NULL SUBJECTS AND INDEXICALITY IN TURKISH AND UYGHUR*

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1. Introduction

An expression qualifies as an *indexical* if its semantic value is determined by some feature of the context of utterance. In English, for instance, the 1st person pronoun *I* always gets its semantic value from the actual context of speech (cf. Schlenker 2003, von Stechow 2003, among others). Consider the following examples:

(1) Situation to be reported:
John says: 'I am a hero' English: *I* = Speaker | *I* ≠ Subject

a. *John$_i$ says that I$_i$ am a hero
b. John$_i$ says that he$_i$ is a hero

As the sentences in (1a) and (1b) above illustrate, the sentence to be reported 'I am a hero' can only be reported by the use of the 3rd person pronoun *he* in the subject position of the embedded clause in English, and the pronoun *I* can never be associated with the subject *John* as the impossibility of coindexation between *I* and the root subject *John* indicates in (1a). The pronoun *I* obligatorily receives its semantic value from the context of utterance (i.e. the actual speech act) in English.

Kaplan (1977) conjectured considering the interpretation of indexical expressions like the English *I* given in (1) that indexical expressions in natural language are always interpreted relative to the actual context of utterance and essentially they do not receive their value from the

* We would like to thank Yael Sharvit, and the audience at the Workshop on Formal Altaic Linguistics at the University of Southern California for questions and comments. All errors are solely ours.

reported speech act. Acknowledging that this may be a logical possibility Kaplan claims that there are no context shifters in natural language that can change the semantic value of an indexical like the 1st person pronoun *I*. If such *shifters* were found in natural language they would be, as Kaplan dubs, *Monsters*. Schlenker (2003) however, presents empirical evidence for the existence of such *Monsters.* He notes that in Amharic indexicals are interpreted in verb complement clauses in relation to the context of the reported speech act, not in relation to the utterance context. In particular, he points out to the following difference between the interpretation of the 1st person pronominal subjects of embedded clauses in Amharic and that of English that we illustrated in (1). Witness the example in (2) from Amharic below:

(2) Situation to be reported:
John says: 'I am a hero' Amharic: I = Speaker I = Subject

ǰon ǰəgna nə-ññ yɨl-all
John hero be.PF-1sO 3M.say-AUX.3M
'John says that he is a hero' (Schlenker 2003, 68:53)

The sentence "I am a hero" can be reported by the 1st person pronominal *I* in Amharic, and it can refer to either the speaker of the actual speech act or to the reported speech act, namely *John*. Thus, it is possible to shift the semantic value of the 1st person pronoun *I* in the embedded clause in Amharic, whereas in English *I* always receives its semantic value from the context in which it is uttered. The fact that the semantic value of indexicals such as *I* is not restricted to the actual speech act, is noted for other languages such as Zazaki, and Slave in Anand and Nevins (2004) and recently for Uyghur in Shklovsky and Sudo (2009).[1]

In the present paper, we present a piece of data from Turkish, which, to the best of our knowledge, have remained unnoted previously: Overt and null 1st person pronominal subjects of *Finite Complement Clauses* (FCCs) in Turkish display an interpretational contrast with respect to receiving their semantic value from the context of utterance or the context of the reported speech act. While null 1st person pronominal subjects of FCCs in Turkish are referentially ambiguous between the speaker of the actual utterance context or the subject of the embedded clause, overt 1st person pronominal subjects of FCCs are obligatorily interpreted only relative to the actual utterance context. In the terms laid out above, null 1st person pronominal subjects of FCCs in Turkish allow a shifted reading, yet their overt counterparts do not. The phenomenon of indexical shifting has been recently studied for another Turkic language Uyghur in Shklovsky and Sudo (2009) and Sudo (2010), for which no such variation is observed between the overt and null 1st person pronominal subjects. In this paper, we also compare these typologically related languages with respect to the behavior of the 1st person pronominal subject *I*. Thus, this paper aims to account for the interpretational variation between the overt vs. null 1st person pronominal subjects in Turkish and the absence of such a contrast in Uyghur.

This paper is organized as follows: In Section 2, we begin our discussion by providing a brief outline of the general characteristics of complement clauses in Turkish and Uyghur as well as the syntactic and semantic behavior of Turkish and Uyghur 1st person pronominal subjects in

[1] Amharic *I* qualifies as a strict indexical as it must refer to the speaker of some context, although not necessarily the context of the actual speech act. In that respect it differs from logophoric pronouns, which are only grammatical in embedded contexts.

such complement clauses. In Section 3, we summarize some prominent analyses of indexical shifting in the literature. Section 4 lays out our proposal, and Section 5 concludes the paper.

