Scrambling and Successive Cyclic Movement in Turkish and Uyghur

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1 Introduction

This paper presents a novel contrast between Turkish and Uyghur with respect to their differential object marking systems (DOM) (Comrie 1989; Aissen 2003). As with many languages, Turkish and Uyghur instantiate DOM systems where direct objects high in specificity are marked with accusative case morphology and are structurally higher than non-specific, unmarked direct objects. On many standard analyses, DOM is understood to be a morphological reflex of a DP's requirement to be licensed by a functional head outside the VP when bearing a certain feature—e.g. [+SPECIFIC], which in turn triggers movement from the DP's base-generated, VP-internal position (Torrego 1998; Rodríguez-Mondoñedo 2007; López 2012). On such accounts, it is predicted that the DP's structural height (relative to the VP), interpretation, and DOM morphology will strictly correlate with each other.

While this correlation between structural height, interpretation, and morphology holds for Turkish, I show Uyghur's DOM pattern present an exception. Specifically, I show that in Uyghur this correlation fails to hold for accusative objects that have been dislocated from their canonical V-adjacent position to a higher position in the structure. When the object appears in these higher positions, the DOM object looses its obligatory specific interpretation.

In light of this contrast between Turkish and Uyghur's DOM objects, I propose that an obligatory specific interpretation is forced only when the object DP occupies a particular position in the structure: Spec vP. In light of this, I hypothesize that the variability in interpretations available to DOM objects in Uyghur and Turkish, is due to a difference in phase boundaries. I provide additional evidence which supports the hypothesis that the phase boundaries in Turkish and Uyghur are distinct. I show that a difference in which heads are phases explains and predicts contrasts observed between the two languages that otherwise appear to be unrelated. Including: potential sites for QR and long-distance object scrambling. Furthermore, I suggest that these differences with respect to Turkish and Uyghur are an instantiation of a more general type of cross-linguistic variation regarding phasal boundaries.

2 Data

2.1 Background on Turkish and Uyghur DOM

Many languages exhibit DOM systems where a subset of objects bearing a [+SPECIFIC] feature surface with dedicated morphology. Turkish and Uyghur instantiate such a pattern, where specific objects are marked with accusative case morphology and non-specific objects are unmarked, lacking accusative case.

In Turkish (1, 2), the object is non-specific when unmarked (1a,2a). When the object is marked with accusative case morphology (*-(y)I*, (1b, 2b)), it is obligatorily interpreted as specific (Erguvanlı 1984; Enç 1991; Kornfilt 2003).

(1) a. Ali kitap oku-du
Ali book read-PST.3SG
'Ali read a book.'

b. Ali kitab-**ı** oku-du
Ali book-ACC read-PST.3SG
'Ali read a *certain* book.'

(2) a. (ben) doktor arı-yor-um
1SG doctor look.for-PROG-1SG
'I am looking for a doctor.'

b. (ben) doktor-**u** arı-yor-um
1SG doctor-ACC look.for-PROG-1SG
'I am looking for a *certain* doctor.'
(Kelepir (2001), (119))

The same pattern is observed in Uyghur (3,4) (Tömür 2003). Objects that are non-specific lack accusative case (3a,4a), and specific objects are marked with accusative case (*-ni*, (3b,4b)).

(3) a. Mehmet mashin xala-y-du
Mehmet car want-NPST-3SG
'Mehmet wants a car.'

b. Mehmet mashina-**ni** xala-y-du
Mehmet car-ACC want-NPST-3SG
'Mehmet wants a *certain* car.'

(4) a. (men) doktor izde-wati-men
1SG doctor look.for-PROG-1SG
'I am looking for a doctor.'

b. (men) doktor-**ni** izde-wati-men
1SG doctor-ACC look.for-PROG-1SG
'I am looking for a *certain* doctor.'

For Turkish, it has been observed that accusative objects are higher than bare objects (Öztürk 2005). Thus, in (5) the accusative object must precede the manner adverb *hızlı* ('quickly'), while the unmarked object must follow it.

(5) a. Ali (*hızlı) kitab-**ı** (hızlı) oku-du.
Ali (quickly) book-ACC (quickly) read-PST.3SG
'Ali read a *certain* book quickly.'

b. Ali (hızlı) kitap (*hızlı) oku-du.
Ali (quickly) book (quickly) read-PST.3SG
'Ali read a book quickly.' (Öztürk (2005), (84,85))

In Uyghur, the same alternation is observed in (6). Accusative objects must precede the manner adverb *tëz* ('quickly') (6a); bare objects must follow it (6b).

