Obligatory Indexical Shift in Turkish

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Basics: What is an indexical and a shift?

- Indexical: An entity which gets its semantic meaning from the context in which it is used.
  - ➢ 'I' in English- the speaker of actual utterance.

(1) Situation to be reported: John says: "I am a hero"'
a. *John says that I am a hero.
b. John says that he is a hero.

(Şener & Şener, 2011)

- Indexical Shift describes a situation where an indexical is not interpreted according to the speech context

Turkish Indexical Shift – Established Facts

- Şener & Şener (2011) propose that the form of the pronoun is the determiner of the availability of shifting.

(2) a. Seda [**ben** sınıf-ta kal-dım] san-ıyor.

    Seda 1SG.NOM class-LOC flunk-PST.1SG believe-PRES.3SG

    "Seda believes that I flunked."

  b. Seda [*pro* sınıf-ta kal-dım] san-ıyor.

    Seda class-LOC flunk-PST.1SG believe-PRES.3SG

    "Seda believes that **she**/I flunked."

But they both can shift…

- 1st person *pro*noun (overt or null) receives shifted meaning under the verb *istemek* "to want".

(3) a. Ali hep   [**ben** kazanay-ım] ist-iyor.

   Ali always   1.SG win-1SG   want-PROG.3SG

   "Ali 'always wants {**Ali**/**me**} to win."

   b. Ali hep   [*pro* kazanay-ım] ist-iyor.

   Ali always   win-1SG   want-PROG.3SG

   'Ali always wants {**Ali**/**me**} to win.

…and sometimes obligatorily!

(4) a. Cenk   bana   [**ben**   Melis'-i sev-iyorum] de-di.

   Cenk-NOM 1SG.DAT 1SG.NOM Melis-ACC love-PRES.1SG say-PST

   "Cenk said to me that **he** loves Melis."

   b. Cenk bana   [*pro* Melis-i   sev-iyorum] de-di.

   Cenk   1SG.DAT   Melis-ACC love-PRES.1SG say-PST

   "Cenk said to me that **he** loves Melis."

Questions and Proposal

- Q1: Why do the shifting properties of different pronouns depend on the selecting verbs?

- Q2: To what extent can this be captured in a single analysis?

- In this talk, we will answer these questions by adopting and expanding the theoretical framework in Deal (2019).

Content

- Introduction of the issue
- Core components of Deal's approach
- Closer discussion of Turkish data
- Application of Deal's analysis
- Extension into emphatic elements

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Indexical Shift: Generally optional

- In many diverse languages, indexicals may get their semantic value from a reported speech act.

(5)   Mary-ka [**nay**-ka yengweng-i-lako] malhayessta.

         Mary-NOM 1SG-NOM hero-be-COMP said

         'Mary said that {I am, Mary is} a hero.'

                                        (Korean: Park 2016)

Indexical Shift: Not Just People

- Shifts can extend to locatives and temporals as well

(6)   Uttered in Seoul:

     Amherst-eyse Mary-ka [John-i **yeki**-eyse thayenassta-ko] malhayessta.

     Amherst-at Mary-NOM John-NOM here-at born-COMP said

     'Mary said in Amherst that John was born in {Amherst, Seoul}.'

                             (Korean: Park, 2016)

Deal 2019

- Typology of Indexical Shift Phenomena
    - What shifts?
        Time > 1st Person > 2nd Person > Locations
   - Which embedding verbs allow shifts?
        Speech > Thought > Knowledge

    Languages may also show requirements of *de se* interpretation of shifted elements, along the same basic shifting hierarchy

Hierarchy of Operators

- These operators in the CP domain of the embedded clause overwrite context variables used to interpret the embedded clause
- Temporals are most likely to shift, and thus have the least articulated structure

