

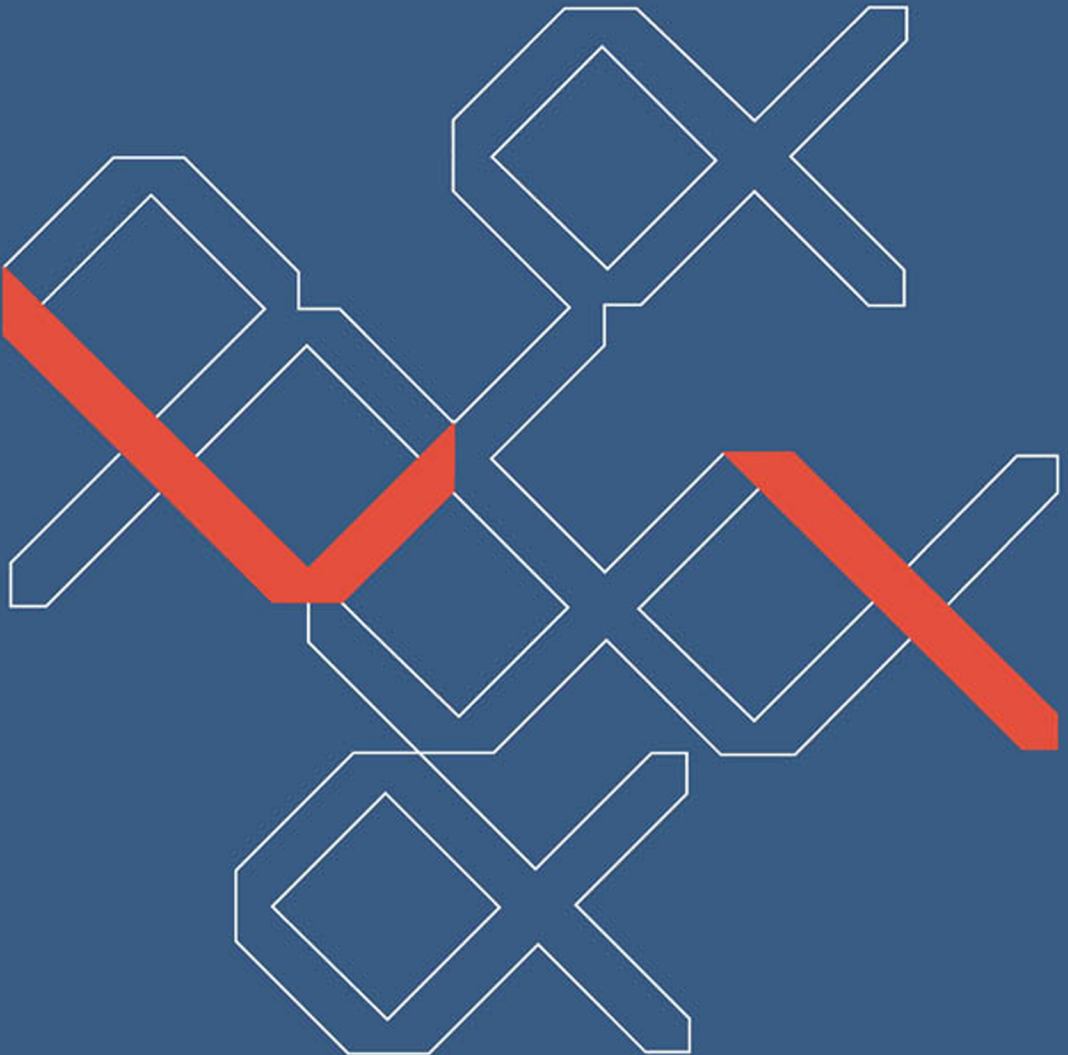


Linguistic Inquiry  
Monograph Eighty-Two

# 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

A complete list of books published in the Linguistic Inquiry Monographs series appears at the back of this book.

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

**Amy Rose Deal**

The MIT Press  
Cambridge, Massachusetts  
London, England

© 2020 Massachusetts Institute of Technology

All rights reserved. No part of this book may be reproduced in any form by any electronic or mechanical means (including photocopying, recording, or information storage and retrieval) without permission in writing from the publisher.

This book was set in Syntax and Times Roman by Westchester Publishing Services.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Names: Deal, Amy Rose, author.

Title: A theory of indexical shift : meaning, grammar, and crosslinguistic variation / Amy Rose Deal.

Description: Cambridge : The MIT Press, 2020. | Series: Linguistic inquiry monographs ; 82 | Includes bibliographical references and index.

Identifiers: LCCN 2019049201 | ISBN 9780262044189 (hardcover) | ISBN 9780262539210 (paperback)

Subjects: LCSH: Indexicals (Semantics) | Nez Percé language—Semantics.

Classification: LCC P325.5.I54 D43 2020 | DDC 497/.4124—dc23

LC record available at <https://lcn.loc.gov/2019049201>

To Barak



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





# Contents

Series Foreword	xi
Preface	xiii
<b>1</b>	<b>Introduction</b> 1
<b>2</b>	<b>Indexicals and Operators: A Nez Perce Case Study</b> 7
2.1	Analysis Types 9
2.1.1	The Quotation Analysis 9
2.1.2	The Nonindexical Analysis 14
2.1.3	The Partial Quotation Analysis 16
2.1.4	The Binding Analysis 19
2.1.5	The Context Pronoun Analysis 21
2.1.6	The Pragmatic Analysis 23
2.2	The Shifty Operator Theory of Indexical Shift 27
2.2.1	Meanings for Indexicals and Operators 28
2.2.2	Operators in Syntactic Structures 33
2.2.3	The Overwriting Nature of Context Shift 36
2.2.4	Conclusion to the Case Study 44
2.3	Epilogue: Operators beyond Nez Perce 45
<b>3</b>	<b>Shifty Asymmetries</b> 49
3.1	Dimensions of Variation 49
3.1.1	Which Verbs Are Involved in Shifting 49
3.1.2	Which Indexicals Shift (with Which Verbs) 52
3.1.3	How Much Optionality is Permitted in Indexical Shift 54
3.1.4	Which Indexicals Must Be Read <i>De Se</i> When Shifted 59
3.2	Deriving the Asymmetries 64
3.2.1	Regulating Which Indexicals Shift 64
3.2.2	The Effect of Verbs 68
3.2.3	Back to the <i>De Se</i> 70
<b>4</b>	<b>Extending the Theory</b> 77
4.1	Temporal Indexicals 78