2. Pronominal subjects of complement clauses

Turkish features two major types of complement clauses. The more prominent of these two types of complementation is formed by the nominalization of the embedded verb, which we refer to here as *Nominalized Complement Clauses* (NCCs). Vs of NCCs bear nominal agreement morphology *controlled* by the Genitive marked embedded subject, and the nominalized V of NCCs bears nominal agreement and case morphology as shown in (3) below (see Aygen 2002; Kennelly 1996; Kornfilt 1984, 2001; Kural 1993; Lees 1965; Sezer 1991, among many others).

(3) Pelin dün [Sinan-ın araba-yı vur-duğ-u-nu] duy-du. [= NCC]
P-nom yesterday S-gen car-acc crash-noml-3sg.poss-acc hear-past
'Pelin heard yesterday that Sinan had crashed the car.'

A more restricted type of complement clause is formed as the complement of the selected verbs of belief such as *san-* 'believe, think, consider' as illustrated in (4) below, where the predicate of the complement clause is finite and its subject is marked Nominative case. We will refer to complement clauses of this type as *Finite Complement Clauses* (FCCs) (see Aygen 2002, Kornfilt 1977, 1984; Kural 1993; Şener 2008, 2010; Zidani-Eroğlu 1997, among others):[2]

(4) a. Pelin [sen Timbuktu-ya git-ti-n] san-ıyor. [= FCC]
P-nom you-nom T-dat go-past-2sg believe-pres
'Pelin believes that you went to Timbuktu.'

b. *Pelin [sen Timbuktu-ya git-ti-ø] san-ıyor. [= FCC]
P-nom I-nom T-dat go-past believe-pres
'Pelin believes that you went to Timbuktu.'

As shown in (4), overt agreement morphology on the predicate of FCCs is obligatory when their subject bears Nominative case. However, subjects of FCCs may bear Accusative Case in Turkish regardless of whether the embedded predicate exhibits overt agreement morphology:

(5) a. Pelin [sen-i Timbuktu-ya git-ti-n] san-ıyor. [= FCC]
P-nom you-acc T-dat go-past-2sg believe-pres
'Pelin believes that you went to Timbuktu.'

b. Pelin [sen-i Timbuktu-ya git-ti-ø] san-ıyor. [= FCC]
P-nom you-acc T-dat go-past believe-pres
'Pelin believes that you went to Timbuktu.'

[2] Finite Complement Clauses in Turkish occur in the indicative and the subjunctive mood. We will only be interested in the former variety in this paper.

The observation that subjects of FCCs may bear either Nominative or Accusative is particularly important when we compare Turkish and Uyghur below. Let us first focus on whether overt subjects of NCCs and FCCs receive their interpretation exclusively from the context of utterance.

(6) Seda [ben-*im* sınıf-ta kal-dığ-ım-ı] san-ıyor. [= NCC]
Seda-nom I-gen class-loc flunk-noml-1s.poss-acc believe pres
'Seda believes that *x* flunked.' Shifted Reading: *
Non-Shifted Reading: ✓

(7) Seda [ben sınıf-ta kal-dı-m] san-ıyor. [= FCC]
Seda-nom I-nom class-loc flunk-past-1sg believe-pres
'Seda believes that *x* flunked.' Shifted Reading: *
Non-Shifted Reading: ✓

As the examples in (6) and (7) above illustrate, the overt 1st person pronominal subjects of NCCs and FCCs receive their semantic value from the context of the actual speech act (i.e. *ben/I* necessarily refers to the speaker of the utterance context), and not from the reported speech act (hence do not exhibit shifted interpretation).

Considering its relevance to the facts we will introduce below, it is worth noting that Turkish is language that allows null subjects. This is illustrated in (8) and (9) below:

(8) Ben çalış-ıyor-um.
I wok-prog-1sg
'I am working.'

(9) *pro* çalış-ıyor-um.
I work-prog-1sg
'I am working.'

