Leiden/Bielefeld Workshop on Comparative Syntax



An in-situ analysis of reduced embedded questions with multiple *wh*-phrases in Uyghur

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An outline

- 1. Introduction
- 2. Properties of RQMW in Uyghur
- 3. Analysis
- 4. Implications

1. Reduced embedded questions with multiple wh-phrases (RQMW)

Sluicing (Ross 1969)

- (1) a. He is writing something, but you can't imagine [what he is writing].
 - b. He is writing something, but you can't imagine [what].
 - c. but you can't imagine [$_{CP}$ what $_{i}$ [$_{IP}$ he is writing $_{i}$]]. (cited from Ross 1969: 252)
 - d. but you can't imagine [CP] what [CP] wher [CP

Multiple sluicing (Takahashi 1994)

? Someone talked about something, but I can't remember [who about what]. (Lasnik 2014: 8; see also Takahashi and Lin 2012, a.o.)

2. RQ with one wh-phrase in Uyghur

Bai 2023a; 2023b

- (3) a. Matematika oqutquči-si-Ø bir adäm-ni tänqid qil-di-Ø, math teacher-3SG.POSS-NOM one person-ACC reprimand AUX-PST-3SG 'The math teacher reprimanded a person,'
 - b. menin [u-nin kim-ni tänqid qil-ğan-liq]-i-ni
 1SG.GEN 3SG-GEN who-ACC reprimand AUX-PERF.NOML-COMP-3SG.POSS-ACC
 bil-gü-m bar.
 know-DES.NOML-1SG have

'I want to know who he reprimanded.'

c. menin [kim(-*ni) lik]-i-ni bil-gü-m bar. 1SG.GEN who-ACC COMP-3SG.POSS-ACC know-DES.NOML-1SG have 'I want to know who.'

Property: Remants in RQ with one wh-phrase in Uyghur cannot be case-marked.

2. RQ with one wh-phrase in Uyghur

Introduction

Bai 2023a; 2023b

- (3) a. Matematika oqutquči-si-Ø bir adäm-ni tänqid qil-di-Ø, math teacher-3SG.POSS-NOM one person-ACC reprimand AUX-PST-3SG 'The math teacher reprimanded a person,'
 - c. menin [kim(-*ni) lik]-i-ni bil-gü-m bar. 1SG.GEN who-ACC COMP-3SG.POSS-ACC know-DES.NOML-1SG have 'I want to know who.'
 - d. menin [kim(-*ni) ikän lik]-i-ni bil-gü-m bar. 1SG.GEN who-ACC COP COMP-3SG.POSS-ACC know-DES.NOML-1SG have 'I want to know who.'

Property: In RQ with one wh-remnant, the copula ikän can optionally appear.

2. RQ with one wh-phrase in Uyghur

Bai 2023a; 2023b

Analyses: A pseudo-sluicing analysis

- (3) a. Matematika oqutquči-si-Ø bir adäm-ni tänqid qil-di-Ø, math teacher-3SG.POSS-NOM one person-ACC reprimand AUX-PST-3SG 'The math teacher reprimanded a person,'
 - e. menin [pro kim (ikän) lik]-i-ni bil-gü-m bar 1SG.GEN he who COP COMP-3SG.POSS-ACC know-DES.NOML-1SG have 'I want to know who (he) was'
 - f. menin [u-nin kim (ikän) lik]-i-ni bil-gü-m
 1SG.GEN 3SG-GEN who COP COMP-3SG.POSS-ACC know-DES.NOML-1SG
 bar.
 have
 - 'I want to know who he was.'

Properties of RQMW in Uyghur

Analysis

Implications

Selected references

Analyses: A reduced cleft analysis (Bai 2023a; 2023b)

- (4) a. Murat-Ø biraw-ğa nurğun pul bär-di-Ø,
 Murat-NOM someone-DAT a.lot money give-PST-3SG
 'Murat gave someone a lot of money,'
 - b. menin [kim(-*gä) (ikän) lik]-i-ni bil-gü-m bar. 1SG.GEN who-DAT COP COMP-3SG.POSS-ACC know-DES.NOML-1SG have 'I want to know who.'
 - kim(-*gä) bär-gän-i]-nin [[u-nin nurğun pul menin C. give-PERF.ADN-3SG.POSS-GEN 3SG-GEN a.lot who-DAT 1SG.GEN money (ikän) lik]-i-ni bil-gu-m bar. COMP-3SG.POSS-ACC know-DES.NOML-1SG have COP