4.2	Lexical Bundling	83
4.2.1	Verbs of Cognition and the Second Person	83
4.2.2	Temporal/Locative Bundling in Korean	87
4.3	Remarks on Single-Operator Analyses	89
4.4	Summary of Predictions	93
<b>5</b>	<b>Beyond Indexical Shift</b>	<b>97</b>
5.1	From Mixed Quotation to Free Indirect Discourse	98
5.2	Sign Language Role Shift	103
5.3	Fake Indexicals	104
5.4	Indexiphors	107
5.5	Closing Remarks	120
<b>6</b>	<b>Conclusions</b>	<b>123</b>
<b>A</b>	<b>Remarks on Shift Together</b>	<b>125</b>
<b>B</b>	<b>Nez Perce Grammatical Background</b>	<b>133</b>
	Notes	141
	References	159
	Index	173

## 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.<sup>1</sup>

(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.)<sup>2</sup>

(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<sub>i</sub> think she<sub>i</sub> was going?<sup>3</sup>
- (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<sub>i</sub> says he<sub>i</sub> 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.<sup>4</sup> 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.



## References

- Abusch, Dorit. 1997. Sequence of tense and temporal de re. *Linguistics and Philosophy* 20 (1): 1–50.
- Adesola, Oluseye. 2005. Pronouns and null operators: A-bar dependencies and relations in Yoruba. PhD diss., Rutgers University.
- Adesola, Oluseye. 2006. A-bar dependencies in the Yoruba reference-tracking system. *Lingua* 116: 2068–2106.
- Aikhenvald, Alexandra. 2008. Semi-direct speech: Manambu and beyond. *Language Sciences* 30: 383–422.
- Akkuş, Faruk. 2018. Un-shifting indexicals. Manuscript, University of Pennsylvania.
- Anand, Pranav. 2006. *De de se*. PhD diss., MIT.
- Anand, Pranav, and Valentine Hacquard. 2008. Epistemics with attitude. In *SALT XVIII*, eds. T. Friedmann and S. Ito, 37–54. Ithaca, NY: CLC Publications.
- Anand, Pranav, and Andrew Nevins. 2004. Shifty operators in changing contexts. In *Proceedings of SALT XIV*, ed. Robert B. Young, 20–37. Ithaca, NY: CLC Publications.
- Anderson, Carolyn. 2015. *Tomorrow* isn't just another day: shifty temporal indexicals in English. Manuscript, University of Massachusetts, Amherst.
- Anderson, Carolyn. 2019. *Tomorrow* isn't always a day away. In *Proceedings of Sinn und Bedeutung 23*, ed. M. Teresa Espinal et al., Vol. 1, 37–56. Barcelona: Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, Bellaterra (Cerdanyola del Vallès).
- Anvari, Amir. 2019. Meaning in context. PhD diss., École Normale Supérieure.
- Aoki, Haruo. 1970. *Nez Perce grammar*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Aoki, Haruo. 1994. *Nez Perce dictionary*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Baker, Mark C. 2008. *The syntax of agreement and concord*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Baker, Mark C. 2017. Comments on “Shifty asymmetries: universals and variation in shifty indexicality.” Rutgers Semantics/Pragmatics Workshop, Rutgers University Center for Cognitive Science.
- Banfield, Ann. 1973. Narrative style and the grammar of direct and indirect discourse. *Foundations of Language* 10 (1): 1–39.

- Bassi, Itai, and Nicholas Longenbaugh. 2018. Features on bound pronouns: an argument against syntactic agreement approaches. In *Proceedings of NELS 48*, eds. Sherry Hucklebridge and Max Nelson, Vol. 1, 59–72. Amherst, MA: GLSA Publications.
- Beck, Sigrid, Sveta Krasikova, Daniel Fleischer, Remus Gergel, Stefan Hofstetter, Christiane Savelsberg, John Vanderelst, and Elisabeth Villalta. 2009. Crosslinguistic variation in comparison constructions. *Linguistic Variation Yearbook* 9: 1–66.
- Bhat, DNS. 2004. *Pronouns*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Bittner, Maria. 2014. Perspectival discourse referents for indexicals. In *Proceedings of SULA 7*, ed. H. Greene, 1–22. Amherst, MA: GLSA Publications.
- Bobaljik, Jonathan David, and Hóskuldur Thráinsson. 1998. Two heads aren't always better than one. *Syntax* 1 (1): 37–71.
- Bochnak, Ryan, Vera Hohaus, and Anne Mucha. 2019. Variation in tense and aspect, and the temporal interpretation of complement clauses. *Journal of Semantics* 36 (3): 407–452.
- Bogal-Allbritten, Elizabeth. 2016. Building meaning in Navajo. PhD diss., University of Massachusetts, Amherst.
- Borer, Hagit. 1984. *Parametric syntax*. Dordrecht: Foris Publications.
- Borsley, Robert D., and Jaklin Kornfilt. 2000. Mixed extended projections. In *The nature and function of syntactic categories*, ed. Robert D. Borsley, 101–131. San Diego: Academic Press.
- Bresnan, Joan. 1972. Theory of complementation in English syntax. PhD diss., MIT.
- Bromley, H. Myron. 1981. *A grammar of Lower Grand Valley Dani*. Canberra: Pacific Linguistics.
- Cable, Seth. 2005. Binding local person pronouns without semantically empty features. Manuscript, MIT.
- Caponigro, Ivano, and Maria Polinsky. 2011. Relative embeddings: a Circassian puzzle for the syntax/semantics interface. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 29 (1): 71–122. doi:10.1007/s11049-011-9121-9.
- Cappelen, Herman, and Ernie Lepore. 1997. Varieties of quotation. *Mind* 106: 429–450.
- Cappelen, Herman, and Ernie Lepore. 2017. Quotation. In *The Stanford encyclopedia of philosophy (fall 2017 edition)*, ed. Edward N. Zalta. <https://plato.stanford.edu/archives/fall2017/entries/quotation/>.
- Cecchetto, Carlo, Carlo Geraci, and Sandro Zucchi. 2009. Another way to mark syntactic dependencies: the case for right-peripheral specifiers in sign languages. *Language* 85 (2): 278–320.
- Charlow, Simon, and Yael Sharvit. 2014. Bound *de re* pronouns and the LFs of attitude reports. *Semantics and Pragmatics* 7 (3): 1–43. doi:10.3765/sp.7.3.
- Charnavel, Isabelle. 2019. Supersloppy readings: indexicals as bound descriptions. *Journal of Semantics* 36 (3): 453–530.
- Chierchia, Gennaro. 1998. Reference to kinds across languages. *Natural Language Semantics* 6 (4): 339–405.
- Chomsky, Noam. 1995. *The minimalist program*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