As expected, both the overt and the null 1st person pronominal subjects of the sentences in (8) and (9) receive their semantic value from the context of utterance. Moreover, null subjects in Turkish are allowed both in the subject position of NCCs and FCCs. The key observation we would like to introduce here is that null subjects of FCCs and NCCs show a contrast in terms of shiftability in Turkish, while no such contrast is observed with the overt 1st person pronominal subjects of NCCs and FCCs. To be precise, null subjects of FCCs can receive shifted readings (i.e. either the actual or the reported speech act determines their semantic value), whereas null subjects of NCCs cannot:

(10) Seda [*pro* sınıf-ta kal-dığ-ım-ı] san-ıyor. [= NCC]
Seda-nom class-loc flunk-noml-1s.poss-acc believe-pres
'Seda believes that *x* flunked.' Shifted Reading: *
Non-Shifted Reading: ✓

(11) Seda [*pro* sınıf-ta kal-dı-m] san-ıyor. [=FCC]
Seda-nom class-loc flunk-past-1sg believe-pres
'Seda believes that *x* flunked.' Shifted Reading: ✓
Non-Shifted Reading: ✓

Uyghur displays a similar pattern to Turkish in the domain of NCCs in terms of the unavailability of shifted readings. As illustrated in (12), overt subjects of NCCs in Uyghur do not shift (Uyghur data due to Shklovsky and Sudo 2009, 3:3a,b):

(12) Ahmet [men-ing kit-ken-lik-im-ni] di-di. [= NCC]
Ahmet [1sg-gen leave-rel-noml-1sg-acc] say-past.3
Shifted Reading: *
Non-Shifted Reading: ✓

Despite the similarity in the domain of NCCs, Uyghur differ from Turkish in the domain of FCCs since overt subjects of FCCs may shift in Uyghur depending on the case marker a subject bears. Specifically, Sudo (2009) reports that 1st person pronoun *men*/I in Uyghur shifts if marked Nominative case, whereas the 1st person pronominal subject of an FCC in Uyghur cannot shift (and receive its interpretation from the context of utterance) if marked Accusative case. Witness the Uyghur data below (Sudo 2009,9:16a,b):

(13) NOM-Subject [= FCC]
Ahmet [män kät-tim] di-di.
Ahmet [1sg-nom leave-past.1sg] say-past-3 Shifted Reading: ✓
Non-Shifted Reading: *

(14) ACC-Subject [= FCC]
Ahmet [men-i kät-ti] di-di
Ahmet [1sg.acc leave-past.3] say-past.3 Shifted Reading: *
Non-Shifted Reading: ✓

As we have briefly noted in the beginning of this section, Turkish also allows subjects of FCCs to bear either Nominative or Accusative.[3] What is important for our present purposes is that overt subjects of FCCs do not allow shifted readings in Turkish no matter what case the overt subject of an FCC bears:

(15) NOM-Subject [= FCC]
Seda [ben sınıf-ta kal-dı-m] san-ıyor.
S-nom I-**NOM** class-loc flunk-past-1sg believe-pres
'Seda believes that *x* flunked.' Shifted Reading: *
Non-Shifted Reading: ✓

[3] We put aside the observations concerning the verbal agreement patterns of such FCCs as they are not relevant to our present discussion.

(16) ACC-Subject [= FCC]
Seda [ben-i sınıf-ta kal-dı{-ø/-m}] san-ıyor.
S-nom I-**ACC** class-loc stay-past-{3sg/1sg} believe-pres
'Seda believes that *x* flunked.' Shifted Reading: *
Non-Shifted Reading: ✓

To summarize our observations so far, overt subjects of NCCs and FCCs (with Nominative or Accusative subjects) exhibit a similar pattern in Turkish as they do not allow shifted readings, while null subjects of FCCs do allow this option. Overt subjects of FCCs in Uyghur, however, display a variation in terms of shiftability; while overt Accusative marked subjects of FCCs allow shifting, Nominative marked subjects of FCCs do not.[4] These observations are illustrated in the table below for readers' convenience:

(17)

		TURKISH	UYGHUR
NCC	Overt subject	non-shift	non-shift
	Null subject	non-shift	non-shift
FCC	Overt subject	non-shift	shift (NOM) & non-shift (ACC)
	Null subject	Shift/non-shift	shift/non-shift

Table 1

The differences between overt and null subjects of FCCs in Turkish and their contrast with those of Uyghur are the main puzzles that we will discuss further in Section 4.

