Quantificational Pronouns in Uyghur

By

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Date Defended: May 23, 2013
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Quantificational Pronouns in Uyghur

Chairperson Harold Torrence

Date approved: May 23, 2013
Abstract

This thesis examines the syntactic distribution and semantic function of four series of indefinite quantifier pronouns in Uyghur: i) the universal or her-series, ii) the negative indefinite or héch-series, iii) the indefinite bir-series, iv) the indefinite birer-series. Sections, 3, 4, and 5, provide brief background information on Uyghur including phonology, orthography, properties of noun phrases, general syntactic properties, and QUESTION formation. Sections 6 and 7 constitute the main focus of this thesis.

In section 7, the syntactic distributions of each of these four series are discussed at length. All four of the series of pronouns may occur in various argument positions and may scramble in the same manner of other DPs in the language. The stems of her-series, héch-series, and bir-series may be composed of either wh-items or generic ontological nouns. Even though they may be composed of wh-items, the pronouns do not carry interrogative interpretation. The stems of the birer-series may only be generic ontological nouns.

With respect to polarity, the universal her-series and the negative indefinite héch-series are polarity sensitive while the indefinite bir series and birer-series are not. The universal her-series may not occur in the same clause as negation, while the negative indefinite héch-series must obligatorily occur in the same clause as verbal negation. No such restriction exists for the indefinite bir series and birer-series.

Section 7 uses Haspelmath’s (1997) approach to semantic properties of indefinite pronouns to explore the semantic differences between the four series of pronouns as they are used as
indefinite pronouns in Uyghur. Haspelmath proposes a set of nine semantic functions that
indefinite pronouns serve cross-linguistically: SPECIFIC KNOWN, SPECIFIC UNKNOWN, IRREALIS,
QUESTIONS, CONDITIONALS, INDIRECT NEGATION, DIRECT NEGATION, COMPARATIVES, and FREE
CHOICE. In Uyghur, the universal her-series may function in COMPARATIVE and FREE CHOICE
contexts. The negative indefinite héch-series may function in only the DIRECT NEGATION contexts.
The bir-series indefinite pronouns may serve in SPECIFIC KNOWN, SPECIFIC UNKNOWN, IRREALIS,
QUESTION, and CONDITIONAL contexts. Finally, the birer-series indefinite pronouns may serve in
SPECIFIC UNKNOWN, IRREALIS, QUESTION, CONDITIONAL, and INDIRECT NEGATION contexts.

This thesis expands on previous descriptive accounts of Uyghur pronouns and incorporates new
data. This thesis provides an in-depth analysis of the semantic meanings of these four series of
pronouns in Uyghur using the semantic map theory outlined by Haspelmath (1997). Organizing
the data in terms of its semantic meaning serves to further our understanding of Uyghur as a
whole. By examining Uyghur indefinite pronouns in this manner, the goal of this thesis is to
expand our understanding of Uyghur as a whole, improve our understanding of the semantic
properties of indefinites cross-linguistically, and provide ground work for future research.
Acknowledgements

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## Table of Contents

Abstract iii  
Acknowledgements v  
1. Table of Contents vii  
2. Introduction 1  
3. Background on Uyghur – Outline 3  
   1.1 Phonemic Inventory and Orthography of Uyghur 4  
   1.2 Uyghur Phonology 6  
      1.2.1 Harmony 6  
      1.2.2 Vowel Reduction and Stress Assignment in Uyghur 9  
4. Uyghur Nouns 11  
   1.3 Noun template 11  
   1.4 Case 14  
   1.5 Demonstratives 16  
5. Syntax of Uyghur 18  
   1.6 Word Order in Uyghur 18  
   1.7 Subject Agreement 18  
   1.8 Tense 20  
   1.9 Negation 20  
   1.10 Scrambling 21  
6. Q-Formation in Uyghur 22  
   1.11 Yes/No Questions 22  
   1.12 WH- Questions 25  
   1.13 Multiple wh-questions 27  
7. Uyghur Quantifiers: Syntactic Distribution 29  
   1.14 Quantifier Pronoun Morphology 30  
   1.15 Universal Quantifiers 32  
   1.16 Negative Quantifiers 38  
   1.17 The bir-series Quantificational Pronouns 45  
   1.18 The birer-series Quantificational Pronouns 48  
8. Quantificational Pronouns as Indefinite Pronouns 51  
   1.19 Introduction to Haspelmath 51  
   1.20 The Nine Semantic Functions and the Corresponding Uyghur Pronouns 53  
      1.20.1 Specific Known 53  
      1.20.2 Specific Unknown 54  
      1.20.3 Irrealis 55  
      1.20.4 Questions 56  
      1.20.5 Conditional 57  
      1.20.6 Direct and Indirect Negation 58  
      1.20.7 Comparative and Free-choice Contexts 60  
   1.21 Summary 61  
9. Conclusions 62  
10. References 64  
11. Appendix: dur-series Indefinite Pronouns 65
Quantificational Pronouns in Uyghur

by

Jonathan Coffee

2. Introduction

This thesis examines the syntactic distribution and semantic function of indefinite quantifier pronouns in Uyghur. Uyghur is an Eastern Turkic language spoken in the Xinjiang province of Western China. This thesis examines four series of quantificational pronouns like those seen in (1).

(1) a. her kim u-ni kör-d-i
    every who 3SG-ACC see-PAST-3SG
    ‘Everyone saw him/her.’

    b. [héch-kim nan-ni yé-me-d-i]
       no-who nan-ACC eat-NEG-PAST-3SG
       ‘No one ate the nan.’

    c. men bir-kim(-ni) isde-wat-i-men
       1SG one-who-ACC search-PROG-PRES-1SG
       ‘I am looking for someone.’

    d. u birer nerse(-ni) isde-wat-i-du
       3SG some thing-ACC search-PROG-PRES-3SG
       ‘He is looking for something.’

The four series of indefinite pronouns discussed in this thesis are as follows: i) the universal or her series (1)a, ii) the negative indefinite or héch- series (1)b, iii) the indefinite bir- series (1)c, iv) the indefinite birer- series (1)d. Previous work on these pronouns is scarce and provides a largely descriptive account of the data.

1 In this thesis, I use the following abbreviations: 1=first person, 2=second person, 3-third person, ABIL=abilitative aspect, ABL=ablative case, ACC=accusative case, AVZR=adverbializer marker, COP=copula, DAT=dative case, GEN=genitive case, INDEF.PAST=indefinite past tense, LOC=locative case, Ø=nominative case, NEG=negation, PAST=past tense, PL=plural, PRES=present tense, Q=question particle, SG=singular, NON.PAST=non-past tense.
Drawing on previous descriptive accounts (Hahn 2006; Tömür 2003) and incorporating new data, this thesis provides an in-depth analysis of the semantic meanings of these pronouns in Uyghur. This thesis uses the semantic map theory outlined by Haspelmath (1997). Organizing the data in terms of its semantic meaning serves to further our understanding of Uyghur as a whole. This thesis also seeks to lay the groundwork for more detailed typological and theoretical research in the future.

This thesis is organized into seven main sections. Section 3 provides brief background information on Uyghur and introduces the phonology and orthography. Section 4 introduces basic properties of noun phrases in Uyghur. Section 4 discusses general syntactic properties of Uyghur. Section 6 discusses question formation in Uyghur. Sections 6 and 7 constitute the main focus of this thesis. Section 7 introduces four series of quantificational pronouns in Uyghur: the universal \textit{her} series, the negative indefinite \textit{hêch}-series, the indefinite \textit{bir} series, and the indefinite \textit{birer}-series. The syntactic distributions of each of these four series are discussed at length. Among other things, this section shows that the universal \textit{her}-series may not occur in the same clause as negation, while the negative indefinite \textit{hêch}-series must obligatorily occur in the same clause as verbal negation. No such restriction exists for the indefinite \textit{bir} series and \textit{birer}-series.

Section 7 introduces Haspelmath’s (1997) approach to semantic properties of indefinite pronouns. Specifically, Haspelmath proposes that there are nine functions of indefinite pronouns cross-linguistically. In Uyghur, the four series of pronouns discussed in his theory are used to
various extents in these contexts. This section explores the semantic differences between the four series of pronouns as they are used as indefinite pronouns in Uyghur.

Examining Uyghur Indefinite pronouns in this manner serves multiple purposes. The first is that an in-depth examination of this kind expands our understanding of Uyghur as a whole. The second is that it improves our understanding of the semantic properties of indefinites cross-linguistically. According to Haspelmath, the term ‘indefinite pronouns’ has been used as a kind of ‘waste-basket category in many traditional grammars’ (1997:11). An in-depth study of this type seeks to expand the understanding of this catch-all category by contributing data from Uyghur to Haspelmath’s work.

3. **Background on Uyghur – Outline**

This thesis focuses on the language known as Uyghur. Uyghur is a Southeastern Turkic Language spoken in the Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region in western China. The Xinjiang province is shown below.

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Figure 1 - Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region

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2 Special thanks to Mahire Yakup and Abduwali Ayub who provided countless hours of their free-time for one-on-one elicitation sessions.

3 Map Source: http://www.worldtradepress.com/how-remote-is-xinjiang/
Estimates on how many speakers there are world-wide vary between about 6 and 11 million speakers (Hahn 2006; Lindblad 1990; Vaux 2001). Linguistically, Uyghur is most closely related to Uzbek spoken in Uzbekistan (Bridges 2008).

Uyghur has a basic SOV word order as shown in (2) below:

(2) men alma-ni yé-y-men
    1sg-nom apple-acc eat-pres-1sg
‘I eat the apple.’

1.1 Phonemic Inventory and Orthography of Uyghur

Uyghur possess eight vowels and twenty-five consonants. This section outlines the vowel and consonant inventories of the language and presents the orthography of the language. Depending on the analysis, Uyghur has either eight or nine vowels as seen in the chart below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>[-back]</th>
<th>[+back]</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[-round]</td>
<td>[+round]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[+high]</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>ü</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[-high, -low]</td>
<td>é</td>
<td>ö</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[+low]</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>a</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1 – Uyghur Vowels

Analyses such as Hahn (2006) include the high back unrounded vowel [i] in the phonological inventory of Uyghur while others such as Vaux (2001) do not include this vowel. However, regardless of the phonological analysis of this vowel, the orthography of Uyghur only indicates eight vowels and does not include [i].

Uyghur makes use of 25 consonants. These consonants are presented below in a modified IPA chart in Table 2. Table 2 lists consonants using the Latin-based orthography of Uyghur. Where

---
4 The symbols used in this chart are not IPA symbols. Instead, they are the symbols used by the Latin script of Uyghur. For more information about the orthography of Uyghur, see Table 3.
the orthography differs from the IPA symbol, the IPA symbol is included in parentheses next to the consonant. Where two consonants are listed side-by-side, the consonant on the left is voiceless while the consonant on the right is voiced.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Bilabial</th>
<th>Labiodental</th>
<th>Alveolar</th>
<th>Postalveolar</th>
<th>Palatal</th>
<th>Velar</th>
<th>Uvular</th>
<th>Glottal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Stops</td>
<td>p, b</td>
<td>t, d</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>k, g</td>
<td>q</td>
<td></td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nasals</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>n</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ng (ŋ)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flaps</td>
<td></td>
<td>r</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Affricates</td>
<td></td>
<td>ch (ʡ), j(ʤ)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>x, -</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>gh (ɣ)</td>
<td>h, -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fricatives</td>
<td></td>
<td>f, -</td>
<td>s, z</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>w</td>
<td></td>
<td>y (j)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Approximants</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lateral</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Approximants</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>l</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2 – Uyghur Consonants

For many of the consonants in Uyghur, the Latin-based orthography matches that of English (Engesaeth, Yakup & Dwyer 2009). Uyghur has an official script which is a modified version of Arabic script. However, there is also a widely used Latin Script for the language. Table 3 below includes the Arabic and Latin script used to write in Uyghur. This chart is adapted from Engesaeth et al. (2009). For the purposes of this thesis, the Latin script presented below is used in the data examples.
1.2 Uyghur Phonology

Uyghur has a rich phonology that includes vowel harmony (backness and rounding), vowel raising, and consonant harmony (voicing). This section presents a brief inventory of the phonological processes of Uyghur.

1.2.1 Harmony

Uyghur has a rather extensive system of harmony both for consonants and vowels. In general, vowels within a single word agree in backness as shown by the data in Table 4 below\(^5\). The words on the left contain only front ([−back]) vowels while the words on the right contain only back ([+back]) vowels.

\(^5\) Disharmonic words (those which contain both front and back vowels) in Uyghur are rare although they do occur. As Engesaeth and colleagues point out in their textbook, two general exceptions to word-internal harmony are compounds and loan words (2009:21). Some examples include: aghine “friend,” adem “man/person,” ehwal “situation,” eswab “tool.”
The consonants \([k, g, q, \text{ and } gh]\) also seem to undergo harmony. Whenever these consonants appear in suffixes, the velar consonants \([k, g]\) occur with front vowels, while the uvular consonants \([q, gh]\) occur with back vowels. For example, in (3)a and (3)b below, the vowel in the stem öy- is a front vowel: [ö]. Therefore, the consonant in the suffix is the velar consonant [g]. In (3)c and (3)d, the nearest vowel in the stem bazar- is a back vowel: [a]. Therefore, the consonant in the suffix is the uvular consonant [gh].

(3)  

a. öy
   ‘house’

b. öy-ge
   house-DAT
   ‘to the house’

c. bazar
   ‘market’

d. bazar-gha
   market-DAT
   ‘to the market’

In Uyghur, some consonants in suffixes also agree in voicing with the nearest segment in the stem. For instance, the locative suffix –dal-ta sometimes surfaces as the voiced allomorph –da: sometimes as the unvoiced allomorph –ta. As with backness harmony, the variation in the suffix depends on the segments found in the stem. Generally speaking, consonants in the suffix will take on the same voicing feature as the nearest segment in the stem. Some examples of consonant voicing harmony can be seen below.
For the locative suffix, the consonant in the initial position of the suffix takes on the voicing feature of the previous segment. For example, in (4)a and (4)b above, the last segment in the stem *mektep*- is a voiceless bilabial consonant: \([p]\). Therefore, the consonant in the suffix becomes the voiceless alveolar consonant \([t]\). In (4)c and (4)d, the last segment in the stem *öy*- is a voiced palatal glide: \([y]\). Therefore, the consonant in the suffix becomes the voiced alveolar consonant \([d]\).

