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Fieldwork Perspectives on the Semantics of African, Asian and Austronesian Languages

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# Table of Contents

## African

Mira Grubic (Universität Potsdam) & Agata Renans (Ulster University) -
*Definiteness Marking on VPs/ TPs in Ga and Ngamo*  
1

Sampson Korsah & Andrew Murphey (Universität Leipzig) -
*Reduplicated Indefinites in Gã: Concord or Polarity?*  
16

Anne Mucha (Institut für Deutsche Sprache, Mannheim) & Henry Zamchang Fominyam (Universität Potsdam) -
*(Un-)Restricting Tense in Awing*  
32

Sumiyo Nishiguchi (Tokyo University of Science) -
*Indexical Shifting in Dhaasanac and Somali*  
47

Deniz Özyıldız & Rodica Ivan  
(University of Massachusetts, Amherst) -
*The Somali Microscope: Personal Pronouns, Determiners and Possession*  
56

## Asian

Rahul Balusu (EFL University, Hyderabad) -
*Free Choice Relatives in Telugu*  
70

Veneeta Dayal (Rutgers University)  
*Determining (In)definiteness in the Absence of Articles*  
85
Sarah Duong Phu (Goethe-Universität, Frankfurt am Main) – Syntactic and Semantic Aspects of Discontinuous Noun Phrases in Vietnamese 100

Amanda Swenson (Massachusetts Institute of Technology) – The Incompatibility of Malayalam Conjunctive Participle Constructions with Multiple Temporal Adverbs and Individual Level Predicates 111

Austronesian

Kilu von Prince (Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin) – Indefinites in Daakaka (Vanuatu) 126
Indexical Shifting in Dhaasanac and Somali
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Abstract. It has been claimed that there are three kinds of Kaplanian monsters selected by different attitude verbs in Slave (Anand and Nevins 2004, Anand 2006) as well as in Uyghur (Sudo 2010). This paper shows, on the basis of the collected data, that Dhaasanac has a fourth kind of monster that shifts person and temporal parameters optionally, but does not shift the locative parameter.

1 Three Types of Monsters

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 (1a), I can refer only to the speaker or writer in (1b).

(1) a. Baali said: “I am an idiot.”

b. Baali said that I am an idiot.

Kaplan’s claim has prompted much debate on whether or not contexts can be shifted. 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 (2), context (c) and index (i) are tuples < a, h, l, t, w > 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.

(2) a. \( [OP_v \phi]_{c,i}^{g} = [\phi]_{i,i}^{l,i} \)

b. \( [OP_{per} \phi]_{g}^{c,i} = [\phi]_{g}^{<ai,hi,lc,tc,wc>,i} \)

c. \( [OP_{auth} \phi]_{g}^{c,i} = [\phi]_{g}^{<at,hc,lc,tc,wc>,i} \)


In the following sections, I will show that there exists another kind of a monstrous function, \( OP_{per,time} \).

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1We would like to thank the reviewers and audience of TripleA3 for suggestions. I appreciate Jackson Achinya, Nyekitala Akol and Isaiah Korobe for the help with the examples in Dhaasanac. I am also grateful to Housein Ahmed and Moussa Soubagleh for the data in Somali. The data collection in 2016 was supported by JSPS KAKENHI Grant Number JP16K02643.

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2 Indexical Shifting in Dhaasanac

2.1 Person Indexicals

In Dhaasanac, the first person *I* in the embedded clause can refer to either the matrix subject or the speaker. Even though, according to Kaplan (1977, 1989), *I* is an indexical that always refers to the speaker, in the Dhaasanac sentence in (3-4), the reference is optionally shifted from the speaker to *Baali* by the attitude predicate *say*.

(3) *Baali* kiey-e yaa\{i/speaker\} deech.
    *Baali* say.3SG-PAST 1SG.NOM idiot
    ‘Baali said he/I was an idiot.’
    $[^\text{de se} / ^\text{non-de se}]^2$

(4) *Baali* kiey-e sure\{i/speaker\} chu he jiet hi konye.
    *Baali* say.3SG-PAST 1SG.GEN-pants COPULAR fire RP eat.3SG.PASS.PAST
    ‘Baali said *{his/my}* pants were on fire.’
    $[^\text{de se} / ^\text{non-de se}]$

Some may argue that sentences (3-4) appear to be direct quotations, as in the case of (5).

(5) *Baali* kiey-e “yaa/yu\{i/speaker\} deech.”
    *Baali* say.3SG-PAST 1SG.NOM/1SG.ABS idiot
    ‘Baali said: “{I/He} was an idiot.”’

Direct discourse is known to be a barrier to A′ extraction (Partee 1973, Recanati 1999, Schlenker 1999). However, the object extraction in (6)-(9) does not affect the reference of *I* in the relative clauses.