$$OP_{LOC}$$
$$OP_{ADDR}$$
$$OP_{AUTH}$$
$$OP_{TIME} \quad \cdots$$
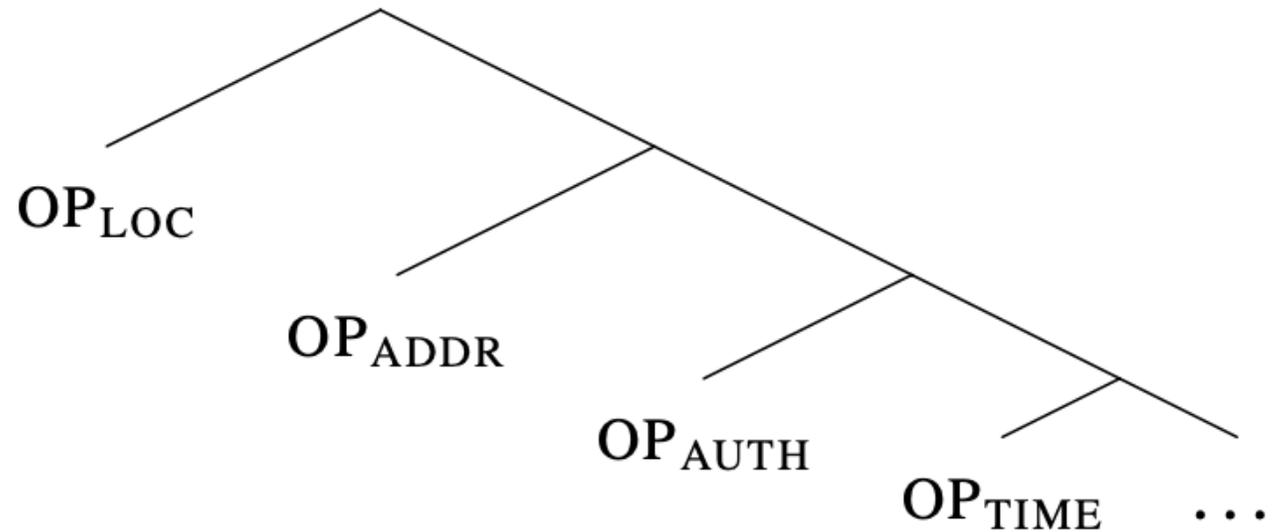
(7) Whenever you wash your car, it rains **tomorrow**.
    {*Day after utterance, ?Day after car washing}

(Anderson, 2019)

Operator Bundling and *de se*

- Different operators can bundle (e.g. OP_{PERS} bundling 1st and 2nd person, explaining Anand and Nevins (2004) SHIFT TOGETHER facts)

- Time and Location can bundle together as OP_{ADV} above or below the person operators

- Obligatory shifts are explained by bundling OPs with C

- Different verbs select more or less expansive structures

- Different operators directly encode *de se* requirements
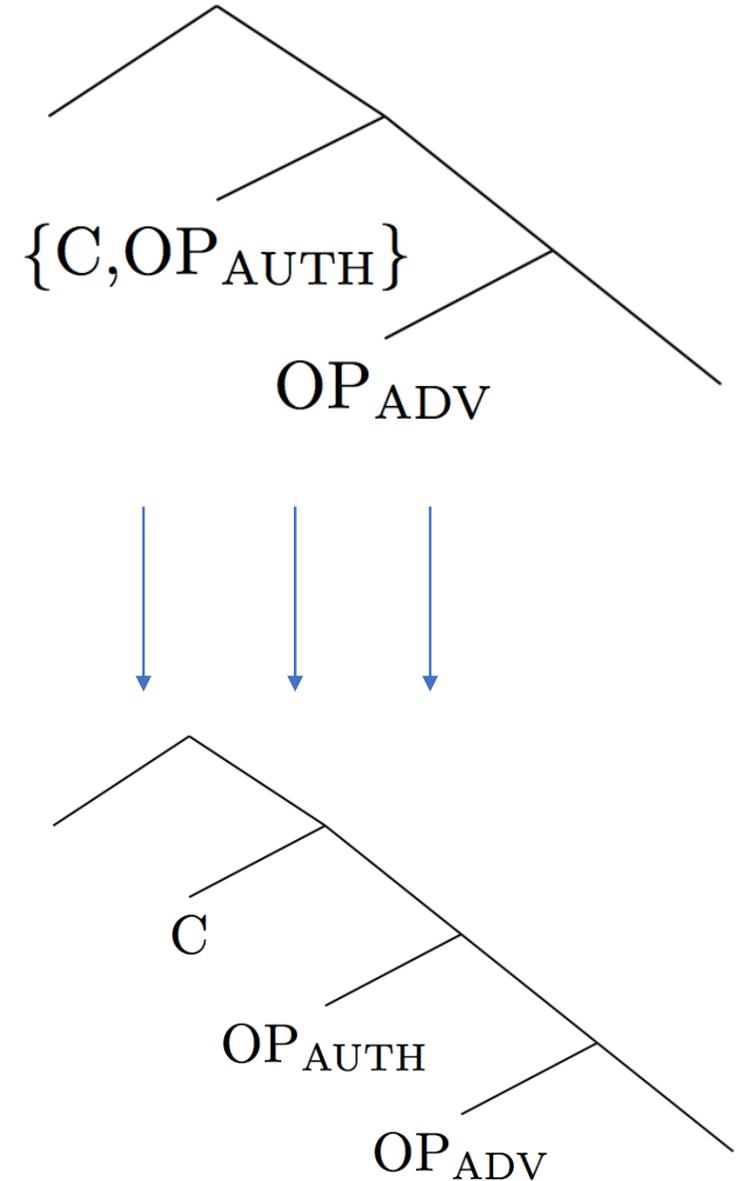
$$\{C, OP_{AUTH}\}$$