A well-known fact of Uyghur morphology is that it contains suffixes in which phonemes are often unspecified for certain phonological features such as backness and voicing (Bridges 2008; Engesaeth, Yakup & Dwyer 2009; Lindblad 1990; Vaux 2001). Generally speaking, underspecified vowels and consonants in suffixes agree in backness with the closest stem vowel. Additionally underspecified consonants also agree in voicing with the closest stem segment. A clear example of this is the locative suffix \(/-DA/\) (where capital letters indicate an underspecified segment\(^6\)). Some examples can be seen in Table 6 below:

---

\(^6\) The \(/D/\) in the suffix is underspecified for voicing. This consonant undergoes Consonant Voicing Harmony mentioned earlier in this paper. In Uyghur, underspecified consonants agree in voicing with the previous segment.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Underlying Form</th>
<th>Surface Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[-back]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/üzüm-DA/</td>
<td>[üzümde]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'at/on the grapes’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/mektep-DA/</td>
<td>[mektepte]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘at school’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[+back]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/bala-DA/</td>
<td>[balida]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘at the child’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/shaptul-DA/</td>
<td>[shaptulda]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘on the peach’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6 – Vowel Backness and Consonant Voicing Harmony in Suffixes

In all of these examples, the underspecified vowel of the suffix gets its backness feature from the closest stem vowel. In the words *üzümde* ‘at/on the grapes’ and *mektepte* ‘at school,’ the vowels in the locative suffix –DA are underspecified for backness and receive their [-back] feature from the closest stem vowel. The suffix in *balida* ‘at the child’ and *shaptulda* ‘on the peach’ receive their [+back] feature from the closest stem vowel. The alveolar consonant in the suffix is unspecified for voicing, receiving its voicing feature from the last segment in the stem: [+voice] in the cases of *üzümda, balida,* and *shaptulda* [-voice] in the cases of *mektepte.*

### 1.2.2 Vowel Reduction and Stress Assignment in Uyghur

Certain vowels in Uyghur undergo raising in unstressed positions. In Table 5 above, the underlying form /bala-DA/ becomes *balida* where the final /a/ of the stem, /bala/, becomes /i/. To account for this, let us first consider stress in Uyghur. Uyghur has word-final primary stress.

---

7 This summary of the stress pattern in Uyghur is simplified for the purposes of this paper. For a more in-depth examination of Uyghur stress patterns consult Hahn (2006) and Engesæth et al. (2009).
When suffixes are added, primary stress is reassigned to the end of a word as seen in Table 8.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Surface Form</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>yol-da'</td>
<td>‘on the road’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pul-da'</td>
<td>‘on the money’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a.dem.de'</td>
<td>‘on the man’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a.pet.te'</td>
<td>‘at the disaster’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a.ghi.ni.de'</td>
<td>‘on the friend’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 8 – Stress Reassignment

Just like the word *balida* in Table 6 above, the underlying form */aghine-DA/* becomes *aghinide*.

In both of these examples, the vowels /a/ and /e/ are in open syllables. When primary stress is reassigned to the word-final position, these vowels, /a/ and /e/ are raised to /i/ and /ɨ/ respectively. Both of these vowels are represented by the same vowel *i* in Uyghur orthography.

Let us briefly turn our attention to suffixes that do not participate in backness harmony such as the suffix /-che/. Invariably, the vowel in this suffix surfaces as the front vowel [e]. It seems to be neutral with regard to Backness Harmony as in (5) below.

(5) a. pul-che'
    money-
    ‘money-like’

    b. adem-che'
    man-
    ‘man-like’
Furthermore, this suffix does not appear to interfere with Backness Harmony as in (6) below. In (6)a below, the vowel [a] in the suffix –da is [+back] and gets this feature from the [+back] vowel [u] in the stem pul-. In (6)b, the vowel [e] in the suffix –de is [-back] and gets this feature from the [-back] vowel [e] in the stem adem-.

(6)  

a.  

pul.chi.da  
money- AVZR-LOC  
‘in the manner of money’

b.  

a.dem.chi.de  
man- AVZR-LOC  
‘in the manner of a man’

Even though /-che/ is underlying specified for back, it appears to be transparent with regard to backness harmony.

4. Uyghur Nouns

This section outlines the basic properties of DPs in Uyghur. It begins by discussing when definite and indefinite readings are possible. Then, I briefly discuss adjectival phrases and discuss the plural marker. Following that, I discuss the various kinds of determiners possible in Uyghur followed by a brief discussion of the genitive case.

1.3 Noun template

This section will outline numerous elements that compose noun phrases in Uyghur. Generally speaking, noun phrases in Uyghur follow the following template.

DETERMINER-ADJECTIVE-NOUN-PLURAL-CASE

In Uyghur, bare nouns are possible in simple sentence constructions as seen in (7) below.

---

8 Although the vowel [e] in /-che/ does not interfere with vowel harmony, it does undergo vowel raising as seen in (6). In Uyghur, the vowels [a] and [e] become raised in unstressed position. For a more in-depth analysis of this phenomenon see
When a noun occurs in object position (after the subject and before the verb) without any overt determiners or case marking – such as the accusative particle –ni - the default interpretation is nonspecific as indicated by (7) above. In other words, (7) can only be used in a situation in which there is no specific apple or apples in mind. However, whenever a noun has the overt accusative case, -ni, the interpretation is specific as indicated by (8) below.

(8)  men alma-ni yé-d-im
     1sg-nom apple-acc  eat-PAST-1sg
     ‘*I ate apples.’       NONSPECIFIC
     ‘I ate the apple.’     SPECIFIC

(8) can be used only in situations in which there is a specific apple in mind.

Pronouns in Uyghur have six person and number distinctions: 1st, 2nd, and 3rd and each can be either singular or plural. The chart below shows the pronouns in Uyghur which indicate person and number.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person/Number</th>
<th>Pronoun</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st singular</td>
<td>men</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st plural</td>
<td>biz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd singular (Formal)</td>
<td>siz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd singular (Informal)</td>
<td>sen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd plural</td>
<td>siler</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd singular</td>
<td>u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd plural</td>
<td>ular</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 9 - Pronouns in Uyghur
For regular nouns, singular nouns are unmarked while plurals are indicated by the addition of the suffix –\(lAr\). As seen below, the vowel in the suffix undergoes vowel backness harmony, as discussed in section 1.2.1\(^9\)

\[
(9) \quad \begin{align*}
\text{a.}\ & \text{adem} \\
& \text{man} \\
& \text{‘man/person’} \\
\text{b.}\ & \text{adem-ler} \\
& \text{man-PL} \\
& \text{‘men/people’} \\
\text{c.}\ & \text{alma} \\
& \text{apple} \\
& \text{‘apple’} \\
\text{d.}\ & \text{almi-lar} \\
& \text{apple-PL} \\
& \text{‘apples’}
\end{align*}
\]

When plurals are used in a sentence, the accusative marking is obligatory as seen in (10).

\[
(10) \quad \begin{align*}
\text{men} \ & \text{almi-lar-*(ni)} \ & \text{yé-d-im} \\
& \text{1sg-nom} \ & \text{apple-pl-acc} \ & \text{eat-past-1sg} \\
& \text{‘I ate the apples.’} \\
& \text{‘I ate apples.’}\text{\(^10\)} & \text{Definite} \\
& \text{‘*I ate apples.’}\text{\(^10\)} & \text{Indefinite}
\end{align*}
\]

\(^9\) Whenever a noun occurs with a numeral, plural marking on the noun is not possible as seen below in (1) below.

\[
(1) \quad \begin{align*}
\text{a.}\ & \text{men-Ø} \ & \text{ikki} \ & \text{alma-ni} \ & \text{yé-y-men} \\
& \text{1SG-NOM} \ & \text{two} \ & \text{apple-ACC} \ & \text{eat-NON.PST-1SG} \\
& \text{‘I will eat two apples.’} \\
\text{b.}\ & \text{men-Ø} \ & \text{ikki} \ & \text{almi-lar-ni} \ & \text{yé-y-men} \\
& \text{1SG-NOM} \ & \text{two} \ & \text{apple-PL-ACC} \ & \text{eat-NON.PAST-1SG} \\
& \text{‘I will eat two apples.’}
\end{align*}
\]

\(^10\) In order to say the equivalent of “I ate apples,” in Uyghur, the singular form is used without accusative case marking, as in (1) below. However, this construction carries no inherent “plural” meaning.

\[
(2) \quad \begin{align*}
\text{men} \ & \text{alma} \ & \text{yé-d-im} \\
& \text{1sg} \ & \text{apple} \ & \text{eat-past-1sg}
\end{align*}
\]
1.4 Case

Uyghur has a robust case marking system with six main cases. The case markers, all suffixal, are given in Table 10 below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Marker</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nominative</td>
<td>-Ø</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accusative</td>
<td>-ni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dative</td>
<td>-ge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Locative</td>
<td>-da</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ablative</td>
<td>-din</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Genitive</td>
<td>-ning</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 10 – Case Markers in Uyghur

This section briefly discusses a few case markings in Uyghur: nominative, accusative, dative, locative, ablative, and genitive. As seen in Table 10, nominative case is unmarked in Uyghur as seen by the absence of overt case marking on the subject Torsun in (11) below.

(11) Torsun-ø alma-ni ýé-d-i.  
Torsun-NOM apple-ACC eat-PST-3SG  
‘Torsun ate the apple.’

Accusative case is marked by the overt marker, -ni as seen by the presence of overt case marking on the object alma-ni in (12)a below. Typically, nominative and accusative cases in Uyghur are used to mark grammatical relations of subject and object respectively. In (12)b below, the nominative subject Torsun is unmarked and the accusative object alma is marked with the suffix -ni.

(12) a. Torsun-ø alma-ni ýé-d-i.  
Torsun-NOM apple-ACC eat-PST-3SG  
‘Torsun ate the apple.’

b. Torsun-ø alma-ni ýé-d-i  
Torsun-NOM(Subject) apple-ACC(object) eat-PST-3SG  
‘Torsun ate the apple.’

Furthermore, the presence or absence of accusative case marking in object position is tied to scrambling. In (13)a below, when the object alma ‘apple’ occurs in between the subject and
verb, accusative case marking is optional. The object may be scrambled before the subject, but
only if accusative case marking is present as in (15)b.

(13)  a. men-Ø alma(-ni) yé-d-im   SOV
     1SG-NOM apple-ACC eat-PAST-1SG
     ‘I ate the apple.’

        b. alma*(-ni) men-Ø yé-d-im   OSV
           apple-ACC 1SG-NOM eat-PAST-1SG
           ‘I ate the apple.’

Dative case is marked by -GA, as seen on the indirect object mu’ellim ‘teacher’ in (14) below.

(14)   men   mu’ellim-ge kitab-ni korse-t-im
       1SG-NOM  teacher DAT  book-ACC  show-PAST-1SG
       ‘I showed the teacher the book.’

Dative can be used to mark either grammatical relations (indirect objects) as in (15)a or to
encode semantic meaning such as a goal or objective of an action as in (15)b.

(15)   a. men-Ø torsun-gha alma-ni ber-d-im
       1SG Torsun-DAT apple-ACC give-PAST-1SG
       ‘I gave the apple to Torsun.’

       b. men-Ø oqush-qa bar-d-im
          1SG.NOM  study-GER-DAT go-PAST-1SG
          ‘I went to study.’

Locative case is marked by the suffix –DA. Locative case is typically used to encode semantic
relationships such as location, as shown in (16).

(16)   a. hazir  men-Ø mek tep-te.
      now  1SG-NOM school-LOC
      ‘I am at school right now.’

Ablative case is marked by the suffix, -Din. Ablative case is usually used to encode a source of
an action as seen in (17).

(17)   Men  öy-din  ket-t-im
       1sg  house-abl leave-PAST-1sg
       ‘I left from the house.’
In genitive constructions the possessor precedes the possessum. Nouns agree in person and number with the possessor as the examples below show.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>-(I)m</td>
<td>-(I)miz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>-(I)ngiz</td>
<td>-(I)nglar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd</td>
<td>-(s)i</td>
<td>-(s)i</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 11 – Genitive Case Marking

(18)

a. [men-ning] almi-m
   1st.sg-GEN apple-1st.sg.poss
   ‘my apple’

b. [biz-ning] almi-miz
   1st.pl-GEN apple-1st.pl.poss
   ‘our apple’

c. [siz-ning] almi-ngiz
   2nd.sg-GEN apple-2nd.sg.poss
   ‘your apple’

d. [siler-ning] almi-nglar
   2nd.pl-GEN apple-2nd.pl.poss
   ‘y’all’s apple’

e. [u-ning] almi-si
   3rd.sg-GEN apple-3rd.sg.poss
   ‘his/her apple’

f. [ular-ning] almi-si
   3rd.pl-GEN apple-3rd.pl.poss
   ‘their apple’

g. [Torsun-ning] almi-si
   Torsun-GEN apple-3rd.sg.poss
   ‘Torsun’s apple’

1.5 Demonstratives

There are a number of demonstratives which occur in Uyghur. Like adjectives, demonstratives occur before nouns in simple constructions.

---

11 Uyghur is similar to English in its ordering of nouns and adjectives. In simple sentences, adjectives precede the noun as seen in (1) below.

(1) a. men [qizil alma] ye-d-im.
   1SG-NOM [red apple] eat-PAST-1SG
   ‘I ate a red.’

b. men [qizil alma]-ni ye-d-im
   1SG-NOM [red apple]-ACC eat-PAST-1SG
   ‘I ate the red apples.’
(19) men bu alma*(-ni) yé-men
   1SG-NOM [this apple]-ACC eat-1SG
   ‘I will eat this apple.’

(19) shows that accusative case is obligatory whenever determiners are present with nouns in even object position, accusative case is obligatory. The table below shows some of the most common demonstratives used in Uyghur.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>bu</th>
<th>‘this’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>u</td>
<td>‘that’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shu</td>
<td>‘that over there’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 12 – Three Common Demonstratives of Uyghur

As seen in Table 12, demonstratives in Uyghur encode distance from the speaker.

(20) a. men bu kitab-* (ni) oqu-y-men.
   1SG-NOM this book-ACC read-1SG
   ‘I will read this book.’

   b. men u kitab-* (ni) oqu-y-men.
   1SG-NOM that book-ACC read-1SG
   ‘I will read that book over there.’

   c. men shu alma-* (ni) oqu-y-men.
   1SG-NOM that apple-ACC eat-1SG
   ‘I will eat that apple over there.’