'I want to know to whom it was that he gave a lot of money.'

bär-gän-i]-nin d. kim(-*gä) [[u-nin pul menin nurğun 1SG.GEN give-PERF.ADN-3SG.POSS-GEN who-DAT 3SG-GEN a.lot (ikän) lik]-i-ni bil-gu-m bar COMP-3SG.POSS-ACC know-DES.NOML-1SG have COP

3. RQMW in Uyghur

Introduction

Biz-nin matematika muällim-imiz bir oquğuci-ni (5) bir a. teacher-1PL.POSS student-ACC 1PL-GEN math one one kir-guz-di-Ø, sinip-qa classroom-DAT enter-CAUS-PST-3SG 'The math teacher of our class let a student enter a classroom,' **b**. [u-nin kim-ni kirlekin män-Ø qaysi sinip-qa 3SG-GEN who-ACC which classroom-DAT but 1SG-NOM entergüz-gän-lik]-i-ni bil-mä-y-män. CAUS-PERF.NOML-COMP-3SG.POSS-ACC know-NEG-NPST-1SG 'but I don't know whom he let enter which classroom.'

c.?? lekin män-Ø [kim-ni qaysi sinip-qa lik]-i-ni

but 1sg-nom who-acc which classroom-dat comp-3sg.poss-acc

bil-mä-y-män.

know-NEG-NPST-1SG

'lit. but I don't know whom which classroom.'

3. RQMW in Uyghur

```
oquğucı-ni
(5)
           Biz-nin
                       matematika muällim-imiz
                                                     bir
                                                                              bir
     a.
                                                            student-ACC
           1PL-GEN
                       math
                                   teacher-1PL.POSS
                                                     one
                                                                              one
          sinip-qa
                            kir-guz-di-Ø,
                          enter-CAUS-PST-3SG
          classroom-DAT
           'The math teacher of our class let a student enter a classroom,'
```

c.?? lekin män-Ø [kim-ni qaysi sinip-qa lik]-i-ni but 1sg-nom who-ACC which classroom-DAT COMP-3sg.Poss-ACC bil-mä-y-män.

know-NEG-NPST-1SG

'lit. but I don't know whom which classroom.'

d.? lekin män-Ø [kim-ni qaysi sinip-qa ikän lik]-i-ni but 1SG-NOM who-ACC which classroom-DAT COP COMP-3SG.POSS-ACC bil-mä-y-män.

know-NEG-NPST-1SG

'lit. but I don't know whom which classroom.'

Properties of RQMW in Uyghur

- 1. The case-matching effect is observed.
- 2. The presence of the copula ikän is needed.
- 3. RQMW in Uyghur are a marked construction.

 Multiple sluicing is considered a marked construction cross-linguistically.

 (Cortes Rodriguez 2023, a.o.)

Properties of RQMW in Uyghur

4. The clause-mate effect is not observed.

```
bir
(6)
        Güli-Ø
                 Ayxan-ğa
                                [Murat-nin
                                                      sinip-ta
                                                                          bir
                                                                                 q1Z
        Güli-NOM Ayxan-DAT
                             Murat-GEN
                                                      classroom-LOC.POSTP one
                                                                                 girl
                                               one
        bilän paranglaš-qan-liq]-i-ni
                                                                   bär-di-Ø,
                                                      eyt-ip
                                                     say-ADVL AUX-PST-3SG
        POSTP chat-PERF.NOML-COMP-3SG.POSS-ACC
        'Güli told Ayxan that Murat chatted with a girl in a classroom,'
     b.? män-Ø [qaysi
                         sinip-ta
                                                            bilän
                                               qaysi qiz
                                                                   ikän
                                              which girl POSTP COP
        1SG-NOM which classroom-LOC.POSTP
                                               qal-di-m.
        lik]-i-gä
                                qiziq-ip
        COMP-3SG.POSS-DAT
                                excite-ADVL AUX-PST-1SG
        'I wonder with which girl in which classroom.'
```