$$OP_{ADV}$$

$$C$$

$$OP_{AUTH}$$

$$OP_{ADV}$$

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Indexical Shift in Turkish

- Turkish is one of the languages in which indexical shift is observed (Şener & Şener, 2011; Özyıldız, 2012; Akkuş, 2019).

- Inconsistent findings
    - What controls the indexical shift in Turkish?
    - Is it optional or obligatory shift?

Are they "quotations"?

- *wh*-elements

(8) Cenk [ben kim-i   gör-düm] de-di?
     Cenk   1SG who-ACC see-PST.1SG say-PST.3S
    "Who did Cenk$_i$ say he$_i$ saw?"

- NPI licensing

(9) Cenk [ben kimse-yi   gör-düm] de-me-di.
     Cenk 1SG   anyone-ACC see-PST.1SG say-NEG-PST.3S
    "Cenk$_i$ didn't say that he$_i$ saw anyone."

Cenk: *''Ben kimseyi gördüm.''

Indexical Shift in Turkish

- Özyıldız (2012) proposes that shifted reading for 1st person subjects – whether it is overt or not – is available under the verb *demek* "to say".

(10)   Doktor [nasil hasta-lan- dim (**ben**)] de- di?

       Doctor   how   sick- PASS-PST.1SG (**1SG**)   say-PST.3SG

       "How did the doctor$_i$ say that I/he$_i$ got sick?"

- Concludes: Optional shift is observed in Turkish, under the verb *demek* "to say".

Indexical Shift in Turkish

- Şener & Şener (2011) claim that the type of the pronoun determines if shifted reading is available. (1, repeated as 11 here)

(11) a. Seda [**ben** sınıf-ta kal-dım] san-ıyor.
      Seda 1SG class-LOC flunk-PST.1SG believe-PRES.3SG
    "Seda believes that I flunked."

  b. Seda [**pro** sınıf-ta kal-dı-m] san-ıyor.
      Seda class-LOC flunk-PST.1SG believe-PRES.3SG
    "Seda$_i$ believes that **she**$_i$ /I flunked."

Pronoun Typology (Şener & Şener, 2011)

- They also note that null 1st person pronoun in Nominalized Complement Clauses do not shift.

- Therefore, they propose:

  There are two different types of pronouns.

  - Allowing the shift   -> $pro_{de\ se}$
  - Not allowing the shift   -> $pro_{elsewhere}$

  - Context-shifting operator (OPs) "forces $pro_{de\ se}$ to receive its meaning from reported speech act."
  - $pro_{elsewhere}$ always get its semantic value from the actual context of speech as it cannot be manipulated by a shifting operator.

Contradiction Between the Studies

- Özyıldız (2012), Akkuş (2019)
  - Indexicals optionally shift under the verb *demek* "to say".
  - Generalizing the behavior of *Indexical Shift* in Turkish.
    - 1SG *pro*noun optionally allows indexical shift (either null or overt).

- Şener & Şener (2011)
  - Null subjects optionally shift under the verb *sanmak* "to think".
  - The form of the *pro*noun regulates shifting.
    - With overt *ben* (1SG), shifted reading is not allowed.