3. Previous analyses of indexical shift, in brief

Schlenker (2003) provides an account for the contrast between English and Amharic 1st person pronominal subjects, which we repeat below:

(18) Situation to be reported:
John says: '*I am a hero*'

a. *John$_i$ says that I$_i$ am a hero [English: *I* = Speaker | *I* ≠ Subject]
b. John$_i$ says that he$_i$ is a hero
c. ǰon ǰəgna nə-ññ yɨl-all [Amharic: *I* = Speaker | *I* = Subject]
John hero be.PF-1SO 3M.say-AUX.3M
'John says that he is a hero'

[4] Shklovsky and Sudo (2009) report that null pronominal subjects of FCCs are identical to overt subjects in Uyghur in terms of allowing an optionality in shifting, though we have yet to verify this with native speakers of Uyghur.

The 1st person pronominal *I* can shift in Amharic. Schlenker (2003) suggests that attitude verbs are quantifiers over contexts of thought or speech and may bind free context variables; hence, the cross-linguistic variation in the shifting possibilities of indexicals is dependent on whether the denotations of particular indexicals have free context variables or not. Amharic *I* is underspecified for its context variable as opposed to its English counterpart. The denotations of *I* in English and Amharic are given in (19):

(19) English *I*: [[I]] = agent (c*) – context of utterance
Amharic *I*: [[I]] = agent (c) – c a context variable

An argument against Schlenker's (2003) proposal is brought up in Sudo and Schlovsky (2009) and Sudo (2010): Since many verbs in Uyghur, including *da–* 'say', are compatible with both NCCs and FCCs, yet shifted reading of the indexical is only possible with FCCs (cf. (12) vs. (13), they claim that Uyghur attitude verbs cannot be treated as *Monsters*, simply because facts suggest that whatever is responsible for indexical shifting must be only operative in FCCs, and not in NCCs. This further implies that it is not the verb *da–* in Uyghur that regulates shifting, contra what Schlenker would predict. Recall also that not all occurrences of the same indexical is subject to shifting in Uyghur; while Accusative subjects of FCCs never shift, Nominative subjects of FCCs shift obligatorily despite the fact that one and the same indexical item is used (cf. (13) and (14)).

Von Stechow (2003) proposes a different analysis of indexical shifting through binding by modal quantifiers that quantify over elements in the domain of the context. Von Stechow (2003) specifically claims that whether or not binding requires φ-feature identity determines the cross-linguistic variation on indexical shift; non-shifting languages allow person indexicals to be bound only by attitude verbs agreeing in person, while a shifting language such as Amharic allows binding of 1st person indexicals regardless of the φ-features of the binding attitude verbs. This is made possible by the proposal that binding allows the deletion of semantic features of the bound element (cf. Heim 1994). Under von Stechow's (2002) account, then, a pronominal subject in Amharic is interpreted as shown in (20), where the 1st person feature is deleted, which makes it possible for the indexical *I* to be interpreted as *John* (i.e., relative to the reported speech act):

(20) Shifted *I*: John says $\lambda_{<x,w,t>}$ x^{1st} is a hero.

Anand and Nevins (2004) show, based essentially on data from Zazaki and Slave, that the indexicals in Zazaki and Slave exhibit shifting under certain modal verbs, but that they cannot shift independently. In Slave, for example, the same indexical can shift obligatorily, optionally, or not at all, depending on the modal verb it is under. They then propose that indexical shifting is driven by context-shifting operators; the function of these operators is essentially to overwrite the context parameter of the interpretation function with the intensional index parameter:

(21) $[[\text{OP}_{\text{AUTH}} [\alpha] \text{ I }]]^{<A}{}_{c,\ldots>,i} = [[\alpha]]^{<A}{}_{i,\ldots>,i}$

(22) $[[\text{OP}\forall\ \alpha]]^{k,j} = [[\forall\alpha]]^{j,j}$

In Anand and Nevins's (2004) account, the context-shifting operators are independent of the attitude verbs. The operator in (21) above rewrites the author coordinate of the context parameter with that of the index parameter. This captures the Slave facts, where shifting is only possible with 1st person indexicals. The operator in (22) captures the *shift-together* facts observed in Zazaki. *Shift-together* refers to the requirement that indexicals in a single domain must all shift. The difference then between the operator in (21) and (22) is that while (21) rewrites the author coordinate of the context parameter with that of the index parameter, (22) overwrites all of the coordinates of the context parameter with those of the index parameter by erasing any information of the actual speech act. Schlenker's (2003) and von Stechow's (2003) analyses can capture the *shift-together* facts only when combined with the clause-mate binding condition. In this respect, Anand and Nevins's (2004) operator theoretic analysis may be simpler.