(6) a. Mehmet (*tëz) kitap-**ni** (tëz) oqu-di.
Mehmet (quickly) book-ACC (quickly) read-PST.3SG
'Mehmet read a *certain* book quickly.'
b. Mehmet (tëz) kitap (*tëz) oqu-di.
Mehmet (quickly) book (quickly) read-PST.3SG
'Mehmet read a book quickly.'

Assuming that manner-adverbs are VP-adjoined, ACC-DPs in Turkish and Uyghur are higher in the clause (i.e. VP-external) than unmarked DPs which remain in their base-generated VP-internal position.

Another piece of evidence for Turkish and Uyghur's accusative objects being higher in the clause than unmarked objects is the default order of internal arguments in double-object constructions. In both, the canonical order of DO and IO alternate depending on whether the direct object bears accusative case. In Turkish (7), if the DO bears accusative case, then the order is DO>IO (7a). But if the DO is unmarked, the order is reversed as IO>DO (7b).

(7) a. Ali kitab-**ı** Hasan-a ver-di
Ali book-ACC Hasan-DAT give-PST.3SG
'Ali gave the book to Hasan.'
b. Ali Hasan-a kitap ver-di
Ali Hasan-DAT book give-PST.3SG
'Ali gave a book to Hasan.' (Kornfilt (2003), (30a))

Uyghur shows the same alternation. Marked DOs display the DO>IO order (8a); unmarked DOs displays the IO>DO order (8b).

(8) a. Mehmet xet-**ni** Aliyë-gë yaz-i-du
Mehmet letter-ACC Aliye-DAT write-NPST-3SG
'Mehmet will write *a certain* letter to Aliyë.'
b. Mehmet Aliyë-gë xet yaz-i-du
Mehmet Aliye-DAT letter write-NPST-3SG
'Mehmet will write a letter letter to Aliyë.'

Assuming that in both Turkish and Uyghur IOs are base-generated at least as high as Spec VP, the above alternations further indicate that accusative objects reside higher in the structure than unmarked objects.[1]

[1] Alternatively, IOs could be generated in a higher ApplP projection above VP. In either case the above point would remain.

2.2 Turkish and Uyghur scrambling

Turkish and Uyghur allow for a relatively free ordering of nominals in the clause (for Turkish, see Erguvanlı (1984); Şener (2010) and for Uyghur, see Hahn (1991); Tömür (2003)). For Turkish, the object can be dislocated from its canonical V-adjacent position and scramble over the subject, as in (9). When the object is clause-initial, it must be marked with accusative case and must receive a specific interpretation.

(9) doktor$_i$-**u** ben t_i arı-yor-um
doctor-ACC 1SG look.for-PROG-1SG
'I am looking for a *certain* doctor'

Uyghur's scrambling facts, however, sharply contrast with Turkish. When the object is clause-initial it must be marked with accusative case as in Turkish. But the obligatory specific interpretation is no longer enforced in this position (10).

(10) Doktor$_i$-**ni** men t_i izde-wati-men
doctor-ACC 1SG look.for-PROG-1SG
'I am looking for a *certain* doctor/ some doctor or another'

This contrast between Turkish and Uyghur's accusative objects can be observed in clause-medial positions as well. As illustrated below in (11a,11b), the object can either follow or precede the temporal adverb *dün* 'yesterday' in Turkish. In both positions the object must be interpreted as specific.

(11) a. Ali dün kitap-**ı** oku-du
Ali yesterday book-ACC book-PST.3SG
'Ali read the book yesterday.'
b. Ali kitap$_i$-**ı** dün t_i oku-du
Ali book-ACC yesterday book-PST.3SG
'Ali read the book yesterday.'

However, in Uyghur, the obligatory specific interpretation is only enforced when the object follows the adverb (12a). When the object precedes the adverb this requirement of a specific only interpretation is no longer enforced (12b).[2]

(12) a. Mehmet ete xet-**ni** yaz-i-du
Mehmet tomorrow letter-ACC write-NPST-3SG
'Mehmet will write *a certain* letter tomorrow.'
b. Mehmet xet$_i$-**ni** ete t_i yaz-i-du
Mehmet letter-ACC tomorrow write-NPST-3SG
'Mehmet will write *a certain*/ some letter or another tomorrow.'

