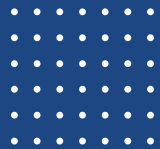




An in-situ analysis of reduced embedded questions with multiple *wh*-phrases in Uyghur

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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 t_i]].

(cited from Ross 1969: 252)

d. but you can't imagine [_{CP} what_i [_{IP} he is writing t_i]]

■ Multiple sluicing (Takahashi 1994)

- (2) ? 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. meniñ [u-niñ 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. meniñ [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: Remnants in RQ with one *wh*-phrase in Uyghur cannot be case-marked.

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,’
- c. meniñ [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. meniñ [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-slucing 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. meniñ [*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. meniñ [u-niñ 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.’

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. meniñ [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.'
- c. meniñ [[u-niñ nurğun pul bär-gän-i]-niñ kim(-*gä)
1SG.GEN 3SG-GEN a.lot money give-PERF.ADN-3SG.POSS-GEN who-DAT
(ikän) lik]-i-ni bil-gü-m bar.
COP COMP-3SG.POSS-ACC know-DES.NOML-1SG have
'I want to know to whom it was that he gave a lot of money.'
- d. meniñ [[u-niñ nurğun pul bär-gän-i]-niñ kim(-*gä)
1SG.GEN 3SG-GEN a.lot money give-PERF.ADN-3SG.POSS-GEN who-DAT
(ikän) lik]-i-ni bil-gü-m bar
COP COMP-3SG.POSS-ACC know-DES.NOML-1SG have

3. RQMW in Uyghur

- (5) a. Biz-niñ matematika muällim-imiz bir oquğucı-ni bir
 1PL-GEN math teacher-1PL.POSS one student-ACC one
 sinip-qa kir-güz-di-Ø,
 classroom-DAT enter-CAUS-PST-3SG
 ‘The math teacher of our class let a student enter a classroom,’
- b. lekin män-Ø [u-niñ kim-ni qaysi sinip-qa kir-
 but 1SG-NOM 3SG-GEN who-ACC which classroom-DAT enter-
 güz-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

- (5) a. Biz-niñ matematika muällim-imiz bir oquğucı-**ni** bir
 1PL-GEN math teacher-1PL.POSS one student-ACC one
 sinip-**qa** kir-güz-di-Ø,
 classroom-DAT enter-CAUS-PST-3SG
 ‘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.
(Cortés Rodríguez 2023, a.o.)

Properties of RQMW in Uyghur

4. The clause-mate effect is not observed.

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

- (7) a. Güli-Ø **biraw-ğa** [Murat-niñ **bir sinip-ta** Aygül **bilän**
 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 say-ADVL AUX-PST-3SG
 ‘Güli told someone that Murat chatted with Aygül in a classroom,’
- b. män-Ø [Güli-niñ kim-gä [Murat-niñ qaysi sinip-ta
 1SG-NOM Güli-GEN who-DAT Murat-GEN which classroom-LOC.POSTP
 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 qiziq-ip qal-di-m.
 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.

- (7) a. Güli-Ø biraw-ğa [Murat-niñ bir sinip-ta Aygül bilän
 Güli-NOM someone-DAT Murat-GEN one classroom-LOC.POSTP Aygül POSTP
 paranglaş-qan-liq]-i-ni eyt-ip bär-di-Ø,
 chat-PERF.NOML-COMP-3SG.POSS-ACC say-ADV 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
 qiziq-ip qal-di-m.
 excite-ADV AUX-PST-1SG
 ‘lit. I wonder whom in which classroom.’

5. Island-insensitivity

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

- (8) a. Tursun-Ø [Murat-Ø qaysi qiz-ni tamaq-qa täklip
Tursun-NOM Murat-NOM which girl-ACC meal-DAT invitation
qil-ğaçqa] xapa bol-di-Ø?
AUX-reason.AUX angry COP-PST-3SG
'lit. Which girl was Tursun angry because Murat invited to have a meal?'
- b.* Qaysi qiz-ni Tursun-Ø [Murat-Ø *t* tamaq-qa täklip
which girl-ACC Tursun-NOM Murat-NOM meal-DAT invitation
qil-ğaçqa] xapa bol-di-Ø?
AUX-reason.AUX angry COP-PST-3SG
'lit. Which girl was Tursun angry because Murat invited to have a meal?'