Non-literal use

(12) **Sena** da [**ben** master yap-ıyorum] san-ıyor.

      Sena also 1SG master   do-PROG.1SG think-PRES.3SG

      "And Sena thinks **she is**/ **I am** having a master's degree."

Another Indexical-shifting verb: *İstemek*

- 1st person *pro*noun (overt or null) receives shifted meaning under the verb *istemek* "to want".

(13) a. Ali hep   [**ben** kazanay-im] ist-iyor.
　　　Ali always   1.SG win-1SG   want-PROG.3SG
　　"Ali always wants {**Ali**/**me**} to win."

　　b. Ali hep   [*pro* kazanay-im] ist-iyor.
　　　Ali always   win-1SG   want-PROG.3SG
　　"Ali always wants {**Ali**/**me**} to win."

Overall picture

	to say	to claim	to want	to think	to fool oneself
	demek	*demek*	*istemek*	*sanmak*	*sanmak*
Overt 1st person	✓!	✓	✓	✗	✓
Null 1st person	✓!	✓	✓	✓	✓
2nd person	✓	✓	✗	✗	✗
Locative	✓	✓	✓	✗	✓
Temporal	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓

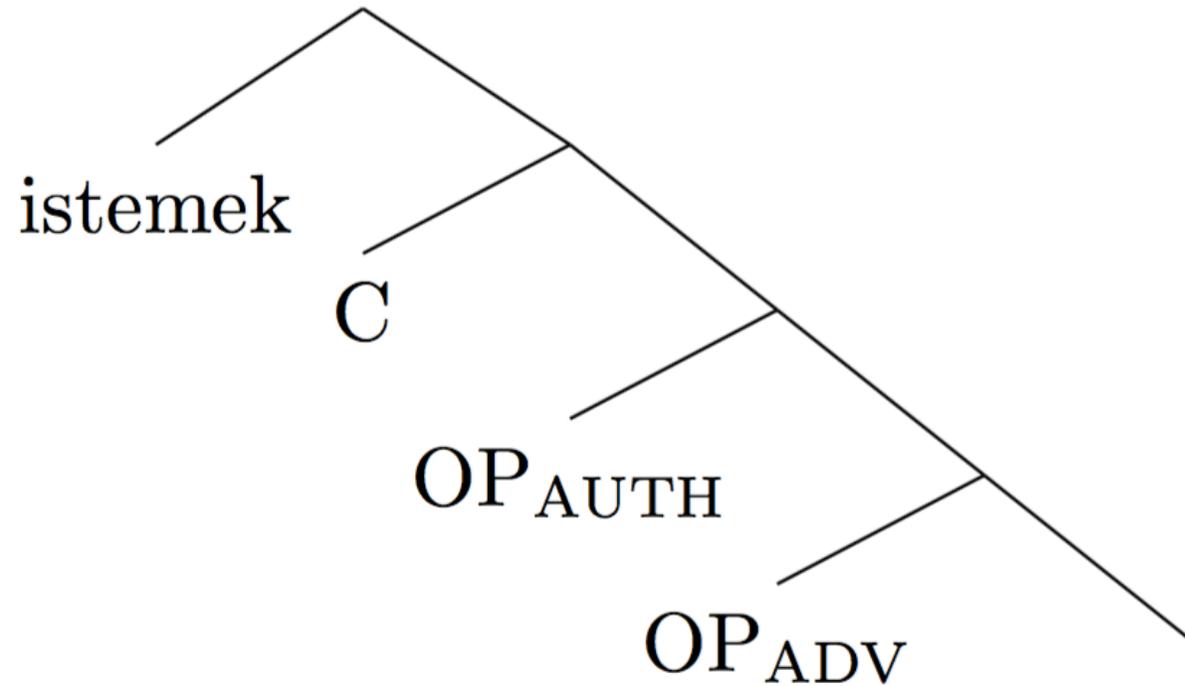Shifted reading:
✓!: obligatory.
✓: possible.
✗: impossible.