[2]Note there is a degree of speaker variation with respect to this contrast. Some speakers strongly preferred a specific interpretation of the object in (12b).

To summarize the data so far, the key observation is the interpretative contrast between Turkish and Uyghur's DOM objects with respect to the object's position in the clause. In Turkish, DOM morphology strictly correlates with specificity and DP height. Here accusative marked object DPs are higher in the structure than unmarked non-specific object DPs, and must always receive a specific interpretation regardless of position. In Uyghur this is not the case. While accusative object DPs are higher than unmarked, non-specific objects, accusative objects do not always have an obligatory specific interpretation. When the accusative object is in its V-adjacent position it is obligatorily specific. But when it appears in an even higher position, either clause-initial or medial, this interpretive requirement is no long enforced.

3 Analysis

3.1 The standard analysis

A standard approach to DOM is to hypothesize that object DPs which carry a DOM-related feature, e.g. specificity, require licensing from a higher functional head, e.g. v, while those which don't have that feature do not (Torrego 1998; Rodríguez-Mondoñedo 2007; López 2012). On this approach, the DP carrying the license-requiring feature is base-generated inside the VP and raises to the Spec of the licensing head, as in (13b).[3]

(13) a. ... $[_{\text{VP}}$ V $\text{DP}_{-\text{SPECIFIC}}]$

b. ... $[_{\text{FP}}$ $\text{DP}_{+\text{SPECIFIC}}$ $_{\text{DOM}}$ F $[_{\text{VP}}$ V ~~DP~~]]

This approach makes two key predictions: (i) only DPs bearing the DOM-related feature should surface with DOM-associated morphology—e.g. ACC-case; (ii) further movement to a position above the licensing position—e.g. above Spec vP, should be limited to only DPs which are marked for ACC-case and bear the DOM related feature. The first prediction follows from DOM morphology being a reflex of the object bearing a license-requiring feature. The second prediction is due to the fact that only DPs with a license-requiring feature evacuate the VP. Hence, only those DPs should be available for further movement to a higher position. On this analysis then the following generalization is predicted to hold (for languages with a specificity-based DOM system):[4]

(14) If object DP c-commands VP, then DP is [+SPECIFIC]

For Turkish, this analysis makes the correct predictions regarding the interpretation of accusative objects that appear in both the canonical V-adjacent position and when dislocated to a higher position. As shown in the previous section, Turkish

[3] DOM case morphology on this approach can either be hypothesized as a reflex of AGREE as in Chomsky (2001) or the result of the object DP entering into case competition with a higher DP in the domain as in Baker & Vinokurova (2010).

[4] An alternative analysis is that specific object DPs raise out of VP in order to escape an existential closure operation at LF as in Diesing (1992). Such an analysis would make the same predictions as the above one since it is only specific DPs which can move out of VP on such an account.

objects, whether V-adjacent or dislocated to a higher position, must bear accusative case and can only receive a specific interpretation, as shown in (1b,2b) and (9,11b), respectively. Under this analysis, where [+SPECIFIC] DPs require licensing from a higher functional head and evacuate VP, the pattern with the dislocated objects in (9,11b) is expected. Assuming that the DP first moves to a licensing position when evacuating the VP, e.g. Spec vP, further movement to a higher position should preserve the specific interpretation.

The Uyghur facts with respect to dislocated objects, however, are not predicted by this kind of analysis. As shown in the previous section, while accusative objects in their V-adjacent position are obligatorily specific, as in (3b,4b), accusative objects that have dislocated from their V-adjacent position are ambiguous between a specific and non-specific interpretation, as in (10,12b).

The availability of both specific and non-specific interpretations in (10,12b) is unexpected on the standard analysis. Under an account of DOM where DOM morphology correlates with a DP bearing a license-requiring feature, which in turn requires movement outside the VP, the Uyghur dislocated objects should be obligatorily specific (as is the case with Turkish). The problem being that if only DPs with a license-requiring feature can evacuate the VP, then only those DPs should be accessible to further movement to a higher position. Hence, on the standard analysis, it is predicted that Uyghur's DOM system should pattern with Turkish in this respect.