- Cinque, Guglielmo. 1999. *Adverbs and functional heads: a cross-linguistic perspective*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Clark, Herbert C. 1996. *Using language*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Clark, Herbert C., and Richard J. Gerrig. 1990. Quotations as demonstrations. *Language* 66 (4): 764–805.
- Coppock, Elizabeth, and Stephen Wechsler. 2018. The proper treatment of egophoricity in Kathmandu Newari. In *Expressing the self: cultural diversity and cognitive universals*, eds. Kasia M Jaszczolt and Minyao Huang, 40–57. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Cristofaro, Sonia. 2003. *Subordination*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Crook, Harold David. 1999. The phonology and morphology of Nez Perce stress. PhD diss., University of California, Los Angeles.
- Culy, Christopher. 1994. A note on logophoricity in Dogon. *Journal of African Languages and Linguistics* 15: 113–125.
- Cumming, Samuel. 2003. Two accounts of indexicals in mixed quotation. *Belgian Journal of Linguistics* 17 (1): 77–88.
- Curnow, Timothy. 2002. Three types of verbal logophoricity in African languages. *Studies in African Linguistics* 31: 1–25.
- Cysouw, Michael. 2003. *The paradigmatic structure of person marking*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Davidson, Kathryn. 2015. Quotation, demonstration and iconicity. *Linguistics and Philosophy* 38 (6): 477–520.
- Davies, John. 1981. *Kobon*. Amsterdam: North-Holland Publishing.
- Davies, William D. 2005. Madurese prolepsis and its implications for a typology of raising. *Language* 81 (3): 645–665. doi:10.1353/lan.2005.0121.
- Dawson, Virginia. 2019. Paths to exceptional wide scope: choice functions in Tiwa. Manuscript, University of California, Berkeley.
- Deal, Amy Rose. 2009a. Events in space. In *Proceedings of SALT XVIII*, eds. T. Friedman and S. Ito, 230–247. Ithaca, NY: CLC Publications.
- Deal, Amy Rose. 2009b. The origin and content of expletives: evidence from “selection.” *Syntax* 12 (4): 285–323.
- Deal, Amy Rose. 2010a. Ergative case and the transitive subject: a view from Nez Perce. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 28 (1): 73–120. doi:10.1007/s11049-009-9081-5.
- Deal, Amy Rose. 2010b. Topics in the Nez Perce verb. PhD diss., University of Massachusetts, Amherst.
- Deal, Amy Rose. 2013. Possessor raising. *Linguistic Inquiry* 44 (3): 391–432. doi:10.1162/LING\_a\_00133.
- Deal, Amy Rose. 2014. Nez Perce embedded indexicals. In *Proceedings of SULA 7: Semantics of under-represented languages in the Americas*, ed. H. Greene, 23–40. Amherst, MA: GLSA Publications.



- Deal, Amy Rose. 2015a. Interaction and satisfaction in  $\phi$ -agreement. In *Proceedings of NELS 45*, eds. Thuy Bui and Deniz Özyıldız, 179–192. Amherst, MA: GLSA Publications.
- Deal, Amy Rose. 2015b. A note on Nez Perce verb agreement, with sample paradigms. In *Proceedings of the International Conference on Salish and Neighbouring Languages 50*, ed. Natalie Weber et al., 389–413. Vancouver: UBC Working Papers in Linguistics.
- Deal, Amy Rose. 2015c. Reasoning about equivalence in semantic fieldwork. In *Methodologies in semantic fieldwork*, eds. R. Bochnak and L. Matthewson, 157–174. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Deal, Amy Rose. 2016a. Person-based split ergativity in Nez Perce is syntactic. *Journal of Linguistics* 52 (3): 533–564. doi:10.1017/S0022226715000031.
- Deal, Amy Rose. 2016b. Plural exponence in the Nez Perce DP: a DM analysis. *Morphology* 26 (3): 313–339. doi:10.1007/s11525-015-9277-9.
- Deal, Amy Rose. 2017. Covert hyperraising to object. In *Proceedings of NELS 47*, eds. Andrew Lamont and Katerina Tetzloff, 257–270. Amherst, MA: GLSA Publications.
- Deal, Amy Rose. 2018a. Compositional paths to *de re*. In *Proceedings of SALT 28*, ed. Sireemas Maspong et al., 622–648. Ithaca, NY: CLC Publications.
- Deal, Amy Rose. 2018b. Indexiphors: notes on embedded indexicals, shifty agreement, and logophoricity. In *The leader of the pack: a festschrift in honor of Peggy Speas*, ed. Rodica Ivan, 59–86. Amherst, MA: GLSA Publications.
- Deal, Amy Rose. 2018c. Locality in allomorphy and presyntactic bundling: a case of tense and aspect. *Snippets* 34: 8–9.
- Deal, Amy Rose. 2019a. Person features and shiftiness. Paper presented at the Alphabet of Universal Grammar, British Academy, London.
- Deal, Amy Rose. 2019b. Raising to ergative: remarks on applicatives of unaccusatives. *Linguistic Inquiry* 50 (2): 388–415. doi:10.1162/ling\_a\_00310.
- Deal, Amy Rose. 2019c. Uncentered attitude reports. Manuscript, University of California, Berkeley.
- Deal, Amy Rose, and Vera Hohaus. 2019. Vague predicates, crisp judgments. In *Proceedings of Sinn und Bedeutung 23*, ed. M. Teresa Espinal et al., 347–364. Barcelona: Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, Bellaterra (Cerdanyola del Vallès).
- Deal, Amy Rose, and M. C. O'Connor. 2011. The perspectival basis of fluid-S case-marking in Northern Pomo. In *Proceedings of SULA 5*, ed. Suzi Lima, 173–188. Amherst, MA: GLSA Publications.
- De Brabanter, Philippe. 2010. The semantics and pragmatics of hybrid quotations. *Language and Linguistics Compass* 4 (2): 107–120.
- Deibler, Ellis. 1976. *Semantic relationships of Gahuku verbs*. Dallas, TX: SIL International.
- Demirok, Ömer, and Balkız Öztürk. 2015. The logophoric complementizer in Laz. *Dilbilim Araştırmaları Dergisi (Journal of Linguistics Research)* 26 (2): 45–69.
- Eckardt, Regine. 2014. *The semantics of free indirect discourse: how texts allow us to mind-read and eavesdrop*. Leiden: Brill.

