkic roots we also find a large inventory of loans from Persian and Arabic (via Persian). More recently, we also find a large stock of loans from Russian and from Mandarin.

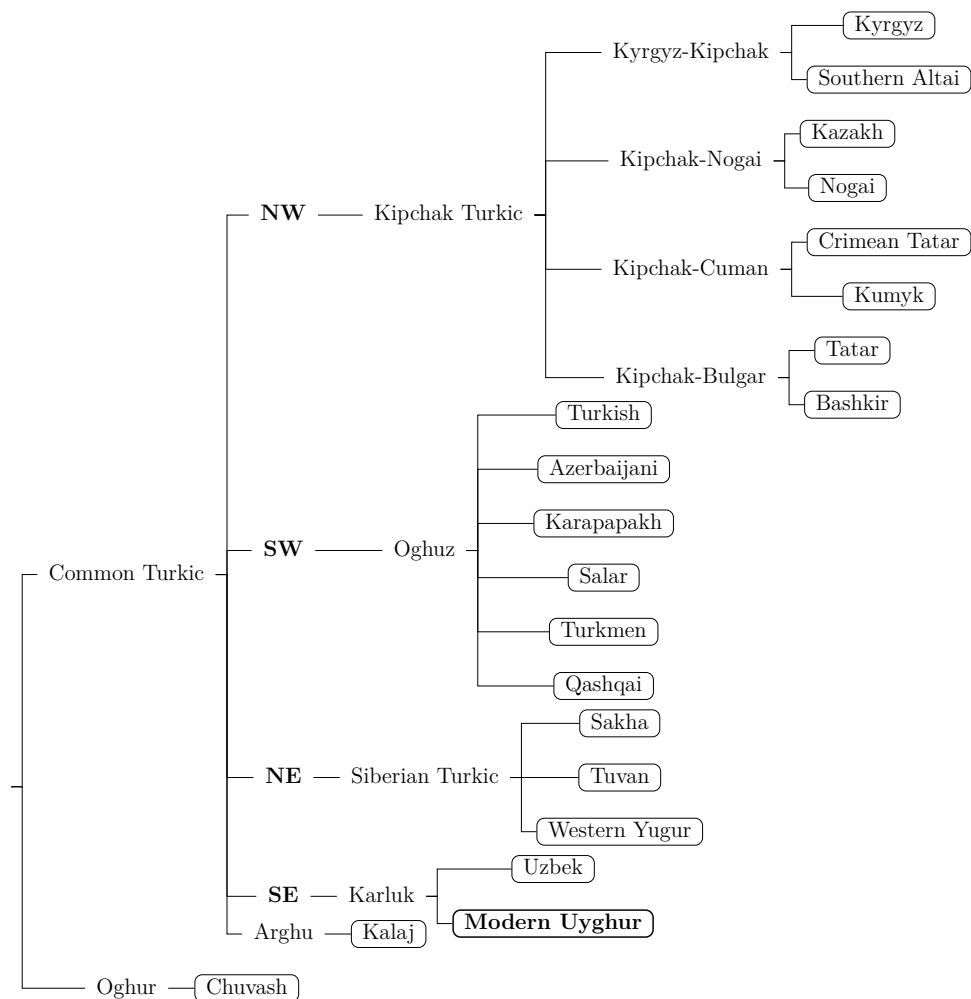


Figure 2: Partial list of Turkic languages and their classification

- (2) Numerals (Turkic):
bir, ikki, üç, töt, besh, alte, yette, sekkiz, toqquz.
- (3) Days of the a week (Persian, and very IE!):
düşenbe, seyshenbe, charshenbe, peyshenbe, jume, shenbe, yekshenbe.

2 Writing systems

The official writing system in XUAR is the Uyghur Arabic alphabet (Uyghur Ereb Yëziqi, UEY).

- We follow the standard Romanisation (Uyghur Latin Yëziqi, ULY; REF).
- Other writing systems include the Uyghur Cyrillic alphabet (Uyghur Kiril Yëziqi, UKY), used in Central Asia, and the Uyghur New Script (Uyghur Yëngi Yëziqi, UYY).