3.2 New analysis

As shown in the previous section, the VP-externality of a DP is not sufficient for that DP to be obligatorily interpreted as specific in Uyghur. This distinguishes Uyghur DOM objects from Turkish ones, where VP-externality always appears to correlate with a specific interpretation per the generalization in (14).

In light of this contrast, I propose that the correct generalization with respect to an object DP's height in the structure and its interpretation is:

(15) If DP moves to Spec vP, then DP is [+SPECIFIC]

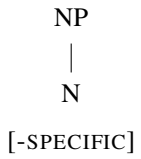
The important difference between (15) and the previous generalization in (14) is that the height of the DP relative to VP is not sufficient for determining whether a DP must receive a specific interpretation. Rather, the key correlation is whether the DP occupies a particular position in the structure, Spec vP, or not.

As for what mechanism underlies the generalization in (15), the present analysis remains neutral. Previous research has suggested the cross-linguistic availability of functional heads such as v to host such feature-based restrictions which kinds of DPs can merge to their specifier (Adger & Harbour 2007; Wiltschko & Ritter 2015). If this is the case, then it seems plausible to think this kind of feature-based restriction is what underlies (15). Another possibility, is that it is the structural position of the DP itself which forces a specific interpretation of the DP (rather than only [+SPECIFIC] DPs can move to Spec vP). Put differently, it is by the DP occupying that particular structural position, Spec vP, which forces a specific interpretation.

The present analysis assumes that nominal phrases in both Turkish and Uyghur can be merged into their base position as either NPs or DPs. If the nominal phrase

merges as an NP, as in (16a), then it is obligatorily non-specific, does not surface with case morphology, and does not require licensing from a higher functional head. Consequently, the NP pseudo-incorporates with V and remains inside the VP-projection (Massam 2001; Dayal 2011). If the nominal merges as a full DP, as in (16b), then the it must receive licensing from a higher functional head from outside the VP. Crucially, full DPs can, in principle, either have or lack a specificity feature. Thus, the present analysis differs from the standard analysis with respect to DOM morphology (or lack thereof) being directly linked to the presence (or absence) of a feature that triggers the need for licensing from a higher head.

(16) a.



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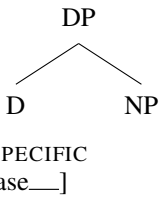


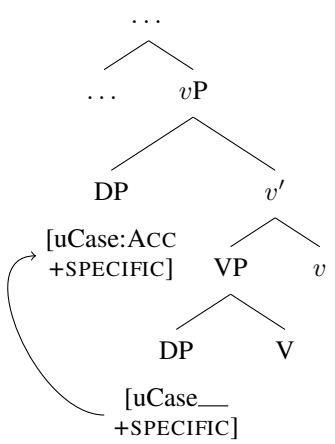
Given the generalization in (15), the present analysis predicts that accusative objects which surface in their canonical V-adjacent position must be specific in both Turkish (1b) and Uyghur (3b). Examples repeated below.

(1b) Ali kitab-**ı** oku-du
Ali book-ACC read-PST.3SG
'Ali read a *certain* book.'

(3b) Mehmet mashina-**ni** xala-y-du
Mehmet car-ACC want-NPST-3SG
'Mehmet wants a *certain* car.'

In both Turkish and Uyghur, the object is merged into its base position as a DP and then is licensed by v and moves to Spec vP as in (17).

(17)



The key point is that while in principle Turkish and Uyghur DPs can either have or lack [+/-SPECIFIC] because the DPs must move to Spec vP, the only possible

interpretation for the DPs in this position is specific per the generalization in (15). Hence, accusative objects which surface in their canonical V-adjacent position can only be interpreted as specific.

Recall the key contrast between Turkish and Uyghur's accusative objects when dislocated to a higher position. In Turkish, said objects remain obligatorily specific (9,11b). But in Uyghur, when accusative objects are dislocated from their V-adjacent position, they no long are obligatorily specific (10,12b). Examples repeated below.

(9) doktor$_i$-**u** ben t_i arı-yor-um
doctor-ACC 1SG look.for-PROG-1SG
'I am looking for a *certain* doctor'

(11b) Ali kitap$_i$-**ı** dün t_i oku-du
Ali book-ACC yesterday book-PST.3SG
'Ali read the book yesterday.'