Properties of RQMW in Uyghur

4. The clause-mate effect is not observed.

```
biraw-ğa
                        [Murat-nin bir sinip-ta
                                                                      bilän
Güli-Ø
                                                           Aygül
Güli-NOM
           someone-DAT Murat-GEN one classroom-LOC.POSTP
                                                           Aygül
                                                                      POSTP
paranglaš-qan-liq]-i-ni
                                     eyt-ip
                                                  bär-di-Ø,
chat-PERF.NOML-COMP-3SG.POSS-ACC
                                                  AUX-PST-3SG
                                     say-ADVL
'Güli told someone that Murat chatted with Aygül in a classroom,'
                               [Murat-nin qaysi
män-Ø [Güli-nin kim-gä
                                                  sinip-ta
                          Murat-GEN which classroom-loc.postp
1SG-NOM Güli-GEN who-DAT
Aygül bilän paranglaš-qan-liq]-i-ni
                                                  eyt-ip
Aygül POSTP chat-PERF.NOML-COMP-3SG.POSS-ACC
                                                  say-ADVL
bär-gän-lik]-i-gä
                                             qal-di-m.
                                     qiziq-ip
AUX-PERF.NOML-COMP-3SG.POSS-DAT
                                     excite-ADVL AUX-PST-1SG
'I wonder whom Güli told that Murat chatted with Aygül in which classroom.'
```

Properties of RQMW in Uyghur

4. The clause-mate effect is not observed.

```
biraw-ğa [Murat-nin bir sinip-ta
                                                                            bilän
   Güli-Ø
                                                                Aygül
               someone-DAT Murat-GEN one classroom-LOC.POSTP
   Güli-NOM
                                                                Aygül
                                                                            POSTP
   paranglaš-qan-liq]-i-ni
                                                       bär-di-Ø,
                                          eyt-ip
   chat-PERF.NOML-COMP-3SG.POSS-ACC
                                         say-ADVL AUX-PST-3SG
   'Güli told someone that Murat chatted with Aygül in a classroom,'
c.? män-Ø [kim-gä qaysi sinip-ta
                                                ikän
                                                       lik]-i-gä
   1SG-NOM who-DAT which classroom-LOC.POSTP COP
                                                       COMP-3SG.POSS-DAT
               qal-di-m.
   qiziq-ip
   excite-ADVL AUX-PST-1SG
   'lit. I wonder whom in which classroom.'
```

5. Island-insensitivity

Introduction

Relative clauses and adjunct clauses constitute islands for movement in Uyghur (Oztürk 2013; Major 2014, a.o.)

(8) täklip Tursun-Ø [Murat-Ø qaysi qiz-ni tamaq-qa invitation Tursun-NOM Murat-NOM which girl-ACC meal-DAT qil-ğačqa] bol-di-Ø? xapa COP-PST-3SG angry AUX-reason.AUX 'lit. Which girl was Tursun angry because Murat invited to have a meal?' b.* Qaysi qiz-ni Tursun-Ø [Murat-Ø täklip tamaq-qa which girl-ACC meal-DAT invitation Tursun-NOM Murat-NOM qil-ğačqa] bol-di-Ø? xapa angry COP-PST-3SG AUX-reason.AUX 'lit. Which girl was Tursun angry because Murat invited to have a meal?'

5. Island-insensitivity

- bir (9) Tursun-Ø bir oğul bala-Ø qiz-ğa bir närsä sowğa a. thing male child-NOM one girl-DAT one Tursun-NOM present one qil-ğačqa] intayin bol-di-Ø, xapa COP-PST-3SG AUX-reason.AUX angry very 'Tursun was very angry because some boy gave a thing to some girl,'
 - bala-Ø qaysi lik]b.? män-Ø qaysi oğul qiz-ğa ikän male child-NOM girl-DAT which which COP 1SG-NOM COMPqal-di-m. i-gä qiziq-ip 3SG.POSS-DAT excite-ADVL AUX-PST-1SG

Introduction

Properties of RQMW in Uyghur

- 1. The case-matching effect is observed.
- 2. The presence of the copula ikän is needed.
- 3. RQMW in Uyghur are a marked construction.

 Multiple sluicing is considered a marked construction cross-linguistically.