- Elbourne, Paul. 2008. Ellipsis sites as definite descriptions. *Linguistic Inquiry* 39 (2): 191–220.
- Engberg-Pedersen, Elisabeth. 1995. Point of view expressed through shifters. In *Language, gesture and space*, eds. K. Emmorey and J. S. Reilly, 133–154. Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Evans, Nicholas. 2006. View with a view: towards a typology of multiple perspective constructions. In *BLS 31: General session and parasession on prosodic variation and change*, eds. Rebecca Cover and Yuni Kim, 93–120. Berkeley, CA: Berkeley Linguistics Society.
- Fleck, David. 2006. Complement clause types and complementation strategies in Matses. In *Complementation: a cross-linguistic typology*, eds. R. M. W. Dixon and Alexandra Aikhenvald, 224–244. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Fleck, David W. 2003. A grammar of Matses. PhD diss., Rice University.
- Grashchenkov, Pavel, and Vita Markman. 2008. Non-core arguments in verbal and nominal predication: high and low applicatives and possessor raising. In *Proceedings of the 27th West Coast Conference on Formal Linguistics*, eds. Natasha Abner and Jason Bishop, 185–193. Somerville, MA: Cascadilla.
- Grønn, Atle, and Arnim von Stechow. 2010. Complement tense in contrast: the SOT parameter in Russian and English. In *Russian in contrast*, eds. Atle Grønn and Irena Marijanovic, 109–153. Oslo: University of Oslo.
- Gültekin Şener, Nilfüfer, and Serkan Şener. 2011. Null subjects and indexicality in Turkish and Uyghur. In *Proceedings of the 7th Workshop on Altaic Formal Linguistics*, ed. Andrew Simpson, 269–283. Cambridge, MA: MITWPL.
- Hacquard, Valentine. 2006. Aspects of modality. PhD diss., MIT.
- Haegeman, Liliane, and Virginia Hill. 2013. The syntacticization of discourse. In *Syntax and its limits*, eds. Raffaella Folli, Christina Sevdali, and Robert Truswell, 370–390. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Harbour, Daniel. 2016. *Impossible persons*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Hargreaves, David. 2018. “Am I blue?”: privileged access constraints in Kathmandu Newar. In *Egophoricity*, eds. Simeon Floyd, Elisabeth Norcliffe, and Lila San Roque, 79–107. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Harley, Heidi. 2013. The ‘bundling’ hypothesis and the disparate functions of little *v*. Handout from the Little *v* Workshop, Leiden University.
- Heath, Jeffrey. 2016. A grammar of Donno So or Kamma So (Dogon language family, Mali). Manuscript, University of Michigan. <http://hdl.handle.net/2027.42/123062>.
- Heim, Irene. 1994. Comments on Abusch’s theory of tense. In *Ellipsis, tense and questions*, ed. Hans Kamp, 143–170. Amsterdam: University of Amsterdam.
- Heim, Irene. 2008. Features on bound pronouns. In *Phi theory*, eds. Daniel Harbour, David Adger, and Susana Béjar, 35–56. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Heim, Irene, and Angelika Kratzer. 1998. *Semantics in generative grammar*. Malden, MA: Blackwell.
- Herrmann, Annika, and Markus Steinbach. 2012. Quotation in sign languages—a visible context shift. In *Quotatives: Cross-linguistic and cross-disciplinary perspectives*,