(10) Doktor$_i$-**ni** men t_i izde-wati-men
doctor-ACC 1SG look.for-PROG-1SG
'I am looking for a *certain* doctor/ some doctor or another'

(12b) Mehmet xet$_i$-**ni** ete t_i yaz-i-du
Mehmet letter-ACC tomorrow write-NPST-3SG
'Mehmet will write *a certain*/ some letter or another tomorrow.'

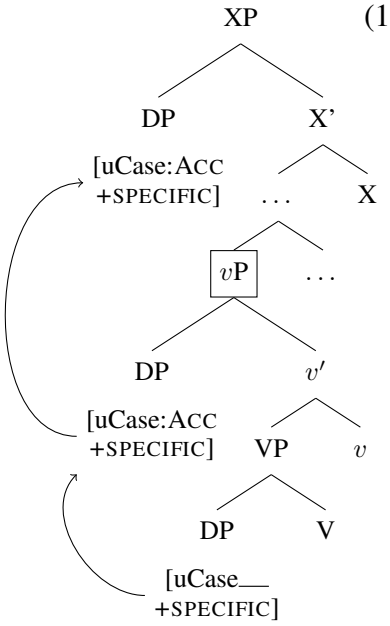
I propose that the above contrast between Turkish and Uyghur is due to a difference in phase boundaries.[5] Specifically, in Turkish v is a phase head and thus vP delimits a phasal domain. But in Uyghur v is not and a higher functional head F is. Hence, in Uyghur FP delimits a phasal domain. Due to this difference, in Turkish (but not Uyghur) DPs must have Spec vP as an intermediate landing site when moving to a higher position due to the Phase Impenetrability Condition, which requires that movement out of a phasal domain proceed through its edge. In other words, in Turkish all movement above vP, must pass through Spec vP during the derivation. Given the generalization in (15), only [+SPECIFIC] DPs can move to Spec vP as either a final or intermediate landing site. Therefore, in Turkish only [+SPECIFIC] DPs can move to a position above vP since only [+SPECIFIC] DPs can move to phase edge (i.e. Spec vP). The relevant derivation is shown below in (18).

In Uyghur v is not a phase head. Instead, Uyghur contains a higher functional

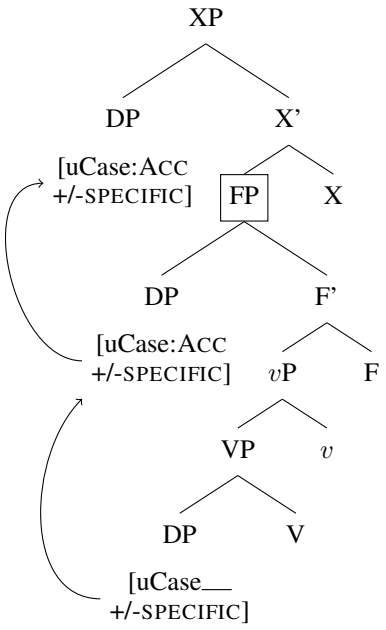
[5]Subsequently, the present analysis assumes that phasal domains can vary depending on syntactic contexts as proposed in Bobaljik & Wurmbrand (2005) and Bošković (2014), among others. On the implementation in Bošković (2014), the highest projection in the domain of a lexical head, e.g. V, is a phase. On this approach then, the highest element in Turkish's V domain is v; in Uyghur it is F (above v). Thus, in Uyghur v isn't a phase because it isn't the highest projection in the domain. However, the present analysis does not adopt any particular implementation of phasal variability only that such variation is observed between Turkish and Uyghur and can be implemented given a number of frameworks.

head F which serves as the phase head.[6] Hence, the phase boundary is above vP and is FP. Since the phase boundary is not vP in Uyghur, moving DPs do not have to stop at Spec vP as an intermediate landing site when moving to a higher position. Instead the moving DP must stop at Spec FP which is the phase edge, and, crucially, has no restriction on whether the merged DP is [+/-SPECIFIC]. Therefore, the dislocated accusative objects in Uyghur can receive either a specific or non-specific interpretation.[7] The Uyghur derivation is illustrated below in (19).[8]

(18)



(19)



Note that in the above Uyghur derivation (19), the object DP moves directly from its base-generated position to the phasal edge, i.e. Spec FP, and skips over Spec vP. Given the generalization in (15), this kind of derivation is ruled out for DPs which are [-SPECIFIC]. However, in principle, such a derivation seems possible for [+SPECIFIC] DPs. I suggest that such a derivation is ruled out for independent reasons. It has been argued that, in general, successive cyclic movement must proceed though phasal edges (Kang 2014; Bošković 2020). Another possible reason is that

[6]For the purposes of the present analysis the exact identity of the functional element F is not relevant. Rather, the key point is that given the contrast between Turkish and Uyghur such a difference in the languages' respective middle-field must exist.