Arabic alphabet (UEY):	ھەممە ئادەم تۇغۇلۇشىدىنلا ئەركىن، ئىززەت-ھۆرمەت ۋە ھوقۇقتا بابباراۋەر بولۇپ تۇغۇلغان. ئۇلار ئەقىلگە ۋە ۋىجدانغا ئىگە ھەمدە بىر-بىرىگە قېرىنداشلىق مۇناسىۋىتىگە خاس روھ بىلەن مۇئامىلە قىلىشى كېرەك.
Cyrillic alphabet (USY):	Һәммә адәм туғулушидинла әркин, иззәт-һөрмәт вә һоқуқта баббаравәр болуп туғулған. Улар әқилгә вә вижданға игә һәмдә бир-биригә қериндашлиқ мунасивитигә хас роһ билән муамилә қилиши керәк.
Former Pinyin-based alphabet (UYU):	Һәммә адәм туғулүшидинла әркин, иззәт-һөрмәт вә һоқуқта баббаравәр болуп туғулған. Улар әқилгә вә вижданға игә һәмдә бир-биригә қериндaxлиқ мунасиwитигә хас роһ билән му’амилә қилиxi керәк.
Newer Latin alphabet (ULY):	Hemme adem tughulushidinla erkin, izzet-hörmet we hoquqta babbarawer bolup tughulghan. Ular eqilge we wijdan'gha ige hemde bir-birige qerindashliq munasiwitige xas roh bilen muamile qilishi kërek.
English:	All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights. They are endowed with reason and conscience and should act towards one another in a spirit of brotherhood.

Figure 3: Example of writing in various Uyghur orthographies (source [Wikipedia](#))

3 Morphology

Let’s begin directly with some real Uyghur sentences.

- (4) Ësil oqu-t-qu-chi-lar-ni hemme kishi-ler hörmәt-le-y-du.
excellent read-CAUS-NMLZ-NMLZ-PL-ACC all person-PL respect-VBLZ-PRES-3PL
‘Everyone respects good teachers.’
- (5) U-ning-gha aghr-ip qal-ghan-liq-im-ni bil-dür-mi-di-m.
3SG-GEN-DAT pain-CVB result-PTCP-NMLZ-1SG-ACC know-CAUS-NEG-PST-1SG
‘I didn’t let him know that I was sick.’
- (6) Tapshuruq-ing(-)iz-ni ish-le-p bol-di-ng(-)iz-mu?
homework-2SG(-)POL-ACC work-VBLZ-CVB come-PST-2SG(-)POL-Q
‘Have you finished working on your homework?’
- (7) Pëtir manti-ni yene on minut düm-li-si-ng(-)iz
unleavened dumpling-ACC more ten minute cook-VBLZ-COND-2SG(-)POL
pish-i-du.
be.cooked-PRS-3SG
‘If you steam the dumplings for another ten minutes they will be finished.’
- (8) B(-)iz da'im parang-li-sh-ip tur-i-m(-)iz.
1(-)PL always chat-VBLZ-RECP-CVB stand/HAB-PRS-1(-)PL
‘We often get together and chat.’

- (9) U biraqla üç texse leng[ɛ]men-ni ye-wet-ti.
 3SG at.once three plate laghman-ACC eat-PROG-PST.3SG
 ‘He finished off three plates of laghman.’ 🔊
- (10) U-lar-ning yoqil-ip ket-ken müshük-i b(-)iz-ning öy-de peyda
 3-PL-GEN disappear-CVB go-PTCP cat-3POSS 1-PL-GEN house-LOC manifest
 bol-up qal-di.
 become-CVB result-PST.3SG
 ‘Their cat that had gone missing showed up at our house.’ 🔊
- (11) Men tamaq-ni s(-)iz dë-gen-dek qil-ip baq-ti-m, biraq peqet
 1SG food-ACC 2(-)POL say-PTCP-ADVB make-CVB try-PST-1SG however merely
 bol-mi-du.
 happen-NEG-3SG
 ‘I cooked the food as you said, but it just didn’t turn out.’ 🔊

3.1 General properties I - Nominal morphology at a glance

- Uyghur morphology is broadly in line with other Turkic languages.
 - No formal encoding of gender;
 - No *direct* encoding of definiteness, even though Differential Object marking (ACC vs. 0) may convey specificity.

Stem	(Plural marking)	(Possessor Agreement)	(Case marking)
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Table 1: Nominal Morphemic Template

- Plural marking via the harmonizing suffix **-lAr** (*-lar, -lær*; + raised *-lir-*).