- eds. Isabelle Buchstaller and Ingrid van Alphen, 203–228. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Heycock, Caroline. 2006. Embedded root phenomena. In *The Blackwell companion to syntax*, eds. Martin Everaert and Henk van Riemsdijk, 174–209. Malden, MA: Blackwell. doi:<https://doi.org/10.1002/9781118358733.wbysyncom068>.
- Hübl, Annika. 2013. Role shift, indexicals and beyond—new evidence from German Sign Language. In *Proceedings from the 13th meeting of the Texas Linguistics Society*, ed. Leah C. Greer, 1–11. Austin, TX: Texas Linguistics Society.
- Hübl, Annika, Emar Maier, and Markus Steinbach. 2019. To shift or not to shift: quotation and attraction in DGS. *Sign Language & Linguistics* 22 (2): 248–286.
- Hunter, Julie, and Nicholas Asher. 2005. A presuppositional account of indexicals. In *Proceedings of the fifteenth Amsterdam colloquium*, eds. Paul Dekker and Michael Franke, 119–124. Amsterdam: Institute for Logic, Language and Computation.
- Hyman, Larry M., ed. 1979. *Aghem grammatical structure*. Los Angeles: Department of Linguistics, University of Southern California.
- Jacobson, Pauline. 2012. Direct compositionality and ‘uninterpretability’: the case of (sometimes) ‘uninterpretable’ features on pronouns. *Journal of Semantics* 29: 305–343.
- Kammerzell, Frank, and Carsten Peust. 2002. Reported speech in Egyptian: forms, types and history. In *Reported discourse: a meeting ground for different linguistic domains*, eds. Tom Güldemann and Manfred von Roncador, 289–322. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Kaplan, David. 1989. Demonstratives: An essay on the semantics, logic, metaphysics, and epistemology of demonstratives and other indexicals. In *Themes from Kaplan*, eds. Joseph Almog, John Perry, and Howard Wettstein, 481–564. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Karttunen, Lauri. 1971. Implicative verbs. *Language* 47 (2): 340–358.
- Kasimir, Elke. 2008. Prosodic correlates of subclausal quotation marks. *ZAS Papers in Linguistics* 49: 67–77.
- Klein, Ewan. 1980. A semantics for positive and comparative adjectives. *Linguistics and Philosophy* 4: 1–45.
- Knyazev, Mikhail. 2015. Verbal complementizers in Kalmyk: V, C, or both. In *Proceedings of the 9th Workshop on Altaic Formal Linguistics*, eds. Andrew Joseph and Esra Predolac, 145–158. Cambridge, MA: MITWPL.
- Knyazev, Mikhail. 2019. Two say-complementizers in Poshkart Chuvash. Manuscript, Saint Petersburg State University.
- Koev, Todor. 2013. Apposition and the structure of discourse. PhD diss., Rutgers University.
- Koopman, Hilda, and Dominique Sportiche. 1989. Pronouns, logical variables, and logophoricity in Abe. *Linguistic Inquiry* 20 (4): 555–588.
- Korotkova, Natalia. 2016. Heterogeneity and uniformity in the evidential domain. PhD diss., University of California, Los Angeles.
- Kratzer, Angelika. 1989. An investigation of the lumps of thought. *Linguistics and Philosophy* 12 (5): 607–653.

- Kratzer, Angelika. 1998a. More structural analogies between pronouns and tenses. In *Proceedings of SALT VIII*, eds. Devon Strolovitch and Aaron Lawson, 92–110. Ithaca, NY: CLC Publications.
- Kratzer, Angelika. 1998b. Scope or pseudoscope? Are there wide-scope indefinites? In *Events and grammar*, ed. Susan Rothstein, 163–196. Dordrecht: Kluwer.
- Kratzer, Angelika. 2006. Decomposing attitude verbs. Talk given at The Hebrew University of Jerusalem.
- Kratzer, Angelika. 2009. Making a pronoun: fake indexicals as windows into the properties of pronouns. *Linguistic Inquiry* 40 (2): 187–237.
- Krifka, Manfred. 2013. Response particles as propositional anaphors. In *Proceedings of SALT 23*, ed. Todd Snider, 1–18. Ithaca, NY: CLC Publications.
- Kusumoto, Kiyomi. 2005. On the quantification over times in natural language. *Natural Language Semantics* 13 (4): 317–357.
- Lacroix, René. 2012. The multi-purpose subordinator *na* in Laz. In *Clause linkage in cross-linguistic perspective*, eds. Volker Gast and Holger Diessel, 77–104. Berlin: De Gruyter.
- Landau, Idan. 2016. Agreement at PF: an argument from partial control. *Syntax* 19 (1): 79–109.
- Laserson, Peter. 2005. Context dependence, disagreement, and predicates of personal taste. *Linguistics and Philosophy* 28 (6): 643–686.
- Lee, Robert G., Carol Neidle, Dawn MacLaughlin, Benjamin Bahan, and Judy Kegl. 1997. Role shift in ASL: a syntactic look at direct speech. In *Syntactic structure and discourse function: an examination of two constructions in American Sign Language*, eds. Carol Neidle, Dawn MacLaughlin, and Robert G. Lee, 24–45. Boston: American Sign Language Linguistic Research Project. <ftp://louis-xiv.bu.edu/pub/asl/rpt4/ASLLRPr4.pdf>.
- Legate, Julie Anne. 2003. Some interface properties of the phase. *Linguistic Inquiry* 34 (3): 506–516.
- Leslau, Wolf. 1995. *A reference grammar of Amharic*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Lewis, David. 1980. Index, context, and content. In *Philosophy and grammar*, eds. Stig Kanger and Sven Öhman, 79–100. New York: Springer.
- Lewis, David K. 1968. Counterpart theory and quantified modal logic. *Journal of Philosophy* 65: 113–126.
- Liddell, Scott K., and Melanie Metzger. 1998. Gesture in sign language discourse. *Journal of Pragmatics* 30: 657–697.
- Lillo-Martin, Diane. 1995. The point of view predicate in American Sign Language. In *Language, gesture and space*, eds. K. Emmorey and J. S. Reilly, 155–170. Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Lillo-Martin, Diane. 2012. Utterance reports and constructed action. In *Sign language – an international handbook*, eds. Roland Pfau, Markus Steinbach, and Bencie Woll, 365–387. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter.