[7]With respect to what forces Uyghur DPs to move from their base-generated position in the first place, one option is that DPs can move as a last resort operation to prevent being sent to the interfaces with unvalued, uninterpretable features as in Bošković (2007). See also Rodríguez-Mondoñedo (2007) for an implementation of this idea with regards to DOM. Under the assumption that scrambling in Turkish and Uyghur is driven by DPs bearing an uninterpretable $\bar{\text{A}}$-feature (see Şener (2010)), then it would seem that DPs must move to the phase edge to prevent being spelled out with this feature left unvalued.

[8]There remains a question as to what mechanism facilitates Case assignment on the present analysis. The present analysis is compatible with a mechanism where Case is assigned to the *in situ* DP via AGREE, at the point when v is merged with VP but before the DP moves. Alternatively, it is also compatible with an approach, as in Bošković (2007), when the DP probes its licensor after movement.

movement through a feature-checking position, in this case Spec vP, is generally not possible (Bošković 2008).[9] In either case, the object DP when scrambling to a higher position must move directly to Spec FP and does not have Spec vP as an intermediate landing site (regardless of specificity) as in (19).

To summarize, the contrast observed between Turkish and Uyghur's dislocated objects is not due to there being a difference in which objects require licensing in each language. Rather, the key difference between Turkish and Uyghur regarding what restricts the interpretation for objects is the position of phasal boundaries. Because in Turkish the phase head is v and all dislocated DPs must pass through vP in the derivation, all dislocated objects must be obligatorily specific. But in Uyghur since the phase head and v are distinct, there is a possibility for the objects to lack a specificity feature and move to a higher position in the structure.

4 Further evidence

In this section I provide independent evidence for the above analysis of the different interpretations of dislocated objects in Turkish and Uyghur.

4.1 Scope

In Turkish, accusative objects associated with the focus marker *sadece* must take wide-scope over material such an ability modal (*-(y)Ebil-*), as shown in (20).

(20) Ali sadece sağ göz-ü-nü aç-abil-ir
Ali only right eye-3POSS-ACC open-ABIL-NPST.3SG
'It is only his right eye that Ali can open.' (Only DP $>$ Can; *Can $>$ Only DP)

In contrast to Turkish, Uyghur allows for both a wide and narrow-scope interpretation in similar constructions. As shown in (21), the focused object can be interpreted as taking either wide or narrow-scope relative to the ability modal (*-(y)Ala-*).

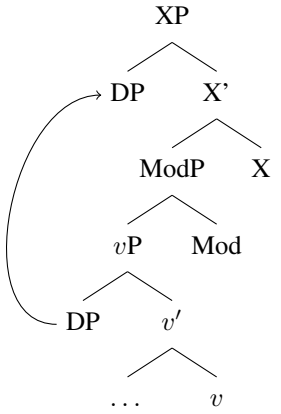
(21) Aliyë (peqet) öz-ning ong köz-i-ni-la
Aliye only SELF-GEN right eye-3POSS-ACC-FOC
ach-ala-y-du
open-ABIL-NPST-3SG
'It is only her right eye that Aliyë can open/ Aliyë can open only her right eye.' (Only DP > Can; Can > Only DP)

I suggest that the availability of the narrow-scope interpretation in Uyghur (but not Turkish) is due to the the presence of the functional head F in the former. In both Turkish and Uyghur the object DP moves to Spec vP in order to receive ACC. Assuming that in both, the DP must QR from this position to adjoin to a higher phrase, in Turkish the DP must move above the modal since there is no potential

[9] It has been observed that in the CP/TP domain *wh*-subjects proceed directly to the phase edge Spec CP and do not have Spec TP, a feature-checking position, as an intermediate landing site (Messick 2020; Bošković 2020). Given that there is a ban on this kind of movement in the CP/TP domain, it is expected that similar restrictions would apply in the FP/vP domain.

adjunction site between vP and ModP, as in (22).[10] In Uyghur, however, there is an additional projection between vP and ModP: FP. Since there is an additional projection, the DP can QR from Spec vP to FP (as an option) without moving above ModP (as in (23)).