Demonstratives may also be used by themselves as seen in (21).

(21) a. men bu-* (ni) oqu-y-men.
   1SG-NOM this-ACC read-1SG
   ‘I will read this one.’

   b. men u-* (ni) oqu-y-men.
   1SG-NOM that-ACC read-1SG
   ‘I will read that one.’

   c. men shu-* (ni) oqu-y-men.
   1SG-NOM that.over there-ACC eat-1SG
   ‘I will eat that one over there.’

12 There are other demonstratives in Uyghur such as mawu ‘this one,’ awu ‘tha one,’ and mushu ‘this,’ and ‘ashu ‘that one (over there’) among others which are not discussed here for brevity sake. For more information see chapter one of (Engesaeth, Yakup & Dwyer 2009).
As (20) and (21) indicate, accusative case is obligatory on noun phrases that contain a demonstrative.

5. Syntax of Uyghur

This section outlines the basic properties of syntax in Uyghur. It begins by discussing the basic word order involved in sentence formation. The next section discusses verbal negation followed by a section discussing scrambling.

1.6 Word Order in Uyghur

As previously discussed, Uyghur has a basic SOV word order as seen in (22) below.

(22) a. Torsun u ayal-ni kör-d-i
    Torsun that girl-ACC see-PAST-3SG
    ‘Torsun saw that girl.’

   b. Torsun [siz u ayal-ni kör-d-ingiz] dep oyla-y-du
    Torsun 2SG that girl-ACC see-PAST-2SG C think-PRES-3SG
    ‘Torsun thinks that you saw the girl.’

In basic sentence constructions, when the object occurs in pre-verbal position the object may or may not carry accusative case, as previously illustrated.

1.7 Subject Agreement

In Uyghur, verbs agree in person and number with their subjects. Verbs only agree with subjects. Subjects are zero-marked for case and all other nominals are marked with case. As (23)d shows, verbs cannot agree with objects.

(23) a. men-ø alma-ni yé-d-im
    1SG-NOM apple-acc eat-PAST-1SG
    ‘I ate the apple.’
b. **siz-ø** mektep-tin bazar-gha bar-d-**ingiz**  
2SG-NOM school-ABL market-DAT go-PAST-2SG
'You went to the store from school.'

c. **u-ø** sinip-ta oqu-d-*ı*  
3SG-NOM class-LOC study-PAST-3SG
'He/She studied in the classroom.'

d. *men-ø* alma-ni yé-d-*ı*  
1SG-NOM apple-ACC eat-PAST-3SG
'I ate the apple.'

In (23)d, the verb is marked with the 3SG agreement suffix –*ı* in an attempt to agree with the 3SG object *alma-ni* ‘apple-ACC’. The result is ungrammatical.

Personal suffixes on the verb agree in person and number with the subject. Agreement suffixes on verbs vary depending on tense and several other factors. For simplicity sake, the agreement suffixes presented here are for **NON-PAST** tense. In the examples from this section and previous sections, we have already seen person agreement.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person/Number</th>
<th>Pronoun</th>
<th>Verbal Suffix</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st plural</td>
<td>biz</td>
<td>-miz</td>
<td>biz yé-miz ‘We eat,’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd singular (Formal)</td>
<td>siz</td>
<td>-siz</td>
<td>siz yé-siz ‘You eat,’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd singular (Informal)</td>
<td>sen</td>
<td>-sen</td>
<td>sen yé-sen ‘You eat.’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd plural</td>
<td>siler</td>
<td>-siler</td>
<td>siler yé-siler ‘You all eat.’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd singular</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>-du</td>
<td>u yé-du ‘He/She eat.’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd plural</td>
<td>ular</td>
<td>-du</td>
<td>ular yé-du ‘They eat.’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table 13 - Person and Number Agreement**

Both 1st and 2nd person can be distinguished for number and each has its own verbal suffix. However, the verbal suffix for 3rd person singular and 3rd person plural are homophonous.
1.8  Tense

Tense is marked by a suffix on the verb stem. This suffix occurs to the right of the stem and to the left of person agreement as seen in (24) below. The two most common tense markings in Uyghur are the PAST and NON-PAST tense.

(24)  a. (biz) bazar-gha bar-i-miz  NON-PAST
      (1pl) market-DAT go-NON.PAST-1PL
      ‘We go to the market.’
      ‘We will go to the market.’

         b. (biz) bazar-gha bar-di-miz  PAST
            1PL  market-DAT go-PAST-3PL
            ‘We went to the market.’

As (24) indicates, the non-PAST tense marker can indicate either simple present tense or future meaning. For the purposes of this thesis, I sometimes give only one translation. However, both readings are usually possible.

1.9  Negation

Sentential negation is indicated by the suffix, /-mA-/\(^{13}\). The negative suffix occurs after the verb stem and before the tense suffix.

(25)  a. men kitab-ni oqu-y-men
      1sg-nom book-acc read-pres-1sg
      ‘I read the book.’

         b. men kitab-ni oqu-\textbf{ma}-y-men
            1sg-nom book-acc read-neg-pres-1sg
            ‘I do not read the book.’

As seen in (25)b, the suffix –\textbf{ma}- occurs between the verb stem \textit{oqu}- and the present tense suffix –\textit{y}-.

\(^{13}\) The vowel in the negative suffix is underspecified for backness and undergoes vowel backness harmony discussed in section 1.2.2.
1.10 Scrambling

Although Uyghur has basic SOV word order, other word orders are possible as Uyghur allows for extensive scrambling. For examples as (26) below shows, the object may be moved to the left edge of the sentence. As noted, in these situations, the object must have obligatory Accusative case.

(26) a. \textbf{alma-}ni men yé-d-im.  
\text{Scrambling with Accusative Case}  
\text{apple-acc 1sg eat-past-1sg}  
‘I ate the apple.’

b. *\textbf{alma} men yé-d-im  
\text{Scrambling without Accusative Case}  
\text{apple 1SG eat-PAST-1SG}  
‘I ate the apple.’  
‘I ate apples.’

However, as (27) below indicates, post-verbal scrambling is not allowed even when overt Accusative case marking is present.

(27) *men yé-d-im \textbf{alma-(ni)}  
\text{1SG eat-PAST-1ST \textbf{apple-(ACC)}}  
‘I ate the apple/apples.’

Unlike scrambling in matrix clauses, scrambling out of an embedded clause is not possible, as (28) indicates.

(28) *\textbf{alma(-ni)} men-ø [Torsun-ø yé-GEN] bil-i-men  
\text{apple-(ACC) 1sg-nom [Torsun-nom eat-indef.past] know-non.past-1sg}  
*‘I know that Torsun ate the apple.’

However, scrambling within an embedded clause is possible is possible as (29) indicates. In this case, accusative case-marking on the object is obligatory.
(29)  men-ø  [alma*(-ni) Torsun-ø  yé-gen]  bil-i-men
     1sg-nom  [apple*(-acc) Torsun-nom eat-indef.past]  know-non.past-1sg
     ‘I know that Torsun ate the apple.

6.  Q-Formation in Uyghur

This section discusses the formation of questions. Uyghur has two basic types of question formation: yes/no questions and wh- questions. Section 1.11 will discuss yes/no question formation while section 1.12 will discuss wh- questions.

1.11  Yes/No Questions

There are two ways to ask a yes/no question in Uyghur. The first is by attaching the particle –mu to the right edge of copula clauses as seen in (30). (30)a-b show question formation from a noun copula clause. (30)c-d show question formation from an adjectival clause. (30)e-f show question formation from a negative copula clause.

(30)  a.  Bu  depter  qizil.
       this-NOM  notebook  red
       ‘This notebook is red.’

       b.  Bu  depter  qizil-mu.
           this-NOM  notebook  red-Q
           ‘Is this notebook red?’

       c.  Bu  kitab  emes
           this-NOM  book  NEG
           this is not a book
In verbal clauses, yes/no questions are formed by the addition of the suffix –Am- to the verb. This suffix occurs to the right of negation and to the left of person agreement as seen in (31) below.

(31) a. Siz alma ye-y-siz
   2sg-nom apple eat-non.past-2sg
   ‘You eat apples.’

b. Siz bazar-gha ba-r-am-siz?
   2SG-nom market-ACC eat-Q-2SG
   ‘Do you go to the store?’

c. Siz bazar-gha ba-r-m-am-siz?
   2SG-nom market-DAT eat-NEG-Q-2SG
   ‘Don’t you go to the market?’

The vowel in this suffix undergoes backness harmony to agree with the vowels of the stem, as seen in (32).

(32) a. siz bazar-gha bar-am-siz? Front Vowel Harmony
   2SG-nom market-DAT go-Q-2SG
   ‘Do you go to the market?’

b. siz téléwizor-ni kör-em-siz? Back Vowel Harmony
   2SG-nom television-ACC watch-Q-2SG
   ‘Do you watch television?’

---

14 It is worth noting that the question marker –mu is homophonous with the suffix –mu used to indicate the notions of “also” or “too.” However, this suffix usually occurs after nouns in the middle of sentences, whereas the question particle –mu only occurs at the end of sentences as seen in (1) below.

(1) a. Bu deper-mu qizil
    this-NOM notebook-also-red
    ‘This notebook is red.’

c. Bu deper qizil-mu
    this-nom notebook red-Q
    ‘Is this notebook red?’
In (31) and (32) the suffix –Am is used in present tense clauses (i.e. zero tense marking). To form yes/no questions in the past-tense, the particle –mu is used, as seen in (33) below.

(33) a. siz bazar-gha bar-d-ingiz-mu?
    2SG market-DAT go-PAST-2SG-q
    ‘Did you go to the market?’

b. siz télëwizor-ni kör-d-ingiz-mu?
    2SG television-ACC watch-PAST-2SG-q
    ‘Did you watch television?’

c. siz kitab oqu-d-ingiz-mu?
    2SG book read-PAST-2SG-q
    ‘Did you read books?’

Comparing the –Am suffix with the –mu suffix as in (34)a-b below, it appears that the two suffixes occur in different positions. In (34)a, the –Am suffix occurs to the left of person agreement. While in (34)b, the –mu suffix occurs to the right of person agreement.

(34) a. siz bazar-gha bar-em-siz
    2SG market-DAT go-q-2SG
    ‘Do you go to the market?’

b. siz bazar-gha bar-d-ingiz-mu?
    2SG market-DAT go-PAST-2SG-q
    ‘Did you go to the market?’

The –am- question affix appears to inside the verb construction, while the –mu question affix appears at the right edge of the sentence/verb.

15 For stems that end in a vowel, the A is dropped from the suffix to resolve vowel hiatus as seen in (1) below.

(1) siz kitab oqu-m-siz? Vowel Hiatus Resolution
    2sg book read-q-2sg
    ‘Do you read books?’

In this example, the suffix –Am- is added to the stem oqu-. oqu- ends in the front vowel u therefore the A is dropped to prevent the incorrect form oquamsiz.
1.12 WH- Questions

Uyghur is a wh- in situ language. That is, wh- items occur in their base position and take matrix scope. (35)a-c show a simple verbal clause. In (35)b, the name enwer is replaced with the wh- item kim ‘who,’ creating a wh-question. In (35)c, the subject siz is replaced with the wh- item kim ‘who.’ The data in (b) and (c) shows that there are not case/argument specific forms of wh-items.

(35)  a.  siz-ø  enwer-ni  kor-d-ingiz.
      2sg-nom  Enwer-acc  see-past-2sg
      ‘You saw Enwer.’

  b.  siz-ø  kim-ni  kor-d-ingiz?
      2sg-nom  who-acc  see-past-2sg
      ‘Who did you see?’

  c.  kim-ø  enwer-ni  kor-d-i?
      who-nom  Enwer-acc  see-past-3rd
      ‘Who saw Enwer?’

  d.  siz-ø  néme-ni  kor-d-ingiz?
      2sg-nom  what-acc  see-past-2sg
      ‘What did you see?’

  e.  néme-ø  bol-d-i
      what-nom  became-past-3sg
      ‘What happened?’

  f.  siz-ø  qaysi  kino-ni  kor-d-ingiz?
      2sg-nom  which  movie-acc  see-past-2sg
      ‘Which movie did you see?’

  g.  siz-ø  enwer-ni  qeyer-de  kor-d-ingiz.
      2sg-nom  Enwer-acc  where-loc  see-past-2sg
      ‘Where did you see Enwer (at)?’

  h.  siz-ø  enwer-ni  qandaq  kor-d-ingiz.
      2sg-nom  Enwer-acc  how  see-past-2sg
      ‘How did you see Enwer?’

  i.  siz-ø  enwer-ni  qachan  kor-d-ingiz.
      2sg-nom  Enwer-acc  when  see-past-2sg
      ‘When did you see Enwer?’
j. némishqa siz-∅ kino-ni kor-d-ingiz.
why 2sg-nom movie-acc see-past-2sg
‘Why did you watch the movie?’

The table below lists the *wh-* items in Uyghur.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>who</th>
<th>kim</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>what</td>
<td>néme</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>when</td>
<td>qachan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>where (to)</td>
<td>ne-ge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>where-DAT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>where (at)</td>
<td>ne-de</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>where-LOC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>why</td>
<td>némishqa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>how</td>
<td>qandaq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>which</td>
<td>qaysi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 14 – *wh-* items in Uyghur

*Wh*-movement is optionally possible in Uyghur, as seen in (36) below.

(36) a. **kim***(-ni) siz-∅ kor-d-ingiz?
      **who-acc** 2sg-nom see-past-2sg
      ‘Who did you see?’

       b. qeyer-de siz-∅ enwer-ni kor-d-ingiz.
          **where-loc** 2sg-nom Enwer-acc see-past-2sg
          ‘Where did you see Enwer (at).’

       c. qandaq siz-∅ enwer-ni kor-d-ingiz.
          **how** 2sg-nom Enwer-acc see-past-2sg
          ‘How did you see Enwer.’

As can be seen in the data above, *wh*-questions in Uyghur do not involve a question particle.

Like scrambling out of an embedded clause, *wh*-movement out of an embedded clause is not possible, as (37) indicates. The direct object, néme ‘*what*’, of the embedded verb, ýé- ‘*eat*’, has been moved to the left periphery of the matrix clause. However, this construction is ungrammatical.

(37) *néme*(-ni) men-∅ [Torsun-∅ ýé-gen] bil-i-men
      **what-ACC** 1SG-NOM [Torsun-NOM eat-INDEF.PAST] know-NON.PAST-1SG
      *I know what Torsun ate.*
To get matrix scope of an embedded wh- item, an ECM-like construction is used: the embedded wh- item carries accusative case presumably assigned by the matrix verb.