5. Island-insensitivity

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

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.
(Cortés Rodríguez 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-sludging analysis

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

- (10) a. Bir qiz-Ø bir muällim-din birqančä soal-lar-ni sora-di-Ø,
 one girl-NOM one teacher-ABL some question-PL-ACC ask-PST-3SG
 ‘A girl asked a teacher some questions,’
- b.? meniñ [qaysi qiz-niñ qaysi muällim-din ikän lik]-i-ni
 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.’
- c. meniñ [*pro* qaysi qiz-niñ qaysi muällim-din ikän lik]-i-ni
 1SG.GEN which girl-GEN which teacher-ABL COP COMP-3SG.POSS-ACC
 bil-gü-m bar
 know-DES.NOML-1SG have
 ‘I want to know (it) was which girl which teacher’

1. Arguments against a pseudo-sludging analysis

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

- (10) a. Bir qiz-Ø bir muällim-din birqančä soal-lar-ni sora-di-Ø,
 one girl-NOM one teacher-ABL some question-PL-ACC ask-PST-3SG
 ‘A girl asked a teacher some questions,’
- c. meniñ [pro qaysi qiz-niñ qaysi muällim-din ikän lik]-i-ni
 1SG.GEN which girl-GEN which teacher-ABL COP COMP-3SG.POSS-ACC
 bil-gü-m bar
 know-DES.NOML-1SG have
 ‘I want to know (it) was which girl which teacher’
- d.* meniñ [u-niñ qaysi qiz-niñ qaysi muällim-din
 1SG.GEN 3SG-GEN which girl-GEN which teacher-ABL
 ikän lik]-i-ni bil-gü-m bar.
 COP COMP-3SG.POSS-ACC know-DES.NOML-1SG have
 ‘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.

- (11) [U-niŋ bu sowġat-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

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.

(12) a.* [Murat-niŋ bu luğät-ni sat-iwal-ğan-i]
 Murat-GEN this dictionary-ACC lend-SELF.AUX-PERF.ADN-3SG.POSS
 kitabxana-din.
 library-ABL

‘It was from a library that Murat borrowed this dictionary.’

b.* [Murat-niŋ bu luğät-ni sat-iwal-ğan-i]
 Murat-GEN this dictionary-ACC 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 saña bu sowğat-ni bär-di-Ø.
 3SG-NOM 2SG.DAT this gift-ACC give-PST-3SG
 ‘He gave this gift to you.’
- b.* [U-niñ bär-gän-i] saña bu sowğat-ni.
 3SG-GEN give-PERF.ADN-3SG.POSS 2SG.DAT this gift-ACC
 ‘lit. It was this gift to you that he gave.’
- c.* [U-niñ bär-gän-i] saña bu sowğat.
 3SG-GEN give-PERF.ADN-3SG.POSS 2SG.DAT this gift
- d.* [U-niñ bär-gän-i] sän bu sowğat-ni.
 3SG-GEN give-PERF.ADN-3SG.POSS 2SG this gift-ACC
- e.* [U-niñ bär-gän-i] sän bu sowğat.
 3SG-GEN give-PERF.ADN-3SG.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-ñiz?
 2SG.HON-NOM yesterday who-DAT what present-ACC give-PST-2SG.HON
 ‘What present did you give to whom yesterday?’

4. An in-situ analysis

Previous literature:

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)

An in-situ focus construction in Uyghur

(15) Ayxan-Ø bugün 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 Foc head, just as the copula *da* functions as the Foc head 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.

4. An in-situ analysis

- (16) a. Biz-niñ matematika muällim-imiz bir oquğucı-ni bir
 1PL-GEN math teacher-1PL.POSS one student-ACC one
 sinip-qa kir-güz-di-Ø,
 classroom-DAT enter-CAUS-PST-3SG
 ‘The math teacher of our class let a student enter a classroom,’
- 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.’
- c. lekin män-Ø [_{ForceP} [_{FocP} [_{FinP} u-niñ kim-ni qaysi sinip-qa
 but 1SG-NOM 3SG-GEN who-ACC which classroom-DAT
 kir-güz-gän] ikän_{Foc}] lik_{Force}]-i-ni bil-mä-y-män.
 enter-CAUS-PERF.NOML COP COMP-3SG.POSS-ACC know-NEG-NPST-1SG
 ‘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.’

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

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

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

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

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

4. An in-situ analysis

d.	lekin	män-Ø	[_{ForceP}	[_{FocP}	[_{FinP}	u-niŋ	kim-ni	qaysi	sinip-qa
	but	1SG-NOM				3SG-GEN	who-ACC	which	classroom-DAT
		kir-güz-gän]		ikän _{Foc}]	lik _{Force}]-i-ni			bil-mä-y-män	
		enter-CAUS-PERF.NOML	COP		COMP-3SG.POSS-ACC			know-NEG-NPST-1SG	

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.

4. An in-situ analysis

The clause-mate effect is not observed.

- (17) a. Güli-Ø biraw-ğa [Murat-niñ bir sinip-ta Aygül bilän
 Güli-NOM someone-DAT Murat-GEN one classroom-LOC.POSTP Aygül POSTP
 paranglaş-qan-liq]-i-ni eyt-ip bär-di-Ø,
 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
 qiziq-ip qal-di-m.
 excite-ADVL AUX-PST-1SG
 ‘lit. I wonder whom in which classroom.’