 (Cortes Rodriguez 2023, a.o.)
- 4. The clause-mate effect is not observed.
- 5. RQMW in Uyghur are insensitivity to island effects.

3 Analysis

Sluicing-like constructions

A pseudo-sluicing analysis

A reduced cleft analysis

An in-situ analysis

Sluicing constructions

A movement-and-deletion analysis

1. Arguments against a pseudo-sluicing analysis

Wh-phrases in pseudo-sluiced clauses cannot be case-marked.

Bir qiz-Ø bir muällim-din birqančä soal-lar-ni sora-di-Ø, (10) a. question-PL-ACC ask-PST-3SG girl-NOM one teacher-ABL some 'A girl asked a teacher some questions,'

Analysis

b.? menin [qaysi qiz-nin qaysi muällim-din lik]-i-ni ikän 1SG.GEN which girl-GEN which teacher-ABL COP COMP-3SG.POSS-ACC bil-gü-m bar. know-DES.NOML-1SG have

'lit. I want to know which girl which teacher.'

lik]-i-ni menin [pro qaysi qiz-nin qaysi muällim-din ikän C. which girl-GEN which teacher-ABL COMP-3SG.POSS-ACC 1SG.GEN COP bil-gü-m bar know-DES.NOML-1SG have

'I want to know (it) was which girl which teacher'

1. Arguments against a pseudo-sluicing analysis

Wh-phrases in pseudo-sluiced clauses cannot be case-marked.

Properties of RQMW

in Uyghur

- Bir qiz-Ø bir muällim-din birqančä soal-lar-ni sora-di-Ø, (10) a. question-PL-ACC ask-PST-3SG girl-NOM one teacher-ABL some one 'A girl asked a teacher some questions,'
 - menin [pro qaysi qiz-nin qaysi muällim-din lik]-i-ni ikän c. which girl-GEN which teacher-ABL COMP-3SG.POSS-ACC 1SG.GEN COP bil-gü-m bar

know-DES.NOML-1SG have

'I want to know (it) was which girl which teacher'

menin [u-nin qaysi qiz-nin qaysi muällim-din girl-GEN which teacher-ABL 1SG.GEN 3SG-GEN which bil-gü-m ikän lik]-i-ni bar. COMP-3SG.POSS-ACC know-des.noml-1sg have COP 'lit. I want to know it was which girl which teacher.'

2. Arguments against a reduced cleft analysis

Properties of the cleft construction in Uyghur

- 1. The cleft construction in Uyghur does not allow case-marked pivots.
- 2. The cleft construction in Uyghur does not allow adverbial pivots.
- 3. The cleft construction in Uyghur does not allow multiple pivots.

```
[U-nin bu sowğat-ni bär-gän-i] sän(-*gä).

3SG-GEN this gift-ACC give-PERF.ADN-3SG.POSS 2SG-DAT

'It was to you that he gave this gift.'
```

2. Arguments against a reduced cleft analysis

Properties of the cleft construction in Uyghur

Introduction

- 1. The cleft construction in Uyghur does not allow case-marked pivots.
- 2. The cleft construction in Uyghur does not allow adverbial pivots.

in Uyghur

3. The cleft construction in Uyghur does not allow multiple pivots.

```
[Murat-nin
                                               sat-iwal-ğan-i]
(12) a.*
                         bu
                               luğät-ni
                         this dictionary-ACC lend-SELF.AUX-PERF.ADN-3SG.POSS
          Murat-GEN
          kitabxana-din.
          library-ABL
           'It was from a library that Murat borrowed this dictionary.'
```

b.* [Murat-nin bu

luğät-ni

sat-iwal-ğan-i]

dictionary-ACC Murat-GEN this

lend-SELF.AUX-PERF.ADN-3SG.POSS

kitabxana.

library

'It was from a library that Murat borrowed this dictionary.'