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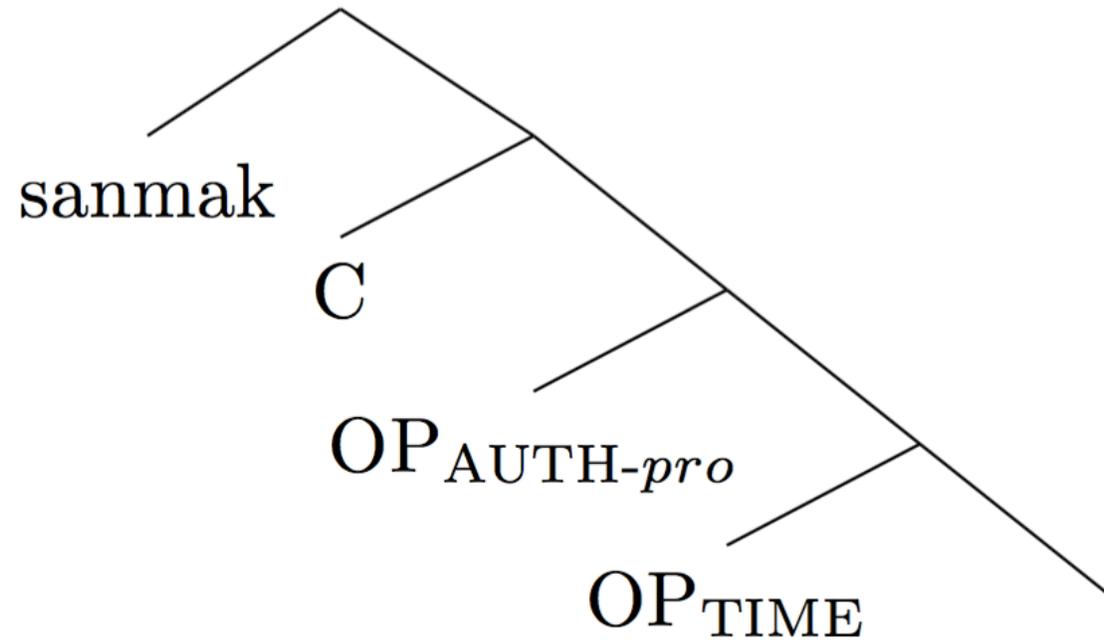- Extension into emphatic elements

istemek – 'want'

	to want
	istemek
Overt 1st person	✓
Null 1st person	✓
2nd person	✗
Locative	✓
Temporal	✓

- Easily captured with Deal's existing tools

sanmak – 'think'

	to think	to fool oneself
	sanmak	*sanmak*
Overt 1st person	X	✓
Null 1st person	✓	✓
2nd person	X	X
Locative	X	✓
Temporal	✓	✓

- Şener & Şener typology does not work across verbs
- We propose a form-specific OP$_{AUTH}$

demek – 'say'
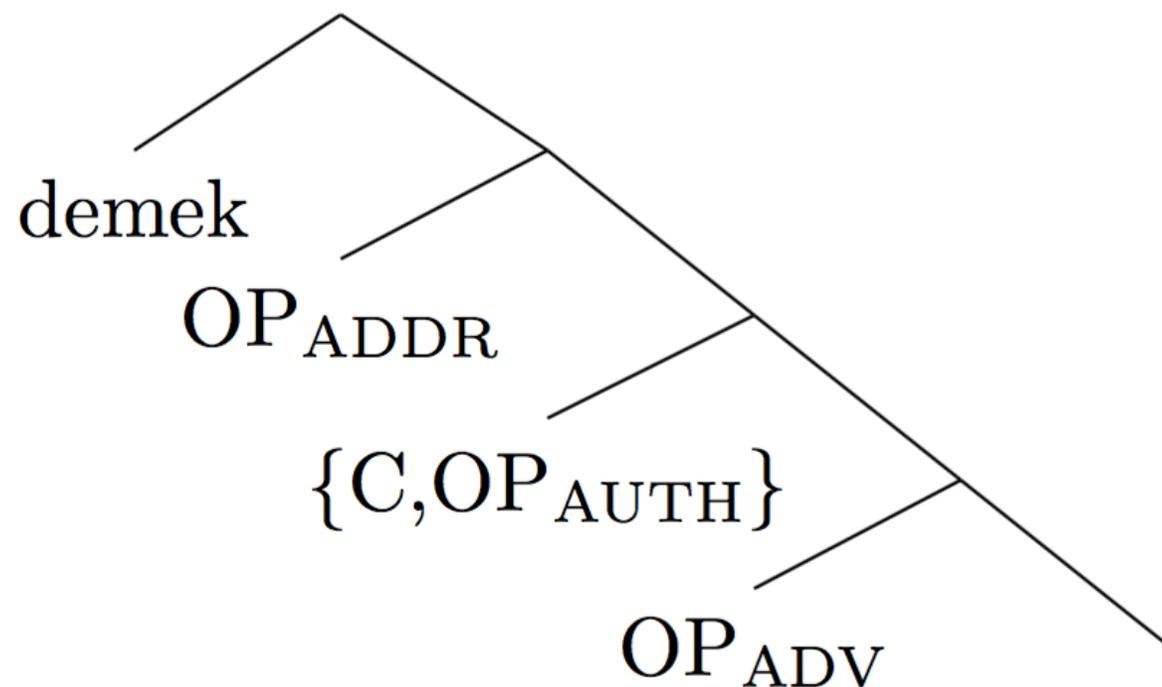
	to say	to claim
	demek	*demek*
Overt 1st person	✓!	✓
Null 1st person	✓!	✓
2nd person	✓	✓
Locative	✓	✓
Temporal	✓	✓

