

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

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Outline

I. What does it mean for an indexical to be shifted?

II. The data

1. 1SG pronominals
2. Contra “pseudo-shifting”
3. 2SG pronominals and the explicit addressee constraint

III. Multiple indexical interaction

1. Shift-Together
2. Asymmetry in available readings

Goals:

- confirming Sener and Sener 2011,
- introducing novel data,
- calling for a revision of current theories about indexicals.

What's an indexical?

- A referential expression:

pronominal: *I, you*

temporal: *now, today, tomorrow*

locative: *here*



context sensitive

- A context is a tuple containing the author, the place and the time of enunciation

- The standard theory (Kaplan 1977/1989) of indexicals claims that their reference is always computed according to the context of utterance:

📖 e.g. : **My advisor said that I was to come here today**

	Embedded context	Context of utterance
Who?	My advisor	I
Where?	UCLA	UCSD
When?	Oct. 1st	Oct. 27



What's a *shifted* indexical?

The standard theory restricts indexical reference to the actual context. But **data from several languages conflicts with this claim.**

Amharic (Schlenker 1999)
john Jägna näNN yt-lall
John hero **I**-am says-3 sg.m
*John_i says that **he_i** is a hero*

Zazaki (Anand 2006)
Hesen-i va ke ez meSte Rojda vinena
Hesen.OBL said that I tomorrow Rojda see-PROG
*Hasan_i said that **he_i** would see Rojda **the next day***

In these languages (and others) **indexicals refer to the embedded context.**

They shift

The data

Sener and Sener 2011

Embedded clauses under *THINK*

(1) Seda [*pro* sınıf-ta kal-dı-**m**] san-ıyor.

Seda class-LOC flunk-PST-**1SG** believe-PRS

Seda_i believes that **she**_i/I flunked.

> Null 1st person pronominals shift, their overt counterparts do not.

Our data

Embedded clauses under *SAY*

(2a) İnan [**ben**-i Viyana'ya ata- dı-lar] de-di

İnan **1SG**-ACC Vienna-DAT appoint-PST-3PL say-PST[3SG]

İnan_i said that they appointed **him**_i/me to Vienna.

> Null pronominals shift, as well as their overt counterparts (?)

Finite embedded clauses with no complementizer: A problem?

Could it be quotation?

> **No. Wh-extraction and NPI tests suggest genuine indirect speech environment.**

Wh- extraction

(2b) 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 **him**_i/me ___ ?

NPI licensing

(3a) *İnan kimse -yi gör-dü-**m** de-di
İnan anyone-ACC see-PST-**1SG** say-PST[3SG]
*İnan_i said that **he**_i saw anyone

(3b) İnan kimse -yi gör-dü-**m** de-me-di
İnan anyone-ACC see-PST-**1SG** say-NEG-PST[3SG]
İnan_i didn't say that **he**_i saw anyone

Indexicals do shift in these environments.

Could it be *partial* quotation?

> What is partial quotation?

(2c) 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 **him_i**/me ___ ?

> Claim: indexicals can be quoted locally. They do not shift, they behave normally.

> Can it be partial quotation? No. Why?

Scenario: I go to the post office to get a visa. The lady at the counter tells me:

(4a) Beyefendi, o işlem için konsolosluk-a git-**mek** gerek
Sir-VOC that operation for consulate-DAT go-**INF** necessary
Sir, it is necessary to go to the consulate for that operation

(4b) Kadın bana nere-ye git- me-**n** gerek de-di ?
Lady 1SG-DAT where-DAT go-NMZ-**2SG** necessary say-PST[3SG]
Where did the lady tell me that I should go?

There is no personal feature in (3a) to be quoted.

Data for 2SG and the explicit addressee constraint

Explicit addressee

(5a) Tunç İnan'a [sen- i nere- ye ata- dı- lar] de -miş ?
Tunç İnan-DAT **2SG**-ACC where-DAT appoint-PST-3PL say-EVID[3SG]

Where did Tunç tell İnan_i that they had appointed **him**_i ___?

Where did Tunç tell İnan_i that they had appointed you ___?

No addressee

(5b) Tunç ∅ [sen- i nere- ye ata- dı- lar] de -miş ?
Tunç **2SG**-ACC where-DAT appoint-PST-3PL say-EVID[3SG]

Where did Tunç say that they had appointed you ___?