(38) a. Torsun néme-ni [siz-ni oqu-d-ingiz dep] oyi-d-i?
    ‘What did Torsun think that you read?’

    b. Torsun kim-ni [kitab-ni oqu-d-i dep] oyi-d-i?
    Torsun who-ACC [book-ACC read-PAST-3SG C] think-PAST-3SG
    ‘Who did Torsun think read the book?’

This appears to be some sort of partial-wh-movement in the sense that the wh- item seems to be raised out of the embedded clause. Furthermore, it appears as though the embedded wh- items are raised into an intermediate position instead of being fully raised into Spec.CP. However, this movement does not use a wh-copy or a wh-expletive. Embedded questions are similar to matrix questions in that wh- items occur in-situ as seen in (39).

(39) a. men-ø [kim-ø alma(-ni) yé-GEN] bil-i-men
    1sg-nom [who-nom apple(-acc) eat-indef.past] know-non.past-1sg
    ‘I know who ate the apple’

    b. men-ø [Torsun néme(-ni) yé-GEN] bil-i-men
    1SG-NOM [Torsun-NOM what(-ACC) ate-INDEF.PAST] know-non-PAST-1SG
    ‘I know what Torsun ate.’

Scrambling is possible in embedded questions but only to the edge of the embedded clause. As seen in (40) below.

(40) men-ø [néme*(-ni) Torsun-ø yé-GEN] bil-i-men
    1sg-nom [what*(-acc) Torsun-nom eat-indef.past] know-non-past-1sg
    ‘I know what Torsun ate.’

1.13 Multiple wh-questions

Uyghur allows multiple wh- questions as seen in (41) below. As seen in the comparison between (41)a and (41)b, the order of the wh- items is reversible.
(41) a. siz-ø kim-ni qeyer-de kor-d-ingiz?
   2SG-NOM who-ACC where-LOC see-PAST-2SG
   ‘Who did you see where?’

b. siz-ø qeyer-de kim-ni kor-d-ingiz?
   2SG-NOM where-LOC who-ACC see-PAST-2SG
   ‘Who did you see where?’

Furthermore, Uyghur allows multiple wh-expressions to scramble, as shown in (42). The ordering between these items is reversible as seen in the comparison between (42)a and (42)b. These items may be interrupted as shown in (42)c.

(42) a. kim-ni qeyer-de siz-ø kor-d-ingiz?
   who-ACC where-LOC 2SG-NOM see-PAST-2SG
   ‘Who did you see where?’

b. qeyer-de kim-ni siz-ø kor-d-ingiz?
   where-LOC who-ACC 2SG-NOM see-PAST-2SG
   ‘Who did you see where?’

c. qeyer-de charshenbe-da kim-ni siz-ø kor-d-ingiz?
   where-LOC Wednesday-LOC who-ACC 2SG-NOM see-PAST-2SG
   ‘Who did you see where on Wednesday?’

d. kim-ni qeyer-de charshenbe-da siz-ø kor-d-ingiz?
   who-ACC where-LOC Wednesday-LOC 2SG-NOM see-PAST-2SG
   ‘Who did you see where on Wednesday?’

In Uyghur, however, multiple wh-fronting is not obligatory and these elements may occur in situ.
7. Uyghur Quantifiers: Syntactic Distribution

The current work examines quantificational pronouns in Uyghur. I look at three main groups of pronouns: universal pronouns, negative indefinite pronouns and three series of indefinite pronouns. The third category contains three different series.\(^6\) Examples of these quantifier pronouns are given in (43) below.

\[
\begin{align*}
(43) & \quad \text{a. her kim} \text{ u-ni kör-d-i} & \text{Universal} \\
 & \quad \text{every who 3SG-ACC see-PAST-3SG} \\
 & \quad \text{‘Everyone saw him/her.’}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
 & \quad \text{b. [héch-kim} \text{ nan-ni yé-me-d-i]} & \text{Negative Indefinite} \\
 & \quad \text{no-who nan-acc eat-neg-past-3sg} \\
 & \quad \text{‘No one ate the nan.’}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
 & \quad \text{c. men} \text{ bir-kim-ni isde-wat-i-men} & \text{Bir-series Existential} \\
 & \quad \text{1sg some-kim-acc search-prog-pres-1sg} \\
 & \quad \text{‘I am looking for someone.’}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
 & \quad \text{d. men} \text{ birer adem-ni isde-wat-i-men} & \text{Birer-series Existential} \\
 & \quad \text{1sg some man-acc search-prog-pres-1sg} \\
 & \quad \text{‘I am looking for someone.’}
\end{align*}
\]

In this section of the thesis, I begin by discussing the morphological composition of the quantificational pronouns in Uyghur (section 1.14). In the following sections, I examine the syntactic distribution of each of the pronoun series: Section 1.15 discusses the universal pronouns, section 1.16 discusses the Negative indefinite pronouns, section 1.17 discusses the bir-series existential pronouns, and section 1.18 discusses the birer-series existential pronouns.

---

\(^6\) The four series discussed in this thesis are by no means exhaustive of the quantificational pronouns in Uyghur. Uyghur contains many more series of quantificational pronouns not specifically discussed in this thesis: the dur-series, the alli-series, the bezi-series, among others. See the appendix for a brief discussion of the existential –dur series. For examples of the various other quantificational pronouns available in Uyghur see Chapter 8 of Tömür (2003).
1.14 Quantifier Pronoun Morphology

As will be discussed in Section 8, the four series of quantificational pronouns discussed in this thesis may function as indefinite pronouns. For this reason, I will draw on Haspelmath’s (1997) discussion of indefinite pronouns morphology to help understand the morphology of these quantifier series in Uyghur. Haspelmath points out that cross-linguistically, indefinite pronouns tend to consist of two parts, a *STEM* corresponding to ontological category, and an *INDEFINITENESS MARKER*. The indefiniteness marker is ‘a formal element shared by all members of an indefinite pronoun series, such as *some-* and *any-* in English . . .’ (1997:26). I have summarized Haspelmath’s compositional breakdown of indefinite pronouns into the following indefinite pronoun template.

(44) Indefinite pronoun template:

Indefiniteness Marker + Stem (Ontological categories)

According to Haspelmath, the stems with which the indefiniteness markers co-occur are derived from two main categories: interrogative pronouns (such as ‘who,’ ‘what,’ ‘where,’ ‘when,’ ‘how,’ etc.) and generic ontological-category nouns (such as ‘person’, ‘thing’, ‘place’, ‘time’, ‘manner’, etc.) (Haspelmath 1997:29). In Uyghur, stems of pronouns may be composed of both *wh-* items and generic nouns. Some examples are given in Table 15 below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Interrogative</th>
<th>Generic Nouns</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>héch-kim</td>
<td>héch-nerse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>no what</td>
<td>no thing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘nothing’</td>
<td>‘nothing’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bir-kim</td>
<td>bir-nerse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>some-what</td>
<td>some-thing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘something’</td>
<td>‘something’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 15 – Examples of Indefinite Pronouns
The morphological forms of the quantifier markers of these four series appear to follow two patterns. Quantifier pronoun markers may occur as separate words which combine with wh-items and generic nouns. This is the pattern that the universal her series and the existential birer-series appear to follow. Quantifier markers may also be prefixes which attach to wh-items and generic nouns. This pattern is observed with the negative indefinite héch-series and the existential bir-series. These patterns are exemplified in Table 19 below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pattern</th>
<th>wh-items</th>
<th>Generic Nouns</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Universal her series</td>
<td>Separate Word</td>
<td>her néme every what ‘everything’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negative Indefinite héch-series</td>
<td>Prefix</td>
<td>héch-néme no-what ‘nothing’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Existential bir-series</td>
<td>Prefix</td>
<td>bir-néme one-what ‘something’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Existential birer-series</td>
<td>Separate Word</td>
<td>*birer néme one what ‘something’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 19 Morphological forms of Quantificational Pronouns in Uyghur

The universal, negative indefinite, and bir-series indefinite pronouns may occur with both wh-items and generic nouns. However, the birer-series may only occur with generic nouns. There appears to be no significant difference in semantic meaning between the forms with wh-items and the forms with generic nouns.

17 The claims made about the morphological forms of these pronouns are derived from orthographic representations in texts and speaker intuitions. There is a great deal of variation in the orthography as to whether the pronoun markers and their stems are represented as separate words or as a single element. Whether or not these forms are prefixes or standalone words remains an open question for further investigation.

18 The birer-series may only occur with generic nouns. This is discussed in further detail in sections 1.18 below.
This section has outlined the general morphological properties of four quantificational pronoun series in Uyghur. The sections that follow will examine each of these pronoun series and outline their syntactic distribution.

1.15 Universal Quantifiers

Universal quantifiers are formed when the word her ‘every’ co-occurs with wh- items and generic nouns. In (45) below, examples (a) and (b) show her occurring with the wh- items, néme and kim respectively. In (c), her occurs with the generic noun nerse ‘thing’.

   (45)  a.  men her néme-ni yé-d-im
        1SG  every what-ACC eat-PAST-1SG
        ‘I ate everything.’

       b.  siz her kim-ni chiqir-d-ingiz
        2SG every who-ACC call-PAST-2SG
        ‘You called everyone.’

       c.  Bu her nerse-ni kör-d-i
        3SG every thing-ACC see-PAST-3SG
        ‘He/She saw everything.’

However, there is a restriction on what nouns her can occur with. In (46) below for example, her cannot occur with a content noun like alma ‘apple’.

   (46)  *men her alma-ni yé-d-im
        1SG  every apple-ACC eat-PAST-1SG
        Intended: ‘I ate every apple.’

To say the equivalent, of ‘I ate every apple’ the word hemme ‘all’ is used, as in (47)a below.

Note that unlike her ‘every,’ hemme ‘all’ cannot be used with wh- items such as néme ‘what’ as in (47)b below.

   (47)  a.  men hemme alma-ni yé-d-im
        1SG all apple-ACC eat-PAST-1SG
        ‘I ate every apple./ I ate all the apples.’
b. *men hemme néme-ni yé-d-im
   1SG all what-ACC eat-PAST-1SG
   Intended: “I ate everything.”

Table 17, below, lists the universal quantifiers in Uyghur. With the exception of nemishqa\textsuperscript{19} ‘why,’ every wh- item in Uyghur can combine with the prefix her. The wh- items qeyer ‘where’ and né ‘where’ can occur with the prefix as well. However, this combination requires the presence of case marking as seen (b)-(e) and (m)-(p) below.

<p>| | | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a)</td>
<td>her kim</td>
<td>every who</td>
<td>‘everyone’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b)</td>
<td>*her né</td>
<td>every where</td>
<td>Intended: ‘everywhere’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c)</td>
<td>her né-ge</td>
<td>every where-DAT</td>
<td>‘to everywhere’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d)</td>
<td>her né-de</td>
<td>every where-LOC</td>
<td>‘at everywhere’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e)</td>
<td>her né-din</td>
<td>every where-ABL</td>
<td>‘from everywhere’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f)</td>
<td>her néme</td>
<td>every what</td>
<td>‘everything’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g)</td>
<td>*her némishqa</td>
<td>every why</td>
<td>Intended: ‘for every reason’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h)</td>
<td>her nerse</td>
<td>every thing</td>
<td>‘everything’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i)</td>
<td>her qachan</td>
<td>every when</td>
<td>‘every time’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>j)</td>
<td>her qanche</td>
<td>every how much?</td>
<td>‘every amount’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k)</td>
<td>her qandaq</td>
<td>every how</td>
<td>‘every way/manner’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>l)</td>
<td>her qaysi</td>
<td>every which</td>
<td>‘each’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m)</td>
<td>*her qeyer</td>
<td>every where</td>
<td>Intended: ‘everywhere’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n)</td>
<td>her qeyer-ge</td>
<td>every where-DAT</td>
<td>‘to everywhere’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o)</td>
<td>her qeyer-de</td>
<td>every where-LOC</td>
<td>‘at everywhere’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p)</td>
<td>her qeyer-din</td>
<td>every where-ABL</td>
<td>‘from everywhere’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 17 Universal Quantifiers in Uyghur

The universal quantifiers with wh- items as their stem do not carry matrix question scope (interrogative interpretation) even though they contain a wh-expression. (48)a shows a basic wh-question using néme ‘what.’ (48)b shows the universal quantifier her néme ‘everyone’ in the same position. However, it does not carry interrogative interpretation.

(48)  a. u néme(-ni) yé-d-i
       3SG what(-ACC) eat-PAST-3SG
       ‘What did he/she eat?’

\textsuperscript{19} The pronoun her némishqa ‘every why/reason’ does not exist in Uyghur.
b. u her néme(-ni) yé-d-i
   3SG every what(-ACC) eat-PAST-3SG
   ‘He/she ate everything.’
Not: ‘What (all) did he/she eat?’

Furthermore, universal quantifiers can be used with the question particle –mu while wh- items cannot.

(49) a. *u néme(-ni) yé-d-i-mu?
   3SG what(-ACC) eat-PAST-3SG-Q
   Intended: ‘What did he/she eat?’

b. u her néme(-ni) yé-d-i-mu?
   3SG every what(-ACC) eat-PAST-3SG-Q
   ‘Did he/she eat everything.’

Universal quantifiers can be scrambled. Object-universal quantifiers can occur before the subject but accusative case marking is obligatory. Scrambling of object-universal quantifiers to the right of the verb-phrase is not possible. In (50)a below, her kim has been scrambled to the left of the subject u (the accusative case marker –ni is obligatory in this example). In (50)b, her kim has been scrambled to the right of the verb phrase. (50)b is ungrammatical even with the overt accusative case marker, -ni.

(50) a. her kim*(-ni) u kör-d-i
   every who(-ACC) 3SG see-PAST-3SG
   ‘He/She saw everyone.’

b. *u kör-d-i her kim(-ni)
   3SG see-PAST-3SG every who(-ACC)
   Intended: ‘He/She saw everyone.’

Universal quantifiers may occur in either subject or object position. In (51)a her kim ‘everyone’ occurs in object position; in (b), her kim is in subject position.

(51) a. u her kim(-ni) kör-d-i
   3SG every who(-ACC) see-PAST-3SG
   ‘He/she saw everyone.’
b. *her  kim u-ni  kör-d-i
     every who 3SG-ACC see-PAST-3SG
‘Everyone saw him/her.’