4. An in-situ analysis

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

4. An in-situ analysis

- (17) a. Güli-Ø biraw-ğa [Murat-niñ bir sinip-ta Aygül bilän
 Güli-NOM someone-DAT Murat-GEN one classroom-LOC.POSTP Aygül POSTP
 paranglaş-qan-liq]-i-ni eyt-ip bär-di-Ø,
 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
 qiziq-ip qal-di-m.
 excite-ADVL AUX-PST-1SG
 ‘lit. I wonder whom in which classroom.’
- e. män-Ø [ForceP [FocP [FinP Güli-niñ kim-gä [ForceP Murat-niñ qaysi
 1SG-NOM Güli-GEN who-DAT Murat-GEN which
 sinip-ta Aygül bilän paranglaş-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 qiziq-ip qal-di-m
 AUX-PERF.NOML COP COMP-3SG.POSS-DAT excite-ADVL AUX-PST-1SG

4. An in-situ analysis

Island-insensitivity

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

4. An in-situ analysis

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

4. An in-situ analysis

(18) b.? mǎn-Ø [qaysi oǵul bala-Ø qaysi qiz-ǵa ikǎn lik]-
 1SG-NOM which male child-NOM which girl-DAT COP COMP-
 i-gǎ qiziq-ip qal-di-m.
 3SG.POSS-DAT excite-ADVL AUX-PST-1SG
 ‘I wonder which boy to which girl.’

d. mǎn-Ø [ForceP [FocP [FinP Tursun-niŋ [ForceP qaysi oǵul
 1SG-NOM Tursun-GEN which male
 bala-Ø qaysi qiz-ǵa bir nǎrsǎ sowǵa
 child-NOM which girl-DAT one thing present
 qil-ǵačqa] intayin xapa bol-ǵan] ikǎn_{Foc}]
 AUX-reason.AUX very angry COP-PERF.NOML COP
 lik_{Force}]-i-gǎ qiziq-ip qal-di-m
 COMP-3SG.POSS-DAT excite-ADVL AUX-PST-1SG

4. An in-situ analysis

The presence of an agreement marker

- (19) a. Män-Ø tünügün mälum sinip-ta bir qiz bilän parañlaş-ti-m,
 1SG-NOM yesterday some classroom-LOC one girl POSTP chat-PST-1SG
 ‘I chatted with a girl in a classroom yesterday,’
- b.? meniñ aka-lar-im-niñ [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.’

4. An in-situ analysis

(19) a. Män-Ø tünügün mälum sinip-ta bir qiz bilän parañlaş-ti-m,
1SG-NOM yesterday some classroom-LOC one girl POSTP chat-PST-1SG
'I chatted with a girl in a classroom yesterday,'

c. meniñ aka-lar-im-niñ [ForceP [FocP [FinP meniñ
1SG.GEN elder.brother-PL-1SG.POSS-GEN 1SG.GEN
tünügün qaysi sinip-ta kim bilän parañlaş-qan] 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.? meniñ aka-lar-im-niñ [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.’

d. meniñ aka-lar-im-niñ [ForceP [FocP [FinP meniñ
 1SG.GEN elder.brother-PL-1SG.POSS-GEN 1SG.GEN
 tünügün qaysi sinip-ta kim bilän parañlaş-qan] 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

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-niñ qäyär-din kim-gä
 1SG-NOM 3SG-GEN where-ABL who-DAT
 sowğat äwät-kän] ikän_{Foc}] lik_{Force}]-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.’

What about a focus movement analysis?

- d.* män-Ø [ForceP [FocP qäyär-din_i kim-gä_j [Foc' [FinP u-niŋ
1SG-NOM where-ABL who-DAT 3SG-GEN
t_i t_j sowğat äwät-kän] ikän_{Foc}]]lik_{Force}]-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 to whom from where he sent a present.'
- e. män-Ø [ForceP [FocP qäyär-din_i kim-gä_j [Foc' [FinP u-niŋ
1SG-NOM where-ABL who-DAT 3SG-GEN
t_i t_j sowğat äwät-kän] ikän_{Foc}]]lik_{Force}]-i-gä
present send-PERF.NOML COP COMP-3SG.POSS-DAT
qiziq-ip qal-di-m
excite-ADVL AUX-PST-1SG

Conclusion

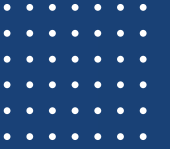
The in-situ analysis-a viable analysis

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
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- 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.

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Thank you for your attention!

Your comments are deeply appreciated!