(6) Ini girl Hassan, kiey-e yu\{i/speaker\} af gaa dungeka he midhab.
    girl that Hassan say.3SG-PAST 1SG.ABS mouth on kiss.1SG.PAST be beautiful
    ‘The girl that Hasan said *{Hasan/I}* kissed is pretty.’
    $[^\text{de se} / ^\text{non-de se}]^3$

(7) Maa-ya Baali, kiey-e New York ha yu\{i/speaker\} gaa aargira?
    who *Baali* say.3SG-PAST NY PREVERBAL 1SG.ABS in see.FUTURE
    ‘In NY, who did Baali say *{Baali/I}* would meet?’
    $[^\text{de se} / ^\text{non-de se}]^4$

---

2 A non-\text{de se} reading is difficult when the speaker is looking at himself on TV. In a situation where he is looking at himself in the mirror, both \text{de se} and \text{de re} readings are available.

3 In a situation such as when Hasan finds himself in the mirror kissing the girl without noticing that it is himself, *yu* can refer to Hasan.

4 *Yu* can refer to *Baali* when he finds himself on TV without knowing that the person who is meeting someone in NY is himself, as well as when Baali believes that his colleague will meet someone in NY and he is unaware that he is actually the one who is supposed to meet someone.

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(8) Se girī Baali, kīey-e yu_{i/speaker} dal-sie mui yiek-a he badai. cow that Baali say.3SG-PAST 1SG.ABS give.birth-CAUS 3SG say.3SG-PAST be lost.PAST

‘The cow that Baali said he assisted to give birth was lost.’

[\text{\textasciitilde{de se}}/\text{\textasciitilde{non-de se}}]

(9) Se girī Baali, (kīey-e) yu_{i/speaker} giel mui yie ka he bada-y. cow that Baali say.3SG-PAST 1SG.ABS love 3SG say.3SG-PAST COMP be lost.PAST

‘The cow that Baali said he loved was lost.’

[\text{\textasciitilde{de se}}/\text{\textasciitilde{non-de se}}]

In parallel with the first person pronoun, the second person pronoun shifts its reference in the scope of attitude verbs as shown in (10). Kuun ‘you’ is shiftable in the relative clauses as in (11-15).

(10) Baali, Hasan j gee-y kīey-e kuun_{j/\text{hearer}} shelechu chu_{i/speaker}. Baali Hasan tell.1SG-PAST say.3SG-PAST you friend 1SG.POSS

‘Baali told Hasan that he was his friend.’

[\text{\textasciitilde{de te}}/\text{\textasciitilde{non-de te}}]

(11) Maa, [CP girī Baali kīey-e <girī> kuun_{i/\text{hearer}} shelechu muy yiek-a] geer person that Baali say.3SG-PAST that you friend he say.3SG-PAST stomach gaa midhab. at good

‘The person to whom Baali said {he was/ you were} his friend is nice (kind-hearted).’

[\text{\textasciitilde{de te}}/\text{\textasciitilde{non-de te}}]

(12) Baali sheelecha le gee-y kuun_{i/\text{hearer}} geer gaa midhab yiek-a he midhab. Baali friend-his tell.3SG-PAST you stomach at good say.3SG-PAST be nice/ good

‘The friend {whose heart Baali said/ to whom Baali said your heart} was warm is nice.

(13) Baali ko gee-y kuun erleka deech. Baali you tell.3SG-PAST you before stupid

‘Baali told you that you were an idiot.’

(14) Maa,-ya Baali kīey-e kuun_{i/\text{hearer}} ’daale. person-Q Baali tell.3SG-PAST you wise

‘Who did Baali say that he was smart to?’

(15) Ameñ-gal Baali itin hi hinyas mui yiek-a, he yie’di-e. every-people Baali you RP clever he say.3SG-PAST RP pass-PAST

‘Everyone to whom Baali said that he was smart passed the exam.’


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While only the verb *say* triggers indexical shifting in Amharic, Zazaki and Matsés (Schlenker 1999, 2003, Ludwig et al. 2010, Anand and Nevins 2004, Anand 2006), it is not only the verbs *kieye* ‘say’ and *geey* ‘tell’ that shift the context in Dhaasanac. Another reportative, *fayam shiish* ‘give news/report,’ shifts indexicals inside indirect quotations (see (16)). These verbs of communication are the only context shifters in Dhaasanac, even though verbs of believing or hearing are known to shift indexicals in Uyghur (Sudo 2010).

(16) Baali ye fayam dugaa sidhe kiey-e yaa_{i/speaker}/yu_{i/speaker} gaal yie die. Baali me news to brought say.3SG-PAST 1SG.NOM/1SG.ABS them beyond pass

‘Baali reported to me that {he/I} won over them.’