Where did Tunç_i say that they had appointed him_{??} ___?

The addressee must be explicit for 2SG pronouns to shift

Interim Conclusion

- > Turkish shifting is not pseudo-shifting
- > 1 indexical → 2 readings
Turkish indexical shifting is an **optional phenomenon**
- > Generalizations:
Null and overt pronominal indexicals shift under *SAY*,
2SG shifts if addressee is explicit.

Shift Together

> Shift Together constraint (Anand and Nevins 2004) :

For more than one indexical in a clause, one shifts iff all others shift.

i.e.

Distinct indexicals cannot pick up their reference from distinct contexts.

What this would look like if English shifted:

Ex: *Bill told Sue that **I** like **you**.*

Shift Together would rule out two of four possible readings:

Bill likes Sue	(Both shift)
I like my addressee	(None shift)
# Bill likes my addressee	(Mismatch 1)
# I like Sue	(Mismatch 2)

Shift Together: some theory

- Anand (2006), Sudo (2010) claim that an indexical shifts because it falls under the scope of a modal operator that manipulates a context variable.

=> Predicts “Shift Together”

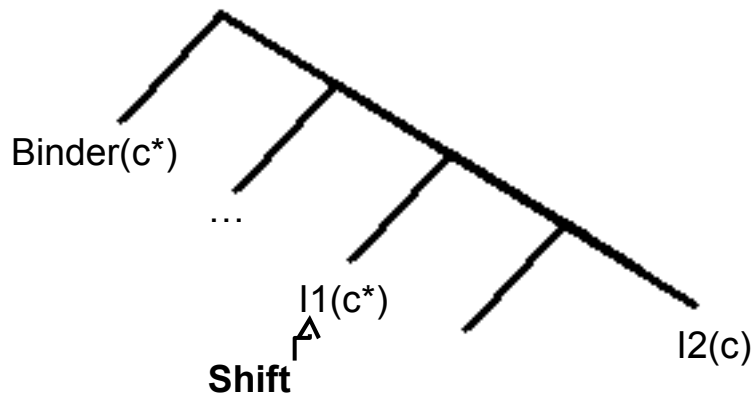
- Schlenker (1999) claims that indexicals are like bound variables.

When bound by the embedding verb, indexicals shift.

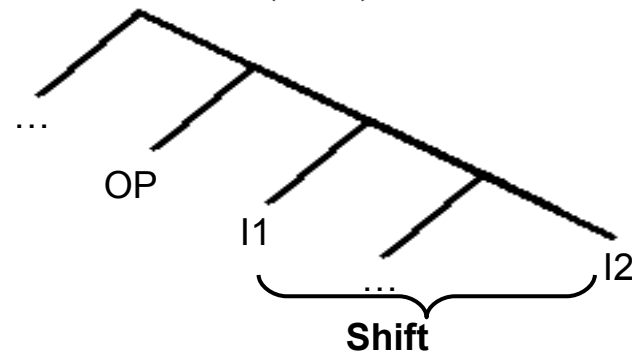
Each indexical’s reference is computed independently.

=> Does not predict “Shift Together”

Schlenker’s model (1999)



Anand’s model (2006)



Shift Together

When indexicals are coordinated, Shift Together holds:

X said [that they Verb you and me]
Shift unavailable for 2SG

(6a) İnan [sen-in-le ben-i nere-ye ata-yacak-lar] de-mis ?
İnan 2SG-GEN-with 1SG-ACC where-DAT appoint-FUT-3PL say-EVID[3SG]

Where did İnan say that they would appoint you and me ___?

> **Shifting is unavailable for 2SG, neither 2SG nor 1SG shift.**

X told Y [that they Verb you and me]
Shift available for both indexicals

(6b) İnan Ayse'ye [sen-in-le ben-i nere-ye ata-yacak-lar] de-mis ?
İnan Ayse-DAT 2SG-GEN-with 1SG-ACC where-DAT appoint-3PL say-EVID[3SG]

Where did İnan tell Ayse that they would appoint you and me ___?

Where did İnan_i tell Ayse_j that they would appoint **him_i** and **her_j** ___?

> **Either both indexicals shift, or none does.**

Shift Together does not hold generally

Asymmetry when indexicals are coarguments of V.

