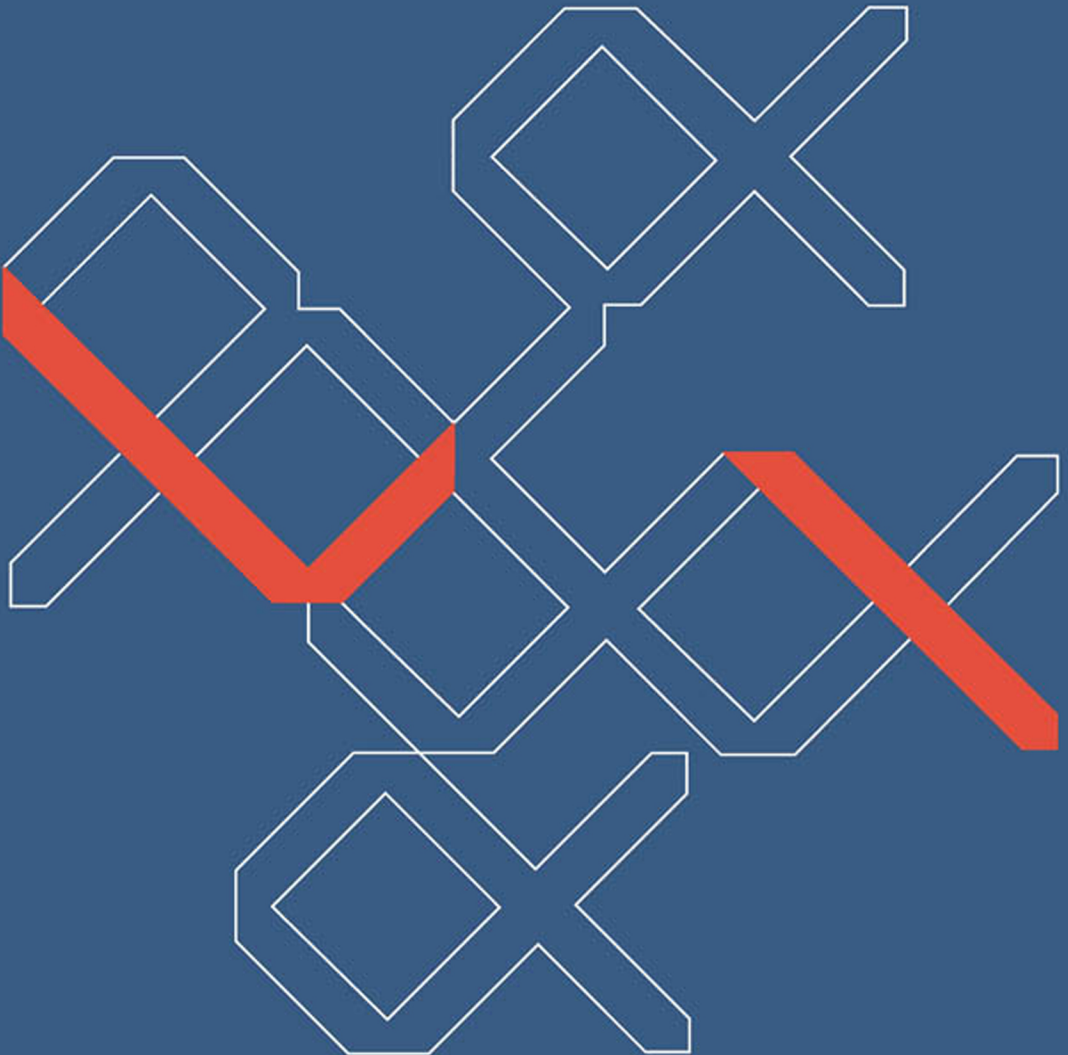




Linguistic Inquiry
Monograph Eighty-Two

A Theory of Indexical Shift Meaning, Grammar, and Crosslinguistic Variation

Amy Rose Deal



A Theory of Indexical Shift

Linguistic Inquiry Monographs

Samuel Jay Keyser, general editor

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A Theory of Indexical Shift
Meaning, Grammar, and Crosslinguistic Variation

Amy Rose Deal

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To Barak

The unseen is proved by the seen,
Till that becomes unseen and receives proof in its turn.
—Walt Whitman

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Series Foreword

We are pleased to present the eighty-second volume in the series *Linguistic Inquiry Monographs*. These monographs present new and original research beyond the scope of the article. We hope they will benefit our field by bringing to it perspectives that will stimulate further research and insight.