3.1.1 Possessor Agreement Marking

Possessor Marking		
	Singular	Plural
(12)	1 -(I)m (-m, -im, -um, -üm)	-imiz
	2 -(I)ŋ (-ŋ, -iŋ, -uŋ, -üŋ)	-(I)ŋlAr (-ŋlar, -iŋlAr, -uŋlar, -üŋlær)
	-iŋiz	-iŋizlAr
	3 -(s)i	-(s)i

Pronominal Tag Enclitics		
	Singular	Plural
(13)	1 -mæn	-miz
	2 -sæn	-silær
	-siz	-sizlær
	3 -Dur (N-__)	-Dur (N-__)
	-Du (V-__)	-Du (V-__)

			Aspect ₂ -At- (habitual)	Tense -D- (past)	Agreement (type 2)	Q ₂ -mu
Stem	Mood -(y)Al(A)- (abilitative)	Aspect ₁ -(I)wat- (progressive)	Tense -(y)i- (present)		Agreement (type 1)	
			Q ₁ -(A)m-		Agreement (type 1*)	

Table 2: Verbal morpheme template

3.1.2 Personal pronouns and case marking

		Nominative	Accusative	Genitive	Dative	Locative	Ablative
Singular	1	me n	me-ni	me-niŋ	maŋa	me n-de	me n-din
	2	se n	se-ni	se-niŋ	saŋa	se n-de	se n-din
	2 (polite)	siz	siz-ni	siz-niŋ	siz-ge	siz-de	siz-din
	3	u	u-ni	u-niŋ	u-niŋ-Ga	u-niŋ-da	u-niŋ-din
Plural	1	biz	biz-ni	biz-niŋ	biz-ge	biz-de	biz-din
	2	si-le r	si-le r-ni	si-le r-niŋ	si-le r-ge	si-le r-de	si-le r-din
	2 (polite)	si-le r	si-le r-ni	si-le r-niŋ	si-le r-ge	si-le r-de	si-le r-din
	3	u-lar	u-lar-ni	u-lar-niŋ	u-lar-Ga	u-lar-da	u-lar-din

3.2 General Properties II - Verbal morphology at a glance

(14)

3.2.1 Subject Agreement Marking

Type 1 Agr (“pronominal”)			Type 1 [?]	
Singular	Plural		Singular	Plural
	itc		1	-mæn / -miz
1	<i>-men</i>	<i>-miz</i> <i>-dimiz/timiz</i> <i>-duq/tuq</i>	2	-sæn / -silær -siz / (-sizlær)
2	<i>-sen</i>	<i>-siler</i>	3	— / —
3	<i>-siz</i>	<i>(-sizler)</i>		
3	<i>-du/tu</i>	<i>-du/tu</i>		

Type 1* (<i>di</i> -variant)	
Singular	Plural
1	-Dimæn / -Dimiz
2	-sæn / -silær -siz / (-sizlær)
3	-Du / -Du

Type 1** (<i>di</i> -variant)	
Singular	Plural
1	-Dim / -Duq
2	-sæn / -silær -siz / (-sizlær)
3	-Du / -Du

Type 2 (“possessive”)	
Singular	Plural
1	-m / -(u)q
2	-ŋ / -ŋlAr -ŋiz / -ŋizlAr
3	— / —

- **Indefinite Past:** $V(-mA)-GAn(-mu)-Agr_1$
bargan · mæn, bargan · sæn, bargan · siz, bargan · dur;
bargan · miz, bargan · silær, bargan · sizlær, bargan · dur
barmigan · mæn / bargan æmæs · mæn, ...barmigan · dur / bargan æmæs · dur
bargan · mu · mæn? ...bargan · mu?

- **Pluperfect:** $V(-mA)-GAn i-D(i)-Agr_2(-mu)$
bargan idim, bargan idiy, bargan idiyiz, bargan idi;
bargan iduq, bargan idiyælær, bargan idiyizlær, bargan idi
barmigan idim, ...barmigan idi
bargan idim · mu? ...bargan idi · mu?