- Loughnane, Robyn. 2005. Reported speech constructions in Golin. In *Materials on Golin: grammar, texts and dictionary*, ed. N. Evans et al, 129–150. Melbourne: University of Melbourne.
- MacFarlane, John. 2012. Relativism. In *The Routledge companion to the philosophy of language*, eds. Delia Graff Fara and Gillian Russell, 132–142. New York: Routledge.
- Maier, Emar. 2007. Quotation marks as monsters, or the other way around? In *Proceedings of the 16th Amsterdam colloquium*, eds. Maria Aloni and Floris Roelofsen, 145–150. Amsterdam: ILLC/Department of Philosophy.
- Maier, Emar. 2012. Switches between direct and indirect speech in Ancient Greek. *Journal of Greek Linguistics* 12: 118–139.
- Maier, Emar. 2014a. Japanese reported speech: towards an account of perspective shift as mixed quotation. In *Formal approaches to semantics and pragmatics*, ed. E. McCready, 135–154. New York: Springer.
- Maier, Emar. 2014b. Language shifts in free indirect discourse. *Journal of Literary Semantics* 43 (2): 143–167.
- Maier, Emar. 2015. Quotation and unquotation in free indirect discourse. *Mind and Language* 30 (3): 345–373.
- Maier, Emar. 2016. A plea against monsters. *Grazer Philosophische Studien* 93 (3): 363–395.
- Maier, Emar. 2017. The pragmatics of attraction: explaining unquotation in direct and free indirect discourse. In *The semantics and pragmatics of quotation*, eds. Paul Saka and Michael Johnson, 259–280. New York: Springer.
- Maier, Emar. 2018. Quotation, demonstration, and attraction in sign language role shift. *Theoretical Linguistics* 44 (3/4): 165–176.
- Maier, Emar. Forthcoming. Mixed quotation. In *The companion to semantics*, eds. Cécile Meier, Thomas Ede Zimmerman, Hotze Rullmann, and Lisa Matthewson. Hoboken, NJ: Wiley Blackwell.
- Major, Travis, and Connor Mayer. 2019. What indexical shift sounds like: Uyghur intonation and interpreting speech reports. In *Proceedings of NELS 49*, eds. Maggie Baird and Jonathan Pesetsky, 255–264. Amherst, MA: GLSA Publications.
- Matthewson, Lisa. 1999. On the interpretation of wide-scope indefinites. *Natural Language Semantics* 7 (1): 79–134.
- Matthewson, Lisa. 2013. Strategies of quantification in St’át’imcets and the rest of the world. In *Strategies of quantification*, eds. Kook-Hee Gil, Stephen Harlow, and George Tsoulas, 15–38. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- McCready, E. 2007. Context shifting in questions and elsewhere. In *Proceedings of Sinn und Bedeutung 11*, ed. E. Puig-Waldmüller, 433–447. Barcelona: Universitat Pompeu Fabra.
- Messick, Troy. 2016. Pronouns and agreement in Telugu embedded contexts. In *Proceedings of the 33rd West Coast Conference on Formal Linguistics*, ed. Kyeong-min Kim et al., 309–319. Somerville, MA: Cascadilla Proceedings Project.
- Moulton, Keir. 2009. Natural selection and the syntax of clausal complementation. PhD diss., University of Massachusetts, Amherst.

- Moulton, Keir. 2015. CPs: copies and compositionality. *Linguistic Inquiry* 46 (2): 305–342.
- Munro, Robert, Rainer Ludwig, Uli Sauerland, and David Fleck. 2012. Matses reported speech: perspective persistence and evidential narratives. *International Journal of American Linguistics* 78 (1): 41–75.
- Nevins, Andrew. 2011. Multiple agree with clitics: person complementarity vs. omnivorous number. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 29: 939–971.
- Nichols, Johanna. 2011. *Ingush grammar*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
- Nikitina, Tatiana. 2012a. Logophoric discourse and first person reporting in Wan (West Africa). *Anthropological Linguistics* 54 (3): 280–301.
- Nikitina, Tatiana. 2012b. Personal deixis and reported discourse: towards a typology of person alignment. *Linguistic Typology* 16: 233–263.
- Ninan, Dilip. 2010. De se attitudes: ascription and communication. *Philosophy Compass* 5 (7): 551–567.
- Ninan, Dilip. 2012. Counterfactual attitudes and multi-centered worlds. *Semantics and Pragmatics* 5 (5): 1–57. doi:10.3765/sp.5.5.
- Nishiguchi, Sumiyo. 2012. Shifty operators in Dhaasanac. *Snippets* 26: 14–15.
- Nishiguchi, Sumiyo. 2017. Indexical shifting in Dhaasanac and Somali. In *Proceedings of TripleA 3*, eds. Vera Hohaus and Wanda Rothe, 47–55. Tübingen: Universitätsbibliothek Tübingen.
- Nunberg, Geoffrey. 1993. Indexicality and deixis. *Linguistics and Philosophy* 16 (1): 1–43.
- Ogihara, Toshiyuki. 1989. Temporal reference in English and Japanese. PhD diss., University of Texas at Austin.
- Ogihara, Toshiyuki. 1996. *Tense, attitudes, and scope*. Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic.
- Ogihara, Toshiyuki. 1999. Double access sentences generalized. In *Proceedings from SALT IX*, eds. T. Matthews and D. Strolovitch, 224–236. Ithaca, NY: CLC Publications.
- Ogihara, Toshiyuki, and Yael Sharvit. 2012. Embedded tenses. In *The Oxford handbook of tense and aspect*, ed. Robert I. Binnick, 638–668. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Oshima, David Y. 2006. Perspectives in reported discourse. PhD diss., Stanford University.
- Ouhalla, Jamal. 1991. *Functional categories and parametric variation*. New York: Routledge.
- Özyıldız, Deniz. 2012. When I is not me: a preliminary case study of shifted indexicals in Turkish. Manuscript, École Normale Supérieure.
- Pak, Miok, Paul Portner, and Rafaella Zanuttini. 2008. Agreement in promissive, imperative and exhortative clauses. *Korean Linguistics* 14: 157–175.
- Park, Yangsook. 2016. Indexical shift and the long-distance reflexive *caki* in Korean. Manuscript, University of Massachusetts, Amherst.