Originally published in limited edition, the *Linguistic Inquiry Monographs* are now more widely available. This change is due to the great interest engendered by the series and by the needs of a growing readership. The editors thank the readers for their support and welcome suggestions about future directions for the series.

Samuel Jay Keyser
for the Editorial Board

Preface

This book owes its existence in no small part to an invitation I wasn't sure whether to accept. It came from Craige Roberts, Jefferson Barlew, and Eric Synder, who were organizing a special session of the Linguistic Society of America annual meeting on Perspectival Expressions and the *De Se* Crosslinguistically. While I had long maintained an interest in the topic, owing both to my individual work on Nez Perce indexical shift and to my joint work with Cathy O'Connor on perspectival aspects of Northern Pomo grammar, I hesitated, feeling I had already said my bit and wondering whether I could come up with anything additional to say. For reasons I don't quite remember, I said yes, and from there I was lucky in two different ways. One was the kind of luck (sometimes called inspiration) that happens most often when a project has been set aside for a while and then returned to. In my first round of work on indexical shift, I had discovered that person and locative indexicals were different in shift environments in two different ways, one to do with optionality of shift and the other to do with *de se* interpretation, but I hadn't been able to show how these two properties could be connected. Upon returning to the topic, four years later, I had the experience of the elusive connection suddenly jumping out. The second type of luck was the kind that happens when, to speak metaphorically, the little thread one is pulling turns out to lead to a main seam. Every language is a mix of pieces shaped by the deep factors of human cognition and evolution and the more shallow happenstance of history and arbitrary choice. In learning, likewise, some aspects of an individual language are idiosyncratic and must be learned by rote; others, owing to deeper parts of the system, could not be otherwise. The analyst who embarks on an empirical project rarely gets to know in advance which pieces are which. For me, I could not have known in my initial summers of fieldwork on the subject that the Nez Perce indexical shift system would turn out to provide the first inklings of a larger theory, one that can both organize what we know about indexical shift thus far and predict what we may hope to know in the future. That, at least, is what I will contend.

I have many individuals and groups to thank for feedback, discussion, and helpful data points along the way, including Pranav Anand, Carolyn Anderson, Amir Anvari, Mark Baker, Seth Cable, Kathryn Davidson, Kai von Fintel, Irene Heim, Peter Jenks, Sunwoo Jeong, Min-Joo Kim, Sarah Murray, Sumiyo Nishiguchi, Yangsook Park, Tom Roeper, Philippe Schlenker, Roger Schwarzschild, Yasu Sudo, and Sandhya Sundaresan; audience members at Berkeley, the University of Massachusetts, MIT, the University of Michigan, the University of Connecticut, Frankfurt, the SIAS attitudes group in summer 2016, the 22nd Workshop on Structure and Constituency of the Languages of the Americas (at the University of British Columbia in spring 2017), the Rutgers Semantics/Pragmatics workshop in spring 2017, Sinn und Bedeutung 22 (at the University of Potsdam in fall 2017), and the Alphabet of Universal Grammar workshop (at the British Academy in summer 2019); and of course audience members and organizers at the LSA annual meeting 2016. I'm especially grateful to Sarah Murray and two anonymous reviewers for extensive comments on versions of this manuscript, as well as to colleagues at MIT and Harvard for their hospitality while I worked on this project during a fall 2016 sabbatical leave (especially Jay Jasanoff, who lent me his Widener Library office space), and to the American Council of Learned Societies and the College of Letters and Science at the University of California, Berkeley, for sabbatical support.

All Nez Perce judgments in this book were provided by Nez Perce elders Bessie Scott and Florene Davis, whom I cannot thank enough for their patient teaching and years of friendship. *Qe'ciyew'yew'!*

Amy Rose Deal
January 8, 2020

1 Introduction

Indexicals are a class of linguistic items identifiable by the particular way in which their meaning depends on an utterance event. Among this class, in English, are *I* and *you*, *here* and *now*, *tomorrow* and *today*. So inherent to this lexical class is its particular type of dependence on utterance that non-indexical paraphrases invariably fail to capture it, even when those paraphrases are themselves in some way context-dependent. So it is that when Anna and Berta watch a televised speech together, they may use definite expressions such as *the speaker* or *the person talking* to form a coherent disagreement about the subject on screen:

(1) *A coherent disagreement*

Anna: The speaker / the person talking is in Washington.

Berta: No, the speaker / the person talking is not in Washington.