When her universal quantifiers occur in a verbal construction, they cannot occur with verbal negation. In (52)a below, the pronoun her néme ‘everything’ is in object position and occurs in the same clause as negation on the verb yé- ‘eat’. The construction is ungrammatical. Example (52)b shows that when negation is not present on the verb, the sentence containing the pronoun is grammatical.

(52)  a.  *men  her  neme(-ni)  yé-me-d-im
       1SG  every what(-ACC)  eat-NEG-PAST-1SG
       Intended: ‘I didn’t eat everything.’

       b.  men  her  neme(-ni)  yé-d-im
       1SG  every what(-ACC)  eat-PAST-1SG
       ‘I ate everything.’

Unlike the universal quantifiers, the word hemme ‘all’ can be used with negation as seen in (53).

(53)  men  hemme  alma-ni  yé-me-d-im.
       1SG  all  apple-ACC  eat-NEG-PAST-1SG
       ‘I did not eat all the apples.’
       ‘It is not the case that I ate all the apples.’

We observe the same pattern with universal quantifiers in subject position. In (54)a below, the pronoun her kim ‘everyone’ is in subject position and occurs in the same clause as negation on the verb yé- ‘eat.’ The construction is ungrammatical. Example (54)b shows that when negation is not present on the verb, the sentence containing the pronoun is grammatical.

(54)  a.)  *her  kim  nan-ni  yé-mi-di
         every who  nan-ACC  eat-NEG-PAST-3SG
         Intended: ‘Everyone didn’t eat nan.’

       b.)  her  kim  nan-ni  yé-di
         every who  nan-ACC  eat-PAST-3SG
         ‘Everyone ate nan.’
In embedded clauses, we would expect the same pattern to emerge: universal quantifiers cannot occur in the same clause as verbal negation. This pattern is observed with embedded objects, as seen in (55) below. In (55)a, the universal quantifier occurs in the same clause as verbal negation and the sentence is ungrammatical. In (55)b, the universal quantifier does not occur in the same clause as verbal negation and the sentence is grammatical (even though the matrix verb carries negation).

(55)  

a.  *men [Enwer her néme-ni yé-me-d-i] dep oyla-y-men  
1SG [every one every what(-ACC) eat-NEG-PAST-3SG] C think-NON.PAST-1SG  
‘I think Enwer ate everything.’

b.  men [Enwer(-ni) her néme-ni yé-d-i] dep oyli-ma-y-men  
1SG [Enwer every what(-ACC) eat-PAST-3SG] C think-NEG-NON.PAST-1SG  
‘I don’t think Enwer ate everything.’

It is not the case that I think Enwer ate everything.

With universal quantifiers in embedded subject position, we see the same pattern. In (56)a, the embedded subject, universal quantifier herkim ‘everyone,’ occurs with verbal negation on the embedded verb and the sentence is ungrammatical. In (56)b, the same embedded subject occurs in the embedded clause with verbal negation on the matrix verb and the result is judged grammatical.

(56)  

a.  *men [her kim nan-ni yé-me-d-i] dep oyla-y-men  
1SG [every who nan-ACC eat-NEG-PAST-3SG] C think-NON.PAST-1SG  
Intended: ‘I think everyone did not eat the nan.’

b.  men [her kim nan-ni yé-d-i] dep oyli-ma-y-men  
1SG [every who nan-ACC eat-PAST-3SG] C think-NEG-NON.PAST-1SG  
‘I don’t think everyone ate the nan.’

There is a third type of embedded construction in which the embedded subject is marked with accusative case marking. Before discussing quantifiers in these types of constructions, I will first look at this construction with basic nouns in these embedded clauses.
We have previously seen the simple embedded construction as in (57) in which the embedded subject has nominal (or is zero marked for) case.

(57) mu’ellim [oqughuchi tapshuruq qil-d-i dep] oyla-y-du
teacher [student homework do-PAST-3SG C] think-PRES-3SG
‘The teacher thinks the student did the homework.’

However, in embedded constructions like (57), the embedded subject may take optional accusative case marking resulting in an ECM-like construction like that in (58).

(58) mu’ellim oqughuchi-\textit{ni} [tapshuruq qil-d-i dep] oyla-y-men
teacher student-ACC [homework do-PAST-3SG C] think-PRES-1SG
‘The teacher thinks that the student did the homework.’
Or ‘The teacher thinks the student to have done his homework.’

In these accusative constructions, it is interesting to point out that unlike canonical ECM constructions the embedded clause is finite. According to some analyses of ECM constructions the presence of accusative case marking on an embedded subject indicates that the embedded subject has been raised out of the embedded clause into the matrix clause (Davies & Dubinsky 2008).

Adopting this assumption, we claim that when a pronoun in embedded subject position has accusative case, that it has raised into the matrix clause. We have previously seen that universal quantifiers cannot occur in the same clause as negation. In the ECM-like constructions, the embedded subject has raised out of the embedded clause into the matrix clause. We would, therefore, expect sentences with verbal negation in embedded clauses to be compatible with raised universal quantifier pronouns because the universal quantifier is no longer in the same clause as negation. Conversely, we would expect sentences with verbal negation on the matrix verb to be incompatible with raised universal pronouns because the universal quantifier is now in the matrix clause with matrix verbal negation.
However, the predicted pattern is not observed. In (59)a, below, the universally quantified subject is marked with accusative case. We would expect this to be grammatical because the universal quantifier is no longer in the same clause as negation. However, the construction is ungrammatical. This suggests that the universal quantifier is interpreted as if it is in the embedded clause: i.e. obligatory reconstruction. In (59)b, the universal quantifier is also interpreted in the embedded clause. The sentence is grammatical because the quantifier is not in the matrix clause with verbal negation.

(59)  a. *men her kim-ni [nan-ni yé-me-d-i] dep oyla-y-men
    1SG every who-ACC [nan-ACC eat-NEG-PAST-3SG] C think-NON.PAST-1SG
    Intended: ‘I think that everyone did not eat the nan.’

    b. men [her kim-ni nan-ni yé-d-i] dep oyli-ma-y-men
    1SG [every who-ACC nan-ACC eat-PAST-3SG] C think-NEG-NON.PAST-1SG
    ‘I don’t think everyone ate the nan.’
    ‘It is not the case that I think everyone ate nan.’

It would appear that universal quantifiers obligatorily reconstruct into the embedded clause in ECM-like constructions.

(60)  [CP men her kim-ni] [CP tj nan-ni yé-me-d-i dep] oyla-y-men

That is, accusative case-marked embedded subject universal pronouns are always interpreted as if they are in the embedded clause.

1.16 Negative Quantifiers

Next, I will discuss the negative quantifiers. This series is formed by the addition of the prefix héch- to wh- items and generic ontological nouns. In (61) below, examples (a) and (b) show héch- occurring with the wh-items, néme and kim respectively. In (c), however, héch- occurs with the generic noun nerse ‘thing’.

38
(61) a. men héch-néme(-ni) yé-mi-d-im
    1SG no-what(-ACC) eat-NEG-PAST-1SG
    ‘I didn’t eat anything.’

b. siz héch-kim(-ni) chiqir-mi-d-ingiz
    2sg no-who(-acc) call-neg-past-2sg
    ‘You did not call anyone.’

c. Bu héch-nerse(-ni) kör-mi-d-i
    3SG no-thing(-ACC) see-NEG-PAST-3SG
    ‘He/She did not see anything.’

However, there is a restriction to what nouns this prefix can occur with. In (62) below for
example héch- cannot occur with a content noun like gürüch, ‘rice’

(62) *men héch-gürüch-ni yé-mi-d-im
    1SG no-rice-ACC eat-NEG-PAST-1SG
    Intended: ‘I did not eat any rice.’

In order to communicate the sentiment ‘I did not eat any rice at all,’ the negative quantifier,
héch-qanche ‘no amount’, is used. This indefinite pronoun is used with mass nouns such as
gürüch ‘rice’ in (63)a and count nouns such as alma ‘apple’ in (63)b.

(63) a. men héch-qanche gürüch-ni yé-mi-d-im
    1SG no-how.much rice-ACC eat-NEG-PAST-1SG
    ‘I did not eat any rice at all.’

b. men héch-qanche almi-ni yé-mi-d-im
    1SG no-how.much apple-ACC eat-NEG-PAST-1SG
    ‘I didn’t eat any apples at all.’

Table 13, below, lists the negative quantifiers in Uyghur.
These negative quantifiers are often translated as the English equivalent of ‘any-X.’ However, unlike constructions like *anyone, anything, etc.* in English; negative quantifiers in Uyghur have a number of interesting features. The first is that negative quantifiers in Uyghur can be used as answers to questions (cf. (64) below). Secondly, when they do occur as answers to questions, they carry negative interpretation. For example, in (64) below, the wh- question equivalent of ‘Who came to your house?’ can be answered with the negative pronoun héch-kim ‘no one’. The interpretation of the answer is negative: ‘No one came to the house.’

(64) Q: Kim öy-ingiz-gha kel-d-i?
    who house-2SG.POSS-DAT come-PAST-3
    ‘Who came to your house?’

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a)</td>
<td>héch-adem</td>
<td>no-person</td>
<td>‘no one’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b)</td>
<td>héch-kim</td>
<td>no-who</td>
<td>‘no one’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c)</td>
<td>*héch-né</td>
<td>no-where</td>
<td>Intended: ‘nowhere’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d)</td>
<td>héch-né-ge</td>
<td>no-where-DAT</td>
<td>‘to nowhere’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e)</td>
<td>héch-né-de</td>
<td>no-where-LOC</td>
<td>‘at nowhere’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f)</td>
<td>héch-né-din</td>
<td>no-where-ABL</td>
<td>‘from nowhere’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g)</td>
<td>héch-néme</td>
<td>no-what</td>
<td>‘nothing’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h)</td>
<td>*héch-némishqa</td>
<td>no-why</td>
<td>Intended: ‘for no reason’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i)</td>
<td>héch-nerse</td>
<td>no-thing</td>
<td>‘nothing’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>j)</td>
<td>héch-qachan</td>
<td>no-when</td>
<td>‘no time’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k)</td>
<td>héch-panche</td>
<td>no-how much?</td>
<td>‘no amount’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>l)</td>
<td>héch-qandaq</td>
<td>no-how</td>
<td>‘no how’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m)</td>
<td>*héch-qaysi</td>
<td>no-which</td>
<td>Intended: ‘no which’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n)</td>
<td>*héch-qeyer</td>
<td>no-where</td>
<td>Intended: ‘nowhere’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o)</td>
<td>héch-qeyer-ge</td>
<td>no-where-DAT</td>
<td>‘to nowhere’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p)</td>
<td>héch-qeyer-de</td>
<td>no-where-LOC</td>
<td>‘at nowhere’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>q)</td>
<td>héch-qeyer-din</td>
<td>no-where-ABL</td>
<td>‘from nowhere’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>r)</td>
<td>*héch-yer</td>
<td>no-place</td>
<td>Intended: ‘nowhere’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s)</td>
<td>héch-yer-ge</td>
<td>no-place-DAT</td>
<td>‘to nowhere’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t)</td>
<td>héch-yer-de</td>
<td>no-place-LOC</td>
<td>‘at nowhere’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u)</td>
<td>héch-yer-din</td>
<td>no-place-ABL</td>
<td>‘from nowhere’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>v)</td>
<td>héch-waqit</td>
<td>no-time</td>
<td>‘no time’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 18 – Negative Quantifiers in Uyghur
A: héch-kim
    no-who
‘No one’

The same pattern is ungrammatical in English as in (65).

(65)  Q: Who came to your house?
    A: *Anyone.

The negative interpretation of negative quantifiers as seen above could possibly be related to a separate feature of these quantifiers. These quantifiers appear to be negative polarity items.

When the negative quantifiers occur in a verbal construction, they obligatorily occur within the same clause as verbal negation. In (66)a below, the pronoun héch-néme ‘nothing’ occurs in the same clause as negation on the verb yé-. Example (66)b shows that when negation is not present on the verb, the sentence containing the pronoun is ungrammatical.

(66)  a. men héch-néme(-ni) yé-me-d-im
    1SG no-what(-ACC) eat-NEG-PAST-1SG
‘I didn’t eat anything.’

    b. *men héch-neme(-ni) yé-d-im
    1SG no-what(-ACC) eat-PAST-1SG
    Intended: ‘I didn’t eat anything.’

Negative quantifiers appear to be constructed from prefixing to wh- items in Ugyhur. However, unlike wh- items, negative quantifiers do not carry interrogative interpretation. (67)a shows a basic wh- question using néme, ‘what.’ (67)b shows the negative quantifier héch-néme ‘anyone’ in the same position. However, (b) does not carry interrogative interpretation. (c) shows that héch-néme ‘nothing’ can occur with the yes/no question particle mu.

(67)  a. u néme(-ni) yé-me-d-i
    3sg what(-acc) eat-neg-past-3sg
‘What didn’t he/she/they eat?’
b. u héch-néme(-ni) yé-me-d-i
   3SG no-what(-ACC) eat-NEG-PAST-3SG
   ‘He/she didn’t eat anything.’

c. u héch-néme(-ni) yé-me-d-i-mu
   3SG no-what(-acc) eat-neg-past-3sg-q
   ‘Is it the case that you did not eat anything?’

Like wh- items (and other DPs) negative quantifiers can be scrambled. Object-negative
quantifiers can occur before the subject but accusative case marking is obligatory. Scrambling of
object-negative quantifiers to the right of the verb-phrase is not possible. In (68) below, héch-kim
‘no one’, has been scrambled to the left of the third-person-singular subject u. However, the
accusative case marker –ni is obligatory in this example. In example (b), héch-kim has been
scrambled to the right of the verb phrase. (68) is ungrammatical even with the overt accusative
case marker, -ni.

   (68) a. héch-kim*(-ni) u kör-me-d-i
      no-who(-ACC) 3SG see-NEG-PAST-3SG
      ‘He/She didn’t see anyone.’

      b. *U kör-me-d-i héch-kim(-ni)
         3SG see-NEG-PAST-3SG any-who(-ACC)
         ‘He/She didn’t see anyone.’

Like the Universal Quantifiers, Negative Quantifiers can occur in both subject and object
positions. However, Negative Quantifiers must co-occur with verbal negation. In (69)a, héch-kim
‘anyone’ occurs in object position and occurs with negation on the verb kör- ‘see’. Similarly in
(b), héch-kim is in subject position and also occurs with negation on the verb kör- ‘see’. (69)c
and (69)d show that regardless of subject or object position, a clause-mate negation is
mandatory.