[√de se/*non-de se]

### 2.2 The Temporal Indexicals yesterday, today, and tomorrow

Moreover, the indexicals *yesterday*, *today* and *tomorrow*, which are not supposed to shift the temporal reference according to the fixity thesis (Kaplan 1977, 1989), optionally shift reference in the embedded clause. In (17a), it is interpreted that Loya met Baali one day before the reference time of the matrix clause, that is, eight days ago. Due to the past tense of the matrix verb, the non-shifted reading is suppressed in (17a) and (18). *Tomorrow* in (17b) can be optionally shifted to six days before the speech. As a reviewer pointed out, the obligatory shift of *gefere* ‘yesterday’ and *kulichala* ‘today’ may make us wonder if these are definite descriptions such as the previous day in English, rather than deictic indexicals. Nevertheless, the examples in (17b) and (19) clearly suggest that *berika* ‘tomorrow’ and *gefere* ‘yesterday’ are indexicals that optionally shift reference under the attitude report.

(17) a. Ram tiiya beeyetia Baali ye geey kiey-e Loya gefere mu_{√i/∗speaker} days 7 ago Baali to me tell.3SG-PAST Loya yesterday 3SG.NOM hol arg-e. REFLEXIVE meet.3SG-PAST

‘A week ago, Baali told me that Loya met him yesterday.’

(√Loya met Baali eight days ago. / #Loya met Baali yesterday.)

b. Ram tiiya beeyetia Baali ye geey kiey-e Loya berika mu_{√i/√speaker} days 7 ago Baali to me tell.3SG-PAST Loya tomorrow 3SG.NOM hol aargir-a. REFLEXIVE meet.3SG-FUT

‘A week ago, Baali told me that Loya was meeting him/me tomorrow.’

(√Loya met {Baali/me} six days ago. / √Loya is meeting {Baali/me} tomorrow.)
In (18), the boy that Baali said he met yesterday visited me yesterday.

In (19), yesterday and the first person plural also shift together, and the verb agrees with the first person plural. Gefer “yesterday” is not a deictic expression such as one day before since gefere under universal quantifier does not refer to one day before, i.e., every Tuesday.

The sequence of tenses rule does not apply in Dhaasanac. The embedded tense in (21) is not relativized by the matrix future tense. Moreover, in (22), the relative clause need not be in the past tense even with the matrix past tense.

Even when other indexicals shift, the locative indexicals remain context dependent. This is illustrated in (23).

2.3 Locative Indexicals

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(23) Ini giri ram tiiya beeyeetia Hassan kiey-e gefere alla yu af gaa girl that days 7 PAST Hassan say.3SG-PAST yesterday here 1SG.ABS on mouth 'dung'geka he midhab. 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.'

If (24) is uttered in Turkana, alla 'here' only refers to Turkana even though the reference of the other indexical arge 'yesterday' is shifted by the reportative predicate.

(24) Baali Nairobi gaa kiey-e Hassan gefer-e Hadoya alla gaa arge.
    Baali Nairobi at say.3SG.PAST Hassan meet.3SG-PAST Hadoya here at yesterday

'Baali said in Nairobi Hasan met Hadoya here (in Turkana) eight days ago.'

3 Indexicals in Somali

In another East Cushitic language Somali, the first person and temporal indexicals shift under the verb yi ‘say,’ as in (25-27):

(25) Xusen ba yi-dhi wa-an buk-ay.
    houssein FOC say.3SG.MAS-PAST FOC.I sick.1SG-PAST

'Houssein said {he/ *I} was sick.'

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

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

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

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

But locatives do not shift. If the speaker is in Djibouti, halkane “here” cannot refer to US even when the matrix subject Hassan is there in (28).

(28) Hassan wuxu ishegay ina kula kulumayo halkane *US/Djibouti
    Hassan said told.me met here US/Djibouti

'Hassan told me that he met someone here in {*US/ Djibouti}.'

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4 Analysis

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). While indexical-shifting in Slave is limited to either shift-together (29a) or person indexicals (29b,c), temporal parameters also shift in Dhaasanac. Therefore, I claim the existence of a fourth kind of monster, described in (30).

\[(29)\] Indexical-shifting in Dhaasanac:
\[
\left[\begin{array}{c}
\text{OP}_{\text{per},\text{time}} \phi \\
\end{array}\right]_g^{c,i} = \left[\begin{array}{c}
\phi \\
\end{array}\right]_g^{<a_i,hi,le,ti,wc>,i}
\]

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 as in (30). Some of the temporal indexicals are shiftable in Uyghur while no data are given in Sudo (2012, 2010). In that sense, the indexicals in Dhaasanac possibly behave in parallel with those in Uyghur.

\[(30)\] Muhemmet manga toququzinzi ay-din basla-p men u jer-de
Muhemmet 1SG.DAT 9th month-from start-ing 1SG.NOM there-LOC
uqu-imen didi.
study-IMPERF-1SG say-PAST.3

‘Muhemmet told me that he would study there from September.’