Properties of the cleft construction in Uyghur

3. The cleft construction in Uyghur does not allow multiple pivots.

(13)	a.	U-Ø	saŋa	bu	sowğat-ni	bär-di-Ø.		
		3sg-nom	2sg.dat	this	gift-ACC	give-PST-3SG		
		'He gave	this gift to y	you.'				
	b.*	[U-niŋ	bär-gän-i]			saŋa	bu	sowğat-ni.
		3sg-gen	give-PERF.	ADN-3S	G.POSS	2SG.DAT	this	gift-ACC
		'lit. It was	s this gift to	you tha	at he gave.'			
	c.*	[U-niŋ	bär-gän-i]			saŋa	bu	sowğat.
		3sg-gen	give-PERF.	ADN-3S	G.POSS	2SG.DAT	this	gift
	d.*	[U-niŋ	bär-gän-i]			sän	bu	sowğat-ni.
		3sg-gen	give-PERF.	ADN-3S	G.POSS	2sg	this	gift-ACC
	e.*	[U-niŋ	bär-gän-i]			sän	bu	sowğat.
		3sg-gen	give-PERF.	ADN-3s	G.POSS	2sg	this	gift

3. Arguments against a movement-and-deletion analysis

Multiple wh-questions in Uyghur do not contain the copula that is obligatory in RQMW.

(14) Siz-Ø tünügün kim-gä nemä sowğat-ni bär-di-ŋiz? 2SG.HON-NOM yesterday who-DAT what present-ACC give-PST-2SG.HON 'What present did you give to whom yesterday?'

Previous lterature:

In-situ analysis has been employed to explain reduced questions in Japanese, Indonesian, and Turkish (Kimura 2010; Kimura and Takahashi 2011; Abe 2015; Sato 2016; Palaz 2018)