- **Conditional Past:** $V(-mA)-GAn bol-sA-Agr_2$
bargan bolsam, bargan bolsay, bargan bolsiyiz, bargan bolsa
bargan bolsaq, bargan bolsaylar, bargan bolsiyizlar, bargan bolsa
barmigan bolsam, ...barmigan bolsa

- **Narrative/Suppositional/Hearsay Past:** $V(-mA)-(I)p-Agr_{1*}(-mu)$
berip · timæn, berip · sæn, berip · siz, berip · tu;
berip · timiz, berip · silær, berip · sizlær, berip · tu
barmap · timæn, ...barmap · tu
berip · timæn · mu? ...berip · tu · mu?

- **Perfect Past:** $V(-mA)-(I)p i-D(i)-Agr_2(-mu)$
beriw · idim, beriw · idiy, beriw · idiyiz, beriw · idi;
beriw · iduq, beriw · idiyælær, beriw · idiyizlær, beriw · idi
barmaw · idim, ...barmaw · idi
beriw · idim · mu? ...beriw · idi · mu?

- **Definite Past:** $V(-mA)-D(i)-Agr_2(-mu)$
bardim, bardiy, bardiyiz, bardi;
barduq, bardiyælær, bardiyizlar, bardi
barmidim, ...barmidi
bardim · mu? ...bardi · mu?

- **Continuous/Habitual Past:** $V(-mA)-At-D(i)-Agr_2(-mu)$
barattim, barattiy, barattiyiz, baratti;
barattuq, barattiyælær, barattiyizlar, baratti
barmayttim, ...barmaytti
barattim · mu? ...baratti · mu?

- **Habitual Past II:** $V-A-Du-GAn$

- **Progressive Past:** $V-(I)p-yat-At(-mA)-D(i)-Agr_2(-mu)$
beriw · atattim, beriw · atattiy, beriw · atattiyiz, beriw · atatti;
beriw · atattuq, beriw · atattiyælær, beriw · atattiyizlar, beriw · atatti
beriw · atatmidim, ...beriw · atatmidi
beriw · atattim · mu? beriw · atatti · mu?

- **Present-Future:**

$$\boxed{V(-mA)-A} - \text{Agr}_1(-mu)$$

bari · mæn, bari · sæn, bari · siz, bari · du
bari · miz, bari · silær, bari · sizlær, bari · du
barmay · mæn, ... barmay · du

bari · mæn · mu? / baram · dimæn? ... baram · du?

$$\boxed{V(-mA)-(A)m} - \text{Agr}_1^{* (*)}$$

- **Progressive Present:**

$$\boxed{V(-mA-A)-(I)p} - \boxed{(y)at(-mA)-A} - \text{Agr}_1(-mu)$$

beriw · ati · mæn, beriw · ati · sæn, beriw · ati · siz, beriw · ati · du
beriw · ati · miz, beriw · ati · silær, beriw · ati · sizlær, beriw · ati · du
beriw · atmay · mæn, ... beriw · atmay · du
beriw · ati · mæn · mu? / beriw · atam · dimæn? ... beriw · atam · du?

$$\boxed{V-(I)p} - \boxed{(y)at(-mA)-(A)m} - \text{Agr}_1^{* (*)}$$

- **Conditional Present-Future**

$$\boxed{V(-mA)-sA-Agr}_2$$

barsam, barsaq, barsiqiz, barsa
barsaq, barsaqılar, barsiqizlar, barsa
barmisam, ... barmisa

- **Suppositional Future:**

$$\boxed{V(A)r} - \text{Agr}_1?(-mu)$$

barar · mæn, barar · sæn, barar · siz, barar
barar · miz, barar · silær, barar · sizlær, barar
barmas · mæn, ... barmas

barar · mæn · mu? ... barar · mu?

barmas · mæn · mu? ... barmas · mu?

$$\boxed{V-mAs} - \text{Agr}_1?(-mu)$$

- **Desiderative:**

$$\boxed{V(-mA)-GAy} - \text{Agr}_1?$$

barğay · mæn, barğay · sæn, barğay · siz, barğay
barğay · miz, barğay · silær, barğay · sizlær, barğay
barmığay · mæn, ... barmığay

4 Syntax

- Like other Turkic languages, Uyghur is head-final.
- A common (or default) word order in S Adv O V, but other orders are available.