(22)



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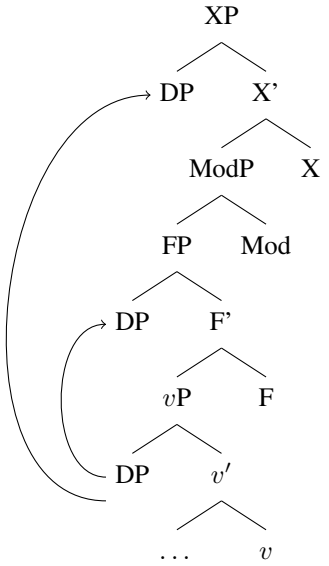

4.2 Long-distance object scrambling

In both Turkish and Uyghur, subjects of embedded finite clauses can surface with accusative case morphology, as in (24) and (25), respectively.

(24) a. Pelin sen-(**i**) Timbuktu-ya git-ti-(**n**) san-iyor
Pelin 2SG-ACC Tumbuktu-DAT go-PST-2SG believe-PROG
'Pelin believes you went to Timbuktu' (Şener (2011), (3))

(25) a. Tursun oqughuchi-(**ni**) ket-ti de-di
Tursun student-ACC leave-PST.3SG say-NPST.3SG
'Tursun said that a student left.'

The ACC-subjects are often analyzed in terms of raising-to-object (Kuno 1976), where the DP can raise to matrix Spec vP for Case-licensing (in some languages this is optional):

(26) $[_{vP}\ DP_{uCase:ACC}\ [_{VP}\ [_{CP}\ \sout{DP}_{uCase}\ \ldots\ C\ ]\ V\ ]\ v\ ]$

In a number of languages, ACC-subjects block scrambling of other elements from the embedded clause, i.e. long-distance object scrambling (see Yoo (2018) for Japanese and Korean). Since matrix Spec vP is a phase edge position, the moving

[10]Note that this assumes that movement must cross at least one phrase (Bošković 1997). Also, note as well that adjunction to ModP would still result in an interpretation where the DP scopes over the modal.

object DP must pass through this position when scrambling out of the embedded clause. But since the ACC-subject DP occupies Spec vP, it blocks the scrambling DP, thus also blocking it from scrambling to clause-initial position.[11]

The present analysis makes an interesting prediction regarding Uyghur. Since vP is not a phase in Uyghur, the scrambling object would not need to move through Spec vP. In Uyghur, where the phase edge is FP, the ACC-subject DP is not located in the phrase through which scrambling objects must pass through, hence ACC-subjects should not interfere with scrambling object DPs (in contrast to Turkish where since vP is a phase, the ACC-subject DP is located in the same position the scrambling object DP needs to move to). The surprising prediction that, in contrast to Turkish, ACC-subjects will not block scrambling out of the embedded clause in Uyghur is borne out in (27) (compare with Turkish (28)).

(27) [$_{CP}$Nan$_i$-**ni** Tursun [$_{FP}t_i$ [$_{vP}$men$_j$-**ni** [$_{CP}t_j$ t_i yaq-ti] de-di]]]
bread-ACC Tursun men-ACC bake-PST.3SG say-PST.3SG
'Tursun said that I baked bread' (Major 2021) (166c))

(28) *[$_{CP}$Kek$_i$-**i** Kürşat [$_{vP}$Ercan$_j$-ı t_i [$_{CP}t_j$ t_i ye-di] san-ıyor]]
cake-ACC Kürşat Ercan-ACC eat-PST.3SG think-PROG
'Kürşat considers Ercan to have eaten the case.' ((Aygen 2002) (17))

The possibility of long distance object scrambling in Uyghur (but not Turkish), is predicted under the hypothesis that v is not a phase head in Uyghur. Since it is not, the moving object can pass over the ACC-subject to the phase edge of the matrix clause—i.e. Spec FP, when moving to a higher position (as in (27)). In Turkish, since Spec vP is the phase edge and the ACC-subject DP occupies this position, Spec vP cannot be an intermediate landing site for the scrambling object DP and the derivation is blocked (as in (28)).

4.3 Phasal variation beyond Turkic

Given the variability between Turkish and Uyghur with respect to whether v is a phase head or not, it should be expected that other languages will exhibit phenomena related to this kind of variation. One such kind of variation observed is whether moving DPs, e.g. *wh*-fronting and object relatives, have Spec vP as an intermediate landing site.