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An in-situ focus construction in Uyghur
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Ayxan-Ø bügün qäyär-dä kim-ni kör-gän ikän-Ø?
Ayxan-NOM today where-LOC.POSTP who-ACC see-PERF.NOML COP-3SG 'lit. Whom at where was it that Ayxan saw today?'
```

- The in-situ focus sentence is headed by the copula *ikän*. I assume that *ikän* functions as the Fochead, just as the copula *da* functions as the Fochead in the in-situ focus construction in Japanese (e.g., Hiraiwa and Ishihara 2012).
- In an in-situ focus sentence, any element can receive focus interpretation.
- An in-situ focus sentence allows multiple focused elements.

matematika muällim-imiz oquğucı-ni (16) a. bir bir Biz-nin teacher-1PL.POSS student-ACC 1PL-GEN math one one

> kir-guz-di-Ø, sinip-qa

enter-CAUS-PST-3SG classroom-DAT

'The math teacher of our class let a student enter a classroom,'

[kim-ni qaysi sinip-qa ikän lik]-i-ni b.? lekin män-Ø

COMP-3SG.POSS-ACC 1SG-NOM who-ACC which classroom-DAT but COP

Analysis

bil-mä-y-män.

know-NEG-NPST-1SG

'lit. but I don't know whom which classroom.'

kim-ni lekin män-Ø ForceP FocP FinP u-nin qaysi sinip-qa C. which classroom-DAT but 3SG-GEN who-ACC 1SG-NOM ikän_{Foc} lik_{Force}-i-ni kir-güz-gän] bil-mä-y-män.

COMP-3SG.POSS-ACC know-NEG-NPST-1SG enter-CAUS-PERF.NOML COP

'lit. but I don't know it was that he let whom enter which classroom.'

- 4. An in-situ analysis
- (16) b.? lekin män-Ø [kim-ni qaysi sinip-qa ikän lik]-i-ni but 1SG-NOM who-ACC which classroom-DAT COP COMP-3SG.POSS-ACC bil-mä-y-män.

know-NEG-NPST-1SG

'lit. but I don't know whom which classroom.'

- kim-ni lekin män-Ø FocP FinP u-nin C. ForceP qaysı sınıp-qa which classroom-DAT who-ACC but 1SG-NOM 3SG-GEN kir-güz-gän] ikänFoc likForce -i-ni bil-mä-y-män. COMP-3 SG POSS-ACC know-NEG-NPST-1SG enter-CAUS-PERF.NOML COP 'lit. but I don't know it was that he let whom enter which classroom.'
- d. FocP FinP kim-ni lekin män-Ø ForceP sınıp-qa u-nin qaysı who-ACC which classroom-DAT but 3SG-GEN 1SG-NOM kir-güz-gän] ikän_{Foc}] likForce]-i-ni bil-mä-y-män COMP-3 SG. POSS-ACC know-NEG-NPST-1SG enter-CAUS-PERF.NOML COP

Introduction

d. lekin män-Ø kim-ni FocP FinP u-nin qaysı sınıp-qa ForceP who-ACC which 1sg-nom 3SG-GEN classroom-DAT but kir-güz-gän] bil-mä-y-män ikän_{Foc}] likForce]-i-ni enter-CAUS-PERF.NOML COMP-3 SG. POSS-ACC know-NEG-NPST-1SG COP

Nonconstituent deletion (van Craenenbroeck and den Dikken 2006) Nonconstituent deletion is applied to all the elements in the FinP except the *wh*-remnants. That is, this operation deletes all presupposed information, based on the antecedent clause, leaving behind the focused information, i.e., the *wh*-phrases.

The clause-mate effect is not observed.

Introduction

- biraw-ğa [Murat-nin bir sinip-ta (17) a. Güli-Ø bilän Aygül Güli-NOM someone-DAT Murat-GEN one classroom-LOC.POSTP Aygül **POSTP** paranglaš-qan-liq]-i-ni eyt-ip bär-di-Ø, chat-PERF.NOML-COMP-3SG.POSS-ACC AUX-PST-3SG say-ADVL 'Güli told someone that Murat chatted with Aygül in a classroom,'
 - c.? män-Ø [kim-gä qaysi sinip-ta ikän lik]-i-gä
 1SG-NOM who-DAT which classroom-LOC.POSTP COP COMP-3SG.POSS-DAT qiziq-ip qal-di-m.
 excite-ADVL AUX-PST-1SG
 - 'lit. I wonder whom in which classroom.'

4. An in-situ analysis

- [Murat-nin bir sinip-ta (17) a. Güli-Ø biraw-ğa Aygül bilän someone-DAT Murat-GEN one classroom-LOC.POSTP Güli-NOM Aygül **POSTP** paranglaš-qan-liq]-i-ni bär-di-Ø, eyt-ip chat-PERF.NOML-COMP-3SG.POSS-ACC AUX-PST-3SG say-ADVL 'Güli told someone that Murat chatted with Aygül in a classroom,'