- Partee, Barbara. 1989. Binding implicit variables in quantified contexts. In *Chicago Linguistics Society 25*, ed. C. Wiltshire et al., 342–365. Chicago: Chicago Linguistics Society.
- Pearson, Hazel. 2015. The interpretation of the logophoric pronoun in Ewe. *Natural Language Semantics* 23: 77–118. doi:10.1007/s11050-015-9112-1.
- Percus, Orin. 2000. Constraints on some other variables in syntax. *Natural Language Semantics* 8 (3): 173–229.
- Percus, Orin, and Uli Sauerland. 2003a. On the LFs of attitude reports. In *Proceedings from Sinn und Bedeutung 7*, ed. M. Weisgerber, 228–242. Konstanz: University of Konstanz.
- Percus, Orin, and Uli Sauerland. 2003b. Pronoun movement in dream reports. In *Proceedings of NELS 33*, eds. Makoto Kadowaki and Shigeto Kawahara, 265–283. Amherst, MA: GLSA Publications.
- Platero, Paul. 1974. The Navajo relative clause. *International Journal of American Linguistics* 40 (3): 202–246.
- Podobryaev, Alexander. 2014. Persons, imposters and monsters. PhD diss., MIT.
- Podobryaev, Alexander. 2017. Three routes to person indexicality. *Natural Language Semantics* 25: 329–354.
- Polinsky, Maria. 2015. Embedded finite complements, indexical shift, and binding in Tsez. *Languages of the Caucasus* 1 (1): 1–37.
- Pylkkänen, Liina. 2008. *Introducing arguments*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Quer, Josep. 2005. Context shift and indexical variables in Sign Language. In *Proceedings of SALT XV*, eds. Effi Georgala and Jonathan Howell, 152–168. Ithaca, NY: CLC Publications.
- Quer, Josep. 2011. Reporting and quoting in signed discourse. In *Understanding quotation*, ed. E. Brendel et al., 277–302. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Quer, Josep. 2013. Attitude ascriptions in sign languages and role shift. In *Proceedings from the 13th meeting of the Texas Linguistics Society*, ed. Leah C. Greer, 12–38. Austin, TX: Texas Linguistics Society.
- Ramchand, Gillian. 2018. *Situations and syntactic structures*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Ramchand, Gillian, and Peter Svenonius. 2014. Deriving the functional hierarchy. *Language Sciences* 46 (B): 152–174.
- Reboul, Anne, Denis Delfitto, and Gaetano Fiorin. 2016. The semantic properties of free indirect discourse. *Annual Review of Linguistics* 2: 255–271.
- Recanati, François. 2001. Open quotation. *Mind* 110: 637–687.
- Reesink, Ger. 1993. “Inner speech” in Papuan languages. *Language and Linguistics in Melanesia* 24: 217–225.
- Reinhart, Tanya. 1997. Quantifier scope: how labor is divided between QR and choice functions. *Linguistics and Philosophy* 20 (4): 335–397.
- Reuland, Eric. 2010. Minimal versus not so minimal pronouns: feature transmission, feature deletion, and the role of economy in the language system. In *The linguistics*

- enterprise: from knowledge of language to knowledge in linguistics*, ed. Martin Everaert et al., 257–282. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Rice, Keren. 1986. Some remarks on direct and indirect speech in Slave (Northern Athapaskan). In *Direct and indirect speech*, ed. F. Coulmas, 47–76. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Rice, Keren. 1989. *A grammar of Slave*. Berlin: Mouton.
- Rizzi, Luigi. 1997. The fine structure of the left periphery. In *Elements of grammar*, ed. Liliane Haegeman, 281–337. Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic.
- Rizzi, Luigi. 2005. On the grammatical basis of language development: a case study. In *The Oxford handbook of comparative syntax*, eds. Guglielmo Cinque and Richard S. Kayne, 70–109. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Roberts, Craige. 2015. Indexicality: de se semantics and pragmatics. Manuscript, OSU.
- Rochette, Anne. 1988. Semantic and syntactic aspects of Romance sentential complementation. PhD diss., MIT.
- Rude, Noel. 1985. Studies in Nez Perce grammar and discourse. PhD diss., University of Oregon.
- Rude, Noel. 1986. Topicality, transitivity, and the direct object in Nez Perce. *International Journal of American Linguistics* 52 (2): 124–153.
- Rullmann, Hotze. 2004. First and second person pronouns as bound variables. *Linguistic Inquiry* 35 (1): 159–168.
- Salzmann, Martin. 2017a. Prolepsis. In *The Wiley Blackwell companion to syntax*, eds. Martin Everaert and Henk van Riemsdijk. Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell.
- Salzmann, Martin. 2017b. *Reconstruction and resumption in indirect A'-dependencies*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Sams, Jessie. 2010. Quoting the unspoken: an analysis of quotations in spoken discourse. *Journal of Pragmatics* 42: 3147–3160.
- Sauerland, Uli. 2013. Presuppositions and the alternative tier. In *Proceedings of SALT 23*, ed. Todd Snider, 156–173. Ithaca, NY: CLC Publications.
- Sauerland, Uli, and Mathias Schenner. 2007. Embedded evidentials in Bulgarian. In *Proceedings of Sinn und Bedeutung 11*, ed. E. Puig-Waldmüller et al., 525–539. Barcelona: Universitat Pompeu Fabra.
- Schauber, Ellen. 1979. *The syntax and semantics of questions in Navajo*. New York: Garland.
- Schlenker, Philippe. 1999. Propositional attitudes and indexicality: a cross-categorical approach. PhD diss., MIT.
- Schlenker, Philippe. 2003. A plea for monsters. *Linguistics and Philosophy* 26: 29–120.
- Schlenker, Philippe. 2004. Context of thought and context of utterance: a note on free indirect discourse and the historical present. *Mind and Language* 19 (3): 279–304.
- Schlenker, Philippe. 2011. Indexicality and *de se* reports. In *Semantics: an international handbook of contemporary research*, eds. K. von Stechow, C. Maienborn, and P. Portner, 1561–1603. Berlin: de Gruyter.



