

**Optionality in Uzbek: Dative Causees vs. *by*-Phrases**  
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**Introduction:** In Uzbek, an understudied Turkic language, any NP may go unpronounced, but NP arguments, like the object in (1), generally require that their role be bound from the discourse context in order to be dropped. Adjuncts, like the locative case-marked NP in (2), are entirely optional.

- (1) (Men) #(ona-m-ni) maqta-di-m. (2) (Men) (ona-m-da) kitob o'qi-di-m.  
 1.SG mom-1.SG-ACC praise-PST-1.SG 1.SG mom-1.SG-LOC book read-PST-1.SG  
 'I praised my mom.' 'I read a book (on my mom) (i.e. her lap).'

Notably, dative causees are optional regardless of discourse context. They share this property with external arguments in the passive (4). Outside of a specific context, both types of non-canonical external argument receive an existential interpretation when they are unpronounced.

- (3) (Men) (Ali-ga) kitob o'qi-t-di-m.  
 1.SG Ali-DAT book read-CAUSE-PST-1.SG  
 'I had Ali read a book/had a book read.'
- (4) (Men) (Onam tomon-i-dan) maqta-l-di-m.  
 1.SG mom-1.SG side-3.SG-ABL praise-PASS-PST-1.SG  
 'I was praised (by my mom).'

Examining parallel facts in Turkish, Key (2013) proposes that dative causees are optional in Turkish because they are adjuncts like external arguments in the passive. According to Key, the roles borne by both types of non-canonical external argument are interpreted existentially when they are not saturated overtly in Turkish. We examine the utility of this theory for Uzbek by comparing the interpretation of the roles borne by accusative objects (canonical arguments), locative NPs (canonical adjuncts), dative causees, and external arguments in the passive when these roles are not overtly saturated.

**Discourse Binding:** In a context equivalent to one introduced by English utterance *Did you hear about Lola?*, the following judgments hold.

- (5) Ali (u-ni) maqta-di. (6) Ali #(un-da) kitob o'qi-di.  
 Ali 3.SG-ACC praise-PST.3.SG Ali 3.SG-LOC book read-PST.3.SG  
 'Ali praised her.' 'Ali read a book #(on her).'

The given context requires of the above examples that they tell us something about Lola. Thus, the felicity of (5) with or without an overt pronoun indicates that the role borne by the object can be bound from the discourse when it is not overtly saturated. The infelicity of (6) without an overt pronoun indicates that the role borne by the locative NP cannot be bound from the discourse when it is not overtly saturated. In a context equivalent to one introduced by English utterance *Did you hear about Ali?*, the following judgments hold.

- (7) Lola (un-ga) kitob o'qi-t-di.  
 Lola 3.SG-DAT book read-CAUSE-PST.3.SG  
 'Lola had him read a book.'
- (8) Xatto Lola #(u tomon-i-dan) maqta-l-di.  
 even Lola 3.SG side-3.SG-ABL praise-PASS-PST.3.SG  
 'Even Lola was praised #(by him).'

Example (7) shows that causees pattern with objects in that the role they bear can be bound from the discourse when it is not overtly saturated. Passives pattern with locative NPs in that the roles they bear cannot be bound from the discourse when they are not overtly saturated (8).

**Quantifier Binding:** When the role borne by the object in (1) is not overtly saturated, it can be bound by a c-commanding quantifier.

- (9) Har bir ona<sub>1</sub> bola-si e<sub>1</sub> maqta-sh-i-ni xohla-y-di.  
 each one mom child-3.SG praise-NMLZ-3.SG-ACC want-PRES-3.SG.  
 ‘Every mother<sub>1</sub> wants her child to praise her<sub>1</sub>.’

When the role borne by the locative NP in (2) is not overtly saturated, it cannot be bound.

- (10) \*Har bir ona<sub>1</sub> bola-si e<sub>1</sub> kitob o’qi-sh-i-ni xohla-y-di.  
 each one mom child-3.SG book read-NMLZ-3.SG-ACC want-PRES-3.SG.  
 ‘Int: ‘Every mother<sub>1</sub> wants her child to read a book on her<sub>1</sub>.’

Causees pattern with objects with respect to binding.

- (11) Har bir bola<sub>1</sub> ona-si e<sub>1</sub> kitob o’qi-t-ish-i-ni xohla-y-di.  
 each one child mom-3.SG book read-CAUSE-NMLZ-3.SG-ACC want-PRES-3.SG  
 ‘Every child<sub>1</sub> wants their mother to make them<sub>1</sub> read a book.’

External arguments in the passive pattern with locative NPs with respect to binding.

- (12) \*Har bir bola<sub>1</sub> ona-si e<sub>1</sub> maqta-l-ish-i-ni xohla-y-di.  
 each one child mom-3.SG praise-PASS-NMLZ-3.SG-ACC want-PRES-3.SG  
 ‘Int: Every child<sub>1</sub> wants their mother to be praised by them<sub>1</sub>’

**Proposal:** Our proposal explains the fact that causees can be freely dropped and receive an existential interpretation, like external arguments in passive, while at the same time allow bound reading when they are unpronounced, unlike external arguments in the passive. We use the theory of selection given in Bruening (2013) and Kratzer’s (1996) theory of external arguments. The existential interpretation of the roles borne by causees and external arguments in the passive is the result of the ability of the heads that introduce passive and causative morphology to existentially quantify over these roles. Discourse and quantifier binding of an unpronounced role is binding of a null pronoun or elided constituent—only syntactically selected arguments can be null pronouns or elided. Thus, contra Key (2013), causees are arguments and external arguments in the passive are adjuncts.

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| (13) <i>-il</i> : Pass   | (14) <i>-(t)ir</i> : Cause  |
| a. [S: VoiceP[S:NP]]   | a. [S:VoiceP[S:NP], ([S:NP])]   |
| b. $\llbracket \text{Pass} \rrbracket = \lambda P_{\langle e, vt \rangle} . \lambda e . (\exists x) P(e, x)$ | b. $\llbracket \text{Cause} \rrbracket = \lambda P_{\langle e, vt \rangle} . \lambda e . (\exists x) P(e, x)$ |

The head that introduces passive morphology syntactically selects for a VoiceP whose own selectional requirement for an NP has not been met. Pass optionally existentially quantifies over the external argument introduced by Voice. In case it does not, the unsaturated property of individuals introduced by Voice is passed on by *tomonidan* to its complement. Unlike the English *by*-phrase, the *tomonidan*-phrase does not appear outside of the passive—it adjoins to the phrase headed by Pass. The head that introduces causative morphology has the same semantics as Pass, but it optionally selects for an NP in addition to a VoiceP whose selectional requirements have not been met. Thus, causees are syntactic arguments when their role is saturated in the syntax, including by null pronouns or elided constituents. Their role can also be existentially quantified, in which case it is unexpressed in the syntax.

**Selected References:** • Bruening, Benjamin. “By phrases in passives and nominals.” *Syntax* 16, no. 1 (2013): 1-41. • Key, G. (2013). *The Morphosyntax of the Turkish Causative*. PhD thesis, University of Arizona.