- Bundling OP$_{AUTH}$ with C captures the obligatory shift
- Maintaining the hierarchy predicts optional high OP$_{ADDR}$

Summing Up

- Deal's operator hierarchy maps well to the differences between verbs
- The *de se / de te* facts in Turkish do not perfectly align with operator bundling
- A more limited operator for just null first person seems necessary, in the same context where OP_{LOC} is not bundled with OP_{TIME}

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Obligatory shift with of the emphatic

- Addition of the emphatic *ben kendim* "I myself" results in an obligatorily shifted meaning.

    (14) Ali hep [**ben** kendi-m kazanay-ım] ist-iyor.
    Ali always 1SG   REFL-1.SG win-1SG   want-PROG.3SG
    "Ali always wants {Ali/*me} to win."

- Shifting is obligatory with all verbs, and remains *de se*

An Obligatory Bundle

- Obligatory shift again suggests a bundle with C

- Now there is evidence for another form-specific OP_{AUTH} that is always bundled with C, regardless of verb

- This is still in line with Deal's hierarchy, recalling that we also have evidence for across the board low OP_{ADV} (or at least OP_{TIME})

$$\{C, OP_{AUTH\text{-}emph}\}$$
$$OP_{ADV(TIME)}$$
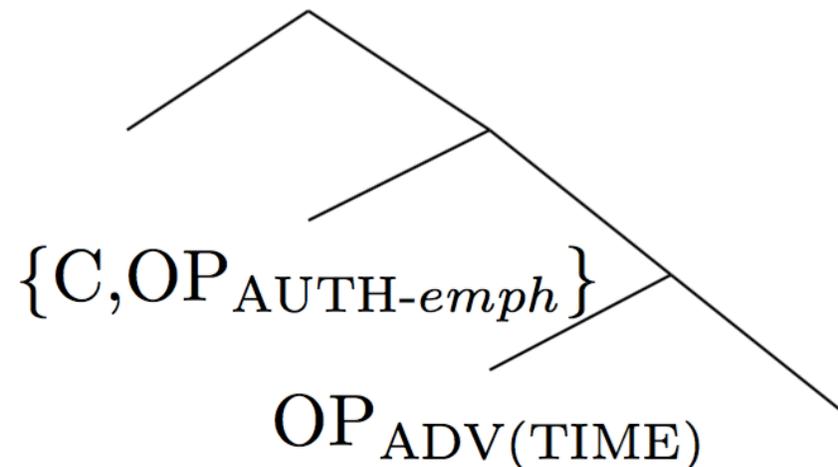
Conclusion

- Deal's analysis predicts all of the observed facts with two caveats
    1. *De te* is unexpectedly required when the relevant operator is higher than C
    2. Different forms of indexicals have different shifting properties

- The *ben kendim* facts are most easily explained with a unique operator bundled at C

- Once there is independent evidence for form-specific operators, a very restricted one for **pro** is more plausible

- Still to do: formalize the way that different operators "see" the relevant forms

Acknowledgments and References

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