A version with the indexical *I*, on the other hand, fails not only in its attempt to refer to a third party; it does not even achieve the status of a coherent disagreement.¹

(2) *Not a coherent disagreement*

Anna: I'm in Washington.

Berta: No, I'm not in Washington.

The well-formed disagreement in (1) demonstrates that descriptions such as *the speaker* and *the person talking* can, in principle, be used to refer to the same individual regardless of who it is that utters them. *I*, on the other hand, has no such option. In (2), it simply cannot refer to the same person when used by Anna as when used by Berta. Whatever *I* means, then, it cannot be the same as the meaning of *the speaker* or *the person talking*. This basic fact undergirds the celebrated direct reference theory of indexicals, where, as Kaplan (1989, 491) put it: "The speaker refers to himself when he uses *I*, and no pointing to another

or believing that he is another or intending to refer to another can defeat this reference.”

Examples (1) and (2) are presented in English, but it is probably fair to say that this contrast could be replicated in every language. Typologists have after all found no language lacking a first person (Cysouw 2003, 83). In Nez Perce (Sahaptian; USA), for instance, the pattern in (3) reproduces the English pattern exactly. (I parenthesize the English translations here to highlight that the disagreement is judged incoherent without any English provided.)²

(3) *Not a coherent disagreement (in Nez Perce)*

Anna: 'iin kiy-u' Kemiex-px.
 1SG.NOM go-PROSP Kamiah-to
 (I'm going to Kamiah.)

Berta: Weet'u 'iin kiy-u' Kemiex-px.
 NEG 1SG.NOM go-PROSP Kamiah-to
 (I'm not going to Kamiah.)

Yet this finding should not lure us into thinking that semantic variation is excluded in matters related to indexicality. In fact, it only takes a small modification to the pattern to see a rather different crosslinguistic picture emerge, bringing with it an apparent challenge to the core Kaplanian theory. The modification involves embedding indexical expressions under speech or attitude verbs. This manipulation, of course, has no effect on the facts in standard English. Discourse (4) is no more coherent than (2): modulo quotation, English *I* is just as utterance-dependent in speech and attitude reports as in matrix clauses.

(4) *Still not a coherent disagreement*

Anna: Casey said that I'm in Washington.
 Berta: No, Casey didn't say that I'm in Washington.

In contrast to the behavior of unembedded indexicals in (2) and (3), this behavior of embedded indexicals is not universal. Suppose that the first-person pronoun, embedded in a speech or attitude report, could refer to the author of the report—the thinker, that is, with a verb of thought, or the speaker, with a verb of speech. This is clearly not possible in English, for if it were, then (4) would achieve coherence as a disagreement about Casey's statements about his own location. But this reading *is* possible in Nez Perce sentences such as (5) and (6), where the embedded first-person pronouns may refer to the attitude author:

- (5) Mipx Beth hi-neek- \emptyset -e [*pro*
 where.to Beth.NOM 3SUBJ-think-P-REM.PAST [1SG
 kuu-se- \emptyset]?
 go-IMPERF-PRES]
 Where did Beth_i think she_i was going?³
- (6) Kii hii-wes 'iniit yo \hat{x} ke Jack
 this.NOM 3SUBJ-be.PRES house.NOM RP.NOM C Jack.NOM
 hi-hi-ce- \emptyset ['iin hani- \emptyset -ya].
 3SUBJ-say-IMPERF-PRES [1SG.NOM make-P-REM.PAST]
 This is the house that Jack_i says he_i built.

No surprise, then, that in Nez Perce, disagreements of the form in (4) are indeed coherent:

(7) *A coherent disagreement (in Nez Perce)*

- Anna: Naaqc k'ay'kin Caan hi-i-cee-ne,
 one week John.NOM 3SUBJ-say-IMPERF-REM.PAST
 [watiisx *pro* kiy-u' 'itamyaanwas-x].
 [1.day.away 1SG go-PROSP town-to]
 Last week John said he would go to town tomorrow.
- Berta: Weet'u Caan hi-i-cee-ne, [watiisx
 NEG John.NOM 3SUBJ-say-IMPERF-REM.PAST [1.day.away
pro kiy-u' 'itamyaanwas-x].
 1SG go-PROSP town-to]
 John didn't say he would go to town tomorrow.

Notably, these behaviors of the first person in Nez Perce do not require quotation of the embedded clause: the clause hosting the indexical remains transparent for questioning and relativization in (5) and (6) and hosts a clearly nonquoted temporal adverb in (7). Rather, independent of clausal quotation, the embedded indexical draws its reference from an attitude event instead of from the overall utterance. This demonstrates the phenomenon of *indexical shift*.