Before introducing the specifics of our analysis of Turkish and Uyghur indexicals, we would like to clarify one issue: It is in principle possible to classify null 1st person pronominal subjects of FCCs with a shifted reading in Turkish as PRO subjects of infinitivals in English (putting aside for the moment the fact that FCCs in Turkish are finite domains while infinitivals in English are not). This is because PRO subjects of infinitivals in English are always understood to report a 1st person thought when they are immediately embedded under an attitude verb (cf. Morgan 1970, Chierchia 1989, Schlenker 2010, a.o.). Witness below the interpretive characteristics of *PRO* subjects in English (example from Schlenker 2010,13:30):

(23)

John is so drunk that he has forgotten that he is a candidate in the election. He watches someone on TV and finds that this person is a terrific candidate, and thinks: 'This guy should be elected'. Unbeknownst to John, the candidate he is watching on TV is John himself.

a. True: John hopes that he will be elected
b. False: John hopes PRO to be elected
(by contrast, b. is OK in a scenario in which the thought was: 'I should be elected')

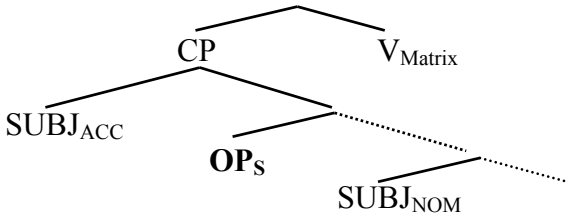
The sentence in (23b) above is a *De Se* report since it is true only in case the agent has a 1st person thought. The null 1st person pronominal subject of our Turkish example in (11) also represents the agent's 1st person thought. Thus, the null 1st person pronominal subjects of FCCs in Turkish and the PRO subjects of infinitivals show a similar character in that they both represent a *De Se* thought, and they are unpronounced. This is however as far as the similarities between these two types of subjects in Turkish and English go. Even if we were to find ways to account for this observation, there is nevertheless a major syntactic difference between the two types of subjects in Turkish and English; PRO subjects in English appear in infinitival clauses, which lack agreement properties in English, while null subjects of FCCs in Turkish are always licensed in clauses that exhibit agreement morphology on the predicate. In light of these observations, we conclude that null 1st person pronominal subjects in Turkish cannot be the same abstract grammatical entity as (English) PRO. However, we believe that the above-mentioned interpretational resemblance between PRO subjects in English and null 1st person

pronominal subjects of FCCs in Turkish is significant. We will capitalize on this in our proposal in Section 4.[5]

Finally in this section we present a brief evaluation of the analysis proposed in Shklovsky and Sudo (2009)/Sudo (2010) for Uyghur indexical shift (from this point forward we will refer to Shklovsky and Sudo (2009)/Sudo (2010) as ShS).

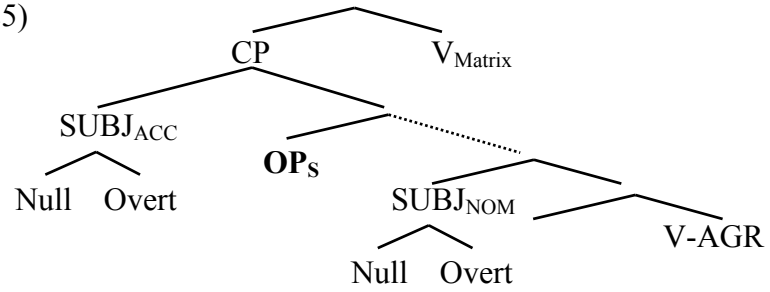
The analysis ShS propose is formed of two independent claims, one of which concerns the character of *Monsters* as defended in Anand and Nevins (2004), while the other concerns the syntactic behavior of subjects of FCCs in Uyghur. To begin with the latter, ShS claim that Accusative subjects of FCCs in Uyghur hold a hierarchically higher position in the syntactic structure than Nominative subjects. Regarding *Monsters*, ShS claim in line with Anand and Nevins (2004) that *Monsters* are not attitude verbs, rather they are separate operators. Specifically, a *Monster* (i.e. the context shifting operator) structurally partitions FCCs in Uyghur, which ShS call a *Shifting Operator* (OP_S). When combined, these two independent claims provide an analysis of the case dependency of shifting in Uyghur. Overt pronominal subjects that are marked Nominative case shift in Uyghur as they are located below OP_S, hence they are within the scope of OP_S. Overt pronominal subjects that are marked Accusative case cannot shift because they are placed in a position higher than OP_S, hence they are outside the scope of OP_S. A structural depiction of ShS's analysis is given in (21) below:

(24)



According to ShS's analysis, *null* pronominal subjects of FCCs in Uyghur may be analyzed in a fashion similar to the overt subjects of FCCs since they also allow an optionality in shifting. An (implicit) assumption that ShS make is that null subjects are case marked just like overt subjects, which allows them to extend the analysis in (24) above to null pronominal subjects as well. Null pronominal subjects that are marked Accusative in Uyghur occupy the same position as their overt counterparts, and by virtue of this they are outside the scope of OP_S, whereas null pronominal subjects that are marked Nominative case are low in the structure as their overt counterparts, and thus they are within the scope domain of OP_S:

(25)

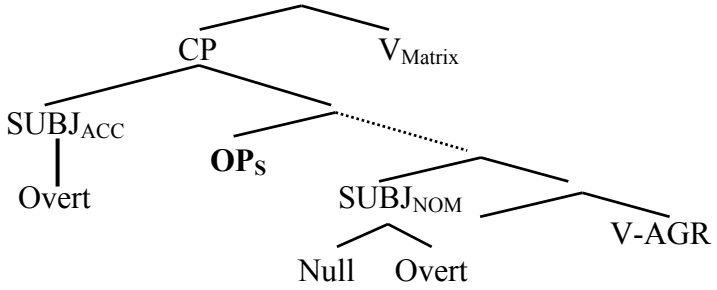


[5] Anand & Nevins (2004) proposes that the modal accessibility relation picks out indices where AUTH coordinate is the individual that the speaker identifies as his counterpart. Thus, AUTH(i) is a *de se* referent, and they propose that subject controlled PRO actually denotes this coordinate.

Having briefly outlined ShS's analysis of Uyghur, we turn to the question of how their analysis fares with respect to the Turkish facts presented in Section 2. We begin by noting that Turkish and Uyghur exhibit important similarities in terms of the structural positioning of Accusative and Nominative subjects in FCCs. As discussed in detail in Şener (2008, 2010), Accusative subjects of FCCs in Turkish hold a higher position in the structure than Nominative subjects of FCCs.[6] A question arises then why overt subjects of FCCs in Turkish do not show the same shifting pattern as Uyghur, especially in light of ShS's proposal outlined above. This expectation is quite natural once we acknowledge that Nominative and Accusative subjects of FCCs in Turkish and Uyghur exhibit clear distributional similarities. Recall that overt pronominal subjects of FCCs in Turkish do not shift no matter what case they bear. This uniform behavior of overt pronominal subjects of FCCs in Turkish is all the more surprising given that null subjects of FCCs may undergo shifting but not necessarily so. Although ShS's analysis in (25) provides a simple account for the shiftability of null subjects of FCCs in Turkish as in Uyghur, it is obvious that this analysis fails to provide an account for overt pronominal subjects of FCCs in Turkish.

One might suggest that perhaps case specification of null subjects is different from overt pronominal subjects in that in Turkish they cannot be specified as Accusative although they can be specified as Nominative, contra what ShS assumes for Uyghur. Suppose for the sake of argument that null subjects cannot leave their base position, and when movement is not an option, Nominative is the most local case provided by embedded T°, yet Accusative case is not accessible to them since it is non-locally checked/valued by the matrix *v*°. Under ShS's analysis, then, this would place null subjects in Turkish within the scope of OP_S whereas overt subjects, which may get Accusative, will be out of the scope of OP_S. This is depicted in the following tree diagram:

(26)



The structure in (26) still makes wrong predictions about the pronominal subjects of FCCs in Turkish; it predicts that null subjects always shift, and overt subjects may optionally shift, neither of which is the case in actuality.

In the following section, we sketch a proposal to mainly deal with the data from Turkish. We will also speculate on the question of how our proposal may be extended to account for the facts from Uyghur.

[6] Şener (2008, 2010) argues against a prolepsis and an *obligatory* subject-to-object raising analyses of Accusative subjects in Turkish FCCs (see also Kornfilt 1977, 1984, Moore 1997, Zidani-Eroğlu 1997, among others, for alternative analyses), while pointing out to the fact that Accusative subjects of FCCs undergo topicalization in Turkish to occupy the highest position in their clause (i.e., the edge of CP). We refer interested reader to Şener (2008, 2010) for arguments against prolepsis/subject-to-object raising analyses.

4. Proposal

The set of facts from Turkish introduced in Section 2 has shown that shifted reading is possible only when 1st person pronominal subjects of FCCs are null, yet a non-shifted reading is also available with null 1st person subjects. When 1st person subjects of FCCs are overt, however, only a non-shifted reading is allowed.