According to Sudo (2010), Uyghur locative indexicals (*here, there*) are not indexicals but demonstratives which never shift reference under attitude verbs. However, considering that shift-together does not hold in Amharic (Schlenker 1999, 2003),\(^5\) Aghem (Hyman 1979), Navajo (Speas 2000), and Catalan Sign Language (Quer 2005), partial shifting of person and temporal indexicals in Dhaasanac is not surprising at all. Sudo (2010) 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.

5 De Se and De Re

The present shape of monster-based approach would thus only produce the \textit{de re} reading, and \textit{de se} reading is not accounted for.\(^6\) The monstrous operator shifts the reference of indexicals in the scope but the proposition is not self-ascribed to the reporter, the matrix subject. The referents of the matrix speaker and the addressee co-refer with the first and second pronouns in the embedded clause by means of the monstrous operator, but without \textit{de se/te} interpretation.

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\(^5\)Anand (2006), on the contrary, argues that Amharic is a shift-together language.

\(^6\)I appreciate that a reviewer pointed this out to me.

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Dhaasanac  SAY  [say(\(OP_{\text{per,time}}\))]  optionally shifts 1st/2nd & temporal
REPORT  [report(\(OP_{\text{per}}\))]  optionally shifts 1st person
Uyghur  SAY  [say \(OP_{\text{per}}\)]  obligatorily shifts 1st/2nd
BELIEVE  [believe \(OP_{\text{auth}}\)]  obligatorily shifts 1st
HEAR  [hear \(OP_{\text{auth}}\)]  obligatorily shifts 1st
Amharic, Aghem  SAY  [say(\(OP_{\text{per}}\))]  optionally shifts 1st/2nd person
Navajo  SAY  [say(\(OP_{\text{per}}\))]  optionally shifts 1st/2nd person
Slave  TELL  [tell(\(OP_{\text{per}}\))]  optionally shifts 1st/2nd person
WANT  [want(\(OP_{\text{auth}}\))]  optionally shifts 1st person
SAY  [say \(OP_{\text{auth}}\)]  obligatorily shifts 1st person
Zazaki  SAY  [say (\(OP_{\text{∀}}\))]  optionally shifts all indexicals
English  ALL  [att-verb]  no indexical shift

Table 1: Indexical Shifting in Different Languages, added to Sudo (2010)

\(31\)  \([OP_{\text{per,time}} \text{I met you here today}]_{g}^{c,i} = \)
\(\left[ \text{a}_i \text{ met } \text{h}_i \text{ here at } t_i \text{ in } w_{c_{i}}^{<\text{a}_i,\text{h}_i,\text{l}_c,\text{t}_i,\text{w}_c>,\text{i}} \right]_{g}^{c,i} \)

I assume that the index world of the embedded clause in \textit{de se} ascription is shifted by the reportative, which is a kind of a belief predicate, as in \(32\). On the contrary, the index world is the same as the context world in case of \textit{de re} description in \(33\). \textit{I} in the embedded refers to Baali in the context world but may not be in the Baali’s belief worlds.

\(32\) \textit{De se} ascription:
\(\left[ \text{Baali said } OP_{\text{per,time}} \text{I met you here today}]_{g}^{c,i} = \right.\)
\(\left. \left[ \text{Baali said} \right]_{g}^{c,i} \left[ \text{a}_i \text{ met } \text{h}_i \text{ here at } t_i \text{ in } w_{c_{i}}^{<\text{a}_i,\text{h}_i,\text{l}_c,\text{t}_i,\text{w}_c>,<\text{a}_i,\text{h}_i,\text{l}_i,\text{t}_i,\text{w}_i'>}: \right.\)
\(\text{in all the worlds } w_{i} \text{ compatible with } a_{i} \text{'s belief in } w_{c}, \text{ a}_i \text{ met } \text{h}_i \text{ here at } t_i \)

\(33\) \textit{De re} description:
\(\left[ \text{Baali said } OP_{\text{per,time}} \text{I met you here today}]_{g}^{c,i} = \right.\)
\(\left. \left[ \text{Baali said} \right]_{g}^{c,i} \left[ \text{a}_i \text{ met } \text{h}_i \text{ here at } t_i \text{ in } w_{c_{i}}^{<\text{a}_i,\text{h}_i,\text{l}_c,\text{t}_i,\text{w}_c>,\text{i}} \right.\)

6 Conclusion

This paper highlighted partial shifts of indexicals in Dhaasanac. 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 (2010) suggests. However, the existence of another type of monster explains the data sufficiently enough to exclude such cross-linguistic variation of lexical entries.

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