   (69) a. u héch-kim(-ni) kör-me-d-i
      3SG no-who(-ACC) see-NEG-PAST-3SG
      ‘He/She didn’t see anyone.’
b. héch-kim u(-ni) kör-me-d-i
    no-who 3sg(-acc) see-neg-past-3sg
    ‘No one saw him/her.’

c. *u héch-kim(-ni) kör-d-i
    3SG no-who(-ACC) see-PAST-3SG
    Intended: ‘He/She didn’t see anyone.’

d. *héch-kim u(-ni) kör-d-i
    no-who 3SG(-ACC) see-PAST-3SG
    Intended: ‘No one saw him/her.’

Negative quantifiers can also occur in embedded clauses. In (70), example (a) shows héch-néme in the embedded clause with verbal negation on the embedded verb yé ‘eat.’ When the verbal negation is not on the embedded verb, as in (b), the sentence becomes ungrammatical.

(70)  a. Men [Enwer héch-néme(-ni) yé-mi-d-i ] dep oyla-y-men
      1SG [Enwer no-what(-ACC) eat-NEG-PAST-3SG] C think-NON.PST-1SG
      ‘I think that Enwer ate nothing.’

      b. *Men [Enwer héch-néme(-ni) yé-d-i ] dep oyla-ma-y-men
         1SG [Enwer no-what(-ACC) eat-PAST-3] C think-NEG-NON.PAST-1SG
         Intended: ‘I don’t think Enwer ate anything.’

This would suggest then that negative quantifiers must not only occur with verbal negation, they must also be in the same clause as verbal negation. This is unlike English, in which indefinite pronouns like anyone, do not have to be in the same clause as negation, as (71) below indicates.

(71)  a. I think [Enwer didn’t eat anything].
     b. I don’t think [Enwer ate anything].

With negative quantifiers in embedded subject position, we see the same pattern. In (72)a below, the embedded subject, the negative quantifier héch-kim ‘no one,’ occurs with verbal negation on

20 When negative indefinite pronouns occur in embedded clauses with verbal negation on the embedded verb and on the matrix verb, a double negative interpretation occurs and not one of negative concord, as seen in (1), below.

(1)  Men [Enwer héch-néme(-ni) yé-me-d-i] dep oyla-ma-y-men
     1SG [Enwer no-what(-ACC) eat-NEG-PAST-3] C think-NEG-NON.PAST-1SG
     ‘I don’t think that Enwer ate nothing.”
     Literally: ‘I don’t think it is the case that Enwer did not eat anything.’
     *I don’t think Enwer ate anything.’
the embedded verb and the result is grammatical. There appears to be no c-command 
requirement, just clause-matedness. In (72)b, the same embedded subject occurs in the embedded 
clause without verbal negation on the embedded verb. Instead, the negation occurs on the matrix 
verb and the result is ungrammatical.

(72)  a. men [héch-kim nan-ni yé-me-d-i] dep oyli-y-men
    1SG [no-who nan-ACC eat-NEG-PAST-3SG] C think-NON.PAST-1SG
    ‘I think no one ate the nan.’

           +
       1.  men [héch-kim nan-ni yé-d-i] dep oyli-ma-y-men
    1SG [no-who nan-ACC eat-PAST-3SG] C think-NEG-NON.PAST-1SG
    Intended: ‘I don’t think anyone ate the nan.’

Turning now to the ECM-like constructions, as in (73) below, we assume the embedded subject 
is raised out of the embedded clause to the matrix clause. We would, therefore, expect sentences 
with verbal negation on the embedded clause to be ungrammatical because the negative 
quantifier is no longer in the same clause as negation. Conversely, we would expect sentences 
with verbal negation on the matrix verb to be grammatical because the negative quantifier is now 
in the matrix clause with verbal negation on the matrix verb.

However, the predicted pattern, once again, is not observed.

(73)  a. men héch-kim-ni [nan-(ni) yé-mi-d-i] dep oyli-y-men
    1SG no-who-ACC [nan(-ACC) eat-NEG-PAST-3SG] C think-NON.PAST-1SG
    ‘I think that nobody ate the nan.’

            +
       1.  ?men héch-kim-ni nan-ni yé-d-i dep oyli-ma-y-men
    1SG no-who-ACC [nan-ACC eat-PAST-3SG] C think-NEG-NON.PAST-1SG
    ‘I don’t think no one ate the nan.’

In (73)a, the embedded subject is marked with accusative case and the embedded verb carries 
verbal negation. Under the ECM analysis, (73)a is expected to be bad because the raised 
embedded subject is no longer in the same clause as negation. However, as we see, the sentence 
is grammatical. This would suggest that the negative quantifier is being interpreted as if it is in
the embedded clause: i.e. another example of reconstruction. If these accusative embedded subjects are interpreted as if they are in the embedded subject position, we would then expect (73)b to be ungrammatical because negation is on the matrix verb and the negative quantifier is interpreted as if it is in the embedded clause. This would account for the markedness of (73)b, the sentence, while grammatical, is awkward, suggesting that the negative quantifier is being interpreted in the embedded clause. This data suggests that negative quantificational pronouns, like universal quantificational pronouns reconstruct into the embedded clause.

(74) \[ \text{[CP} \text{men héch-kim-ni}_j \text{[CP} \text{t}_j \text{nan-ni yé-d-i dep]} \text{oyli-ma-y-men]} \]
That is, accusative case-marked embedded subject negative indefinites are interpreted as though they are either in embedded clause.

1.17 The bir-series Quantificational Pronouns

The bir-series indefinite pronouns are used much like the English some-series (someone, something, somewhere, etc.). Like the negative indefinite pronouns in Uyghur, the bir-series existential quantifiers are formed by the addition of a prefix (bir) to wh- items and generic nouns.\(^{21}\) In (75), the prefix combines with the generic noun \textit{nerse} ‘thing,’ the wh- items \textit{néme} ‘what,’ \textit{kim} ‘who,’ and \textit{qandaq} ‘how.’

(75) a. \text{men-Ø bir-nerse ali-men}\n\text{1SG-NOM some-thing buy-1SG} \\
‘I will buy something.’

\(^{21}\) This prefix, is homophonous with the Uyghur word for the numeral one, bir. Haspelmath mentions in passing that some languages behave in this manner i.e. have indefinite pronouns whose indefiniteness markers are based on the numeral one: stating ‘somewhat surprisingly, one’ is sometimes also found as indefiniteness-markers together with interrogative pronouns’ (Haskelmath 1997:83). Contrary to the pattern found cross-linguistically in which the numeral ‘one’ is most often used as the stem, in Uyghur the numeral ‘one’ is used as an indefinite marker and not as an ontological stem.
b. men-ø  **bir-néme**  yé-d-im  
1SG-NOM some-what  eat-PAST-1SG  
‘I ate something.’

c.  **bir-kim-ø**  kel-d-i  
some-who-NOM  come-PAST-3SG  
‘Someone came.’

d.  **bir-qandaq**  men-ø  kütüpxani-gha kel-d-im  
some-how  1SG-NOM  library-DAT  come-PAST-1SG  
‘Somehow, I came to the library.’

Table 15, below, lists the **bir**-series indefinite pronouns in Uyghur.

<p>| | | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a)</td>
<td>bir-adem</td>
<td>some person</td>
<td>‘someone’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b)</td>
<td>bir-kim</td>
<td>some-who</td>
<td>‘someone’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c)</td>
<td>*bir-né</td>
<td>some-where</td>
<td>Intended: ‘somewhere’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d)</td>
<td>bir-né-ge</td>
<td>some-where-DAT</td>
<td>‘to somewhere’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e)</td>
<td>bir-né-de</td>
<td>some-where-LOC</td>
<td>‘at somewhere’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f)</td>
<td>bir-né-din</td>
<td>some-where-ABL</td>
<td>‘from somewhere’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g)</td>
<td>bir-néme</td>
<td>some-what</td>
<td>‘something’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h)</td>
<td>*bir-némishqa</td>
<td>some-why</td>
<td>Intended: ‘for some reason’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i)</td>
<td>bir-nerse</td>
<td>some-thing</td>
<td>‘something’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>j)</td>
<td>bir-qachan</td>
<td>some-when</td>
<td>‘sometime’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k)</td>
<td>bir-qanche</td>
<td>some-how much?</td>
<td>‘some amount’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>l)</td>
<td>bir-qandaq</td>
<td>some-how</td>
<td>‘somehow’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m)</td>
<td>*bir-qaysi</td>
<td>some-which</td>
<td>Intended: ‘some which’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n)</td>
<td>*bir-qeyer</td>
<td>some-where</td>
<td>Intended: ‘somewhere’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o)</td>
<td>bir-qeyer-ge</td>
<td>some-where-DAT</td>
<td>‘to somewhere’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p)</td>
<td>bir-qeyer-de</td>
<td>some-where-LOC</td>
<td>‘at somewhere’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>q)</td>
<td>bir-qeyer-din</td>
<td>some-where-ABL</td>
<td>‘from somewhere’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>r)</td>
<td>*bir-yer</td>
<td>some place</td>
<td>Intended: ‘somewhere’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s)</td>
<td>bir-yer-ge</td>
<td>some place-DAT</td>
<td>‘to somewhere’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t)</td>
<td>bir-yer-de</td>
<td>some place-LOC</td>
<td>‘at somewhere’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u)</td>
<td>bir-yer-din</td>
<td>some place-ABL</td>
<td>‘from somewhere’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>v)</td>
<td>bir-waqit</td>
<td>some time</td>
<td>‘sometime’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 19 – Existential Quantifiers in Uyghur
The *bir*-series Existential quantifiers may occur with or without verbal negation. In (76), below, the existential quantifier occurs without verbal negation (a) and with verbal negation (b). This would suggest that the *bir*-series indefinite pronouns are not polarity-sensitive items.

(76)  a. men-Ø bir-nèrse(-ni) al-d-im  
1SG-NOM one-thing(-ACC) buy-PAST-1SG  
‘I bought something.’

b. men-Ø bir-nèrse-(ni) al-mi-d-im.  
1SG-NOM one-thing-(ACC) buy-NEG-PAST-1SG  
‘I did not buy something.’  
*‘I did not buy anything.’

The same pattern is observed in embedded clauses when the pronoun occurs in embedded object position. In (77)a, the pronoun *bir-nème* ‘something’ occurs in the embedded clause with verbal negation on the embedded verb. The result is grammatical. In (77)b, the same pronoun occurs in the embedded clause while verbal negation occurs on the matrix verb. Here again, the result is grammatical.

(77)  a. Men [Enwer bir-nème(-ni) ye-mi-d-i ] dep oyla-y-men  
1SG [Enwer some-what(-ACC) eat-NEG-PAST-3SG] C think-NON.PST-1SG  
‘I think that Enwer ate something.’

b. Men [Enwer bir-nème(-ni) ye-d-i ] dep oyli-ma-y-men  
1SG [Enwer some-what(-ACC) eat-PAST-3] C think-NEG-NON.PAST-1SG  
‘I don’t think Enwer ate something.’

The same pattern is observed with embedded clauses when the pronoun occurs in embedded subject position. (78)a and (78)b below, show the pronoun *bir-kim* ‘someone’ in embedded subject position with verbal negation in the embedded clause and matrix clause. In both circumstances, the result is grammatical. (78)c and (78)d show the pronoun *bir-kim* ‘someone’ in the ECM-like constructions we observed with the negative indefinite and universal quantifiers. In both of these examples, the result is grammatical.

---

22 As seen from the translation in (76)b *bir*-series quantifier scope under negation.
(78) a. men [bir-kim nan-ni yé-me-d-i] dep oyla-y-men
   1sg [some-who nan-acc eat-neg-past-3sg] c think-non.past-1s
   ‘I think that someone didn’t eat the nan.’

b. men [bir-kim nan-ni yé-d-i] dep oylı-ma-y-men
   1sg [some-who nan-acc eat-past-3sg] c think-NEG-NON.PAST-1sg
   ‘I don’t think someone ate the nan.’

c. men bir-kim-ni [nan-(ni) yé-mi-d-i] dep oyla-y-men
   1sg some-who-ACC [nan(-ACC) eat-NEG-PAST-3sg] c think-NON.PAST-1sg
   ‘I think that someone didn’t eat the nan.’

d. men bir-kim-ni [nan-ni yé-d-i] dep oylı-ma-y-men
   1sg some-who-ACC [nan-ACC eat-PAST-3sg] c think-NEG-NON.PAST-1sg
   ‘I don’t think someone ate the nan.’

(78) shows that the indefinite bir-series pronouns can occur with or without verbal negation in embedded subject position. Unlike the universal and negative indefinite pronouns, bir-series pronouns are not polarity-sensetive.

1.18 The birer-series Quantificational Pronouns

Uyghur has another indefinite pronoun series, the birer series. The birer series is also used much like the English some-series (someone, something, somewhere, etc.). However, unlike the universal, negative indefinite and bir-series indefinite pronouns in Uyghur, birer may only pattern with generic nouns. The birer series is formed when the word birer ‘some’ co-occurs with generic nouns. (79)a the birer combines with the generic noun nerse ‘thing.’ In (79)b, (79)c and (79)d birer occurs with the wh- items nème ‘what,’ kim ‘who,’ and qandaq ‘how’ respectively. The result is ungrammatical.

(79) a. men-ø birer nerse ali-men
   1sg-nom some thing buy-1sg
   ‘I will buy something.’
b. *men-Ø birer néme yé-d-im
   1SG-NOM some what eat-PAST-1SG
   Intended: ‘I will eat something.’

c. *birer kim-Ø kel-d-i
   some who-NOM come-PAST-3SG
   Intended: ‘Someone came.’

d. *birer qandaq men-Ø kütüpxani-gha kel-d-im
   some how 1SG-NOM library-DAT come-PAST-1SG
   Intended: ‘Somehow, I came to the library.’

Table 20, below lists the birer-series indefinite pronouns in Uyghur.