 - [ForceP [FocP [FinP Güli-nin kim-gä [ForceP Murat-nin] d. män-Ø Güli-GEN who-DAT Murat-GEN which 1SG-NOM Aygül bilän sinip-ta paranglaš-qan-liq]-i-ni eyt-ip classroom-LOC Aygül POSTP chat-PERF.NOML-COMP-3SG.POSS-ACC say-ADVL bär-gän] ikän_{Foc}] lik_{Force}]-i-gä qal-di-m. qiziq-ip COMP-3SG.POSS-DAT excite-ADVL AUX-PST-1SG AUX-PERF.NOML COP 'lit. I wonder it was that Güli told whom that Murat chatted with Aygül in which classroom.'

4. An in-	Introdu -situ analysis	action P	roperties of RQM in Uyghur	IW Ana	alysis	Implicat	ions S	elected references	
(17) a.	Güli-Ø bira Güli-NOM som paranglaš-qan-lic	[]-i-ni	Г Murat-GE	N one clas eyt-ip	sroom-L	bär-di-Ø,	,	bilän POSTP	
c.?	_	ne that Maysi	Iurat chatted sinip-ta	with Aygü	il in a cla ikän	lik]-i-gä		ΟΑΤ	
	1SG-NOM who-DAT which classroom-LOC.POSTP COP COMP-3SG.POSS-DAT qiziq-ip qal-di-m. excite-ADVL AUX-PST-1SG 'lit. I wonder whom in which classroom.'								
e.	män-Ø [ForceP 1SG-NOM	[FocP [Fin]	Güli-nin Güli-GEN		ForceP M		qaysi which		
	sinip-ta classroom-LOC	Aygül Aygül	bilän para POSTP chat-	nglaš-qan- PERF.NOM			eyt-	1	
	bär-gän] AUX-PERF.NOML	_	lik _{Force}]-i-gä COMP-3SG.P		qiziq-ip excite-AI		qal-di-m AUX-PST		

Island-insensitivity

- (18) a. Tursun-Ø bir bir oğul bala-Ø bir qiz-ğa sowğa närsä thing male child-NOM one Tursun-NOM girl-DAT one one present qil-ğačqa] intayin bol-di-Ø, xapa COP-PST-3SG AUX-reason.AUX angry very 'Tursun was very angry because some boy gave a thing to some girl,'
 - b.? män-Ø bala-Ø qaysi oğul ikän lik]qaysi qiz-ğa which male child-NOM 1sg-nom which girl-DAT COP COMPqal-di-m. i-gä qiziq-ip 3SG.POSS-DAT excite-ADVL AUX-PST-1SG
 - 'I wonder which boy to which girl.'

(18) a. bir bir bir Tursun-Ø bala-Ø oğul qiz-ğa närsä sowğa child-NOM one thing Tursun-NOM male girl-DAT one present one bol-di-Ø, qil-ğačqa] intayin xapa

AUX-reason.AUX very angry COP-PST-3SG

Introduction

'Tursun was very angry because some boy gave a thing to some girl,'

[FinP Tursun-nin [ForceP qaysi oğul män-Ø ForceP FocP C. 1sg-nom which male Tursun-GEN bala-Ø bir qaysi qiz-ğa närsä sowğa girl-DAT one child-NOM which thing present qil-ğačqa] bol-ğan] intayin xapa ikän_{Foc}] AUX-reason.AUX very COP-PERF.NOML COP angry lik_{Force}]-i-gä qal-di-m. qiziq-ip excite-ADVL AUX-PST-1SG COMP-3SG.POSS-DAT 'lit. I wonder it was that Tursun was very angry because which boy gave a thing to which girl.'

Introduction

b.? män-Ø qaysi bala-Ø ikän lik]oğul qaysi qiz-ğa which male child-NOM girl-DAT which 1sg-nom COP COMPqiziq-ip qal-di-m. i-gä 3SG.POSS-DAT excite-ADVL AUX-PST-1SG 'I wonder which boy to which girl.'

FinP Tursun-nin d. qaysi oğul män-Ø ForceP FocP ForceP Tursun-GEN which male 1SG-NOM bir bala-Ø qiz-ğa sowğa qaysi närsä thing child-NOM which girl-DAT one present qil-ğačqa] intayin xapa bol-ğan] ikän_{Foc}] COP-PERF.NOML angry AUX-reason.AUX very lik_{Force}]-i-gä qal-di-m qiziq-ip COMP-3SG.POSS-DAT excite-ADVL AUX-PST-1SG

The presence of an agreement marker

Introduction

- (19) a. Män-Ø tunugun mälum sinip-ta bir qiz bilän paranlas-ti-m, 1SG-NOM yesterday some classroom-LOC one girl POSTP chat-PST-1SG 'I chatted with a girl in a classroom yesterday,'
 - b.? menin aka-lar-im-nin [qaysi sinip-ta kim bilän 1SG.GEN elder.brother-PL-1SG.POSS-GEN which classroom-LOC who POSTP ikän lik]-im-ni bil-gü-si bar.

 COP COMP-1SG.POSS-ACC know-DES.NOML-3PL have

'my elder brothers want to know with whom in which classroom.'

Introduction

- (19) a. Män-Ø tunugun mälum sinip-ta bir qiz bilän paranlas-ti-m, 1SG-NOM yesterday some classroom-LOC one girl POSTP chat-PST-1SG 'I chatted with a girl in a classroom yesterday,'
 - aka-lar-im-nin menin FocP FinP menin C. ForceP elder.brother-PL-1SG.POSS-GEN 1SG.GEN 1SG.GEN tünügün kim bilän paraŋlas-qan] qaysi sinip-ta ikän_{Foc}] yesterday which classroom-LOC who POSTP chat-PERF.NOML COP lik_{Force}]-im-ni bil-gü-si bar. COMP-1SG.POSS-ACC know-DES.NOML-3PL have 'lit. my elder brothers want to know it was that I chatted with whom in which classroom yesterday.'

4. An in-situ analysis