- Schlenker, Philippe. 2017a. Super monsters I: attitude and action role shift in sign language. *Semantics and Pragmatics* 10 (9).
- Schlenker, Philippe. 2017b. Super monsters II: role shift, iconicity and quotation in sign language. *Semantics and Pragmatics* 10 (12).
- Schlenker, Philippe. 2018. Indexicals. In *Introduction to formal philosophy*, eds. Sven Ove Hansson and Vincent F. Hendricks, 297–321. New York: Springer.
- Scontras, Greg, Judith Degen, and Noah Goodman. 2017. Subjectivity predicts adjective ordering preferences. *Open Mind* 1 (1): 53–66.
- Shan, Chung-chieh. 2010. The character of quotation. *Linguistics and Philosophy* 33 (5): 417–443.
- Sharvit, Yael. 2008. The puzzle of free indirect discourse. *Linguistics and Philosophy* 31: 353–395.
- Sharvit, Yael. 2018. Sequence of tense: syntax, semantics, pragmatics. In *Pronouns in embedded contexts at the syntax-semantics interface*, eds. Pritty Patel-Grosz, Patrick Grosz, and Sarah Zobel, 215–247. New York: Springer.
- Shklovsky, Kirill, and Yasutada Sudo. 2014. The syntax of monsters. *Linguistic Inquiry* 45 (3): 381–402.
- Sigurðsson, Halldór Ármann. 2004. The syntax of person, tense, and speech features. *Rivista di Linguistica–Italian Journal of Linguistics* 16 (1): 219–251.
- Spadine, Carolyn. 2019. The syntax of attitude holders: evidence from Tigrinya. Manuscript, MIT.
- Speas, Margaret. 2000. Person and point of view in Navajo. In *Papers in honor of Ken Hale*, eds. Andrew Carnie, Eloise Jelinek, and MaryAnn Willie, 259–273. Cambridge, MA: MITWPL.
- Speas, Margaret. 2004. Evidentiality, logophoricity and the syntactic representation of pragmatic features. *Lingua* 114: 255–276.
- Speas, Margaret, and Carol Tenny. 2003. Configurational properties of point of view roles. In *Asymmetry in grammar*, ed. Anna Maria di Sciullo, 315–344. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Stalnaker, Robert. 1978. Assertion. In *Pragmatics*, ed. Peter Cole. Vol. 9 of *Syntax and semantics*, 315–332. New York: Academic Press.
- Stegovec, Adrian. 2019. Perspectival control and obviation in directive clauses. *Natural Language Semantics* 27: 47–94.
- Stegovec, Adrian, and Magdalena Kaufmann. 2015. Slovenian imperatives: you can't always embed what you want! In *Proceedings of Sinn und Bedeutung 19*, eds. Eva Csipak and Hedde Zeijlstra, 621–638. Göttingen: LinG.
- Stephenson, Tamina. 2007. Towards a theory of subjective meaning. PhD diss., MIT.
- Stirling, Lesley. 1993. *Switch-reference and discourse representation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Sudo, Yasutada. 2012. On the semantics of phi features on pronouns. PhD diss., MIT.
- Sumbatova, Nina R., and Rasul O. Mutalov. 2003. *A grammar of Icarí Dargwa*. Munich: Lincom Europa.

- Sundaesan, Sandhya. 2011. A plea for syntax and a return to first principles: monstrous agreement in Tamil. In *Proceedings of SALT 21*, eds. Neil Ashton, Anca Chereches, and David Lutz, 674–693. Ithaca, NY: CLC Publications.
- Sundaesan, Sandhya. 2012. Context and (co)reference in the syntax and its interfaces. PhD diss., University of Tromsø.
- Sundaesan, Sandhya. 2018. An alternative model of indexical shift: variation and selection without context-overwriting. Manuscript, University of Leipzig.
- Thivierge, Sigwan. 2019. High shifty operators in Georgian indexical shift. Poster presented at MACSIM.
- Thomas, Elaine. 1978. *A grammatical description of the Engenni language*. Dallas, TX: Summer Institute of Linguistics.
- Tida, Syuntaroo. 2006. A grammar of the Dom language, a Papuan language of Papua New Guinea. PhD diss., University of Kyoto.
- Tonhauser, Judith, David Beaver, Craig Roberts, and Mandy Simons. 2013. Toward a taxonomy of projective content. *Language* 89 (1): 66–109.
- von Stechow, Arnim. 1995. On the proper treatment of tense. In *Proceedings of SALT V*, eds. Mandy Simons and Teresa Galloway, 362–386. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University.
- von Stechow, Arnim. 2003. Feature deletion under semantic binding: tense, person and mood under verbal quantifiers. In *Proceedings of NELS 33*, eds. Makoto Kadowaki and Shigeto Kawahara, 379–404. Amherst, MA: GLSA Publications.
- von Stechow, Arnim, and Thomas Ede Zimmermann. 2005. A problem for a compositional treatment of *de re* attitudes. In *Reference and quantification: the Partee effect*, eds. Greg Carlson and Francis Jeffrey Pelletier, 207–228. Stanford: CSLI Publications.
- Winter, Yoad. 1997. Choice functions and the scopal semantics of indefinites. *Linguistics and Philosophy* 20 (4): 399–467.
- Wurmbrand, Susi. 2016. Restructuring as the regulator of clause size. Handout from Shrinking Trees, Leipzig.
- Wurmbrand, Susi. 2017. Feature sharing, or, how I value my son. In *The pesky set: Papers for David Pesetsky*, eds. Claire Halpert, Hadas Kotek, and Coppe van Urk, 173–182. Cambridge, MA: MITWPL.
- Zamparelli, Roberto. 1995. Layers in the determiner phrase. PhD diss., University of Rochester.
- Zu, Vera. 2018. Discourse participants and the structural representation of the context. PhD diss., New York University.
- Zucchi, Alessandro. 2004. Monsters in the visual mode? Manuscript, Università degli Studi di Milano.

