

Indexical Shifting in Dhaasanac and Somali

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Kaplan (1977, 1989) claimed that indexicals such as *I*, *you*, *here*, *now*, and *yesterday* are directly referential, meaning that their reference is fixed by the context of utterance. Except for direct quotations such as in *Baali said "I am an idiot."*, *I* can refer only to the speaker or writer in *Baali said that I am an idiot*. Schlenker (2003) and Anand and Nevins (2004), among others, have argued that context shifters, referred to as monsters, exist in languages such as Amharic and Zazaki. Furthermore, Anand and Nevins (2004) and Anand (2006) claimed the existence of three kinds of Kaplanian monsters selected by different attitude verbs in Slave. In (1), context (c) and index (i) are tuples $\langle a, h, l, t, w \rangle$ with the following abbreviations: author (a), hearer (h), location (l), time (t), and world (w). There are three kinds of monstrous operators: (a) OP_v maneuvers all indexicals in its scope so that the person, locative, temporal, and world parameters are all overwritten by the index, (b) OP_{per} only applies to first and second person pronouns, namely, the agent *a* and the hearer *h*, and (c) OP_{auth} shifts the reference of the first person, or the author, exclusively.

- (1) a. $[[OP_v \Phi]_g]^{c,i} = [[\Phi]_g]^{i,i}$
 b. $[[OP_{per} \Phi]_g]^{c,i} = [[\Phi]_g]^{c,i}$ $\langle ai, hi, lc, tc, wc \rangle, i$
 c. $[[OP_{auth} \Phi]_g]^{c,i} = [[\Phi]_g]^{c,i}$ $\langle ai, he, lc, tc, wc \rangle, i$

I will show that there exists another kind of a monstrous function, $OP_{per, time}$.

In Dhaasanac, the first person *I* in the embedded clause can refer to either the matrix subject or the speaker. In (2), the reference is optionally shifted from the speaker to *Baali* by the attitude predicate *say*. (2) may appear to be direct quotation. However, *I* in the relative clause is also shiftable in (3).

- (2) Baali_i kiy-e sure_{i/speaker}-chu he jiet hi
 Baali say.3SG-PAST 1SG.GEN-PANTS COPULAR fire RP
 konye.a
 eat.3SG.PASS.PAST
 "Baali said {his/my} pants were on fire." [[√]de se/[√]non-de se]
- (3) Se giri Baali_i kiy-e yu_{i/speaker} giel mui
 cow that Baali say.3SG-PAST 1SG.ABS love 3SG
 yie ka he bada-y.
 say.3SG-PAST COMP be lost-PAST
 "The cow that Baali said he loved was lost." [[√]de se/[√]non-de se]

In addition, the second person pronoun shifts its reference in the relative clause as in (4).

- (4) Maa_i [_{CP}giri Baali kiy-e <giri> kuun_{i/hearer}
 perso that Baali say.3SG-PAST that you
 shelechu muy yiek-a geer gaa midhab.
 friend he say.3SG-PAST stomach at good
 "The person to whom Baali said {he was/you were} his friend is nice
 (kind-hearted)." [[√]de te/[√]non-de te]

Moreover, the indexicals *yesterday*, *today* and *tomorrow* optionally shift reference in the embedded clause. (5) suggests that *gefere* 'yesterday' is an indexical that optionally shifts reference under the attitude report.

- (5) Hada lullee gefere nigeney_i lullee kiy-e gefere
 girls all yesterday boys all say.3SG-PAST yesterday
 nyi_{√i/√speaker} af gaa 'dung'geka he midhab.
 1PL.NOM mouth on kiss.1PL.PAST be beautiful
 "All girls that all boys said yesterday that {[√]they/[√]we} kissed {the day before
 yesterday/yesterday} were pretty."

Even when other indexicals shift, the locative indexicals remain context dependent. This is illustrated in (6).

- (6) Ini giri ram tiya beeyeetia Hassan kiy-e gefere

girl that days 7 PAST Hassan say.3SG-PAST yesterday
 alla yu af gaa 'dung'geka he midhab.
 here 1SG.ABS on mouth kiss.1SG-PAST be pretty
 "The girl that Hassan seven days ago said (in Nairobi) he kissed here (in Nairobi)
 eight days ago is pretty."

While locative indexicals never shift, time and person indexicals do shift under reportatives in Dhaasanac. The shifting pattern does not fit into the three types of monsters identified in Slave (Anand and Nevins 2004, Anand 2006). Therefore, I claim the existence of a fourth kind of monster, described in (7).

(7) Indexical-shifting in Dhaasanac:

$$[[\text{OP}_{\text{per,time}} \Phi]]_g^{c,i} = [[\Phi]]_g^{<\text{ai,hi,lc,ti,wc}>,i}$$

A common property of Slave and Dhaasanac is that locative indexicals remain unshifted in the case of partial shifting. According to Sudo (2012)'s analysis of Uyghur indexicals, locatives never shift even though person indexicals do. In that sense, the indexicals in Dhaasanac possibly behave in parallel with those in Uyghur. According to Sudo (to appear), Uyghur locative indexicals (*here*, *there*) are not indexicals but demonstratives which never shift reference under attitude verbs. However, in view of the fact that shift-together does not hold in Amharic (Schlenker 1999, 2003), Aghem (Hyman 1979), and Navajo (Speas 2000), partial shifting of person and temporal indexicals in Dhaasanac is not surprising at all.

In Somali, the first person and temporal indexicals shift under the verb *yi`say`* as in (8-9):

(8) Gabadh-a u Xusen yi-dhi wa-an
 woman-DEF who Houssein say-PAST FOC-I
 la kulm-ay w-ay bukt-ay.
 her meet-PAST FOCUS-she sick-PAST

"The woman whom Houssein said he met was sick."

(9) Shalay saadasha hawada ti-dhi
 yesterday weather-DEF forecast-DEF say-PAST
 waxa u noqon lahaa qorax maantalakin
 FOC it would be sunny today but
 rooba da'ay shalay/*maanta.
 rain-DEF rain.PAST yesterday/today

"Yesterday the weather forecast said it would be sunny today but it rained
 {yesterday/*today}."

Sudo (to appear) considers the second person indexical in Uyghur to be a definite description that does not shift reference under attitude reports. On the other hand, the second person indexical in Slave is a real indexical that may or may not be shiftable depending on the attitude predicate. It is clear that shift-together does not always hold. There is not enough evidence to exclude the partial shifting of plural kinds of indexicals in Dhaasanac, Somali, and Uyghur.

While person and temporal indexicals are optionally shiftable, locative indexicals remain unshifted. Shifting of person indexicals occur in Somali, in addition to Uyghur and Slave (Anand and Nevins 2004, Anand 2006). If the context-shifting operator, the monster, only allows shift-together of all indexicals in its scope, unshiftable indexicals are not really indexicals but demonstratives or definite descriptions, as Sudo (to appear) suggests. However, the existence of another type of monster explains the data sufficiently enough to exclude such cross-linguistic variation of lexical entries.

References

- Anand, Pranav, and Andrew Nevins. 2004. Shifty operators in changing contexts. In *SALT* 14, 20–37.
 Sudo, Yasutada. 2012. On the semantics of phi features on pronouns. Doctoral Dissertation, MIT, Cambridge, MA.