```
(19) b.?
                      aka-lar-im-nin
                                                             sinip-ta
                                                                                    bilän
          menin
                                                     [qaysi
                                                                             kim
                    elder.brother-PL-1SG.POSS-GEN
                                                    which classroom-LOC who
                                                                                   POSTP
               lik]-<mark>im</mark>-ni
        ikän
                                     bil-gü-si
                                                            bar.
               COMP-1SG.POSS-ACC know-des.noml-3pl
        COP
         'my elder brothers want to know with whom in which classroom.'
```

```
d.
                  aka-lar-im-nin
       menin
                                                   ForceP FocP
                                                                FinP
                                                                     menin
                  elder.brother-PL-1SG.POSS-GEN
                                                                      1SG.GEN
       1SG.GEN
                                                          paraŋlas-qan]
                                           kim bilän
       tünügün
                                                                           ikän<sub>Foc</sub>]
                  qaysi sinip-ta
       yesterday which classroom-LOC who POSTP
                                                          chat-PERF.NOML COP
                               bil-gü-si
       lik<sub>Force</sub>]-im-ni
                                                          bar
       COMP-1SG.POSS-ACC know-DES.NOML-3PL
                                                          have
```

What about a focus movement analysis?

- (20) a. Murat-Ø mälum jay-din mälum kiši-gä bir
 - Murat-NOM some place-ABL some person-DAT one
 - sowğat äwät-ti-Ø,
 - present send-PST-3SG
 - 'Murat sent a present to someone from some place,'
 - b.? män-Ø [qäyär-din kim-gä ikän lik]-i-gä
 - 1SG-NOM where-ABL who-DAT COP COMP-3SG.POSS-DAT
 - qiziq-ip qal-di-m.
 - excite-ADVL AUX-PST-1SG
 - 'lit. I wonder to whom from where.'
 - c. män-Ø [ForceP [FocP [FinP u-nin qäyär-din kim-gä
 - 1SG-NOM 3SG-GEN where-ABL who-DAT
 - sowğat äwät-kän] ikänFoc] likForce]-i-gä
 - present send-PERF.NOML COP COMP-3SG.POSS-DAT
 - qiziq-ip qal-di-m.
 - excite-ADVL AUX-PST-1SG
 - 'lit. I wonder it was that he sent a present to whom from where.'

Analysis

What about a focus movement analysis?

```
d.*
     män-Ø [ForceP [FocP qäyär-dini kim-gäi [Foc' [FinP u-nin]
                          where-ABL who-DAT
     1sg-nom
                                                        3SG-GEN
     ti tj sowgat äwät-kän] ikänfoc]]likforee]-i-gä
          present send-PERF.NOML COP COMP-3SG.POSS-DAT
                  qal-di-m.
     qiziq-ip
     excite-ADVL AUX-PST-1SG
     'lit. I wonder it was that to whom from where he sent a present.'
     män-Ø [ForceP [FocP qäyär-dini kim-gäi [Foc' [FinP u-nin]
e.
                          where-ABL who-DAT
     1sg-nom
                                                        3SG-GEN
     t<sub>i</sub> t<sub>i</sub> sowǧat äwät-kän] ikän<sub>Foc</sub>]]lik<sub>Force</sub>]-i-gä
          present send-PERF.NOML COP COMP-3SG.POSS-DAT
                  qal-di-m
     qiziq-ip
     excite-ADVL AUX-PST-1SG
```

Conclusion

The in-situ analysis-a viable analysis

- 1. The case-matching effect is observed.
- 2. The presence of the copula ikän is needed.
- 3. The clause-mate effect is not observed.
- 4. RQMW in Uyghur are insensitivity to island effects.
- 5. The presence of an agreement marker following a reduced question.

Cross-linguistic (multiple) sluicing constructions

- ✓ Japanese: Saito 2004; Hiraiwa and Ishihara 2012, a.o.
- ✓ Uzbek: Gribanova 2013
- ✓ Turkish: Palaz 2018; 2019
- ✓ Chakhar Mongolian: Bai and Takahashi 2023; Bai 2023b; Bai 2023c; Bai 2024
- A focus construction—be it a cleft construction, a pseudo-cleft construction, or an in-situ focus construction—is involved in the derivation of multiple sluicing constructions.
- Future comparative research between multiple sluicing in Uyghur and other Turkic languages may provide additional support for the in-situ analysis and offer further insights into the study of multiple sluicing.

Properties of RQMW	
in Uyghur	

Analysis

Implications

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Thank you for your attention!

Your comments are deeply appreciated!