<p>| | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a)</td>
<td>birer adem</td>
<td>some person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b)</td>
<td>*birer yer</td>
<td>some place</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c)</td>
<td>birer yer-ge</td>
<td>some place-DAT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d)</td>
<td>birer yer-de</td>
<td>some place-LOC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e)</td>
<td>birer yer-din</td>
<td>some place-ABL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f)</td>
<td>birer nerse</td>
<td>some thing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g)</td>
<td>birer waqit</td>
<td>some time</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h)</td>
<td>birer seweb</td>
<td>some reason</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 20 – Birer-series Indefinite Pronouns in Uyghur

Like the bir-series, the birer indefinite pronouns may occur with or without verbal negation. In (80), below, birer occurs with and without verbal negation. Like the bir-series, the birer-series is not polarity sensitive.

(80)  a. men-Ø birer nerse-(ni) al-d-im
       1SG-NOM some thing-(ACC) buy-PAST-1SG
       ‘I bought something.’

       b. men-Ø birer nerse-(ni) al-mi-d-im.
       1SG-NOM some thing-(ACC) buy-NEG-PAST-1SG
       ‘I did not buy something.’

The same pattern is observed with embedded clauses when the pronoun occurs in embedded object position. In (81)a, the pronoun birer nerse ‘something’ occurs in the embedded clause with verbal negation on the embedded verb. The result is grammatical. In (81)b, the same
pronoun occurs in the embedded clause while verbal negation occurs on the matrix verb. Here again, the result is grammatical.

(81) a. Men [Enwer birer nerse(-ni) ýé-mi-d-i] dep oyli-y-men
    1SG [Enwer some thing(-ACC) eat-NEG-PAST-3SG] C think-NON.PST-1SG
    ‘I think that Enwer ate something.’

    b. Men [Enwer birer nerse(-ni) ýé-d-i] dep oyli-ma-y-men
    1SG [Enwer some thing(-ACC) eat-PAST-3SG] C think-NEG-NON.PAST-1SG
    ‘I don’t think Enwer ate something.’

The same pattern is observed with embedded clauses when the pronoun occurs in embedded subject position. In (82)a and (82)b below, the pronoun birer adem ‘someone’ is in embedded subject position with verbal negation in the embedded clause and matrix clause. In both circumstances, the result is grammatical. In (82)c and (82)d, the pronoun birer adem ‘someone’ is in the ECM-like constructions we observed with the negative indefinite and universal quantifiers. In both of these examples, the result is grammatical.

(82) a. Men [birer adem nan-ni ýé-me-d-i] dep oyli-y-men
    1SG [some person nan-ACC eat-neg-PAST-3SG] C think-NON.PST-1SG
    ‘I think someone didn’t eat the nan.’

    b. Men [birer adem nan-ni ýé-d-i] dep oyli-ma-y-men
    1SG [some person nan-ACC eat-PAST-3SG] C think-NEG-NON.PAST-1SG
    ‘I don’t think someone ate the nan.’

    c. Men birer adem-ni [nan-(ni) ýé-mi-d-i] dep oyli-y-men
    1SG some person-ACC [nan-(ACC) eat-NEG-PAST-3SG] C think-NON.PAST-1SG
    ‘I think that someone didn’t eat the nan.’

    d. Men birer adem-ni [nan-ni ýé-d-i] dep oyli-ma-y-men
    1SG some person-ACC [nan-ACC eat-PAST-3SG] C think-NEG-NON.PAST-1SG
    ‘I don’t think someone ate the nan.’

(82) shows that the birer-series indefinite pronouns can occur with or without verbal negation in embedded subject position. Unlike the universal and negative indefinite pronouns, the birer-series pronouns are not sensitive to the same kind of negation sensitivities.
8. **Quantificational Pronouns as Indefinite Pronouns**

In addition to differences in syntactic distribution, the four series of Uyghur pronouns discussed in this thesis also differ with respect to their semantic functions. This section explores the semantic differences between the four series of pronouns: the universals, the negative indefinites, the bir-series indefinites, and the birer-series indefinites. In order to investigate the semantic functions of these four types of pronouns, I will be using methodology outlined in Martin Haspelmath’s *Indefinite Pronouns* (1997). This methodology will provide the framework in which I will establish the semantic properties of each of the quantifier pronoun series discussed in this thesis. Specifically, Haspelmath proposes that there are nine functions of indefinite pronouns cross-linguistically. In Uyghur, the four series of pronouns discussed in this theory are used to various extents in these nine functions. Section 7.1 provides an introduction to Haspelmath’s methodology and the nine cross-linguistic functions of indefinite pronouns. The sections that follow discuss each of these nine functions in turn. These sections outline the pronouns in Uyghur that correspond to those functions.

1.19 **Introduction to Haspelmath**

This section will provide a general overview of the framework with which we will be examining the four series of pronouns in Uyghur discussed in this thesis. Haspelmath (1997) provides a typological investigation of indefinite pronouns that covers approximately 140 languages.

Haspelmath’s motivation for his survey stemmed from the lack of attention given to indefinite pronouns in previous descriptive linguistic accounts. For Haspelmath, these previous approaches
to indefinite pronouns have overgeneralized the semantic and syntactic properties of indefinite pronouns. To resolve this issue, he proposes his own typological approach based on implicational mapping, founded on the notion of *implicational universals* or ‘properties that hold in all languages that have a given feature’ (Hasepmlath 1997:8). One might conceptualize the world’s languages on a kind of spectrum. On one end there are properties that are universal across all languages. On the other end of the spectrum are properties of languages that are specific to only one particular language. Languages do not tend to fall on one extreme or the other and instead fall somewhere in-between the two extremes. The use of implicational universals allows for generalizations to be made cross-linguistically.

Hasepmlath proposes a set of nine semantic functions that indefinite pronouns serve cross-linguistically: *specific known*, *specific unknown*, *irrealis*, *questions*, *conditionals*, *indirect negation*, *direct negation*, *comparatives*, and *free choice*. Hasepmlath organizes these functions into the following implicational map.

![Figure 2 - The Semantic Map](image)

Any indefinite pronoun may serve any of the nine functions. However, the functions of a given indefinite must be adjacent to each other. For instance, an indefinite pronoun, X, may serve the function of both *indirect negation* and *direct negation*. However, X may not serve the function of *direct negation* and, say, *specific unknown*, to the exclusion of the other
functions in-between. In other words, any given indefinite pronoun may only serve functions that are contiguous to each other on the implicational map.\(^{23}\)

### 1.20 The Nine Semantic Functions and the Corresponding Uyghur Pronouns

This section examines each of these nine functions in turn. I will discuss them in the numerical order given in the implicational map above. After a brief discussion of each function, I provide examples from Uyghur which will show the pronouns that serve that specific function.\(^{24}\)

#### 1.20.1 Specific Known

The first function on the implicational map is the **SPECIFIC KNOWN** context. In this context, the speaker is committed to the existence of the referent of the indefinite pronoun and knows the identity of that referent. However, for whatever reason, the speaker withholds that information from the listener. This function is exemplified in (83) below.

\[(83) \text{ Someone came. (Guess who!)}\]

In this context, the speaker knows the identity of the person who came but is withholding that information from the listener. Haspelmath points out that in such contexts, the non-specific pronoun *anyone* is not acceptable, as seen in (84)

\[(84) \ast\text{Anyone came! (Guess who!)}\]

In order for a pronoun to serve the function of **SPECIFIC KNOWN** context, the speaker must be committed to the existence of the referent of the indefinite pronoun. For this reason, even though

\(^{23}\) Haspelmath’s motivation for organizing the nine functions into their specific place on the implicational map is based on tendencies of indefinite pronouns cross-linguistically. For more information on the relationships between the various functions, see sections 3 and 4, and section 5.6 of Haspelmath (1997).

\(^{24}\) As previously stated, this thesis has focused on only four series of pronouns in Uyghur. There are many more series of pronouns in the language which should be investigated and documented. Whenever claims are made about the pronouns that are used in these semantic functions, I will be referring only to the four series outlined in this thesis.
the use of the universal pronoun *everyone* in (85) is grammatical, it does not refer to any specific referent. Therefore, the universal pronoun *everyone* does not serve the function of SPECIFIC KNOWN.

(85) Everyone came!
*Specific known

In Uyghur, only the *bir*-series indefinite pronouns may serve this function.

(86) Bir-kim kel-d-i
Some-who come-PAST-3SG
‘Someone (specific) came. (Guess who!)’

(86) may be followed with a with sentence with a bound pronominal subject, as in (87) below.

(87) a. bir-kim_i kel-d-i
‘Someone, (specific) came!’

b. u_i enwer idi
3SG_i Enwer COP.PAST
‘He/It_i was Enwer!’

The fact that the pronoun, *u* ‘he/she’, in (87)b can have the same referent as the *bir*-series indefinite pronoun, *bir-kim* ‘someone’, supports the claim that the *bir*-series indefinite pronouns may be used in the SPECIFIC UNKNOWN context.

1.20.2 Specific Unknown

The second function on the implication map is the SPECIFIC UNKNOWN. In this context, the speaker is committed to the existence of a specific referent of the indefinite pronoun. However, the speaker is unaware of the identity of the referent. This context is exemplified in (88) below.

(88) Someone came (But I don’t know who).

Here again, the non-specific pronoun *anyone* is unacceptable.

(89) *Anyone came. (But I don’t know who.)

In Uyghur, the *bir*-series and *birer*-series indefinites may serve this function.
(90) a. bir-kim kel-d-i
   Some-who come-PAST-3SG
   ‘Someone came.’

b. birer adem kel-d-i
   Some man come-PAST-3SG
   ‘Someone came.’

(90)a and (90)b may be followed with a sentence with a bound pronominal subject, as seen in
(91) below.

(91) a. bir-kim/birer adem_i kel-d-i
   ‘Some_i (specific) came!’

b. lekin u_i bil-me-y-men
   but 3SG_i know-NEG-PRES-1SG
   ‘But I don’t know who_i’

The fact that the pronoun, u ‘he/she’, in (91)b can have the same referent as the bir-series
indefinite pronoun, bir-kim ‘someone’, and the birer-series pronoun, birer adem ‘some person’,
supports the claim that the bir-series indefinite pronouns and the birer-series indefinite pronouns
may be used in the SPECIFIC UNKNOWN context.

1.20.3 Irrealis

In IRREALIS contexts, the event described by a given utterance has not been realized. This context
is exemplified in (92) below.

(92) Russian
    (Haspelmath 1997:40)

a. V subbotu oni uedut kuda-to
   in Saturday they go whither-INDEF
   ‘On Saturday they will go somewhere (specific).’

   SPECIFIC

b. V subbotu oni uedut kuda-nibud’
   in Saturday they go whither-INDEF
   ‘On Saturday they will go somewhere (or other).’

   NON-SPECIFIC
Because the event has not been realized, the speaker is not necessarily committed to the existence of the referent of the pronoun (Haspelmath 1997:40). In the English translations in (92), the English pronoun *somewhere* is used. However, some languages, like Russian, make a distinction between IRREALIS specific and IRREALIS non-specific. This is seen by the use of the specific pronoun *kuda-to* ‘somewhere’ in the specific context in (92)a and the use of the non-specific pronoun *kuda-nibus* ‘somewhere’ in (92)b.

Uyghur also makes this distinction. For the specific IRREALIS context, the *bir*-series is used as in (93)a. For the non-specific IRREALIS context, the *birer*-series is used as in (93)b.

(93) a. yekshenbe kuni u-lar bir-yer-ge bar-i-du SPECIFIC Saturday day 3-PL some-place-DAT go-NON.PAST-3SG ‘On Saturday, they will go someplace (specific).’

   b. yekshenbe kuni u-lar birer yer-ge bar-i-du NON-SPECIFIC Saturday day 3-PL some place-DAT go-NON.PAST-3SG ‘On Saturday, they will go someplace (non-specific).’

### 1.20.4 Questions

According to Haspelmath, questions provide a context in which only non-specific referents of pronouns are possible (1997:42). Because the speaker does not know the answer to the question, they cannot commit themselves to the existence of the pronoun referent. In the Russian example in (94) below, only the non-specific pronoun *kogo-nibus* ‘someone’ may be used in questions. The specific pronoun *kogo-to* ‘someone’ may not be used.

(94) Russian (Haspelmath 1997:43)

   a. Uvideli li vy kogo-nibus’ saw Q you whom-INDEF ‘Did you see anyone?’ NON-SPECIFIC

   b. *Uvideli li vy kogo-to saw Q you whom-INDEF ‘Did you see someone?’ SPECIFIC
For QUESTION contexts in Uyghur, both the bir-series pronouns and the birer-series pronouns may be used as seen in (95) below.

(95) a. Siz bir-nerse de-d-ing-mu  
   2.sg some-thing say-past-2.sg-q  
   i. ‘Did you say anything (at all)?’ NON-SPECIFIC  
   ii. ‘Did you say something (specific)?’ SPECIFIC  

b. Sen birer nerse de-d-ing-mu  
   2.sg some thing say-past-2sg-q  
   i. ‘Did you say anything (at all)?’ NON-SPECIFIC  
   ii. ‘*Did you say something (specific)?’ SPECIFIC

Both the bir-series and birer-series of pronouns are used in QUESTION contexts in Uyghur. Surprisingly, in (95)a, the bir-series pronoun bir-nerse ‘something’, may function either as a non-specific or a specific meaning. This would suggest that the specific/non-specific distinction that exists between the two series in IRREALIS context also exists in QUESTION contexts. Both the bir-series and the birer-series of pronouns take on non-specific functions in QUESTION contexts. However, the bir-series pronouns may also take on the specific context. This appears to be contrary to Haspelmath’s claim that specific interpretations on indefinite pronouns are unavailable in QUESTION contexts.

1.20.5 Conditional  
Like questions, CONDITIONALS only allow for non-specific referents of pronouns (Haspelmath 1997:43). Because the condition being set is not realized, the speaker cannot commit themselves to the existence of the referent. In the Kannada example in (96) below, only the non-specific pronoun yaar-aadaruu ‘anyone’ may be used in the CONDITIONAL. The specific pronoun yaa-o parameter of ‘someone’ may not be used.
(96) Kannada (Haspelmath 1997:43)

a. Yaar-aadaruu bandare heelutteene
   who-INDEF come.COND tell.FUT.1SG
   ‘I will tell you if anyone [non-specific] comes.’

b. *Yaar-oo bandare heeluttene
   who-INDEF come.COND tell.FUT.1SG
   ‘I will tell you if anyone [specific] comes.’

For CONDITIONAL contexts in Uyghur, both the bir-series pronouns and the birer-series pronouns may be used, as seen in (97) below.