X told Y [that I Verb you]

(7) Tunç Ayse'ye (ben) sen -i nere-ye ata-yacag-im de-di?
Ali Ayse-DAT (1SG) 2SG-ACC where appoint-fut-1SG say-PST-[3SG]

Where did Ali tell Ayse that he would appoint you __? (2SG unshifted)

Where did Ali tell Ayse_i that I would appoint her_i __? (2SG shifted)

De re blocking (Percus and Sauerland 2003)

Dream reports

(8a) I dreamed that I was Brigitte Bardot and I kissed me. (Lakoff 1972)

I dreamed that Brigitte kissed me (= speaker)

I dreamed that I (= speaker) kissed Brigitte

> The dream-self is Brigitte: *me* is read *de se*
I referring to the dreamer is read *de re*

> A pronoun cannot refer to the dream-self if it is c-commanded by a *de re* pronoun.

Shifted indexicals are obligatorily *de se*

2SG

Scenario:

Tunç notices that one of his waiters, Can, is being a nuisance. He stops one of the waiters, and without recognizing that it is Can, he tells him:

(Anand 2006)

(9) “Can should go home”

(9a) Tunç Can'a nere -ye git -me -**si** gerek de-di?
Tunç Can-DAT where-DAT go-NMZ-**3SG** necessary[be] say-PST[3SG]

(9b) #Tunç Can'a nere -ye git -me -**n** gerek de-di?
Tunç Can-DAT where-DAT go-NMZ-**2SG** necessary[be] say-PST[3SG]
*Where did Tunç tell Can that {he/#**you**} should go?*

De re blocking?

> “pro” and the overt nominative pronoun do c-command the complement (cf. Appendix):

(7) Tunç Ayse'ye **ben sen-i** nere -ye ata-yacag-**im** de-di?
Ali Ayse-DAT **1SG 2SG-ACC** where-DAT appoint-FUT-**1SG** say-PST[3SG]

Where did Tunç_i tell Ayse that **he_i** would appoint you?

(OK) Shifted > Unshifted

(OK) De se > De re

Where did Tunç tell Ayse_i that I would appoint **her_i**?

Unshifted > Shifted

De re > De se

De re blocking?

> *De re* blocking no longer occurs if c-command relation is broken (Anand 2007)

(8a) I dreamed I was Brigitte Bardot and I kissed me. (Lakoff 1972)

I = Brigitte, me = George

I = George, me=Brigitte

(8b) I dreamed I was Brigitte Bardot and my mother kissed me.

my = Brigitte, me = George

(OK) my = George, me = Brigitte

> The unaccepted reading does become acceptable if pro no longer c-commands the complement:

(7b) Tunç Ayşe'ye patron-**um** **sen -i** nere-ye ata -yacak de-di?

Tunç Ayşe-DAT boss-POSS-1SGyou-ACC where-DAT appoint-FUT-[3SG] say-PST-[3SG]

Where did Tunç_i tell Ayşe that **his_i** boss would appoint you?

Where did Tunç tell Ayşe_i that my boss would appoint **her_i**?

Conclusion

Turkish allows genuine indexical shifting in embedded clauses

Findings:

- 2SG shifting requires an explicit addressee;
- Turkish obeys Shift Together Locally for coordinated indexicals
- For indexicals coarguments of V, available readings show asymmetric pattern, similar to *de re blocking*
- Full range of readings restored if *de re blocking* bypassed
→ No Shift Together

References

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Appendix

> Does *pro* c-command verb complement?

Yes.

Condition C:

* Bakan_j Ali_i'yi nere-ye ata-di_i de-di?

Minister Ali-ACC where-DAT appoint-PST-[3SG] say-PST-[3SG]

Intended: Where did the minister_j say that *pro*_{*i} appointed Ali_i.

Condition A:

Bakan_j kendisi-ni_i nere-ye ata-di_i de-di?

Minister anaph-ACC where-DAT appoint-PST-[3SG] say-PST-[3SG]

Where did the minister say that *pro*_i appointed himself_i.

> Does possessive subject c-command verb complement?

No.

Condition C:

Bakan_j patron-u_i Ali_i'yi nere-ye ata-di de-di?

Minister boss-POSS Ali-ACC where-DAT appoint-PST-[3SG] say-PST-[3SG]

Where did the minister say that his_i boss appointed Ali_i?