- (15) a. Aynur Dolqun-ni kör-di.
Aynur Dolqun-ACC see-3.PAST
'Aynur saw Dolqun.'
b. Dolqun-ni Aynur kör-di.
- (16) a. Adil Tursun-ni Dolqun-gha xet ewet-ti dep oyla-y-du
Adil Tursun-ACC Dolqun-DAT letter send-PAST.3 C think-NONPAST-3
'Adil thinks that Tursun sent Dolqun a letter.'
b. Dolqun-gha Adil Tursun-ni xet ewet-ti dep oyla-y-du

Word order presumably correlates with information structure.

- Null subjects and null objects

- (17) a. nege bar-i-siz?
where go-NONPAST-2SG
'Where are you going?'
b. bazar-gha bar-i-men.
market-to go-NONPAST-1SG
'I'm going to the market.'
- (18) a. adette qeyer-din alma al-i-siz?
usually where-from apple buy-NONPAST-2SG
'Where do you usually buy apples?'
b. bazar-din al-i-men.
market-from buy-NONPAST-1SG
'I buy apples at the market.'

- Wh-*in-situ*

(18-a)

- (19) bu **nëme**?
this what?
'What is this?'
- (20) **nëme** qil-ish üchün ishlit-i-du?
what do-GER for use-NONPAST-3
'(lit) They use it for doing what?'
- (21) siz hazir **qanchi**-nchi yataq-ta?
2SG now how.many-th room-LOC
'Which room are you in now?'

5 Indexical Shift

Uyghur, unlike English, is an **indexical shift** language.

5.1 What is indexical shift?

- Indexicals = expressions that refer to certain aspects of utterance context, e.g.:
 - first and second person pronouns
 - *now*
 - *here*
- Indexicals *directly refer* (Kaplan 1989) = they don't interact with modals, unlike definite descriptions.

- (22) a. Paul likes me.
b. Paul likes the person who is speaking now.

- (23) a. Mary thinks that Paul likes me.
b. Mary thinks that Paul likes the person who is speaking now.

- (24) a. I could have been a phonologist.
b. The person who is speaking now could have been a phonologist.

The only exception is in quotations (where they are merely mentioned).

- (25) a. Tom said “I am a syntactician”.
b. “I am a syntactician” is a sentence.

- It has been observed that in some languages, though not in English and other major European languages, indexicals in attitude reports can be interpreted with respect to reported contexts (Schlenker 2003, Anand & Nevins 2004, Anand 2006, Sudo 2012, Podobryaev 2014, Anvari 2019).

- (26) John jiəgna n-ññ̃ yil-all
John hero be-1sg says
'John says that {I am, he is} a hero.' (Amharic; Schlenker 2003: p. 68)

You might think that this is just direct vs. indirect speech, but consider:

- (27) John jiəgna ləmiñ n-ññ̃ yil-all?
John hero why COP.PRES-1s says-3sm
'Why does John say that {I am, he is} a hero?' (Amharic; Anand 2006)

5.2 Indexical shift in Uyghur

- Indexical shift is **obligatory** in finite clauses in Uyghur (Shklovsky & Sudo 2014, Sudo 2012, Major 2022).

- (28) Ahmet [**men** ket-**tim**] dēdi.
Ahmet [1SG leave-PAST.1SG] said
‘Ahmet said that **he** (=Ahmet) left.’
(unavailable) ‘Ahmet said that **I** (=speaker) left.’
- (29) Tursun Muhemmet-ke [xet jaz-**ding**] dēdi.
Tursun Muhemmet-DAT [letter wrote-2SG] said
‘Tursun told Muhemmet that he (=Muhemmet) wrote a letter.’
(unavailable) ‘Tursun told Muhemmet that you (=hearer) wrote a letter.’

- Long-distance *wh* + indexical shift:

- (30) Tursun [**men** kim-ni kör-**dim**] dēdi?
Tursun [1SG who-ACC see-PAST.1SG] said
‘Who did Tursun say that he saw?’

- Long-distance neg-word licensing + indexical shift:

- (31) Tursun [**men** hichkim-ni kör-**dim**] dē-mi-di.
Tursun [1SG anybody-ACC see-PAST.1ST] say-NEG-PAST.3
‘Tursun didn’t say that he saw anybody.’

(See Shklovsky & Sudo 2014 for *de re* + indexical shift)

- Among the languages that are known to have indexical shift so far, Uyghur provides especially clear evidence that syntax is relevant.