In Passamaquoddy, direct objects can control agreement on the embedded verb when moving to the matrix clause (Bruening 2001). As shown below in (29a,29b), the embedded verb surfaces with a participle morpheme that agrees in NUMBER with the moving object DP. In (29a) with the singular object, the matrix and embedded verbs surface with the 3rd person obviative agreement morpheme. But in (29b) where the object is plural, the verbs surface with plural agreement morpheme.

[11] See Yoo (2018) for an analysis which derives this effect in terms of tucking-in movement. Note as well that if the ACC-subject stays in the embedded Spec CP, this blocking effect would still arise from this position. Hence, nothing in the discussion below would change if ACC-subject DPs remain in the lower Spec CP and are licensed by matrix v from there.

(29) a. Wot nit pahtoliyas [Mali elitahasi-c-**il** [eli wen
this that priest Mary IC.think-3CONJ-PART.OBV C someone
kisi-komutonom-ac-**il**]]
PERF-rob.AO-3CONJ-PART.OBV
'This is the priest that Mary thinks someone robbed.'

b. Wen-**ik** kisitahatom-on-**ik**
who-3PL decide.IO-2CONJ-PART.3PL
[keti-naci-wikuwamkom-oc-**ik**]?
IC.FUT-go.do-visit.AO-2CONJ-PART.3PL
'Who all did you decide to go visit?' (Bruening (2006), (19,20)

Assuming that object agreement is a reflex of the DP moving to Spec vP, the Passamaquoddy facts suggest that the object DP must have Spec vP as an intermediate landing site when moving to the higher position, which in turn suggests that v is a phase head in these languages.[12]

The above pattern contrasts with a language such as Kinande with respect to object agreement. As illustrated in (30a), direct objects control the agreement morpheme. But when the direct object is fronted as with the *wh*-object in (30b), the agreement morpheme is dropped (compare with (30c)). Under the assumption that object agreement is a reflex of the DP moving to Spec vP, the Kinande facts suggest that when a DP moves to a higher position—i.e. Spec CP, the DP does not have Spec vP as an intermediate landing site along its movement path.[13]

(30) a. Yosefu a-ka-ja EBIkEn$_j$ **Byo**$_j$ Marya
Joseph AGR-TENSE-give yams.CL.8 AGR.CL.8 Mary.CL.1
'Joseph is giving the yams to Mary'

b. EBIhI$_j$ ByO$_j$ Yosefu akaha t$_j$ Marya
what.CL.8 WH.AGR.CL.8 Joseph gives Mary
'What is Joseph giving to Mary?'

c. *EBIhI$_j$ ByO$_j$ Yosefu akaha t$_j$ **ByO**$_j$ Marya (Schneider-Zioga (1995), (4,15a)

I suggest that the above contrast as to whether object agreement is present with moving DPs, instantiates the same kind of variation hypothesized to be present between Turkish and Uyghur with respect to specificity. Namely, whether v is a phase head, and thus whether moving DPs must pass through Spec vP as an intermediate landing site. In Turkish and Passamaquoddy it is; in Uyghur and Kinande it is not.

5 Conclusion

Turkish exhibits a well-known DOM pattern where objects are marked with accusative case morphology and are obligatorily interpreted as specific regardless of

[12] See Bruening (2001) for an analysis in these terms.

[13] See Bošković (2016) for such an analysis of the Kinande facts.

their position in the clause. In this paper, I showed that Uyghur departs from this pattern. In Uyghur, specific objects are marked with accusative case morphology as well, but unlike Turkish are not obligatorily specific in both clause-initial and some clause-medial positions. In light of this observation, I hypothesize that the key different between Turkish and Uyghur's DOM pattern is whether v is a phase head in the language. In Turkish it is, and Uyghur it is not. By adopting the phasal variability hypothesis, other contrasts between the languages, e.g. scope possibilities, are explained. Furthermore, not only can this hypothesis explain the interpretation of Uyghur and Turkish's scrambled objects, it can predict when such movement will be available. This was shown with long-distance object scrambling. Finally, I suggest that this difference in phasal boundaries between Turkish and Uyghur is an instantiation of a more general point of cross-linguistic variation with respect to the location of phase boundaries.

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