A possible analysis of these data can be formulated along the lines of Schlenker (2003) under the assumption overt 1st person pronouns in Turkish, which do not allow non-shifted readings, and thereby get their semantic value always from the actual context of speech, are like English *I*, whereas null 1st person pronouns in Turkish, which may get their interpretation from the context of a reported speech act or from the actual context of speech, are like Amharic *I*. The implication then is that Turkish has two different types of *I*s whose values are specified differently. As noted earlier, Schlenker (2003) argues that cross-linguistic variation in the shifting possibilities of indexicals is dependent on whether the denotations of particular indexicals have free context variables or not, as illustrated once again in (27):

(27) English *I*: [[I]] = agent (c*) – context of utterance
Amharic *I*: [[I]] = agent (c) – c a context variable

Given (27), Turkish 1st person subjects may be classified as the following:

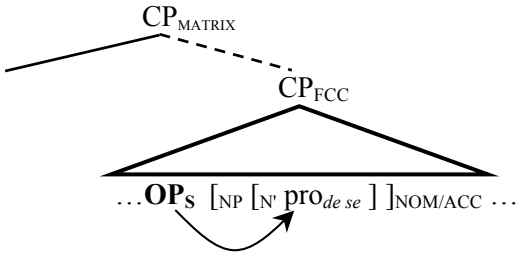
(28) Turkish *overt* 1st person subject [=English *I*]
[[I]] = agent (c*) – context of utterance
Turkish *null* 1st person subject [=Amharic *I*]
[[I]] = agent (c) – c a context variable

Although not implausible, the approach in (27/28) is not the one we take here essentially because it is not clear to us how this approach would deal with the case-related character of indexical shifting in Uyghur as reported in Sudo and Schlovsky (2009)/Sudo (2010). Rather, we build our analysis on an observation we have noted earlier that null 1st person pronominal subjects of FCCs in Turkish may represent the agent's 1st person thought. We specifically suggest that Turkish has a *de se* pronoun, which is always phonologically null; in other words, there is no overt *de se* pronoun in Turkish. We refer to this null pronoun as $pro_{de\ se}$.[7] $Pro_{de\ se}$ is associated with the context-shifting operator, OP_S, which essentially restricts the interpretation of $pro_{de\ se}$ to the reported speech act.[8] For explicitness sake, we assume that OP_S is adjoined in syntax to the NP that contains $pro_{de\ se}$, as depicted in (29) below:

[7] We do not use *pro* here to refer to null pronouns only. *Pro* is used here simply to refer to pronouns, and a *pro* element may in principle be null or overt.

[8] Recall that Anand and Nevins (2004), Shklovsky and Sudo (2009)/Sudo (2010) claim, contra Schlenker (2003), that monsters/context-shifting operators are independent of attitude verbs, and they are separate operators (here, OP_S).

(29)



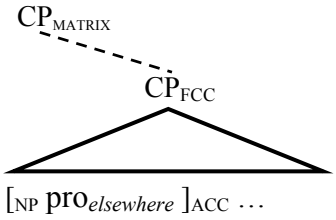
Importantly, however, not all null (1st person) subject pronouns in Turkish receive a *de se* interpretation. Recall from Table 1 in (17) that null subjects in Turkish may have a non-shifted reading just like *overt* 1st person pronominal subjects. We maintain that subject pronouns in Turkish that are not pro*de se* represent the *elsewhere* case (henceforth, pro*elsewhere*), which, unlike pro*de se*, can be either overt or null. Pro*elsewhere* cannot be manipulated by a shifting operator, which implies that it always receives its semantic value from the actual context of speech, in contrast to pro*de se*. Recall also that pronominal subjects of FCCs in Turkish do not show an interpretational variation in terms of the case they bear. In other words, the case a pronominal subject bears is irrelevant to whether it receives a shifted reading or not (unlike what is attested in Uyghur). We contend that pronominal subjects of FCCs in Turkish (i.e., pro*de se* or pro*elsewhere*) can in principle get their case features valued/checked/assigned under the mechanisms suggested in Şener (2008, 2010). Under the present proposal, then, case is irrelevant for the shiftability of pronominal subjects in Turkish since mechanisms for shifting and mechanisms for case checking do not interact with each other; they are dissociated.