5.3 Nominalised clauses

- Uyghur has other attitude report constructions. The following sentences mean pretty much the same thing:

- (32) a. Ahmet [mu’ellim ketti] dēdi.
Ahmet [teacher left] said
‘Ahmet said that the teacher left.’
- b. Ahmet [mu’ellim-ning ket-ken-lik-i-ni] dēdi.
Ahmet [teacher-GEN leave-GAN-LUQ-POSS.3-ACC] said
‘Ahmet said that the teacher left.’

- In nominalised clauses, indexical shift is never observed (= they are like English attitude reports).

(33) Ahmet [**mëning** ket-ken-lik-**im**-ni] dëdi
 Ahmet [1SG.GEN leave-GAN-LUQ-POSS.1SG-ACC] said
 ‘Ahmet said that I (=speaker) left.’

(34) Tursun Muhemmet-ke [xet jaz-ghan-liq-**ing**-ni] dëdi
 Tursun Muhemmet-DAT [letter write-GAN-LUQ-POSS.2SG-ACC] said
 ‘Tursun told Muhemmet that you (=hearer) wrote a letter.’

- This observation suggests that whatever is triggering indexical shift (called the **monster**; 🧟) is not the attitude predicate (contra Schlenker 2003, among others).
 - Schlenker’s account in a nutshell:
 - * In every language attitude predicates are monsters (they introduce non-current contexts).
 - * In English, indexicals are lexically specified to be about the utterance context in which they are used.
 - * In languages where indexical shift is optional (e.g., Amharic), they are underspecified.
 - Partial quotation account: Languages with indexical shift allow sub-sentential constituents to be directly quoted; partially quoted indexical behave like they shift.

5.4 Accusative subjects

- The subject of a finite complement in Uyghur can nominative (unmarked) or accusative. The sentences in (35) are essentially synonymous.

(35) a. Ahmet [Tursun ketti] dëdi.
 Ahmet [Tursun left] said
 ‘Ahmet said that Tursun left.’
 b. Ahmet [Tursun-**ni** ketti] dëdi.
 Ahmet [Tursun-ACC left] said
 ‘Ahmet said that Tursun left.’

NB: Accusative marking on direct objects correlates with ‘specificity’ (as in Turkish). We believe there is no comparable effect on embedded subjects.

- Indexical accusative subjects never shift. The sentences in (36) are not synonymous.

(36) Tursun [**men** ket-**tim**] dëdi
 Tursun [1SG left-1SG] said
 ‘Tursun said that he (=Tursun) left.’

(37) Tursun [**mëni** ket-**ti**] dëdi
 Tursun [1SG.ACC left-3] said
 ‘Tursun said that I (=speaker) left.’

Note that there is agreement mismatch in (37). There are two ways of thinking about it.

- Default agreement (Major 2022).

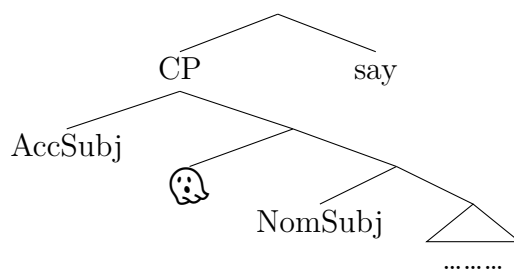
- Verbal agreement undergoes indexical shift (Shklovsky & Sudo 2014). The current speaker was not the speaker (or hearer) of the reported speech event!

We'll provide some evidence against the default agreement account below.

5.5 Two theories of indexical shift in Uyghur

1. Uniform theory (Shklovsky & Sudo 2014):

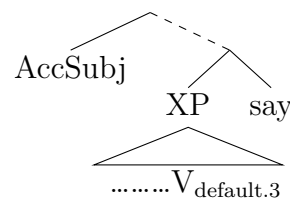
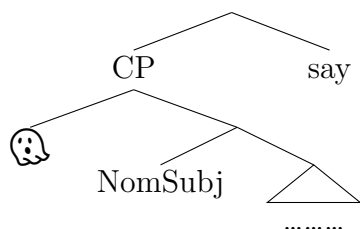
- Shklovsky & Sudo 2014 provide several pieces of evidence that the accusative subject belongs to the embedded clause but sits in a position higher than the nominative subject.
- Following Anand & Nevins 2004 and Anand 2006 (see also Deal 2020), they assume that ☹️ is always present in finite clauses in Uyghur (but not in nominalised clauses and not in English).