Over the past two decades, the study of indexical shift has come into its own as a major front in the investigation of natural language semantics. The empirical progress has been significant: the phenomenon has been reported for languages spanning five continents and at least ten language families.⁴ Theoretical progress has been substantial as well, as new empirical discoveries have been mined for insights into the nature of indexicality, quantification, quotation, and context-dependence. As this progress has unfolded, the field has seen a steady accumulation of small discoveries about ways in which indexical-shifting languages are different not just from standard English, but

also from each other. Such discoveries reveal that the true theory of indexicality is responsible not just for a binary choice between languages like English and languages like Nez Perce, but ultimately for a range of ways in which languages may allow or disallow indexical shift. This suggests that we may best appreciate how indexical shift works by better understanding the ways it does and does not vary across languages.

This is the project I take up in this book. My central goal is to advance and justify a constrained typology of indexical shift—a picture of variation that is at once rich enough to capture the known facts and also restrictive enough to make predictions about currently unknown data points. This is in line with similar projects at the intersection of formal semantics and language typology in the domains of bare nominals (Chierchia 1998), generalized quantifiers (Matthewson 2013), and degree constructions (Beck et al. 2009), among other areas. To achieve this goal for *shifty* indexicals it will be necessary to answer three questions:

1. What are the major dimensions of variation in indexical shift?
2. What theory of indexical shift can best account for both commonalities and variation within and across the set of languages instantiating the phenomenon?
3. What are the natural seams that separate indexical shift from surface-similar phenomena?

I will say at once that these questions must be approached in the knowledge that large gaps remain in our understanding of embedded indexicals across a wide variety of languages. The goal is that the predictions from this study will be testable in additional languages in future work, where perhaps they will be disconfirmed in favor of some improved alternative. In the meantime, the (eternal) absence of fully exhaustive data cannot excuse us from theorizing. By outlining a constrained typology now, we prepare to more quickly grasp the import of new language types that may (or may not) ultimately be discovered in the future.

The plan of the book is as follows. The next chapter serves as an in-depth introduction to indexical shift via a case study of one language, Nez Perce, and the evidence it provides in favor of the basic approach to indexical shift I adopt here: the *shifty operator theory* (Anand and Nevins 2004, Anand 2006, Sudo 2012, Deal 2014, Shklovsky and Sudo 2014, Park 2016). On this theory, indexical shift results from the presence of syntactic elements—operators—that change the context relative to which their complement is interpreted. Indexicals, then, retain their standard Kaplanian analysis as directly referential expressions. The difference between a language such as Nez Perce and a

language such as standard English is that the latter lacks elements that modify the context of interpretation.

The recognition of such operators sets the stage for the rest of the book, which addresses the three questions listed above. The heart of the proposal is presented in chapter 3, which begins by outlining four dimensions of variation in indexical shift along with corresponding initial generalizations about the crosslinguistic patterns. This chapter draws most extensively on studies of six languages (Matses, Navajo, Nez Perce, Slave, Uyghur, and Zazaki) that instantiate patterns also found in numerous others. To account for the generalizations laid out in this chapter, I propose, first, that languages allowing shift of multiple types of indexicals (e.g., first person, second person, locative) may allow multiple shifty operators to stack in the left periphery of finite clauses; stacking is regulated by standard syntactic constraints on functional structure in a way that explains several of the crosslinguistic generalizations. Second, the semantic contributions of these operators may vary, in a way that explains a core generalization about indexical shift and interpretation *de se*.

With the basic proposal on the table, chapter 4 elaborates the theory along two further dimensions. In section 4.1, I extend the account to temporal indexicals, drawing on evidence from Korean and a nonstandard variety of English. In section 4.2, I discuss lexical “bundling” of shifty operators (to borrow a term from Pylkkänen 2008), that is, cases where a shifty operator forms a single lexical unit along with another operator or other material. This discussion draws on case studies of second-person indexicals in Uyghur (Sudo 2012) and adverbial indexicals in Korean (Park 2016). I then present an overview of the predictions of the final account as developed here.

This leaves the question of how indexical shift may be distinguished from surface-similar phenomena, which is the subject of chapter 5. Here I contrast indexical shift with four distinct though partially related phenomena—Free Indirect Discourse, sign language Role Shift (particularly in American Sign Language and French Sign Language), fake indexicality in focus constructions, and *indexiphoricity* (i.e., “[first] personal logophoricity”)—with the goal of clarifying the controls that are needed to test the constrained typology on new data sets.

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