(97) a. eger siz birer nerse-ni angli-singiz, man-g télifon qil-ing
   if 2SG some thing-ACC hear-2SG.COND 1SG-DAT phone do-2SG.IMP
   “If you hear anything, call me.”

b. eger siz bir nerse-ni angli-singiz, man-g télifon qil-ing
   if 2SG some thing-ACC hear-2SG.COND 1SG-DAT phone do-2SG.IMP
   “If you hear something (specific), call me.”

Both the bir-series and birer-series of pronouns are used in CONDITIONAL contexts in Uyghur. In (97)a the birer-series pronoun birer nerse ‘something’, is used in a non-specific context. In (97)b the bir-series pronoun, bir-nerse is used in the specific context. The data (97) would suggest that the specific/non-specific distinction that exists between the bir-/birer-series respectively in IRREALIS and QUESTION contexts in Uyghur, also exists in CONDITIONAL contexts.

This appears to be contrary to Haspelmath’s claim that specific interpretations on indefinite pronouns are unavailable in QUESTION and CONDITIONAL contexts.

1.20.6 Direct and Indirect Negation

In DIRECT and INDIRECT NEGATION contexts, sentential negation scopes over the indefinite. Some languages, like English, have indefinite pronouns that always express negation as in (98) below (Haspelmath 1997:31).
(98)  English  DIRECT NEGATION
No one came.

However, there is a sub-classification of negation in which the indefinite pronoun and the negative element are in separate clauses. This usually happens when the indefinite pronoun is the subordinate clause and the negative element is matrix clause as in (99) below.

(99)  English  INDIRECT NEGATION
  a. I don’t think anyone came.
  
b. *I don’t think nobody came.

In English, different indefinite pronouns are used in DIRECT NEGATION (no one in (98)) and INDIRECT NEGATION (anybody in (99)). However, some languages, like Italian, use the same indefinite pronouns in both contexts as in (100).

(100) Italian
  a. non é venuto nessuno  DIRECT NEGATION
      not has come anybody
      ‘Nobody has come.’

  b. non é necessario che venga nessuno  INDIRECT NEGATION
      not is necessary that come anybody
      ‘It is not necessary that anybody come.’

Uyghur patterns like English in that is uses two different series for DIRECT and INDIRECT NEGATION. For DIRECT NEGATION, the negative indefinite series is used. For INDIRECT NEGATION, the birer-series is used.

(101) a. men béch-némé ouqu-me-d-um.  DIRECT NEGATION
     1SG no-what read-NEG-PAST-1SG
     ‘I did not read anything.’

     b. men birer adem kel-d-i  dep oyli-may-men  INDIRECT NEGATION
        1SG some man come-PAST-3SG C think-NEG-1SG
        ‘I don’t think anyone came.’
In (102), the *héch*-series pronoun, *héch-kim ‘no one’*, is in the embedded clause while verbal negation is on the matrix clause.

(102)  
*men héch-kim kel-d-i dep oyli-may-men  
1sg no-who come-past-3sg c think-neg-1sg  
Intended: ‘I don’t think anyone came.’

The unavailability of the *héch*-series in any context but DIRECT NEGATION could possibly be the consequence of the clause-mate negation requirements of *héch*-series pronouns discussed in 1.16.

### 1.20.7 Comparative and Free-choice Contexts

Indefinite pronouns may also serve as standards of comparison, as in (103)a below or as free-choice pronouns, as in (103)b below.

(103)  
**a.** He’s smarter than anyone.  
**b.** After I got my visa, I could travel anywhere!

For Haspelmath, these two contexts are closely related. Languages, like English, often use the same the pronouns in both contexts. Uyghur patterns like English in this way. For both COMPARATIVE and free-choice contexts, Uyghur uses the universal *her* series as seen (104) below.

(104)  
**a.** u bashqa her-kim-din eqqiliq  
3SG else every-who-ABL smart  
‘(S)he’s smarter than anybody else.’

**b.** Her yer-ge bar-al-ay-men  
every place-DAT go-abil-non.past-1sg  
‘I could go anywhere.’

With regard to semantic properties, Universal pronouns are not indefinite pronouns. However, Haspelmath points out that ‘some languages use universal quantifiers with meanings ‘all’ and ‘every’ instead of indefinites to translate free-choice relatives [and COMPARATIVES] in other
languages.’ Such is the case with Uyghur. This was the main reason for including the universal quantifiers in this thesis.

1.21 Summary

The previous sections have shown the various semantic contexts in which the four Uyghur pronoun series discussed in this thesis may be used as indefinite pronouns. Specifically, this section has examined how the four series of pronouns discussed in this thesis pattern with respect to the nine semantic functions of Haspelmath’s semantic map theory. For Haspelmath, any given pronoun may serve a ‘functional space’ (or subset of the nine semantic functions) on the semantic map. Figure 3 below shows the four series of pronouns and their functional space on the semantic map.

![Figure 3 - Semantic Map of Indefinite Pronouns in Uyghur](image)

As previously stated any indefinite pronoun may serve any of the nine functions. However, any given indefinite pronoun may only serve functions that are contiguous to each other on the implicational map. This is in fact, what we see with the four series of pronouns in Uyghur. The universal her-series may function in COMPARATIVE and FREE CHOICE contexts. The negative indefinite héch-series may function in only the DIRECT NEGATION contexts. The bir-series
indefinite pronouns may serve in SPECIFIC KNOWN, SPECIFIC UNKNOWN, IRREALIS, QUESTION, and CONDITIONAL contexts. Finally, the birer-series indefinite pronouns may serve in SPECIFIC UNKNOWN, IRREALIS, QUESTION, CONDITIONAL, and INDIRECT NEGATION contexts.

9. Conclusions

This thesis examines the syntactic distribution and semantic function of four series of indefinite quantifier pronouns in Uyghur: i) the universal or her-series, ii) the negative indefinite or héch-series, iii) the indefinite bir-series, iv) the indefinite birer-series. Sections, 3, 4, and 5, provide brief background information on Uyghur including phonology, orthography, properties of noun phrases, general syntactic properties, and QUESTION formation. Sections 6 and 7 constitute the main focus of this thesis.

In section 7, the syntactic distributions of each of these four series are discussed at length. All four of the series of pronouns may occur in various argument positions and may scramble in the same manner of other DPs in the language. The stems of her-series, héch-series, and bir-series may be composed of either wh-items or generic ontological nouns. Even though they may be composed of wh-items, the pronouns do not carry interrogative interpretation. The stems of the birer-series may only be generic ontological nouns.

With respect to polarity, the universal her-series and the negative indefinite héch-series are polarity sensitive while the indefinite bir series and birer-series are not. The universal her-series may not occur in the same clause as negation, while the negative indefinite héch-series must
obligatorily occur in the same clause as verbal negation. No such restriction exists for the indefinite \textit{bir} series and \textit{birer}-series.

Section 7 uses Haspelmath’s (1997) approach to semantic properties of indefinite pronouns to explore the semantic differences between the four series of pronouns as they are used as indefinite pronouns in Uyghur. Haspelmath proposes a set of nine semantic functions that indefinite pronouns serve cross-linguistically: \textsc{specific known}, \textsc{specific unknown}, \textsc{irrealis}, \textsc{questions}, \textsc{conditionals}, \textsc{indirect negation}, \textsc{direct negation}, \textsc{comparatives}, and \textsc{free choice}. In Uyghur, the universal \textit{her}-series may function in \textsc{comparative} and \textsc{free choice} contexts. The negative indefinite \textit{héch}-series may function in only the \textsc{direct negation} contexts. The \textit{bir}-series indefinite pronouns may serve in \textsc{specific known}, \textsc{specific unknown}, \textsc{irrealis}, \textsc{question}, and \textsc{conditional} contexts. Finally, the \textit{birer}-series indefinite pronouns may serve in \textsc{specific unknown}, \textsc{irrealis}, \textsc{question}, \textsc{conditional}, and \textsc{indirect negation} contexts.

This thesis expands on previous descriptive accounts of Uyghur pronouns and incorporates new data. This thesis provides an in-depth analysis of the semantic meanings of these four series of pronouns in Uyghur using the semantic map theory outlined by Haspelmath (1997). Organizing the data in terms of its semantic meaning serves to further our understanding of Uyghur as a whole. By examining Uyghur indefinite pronouns in this manner, the goal of this thesis is to expand our understanding of Uyghur as a whole, improve our understanding of the semantic properties of indefinites cross-linguistically, and provide ground work for future research.
10. References


11. **Appendix: dur-series Indefinite Pronouns**

There is a fifth series of quantifier pronoun I began investigating during the course of my research for this thesis. However, the data proved to have a pattern separate from any of the other four series of pronouns presented in this thesis. This section provides a rough summary of the patterns observed with this series of pronoun.

Like the bir-series and the birer-series indefinite pronouns, the dur-series pronouns are also used much like the English some-series (someone, something, somewhere, etc.). However, unlike other pronouns observed so far, the dur series may only occur with wh-items. Furthermore, the dur is added to the left of wh-items, unlike any of the other four series of pronouns in Uyghur.

Table 16, below, lists the dur-series quantifiers in Uyghur.

<p>| | | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a)</td>
<td><strong>kim dur</strong></td>
<td>who DUR</td>
<td>‘someone’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b)</td>
<td><strong>néme dur</strong></td>
<td>what DUR</td>
<td>‘something’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c)</td>
<td><strong>qachan dur</strong></td>
<td>when DUR</td>
<td>‘sometime’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d)</td>
<td><strong>qanche dur</strong></td>
<td>how much DUR</td>
<td>‘some amount’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e)</td>
<td><strong>qandaq dur</strong></td>
<td>how DUR</td>
<td>‘somewhere’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f)</td>
<td><strong>qaysi dur</strong></td>
<td>which DUR</td>
<td>‘somewhich’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g)</td>
<td><strong>qeyer-din dur</strong></td>
<td>where-ABL DUR</td>
<td>from somewhere</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table 16 dur-series Quantifiers in Uyghur**

This series of pronouns patterns slightly differently with respect to the distribution of other pronouns in Uyghur. When the dur pronouns occur by themselves in matrix clauses, they carry obligatory interrogative interpretation. However, unlike regular wh-items, they may not occur in-situ and instead must occur post-verbally. In (105)a

(105) a. disertatsia-ni yaz-ghan *kim dur* disertation-ACC write-PAST.INDEF who DUR ‘Who wrote the dissertation?’

b. *kim dur disertatsia-ni yaz-ghan who DUR disertation-ACC write-PAST.indef ‘Who wrote the dissertation?’
Furthermore, these items may only occur with the indefinite past marker, they may not occur with the definite past tense.

(106) *disertatsia-ni yaz-d-i kim-dur
dissertation-ACC write-PAST-3rd who-dur
Intended: ‘Who wrote the dissertation?’

The constructions in (105) and (106) have very similar properties to relative clauses in Uyghur.

(107) [disertatsia-ni yaz-ghan] adem
dissertation-ACC write-PAST.INDEF person
‘person who wrote the dissertation’

Relative clauses in Uyghur may occur in copula clauses as seen in (108) below.

(108) a. [disertatsia yaz-ghan] adem emes
dissertation-ACC write-PAST.INDEF person COP.NEG
‘It is not the person who wrote the dissertation.’

b. [disertatsia yaz-ghan] kumdur idi
dissertation-ACC write-PAST.INDEF person COP.PAST
‘It was the person who wrote the dissertation.’

c. [disertatsia yaz-ghan] kumdur bar
dissertation-ACC write-PAST.INDEF person COP
‘There is a person who wrote the dissertation.’

However unlike regular relative clauses, the post-verbal dur construction cannot occur in copula clauses as seen in (109) below.

(109) a. [disertatsia yaz-ghan] kim dur
dissertation-ACC write-PAST.INDEF who DUR
‘Who wrote the dissertation?’

b. *[disertatsia yaz-ghan] kim dur emes
dissertation-ACC write-PAST.INDEF who DUR COP.NEG
Intended: ‘It is not the person who wrote the dissertation.’

c. *[disertatsia yaz-ghan] kim dur idi
dissertation-ACC write-PAST.INDEF who DUR COP.PAST
Intended: ‘It was the person who wrote the dissertation.’

d. *[disertatsia yaz-ghan] kim dur bar
dissertation-ACC write-PAST.INDEF who DUR COP
Intended: ‘There is a person who wrote the dissertation.’
Moreover, the post-verbal construction seen in (109) is also ungrammatical as the subject of matrix clauses.

(110) disertatsia-ni yaz-ghan kim dur kel-d-i
    dissertation-ACC write-PAST.indef who DUR come-PAST-3rd
    ‘Someone who wrote a dissertation came.’

When combined with other elements, the *dur*-series items can create quantifier interpretation. In order to get quantifier interpretation with the *dur*-series, some other element must be present: usually a member of the *bir*-series quantifiers. Unlike the *bir*-series quantifiers, however, When a speaker uses *dur*-series quantifiers the speaker has no idea as to the identity of the *dur*-series referent.

(111) a. kim-dur *(bir-kim) kel-d-i
    who-dur one-who come-PAST-3rd
    ‘Someone came (but I don’t know who).’

    b. neme-dur *(bir-nerse)-ni alim-gha ber-d-i
    what-dur one-thing-ACC alim-DAT give-PAST-3rd
    ‘He gave something to Alim (but I have no idea what).’

When the *dur*-series items occur in embedded clauses, they must occur with other elements just as in matrix clauses as (112) below shows.

(112) a. Enwer neme-dur *(bir-nerse) yé-d-i
    Enwer what-dur one thing eat-PAST-3rd
    ‘Enwer ate something.’
    ‘There exists a thing that has the property that Enwer ate it.’

    b. siz [Enwer neme-dur *(bir-nerse) yé-d-i] dep oyla-y-siz
    2SG Enwer what-dur one thing eat-PAST-3rd C think-pres-2SG
    ‘You think that Enwer ate something.’

These elements may also combine with the plural marker as seen in (113). In these constructions, however, the plural marker is attached to the left of the *dur* suffix. The plural suffix must also be present on the accompanying element.
a. kim\texttt{-}ler\-dur bir\texttt{-}ler\-i bu ish\texttt{-}ni qil\texttt{-}d\texttt{-}i
   who-pl\-dur one-pl\-3rd this thing/job\-ACC do-PAST\-3rd
   ‘Some people did this job.’

b. *kim\texttt{-}ler\-dur bir\texttt{-}si bu ish\texttt{-}ni qil\texttt{-}d\texttt{-}i
   who-pl\-dur one-3rd this thing/job\-ACC do-PAST\-3rd
   ‘Some people did this job.’