- They suggest that ☹️ might be C.

2. Non-uniform theory (Major 2022)

- Finite clauses with nominative subjects are as Shklovsky & Sudo 2014 propose.
- Finite clauses with accusative subjects are a different construction. They are smaller in size and never contain ☹️.
 - The accusative subject undergoes movement for case assignment.
 - The embedded verb bears default third-person agreement.



5.6 Evaluating theories

- Major 2022 (and also Major 2023) does not provide direct evidence for the claim that finite clauses with an accusative subject are smaller in size.
- There is some evidence that they are not.
 - Evidentials are compatible with accusative subjects.

- (38) Adil [Hoshur(-ni) nan ye-**p**-tu] dë-di.
 Adil [Hoshur(-ACC) bread eat-EVID-PRES.3] said
 ‘Adil said that Hoshur apparently ate bread.’

– Subjective particles are compatible with accusative subjects.

- (39) Adil [Dilyar(-ni) bazar-gha bar-ghan **du**] dëdi.
 Adil [Dilyar(-ACC) market-to go-PERF PRT] said
 ‘Adil said that Dilyar certainly went to the market.’

– Embedded finite polar questions can have accusative subjects.


- (40) Adil [Dilyar(-ni) ket-ti-mu dep] sör-di.
 Adil [Dilyar(-ACC) leave-PAST.3-Q DEP] asked
 ‘Adil asked if Dilyar had left.’

(We’ll come back to *dep*)

- There is some evidence against the claim that the apparent agreement mismatch is due to default agreement. Shklovsky & Sudo 2014 report some examples of accusative subjects with non-third person agreement.

- (41) Ahmet [Aygül-ni nan ye-**ysen**] dëdi.
 Ahmet [Aygül-ACC bread eat-NONPAST.2SG] said
 ‘Ahmet said (to Aygül) that she ate bread.’

- (42) men [peqet öz-em-ni-la nan ye-**ymen**] dëdim.
 1SG [only self-1SG-ACC-FOC bread eat-NONPAST.1SG] said
 ‘I said that only I ate bread.’

Major claims that in these cases, the accusative phrase is a proleptic argument of the matrix verb (similarly to *of* in English), and the embedded clauses are full CPs containing  and a null nominative subject.

But if proleptic accusative phrases are possible in Uyghur, we’d expect (43) to be grammatical, along with (44).

- (43) **pro* [mäni ket-ti] dë-dim.
 [1SG.ACC leave-PAST.3] say-PAST.1SG

- (44) *pro* [mäni ket-tim] dë-dim.
 [1SG.ACC leave-PAST.1SG] say-PAST.1SG
 ‘I said I had left.’

- Accusative subjects can cooccur with shifted non-subject indexicals.

- (45) Tursun Hoshur-gha [Patigül-ni tünügün méni kördi] dédi.
 Tursun Hoshur-DAT [Patigül-ACC yesterday 1SG.ACC saw] said
 ‘Turun told Hoshur that Patigül saw me/Tursun yesterday.’

5.7 Open questions

- Verbal agreement with the accusative subject makes sense if it undergoes indexical shift. Maybe it's a subject clitic???

But consider Misha Tatar: Indexical shift is optionally available with *pro*-drop (also in Turkish?).

- (46) a. Alsu [**min** kaja kitte-m diep] ar'tɣ?
 Alsu [I where left-1sg C] said
 'Which place did Alsu say that I went?'
 (unavailable) 'Which place did Alsu say that she went?'
 b. Alsu [kaja kitte-m diep] ar'tɣ?
 Alsu [where left-1sg C] said
 'Which place did Alsu say that I went?'
 'Which place did Alsu say that she went?' (Podobryaev 2014)

In Turkic language, verbal agreement morphology is similar, but its function might be very different???

- Crosslinguistic variation
 - No indexical shift: English, German, nominalised clauses in Uyghur, etc.
 - Optional indexical shift: Amharic, Zazaki, etc.
 - Obligatory indexical shift: finite clauses in Uyghur, etc.

It appears that indexical shift is never observed in clauses that cannot be independently used as full sentences. Also, it is never licensed by PPs like *according to her*.

