

**When I is not me:
A preliminary case study of shifted indexicals in Turkish**

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In this talk, I argue (confirming the finding of Sener and Sener, 2011) that Turkish is part of the languages that have been shown to exhibit indexical shifting (Amharic, Slave, Zazaki, Uyghur, etc.). Now, while indexicals generally pick up their referents from the actual context of utterance, a shifted indexical does so from an embedded context.

The relevant facts occur in tensed, complementizerless, complements of specific attitude verbs. While Sener and Sener (2011) show that null 1SG shifts under the embedding verb, “san-” meaning “think”, I carry the phenomenon to “de-” meaning “say”. I also broaden the set of shifting indexicals to overt pronouns, locatives and temporals.

- (1) İnan [ben-i nere-ye ata- dı- lar] de- di?
İnan 1SG-ACC where-DAT appoint-PST-3PL say-PST-[3SG]
Where did İnan_i say that they appointed me/him_i __?

Moreover, multiple indexicals in coordinated DPs suggest that a Shift Together (Sudo, 2010, Anand, 2006) constraint is required. When two indexicals are involved, only the two readings where they both take their reference from the same context are actually grammatical.

But other configurations, i.e. a simplex clause with subject and object indexicals, seem to violate ST, rendering one of the two mismatched readings grammatical:

- (2) Tunç Ayşe'ye [ben sen-i nere-ye götür- eceğ- im] de-miş?
Tunç Ayşe-DAT 1SG-[NOM] 2SG-ACC where-DAT take- FUT-1SG say-DUB-[3SG]
Where did Tunç_i say to Ayşe that he_i would take you __?
?? Where did Tunç say to Ayşe_j that I would take her_j __?

In such configurations, the object does not shift without the subject, a yet unnoticed constraint. Thus, the data also seem to violate theories not predicting joint shifting of indexicals (such as Schlenker, 2003).

Consequently my talk contributes to the analysis of the phenomenon and calls for a revision of some of the currently accepted generalizations.

References:

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Gültekin Şener, Nilüfer and Şener, Serkan (2011) ‘Null Subjects and Indexicality in Turkish and Uyghur’, *MITWPL 62: Proceedings of the 7th Workshop on Altaic Formal Linguistics*
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Sudo, Yasutada (2010) ‘The Syntax and Semantics of Indexical Shifting in Modern Uyghur’, MIT General Paper