It is obvious that this claim we are making here cannot readily extend to capture the facts attested in Uyghur, simply because there seems to be a correlation between interpretational properties of the 1st person pronominal subjects of FCCs and the case those subjects bear. One obvious way to deal with this issue is to assume that Turkish and Uyghur differ from each other in this particular respect, which is in effect to say that Sudo and Schlovsky's (2009)/Sudo's (2010) analysis explains Uyghur and the present one explains Turkish. However, Turkish and Uyghur are typologically related languages, and they exhibit more similarities than divergences in their syntax and in the other domains of their grammar. Taking this into consideration, we suggest very tentatively that there may be a way to reconcile the present analysis with Uyghur facts.

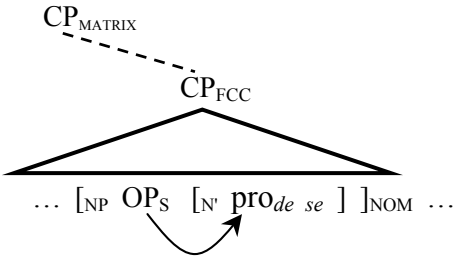
As stated earlier, pronominal subjects of FCCs in Uyghur allow shifting only when they bear Accusative case, and *shifting* is not possible if the pronominal subjects bear Nominative case. We tentatively suggest that Uyghur is like Turkish in that it also has pro*de se* and pro*elsewhere*, but pro*de se* and pro*elsewhere* in Uyghur are more specified than their Turkish counterparts. To be more precise, we assume that both pro*de se* and pro*elsewhere* in Uyghur can be either null or overt, and while the former always bear Nominative case, the latter must bear Accusative. This effectively means that pro*de se* remains in-situ in Uyghur, hence can only get Nominative while pro*elsewhere* must always move to the edge of CP to get Accusative from the matrix *v*°.

Despite those differences, pro*de se* in Uyghur is associated with the context-shifting operator, OP_S, just like in Turkish, and thus its interpretation is restricted to the reported speech act. Pro*elsewhere* in Uyghur always receives its semantic value from the actual context of speech, again in a fashion similar to its Turkish counterpart. The present proposal for Uyghur is depicted below:

(30) a.



b.



A summary of our proposal for Turkish and Uyghur is given below:

(31)

	TURKISH		**UYGHUR**	
	OVERT	NULL	OVERT	NULL
pro*de se*	*	√(NOM/ACC)	√NOM	√(NOM)
pro*elsewhere*	√NOM/ACC	√(NOM/ACC)	√ACC	√(ACC)

Table 2

5. Summary

In this paper, we have noted from Turkish a previously unnoted fact concerning the interpretation of (null) pronominal subjects of Finite Complement Clauses/FCCs that are selected by a certain class of Vs. The original observation is that null 1st person subjects of FCCs in Turkish may optionally receive their semantic from the context of a reported speech act, while overt 1st person pronoun ben/I in Turkish receives its semantic value always from the context of the utterance. Observations that provide counter-arguments to Kaplan's conjecture have been noted in the previous literature from a number of languages, such as Amharic, Slave, and Zazaki. The significance of the observation we have reported in the present paper is that null subjects can receive shifted readings. We proposed that null pronominal subjects that shift form a distinct class of pronouns in Turkish, which we called pro$_{de\ se}$ for they represent a *De Se* thought. The shiftability of pro$_{de\ se}$ is tied to a shifting operator that it is associated with. Furthermore, we proposed that the non-shifted reading attested in Turkish is a function of more common pronominals in the language, which we called pro$_{elsewhere}$. It is crucial to stress it here once again that pro$_{elsewhere}$ is nothing but a name we provided for the traditional pronouns of Turkish, and because of that they can be realized as either overt or null, Turkish being a null subject language. We have extended our analysis to a set of similar phenomena in Uyghur, a language that is typologically related to Turkish. Unlike Turkish, shifting in Uyghur correlates with the subjects of FCCs in that Accusative marked subjects do not shift while Nominative subjects do shift. We have tentatively suggested that pro$_{de\ se}$ in Uyghur differs from Turkish in

two non-crucial respects; it can be overt and it must be marked Nominative, but otherwise it is identical to the Turkish one. Similarly $pro_{elsewhere}$ must be specified as Accusative, but otherwise it is identical to Turkish pronouns, i.e., it can be realized as overt or null. Certain questions remain unanswered at this point. To name just one, it is not immediately clear why such specificational differences arise between Turkish and Uyghur $pro_{de\ se}$. We hope to able to address such questions in further research.

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