- Sudo 2012 observes that indexical shift obligatorily takes place in finite complements to all sorts of attitude verbs in Uyghur, including *dē-mek* 'say', *maxtan-maq* 'brag', *aghrin-maq* 'complain', *bil-mek* 'think/know', *oyli-mak* 'think', *ümid qil-mek* 'hope', *xejal qil-mek* 'dream', *angli-maq* 'hear'.
 - Slave/Slavey/Dene K'e seems to be a language like Uyghur, but more data need to be gathered.
 - In Amharic and Zazaki, indexical shift happens only under the verb say/tell.

But this characterisation of Uyghur might not be correct (as Major 2023 suggests), because when the embedding attitude verb is not *de-*, *dep* is be obligatorily present.

- (47) Ahmet [qaysi imtihan-din öt- tim **dep**] bilidu.
 Ahmet [which text-from pass-PAST.1SG DEP] thinks
 'Which test does Ahmet think that he passed?'

Major 2023 claims that *dep* is the converbial form of *de-*. Presumably, this is the correct analysis for (48).

- (48) Mahinur birnëmi-ler-ni **de-p** warqiridi.
 Mahinur something-PL-ACC say-CONV screamed
 ‘Mahinur screamed, saying something.’ (Major 2023)

Major 2023 proposes that *dep* in (47) is also just a converb, and the sentence means something like ‘Ahmet thought, saying that he passed which test?’ (Recall: no adjunct island for *wh-in-situ*), with bleached meaning of ‘say’.

But this analysis is untenable for cases like (49).

- (49) Ahmet Aygül-din [qaysi imtihan-din öt- **tim** dep] anglidi.
 Ahmet Aygül-from [which text-from pass-PAST.1SG DEP] heard
 ‘Which test did Ahmet hear from Aygül that he passed?’

It’s not Ahmet who ‘said’ something here, but the shifted first person refers to him!

But Major might be partially correct. The complementiser use of *dep* is not a full-fledged complementiser but a ‘grammaticalised converb’ retaining the syntactic properties of converbs. Any syntactic evidence??

- Reconstruction effects

- Shklovsky & Sudo 2014 tacitly assume that accusative subjects don’t reconstruct. But some of their examples seem to contradict this assumption.

- (50) Tursun [**toqquz qiz-ning tolghaq-ni** teng keldi] dédi.
 tursun [nine girl-GEN labour-ACC together arrived] said
 ‘Tursun said that times were hard.’

- (51) Ahmet [**hichkim-ni** ket-mi-di] dédi.
 Ahmet [anybody-ACC leave-NEG-PAST] said
 ‘Ahmet said that nobody left.’

They take these observations as suggesting that the accusative subject originates in the embedded clause, but if it can reconstruct to its base-generated position, we’d expect the accusative subject to be able to (optionally) shift, contrary to fact!

- Shklovsky & Sudo 2014 also observe that scrambling to the left of the accusative subject bleeds indexical shift.

- (52) Ahmet Aygül-ge [**sanga** méni xet ewetti] dédi.
 Ahmet Aygül-DAT [you.DAT me.ACC letter sent] said
 ‘Ahmet said to Aygül that I sent a letter to you.’
 (unavailable) ‘Ahmet said to Aygül that I sent a letter to her.’

Scrambling in similar languages (e.g., Turkish, Japanese, Korean, Hindi/Urdu) is known to allow reconstruction, at least optionally. Again, if reconstruction is possible in (52), we’d expect the scrambled indexical to be able to (optionally) shift, contrary to fact.

Reconstruction in Uyghur does not seem to feed indexical shift, but that is not predicted by any theory. Under every theory of indexical shift available in the literature, it's the LF position that matters.

6 Conclusion

- In these classes we have given a snapshot of the grammar of Uyghur, while providing both crosslinguistic and theoretical context.
- We have highlighted a number of grammatical areas in which Uyghur is of theoretical/comparative interest:
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- The increasing Uyghur community in the UK offers the chance for UK linguists to work with speakers of this understudied and marginalised language.
 - We have pointed out a number of starting points for further research.
 - Uyghur could also be a useful language for university-based fieldwork classes.
- We hope that collaboration between linguists of different subdisciplines and Uyghur communities will lead to more comprehensive descriptions of the language, accessible to members of those communities and interested learners.

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