

Indexical Edge Cases: Some Questions on Perspective Shift and its Role in Indexical and Quotational Theory

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Introduction

Reliance on contextual information is not unique to indexical pronouns. Everything from evidentials and evaluatives to which names we give entities is dependent on the context in which we speak.

Iconicity, speaker oriented items, pronouns, and de re/de dicto distinctions are all related to the perspective and world through which events and situations are seen. Then why do we seemingly have distinct accounts for each of these phenomena?

My goals for this talk are to discuss the boundaries between these phenomena and the possibility that they are blurrier than we thought. I focus on two boundaries: that between speaker oriented items and indexical pronouns, and that between indexical shift and quotation.

Today's Agenda

1. Discuss indexical shift and quotation
2. Go over certain diagnostics used to differentiate quotation from indexical shift
3. Issue 1: Perspective shifting as a problem related to indexical shifting
4. Issue 2: The (potential) false dichotomy of quotation and non-quotation

I want to thank Gülnar Eziz, Hande Sevgi, and Yurika Yamazaki for their invaluable help with their respective languages, as well as the people working at Manc.hu, the database with which I was able to find novel data on Manchu.

What is Indexical Shift?

Indexical shift is a phenomenon whereby indexicals (such as: you, I, here, now) shift their meaning to be tied to the speaker or addressee of an embedded context, rather than the utterance context.

- (1) Angel hi-neki-se [*pro* tḁc̥ Ø-pay-no'].
Angel 3.SUBJ-think-TAM 1SG soon 1SUBJ-arrive-FUT
'Angel_i thinks she_i will soon arrive.' [Nez Perce, Deal 2017:6]

Here, the embedded verb, though conjugated in first person, may refer to John rather than the speaker of the utterance. (Indices *s* and *a* refer to speaker and addressee of utterance.)

Indexical shift has been attested in many languages: Navajo (Speas 1999), Amharic, Zazaki, Slave (Anand and Nevins 2004), Catalan Sign Language (Quer 2005), Nez Perce (Deal 2008), and Uyghur (Sudo 2010).

Indexical Shift and Quotation

Immediately, we may see that in English, we can make similar constructions: quotation.

- (2) a. Kim_i said to Amy_j that I_s love you_a.
b. Kim_i said to Amy_j, “I_i love you_j.”

However, quotations are not true indexical shift. Embedded quotations are thought to be completely opaque to syntactic operations from the outside (no movement out, no licensing in).

Thus, indexical shift traditionally requires that the embedded clause and the matrix clause can still ‘interact’ syntactically:

- (3) John [jiəgna ləmin n-ññ] yil-all?
John hero why COP.PRES-1SG say-3SG.MASC
‘Why does John_i say that I_{s,i} am a hero?’

[Amharic, Anand 2006:82]

Quotational Diagnostics I

Wh-Extraction: Wh-items cannot move out of quotations.

- (4) a. Who_k did Kim_i say to Amy_j that I_s love t_k?
b. *Who_k did Kim_i say to Amy_j, “I_i love t_k”?

This is true of both overt *and* covert movement.

- (5) 張三 說 [我 愛 誰]
zhāngsān shuō wǒ ài shéi
Zhangsan say 1.SG love who
‘Who_j did Zhangsan_i say I_{s,*i} love t_j?’ (Not quote, large wh-scope)
‘Zhangsan_i said, “Who_j do I_{*s,i} love t_j?”’ (Quote, small wh-scope)
(Also wh as non-question: ‘Zhangsan_i said who I_{s,*i} love.’)

NPI Licensing: Additionally, Negative Polarity Items (NPIs) cannot be licensed in a quotation by material outside the quotation.

- (6) a. Kim didn't say she hurt anyone.
b. *Kim didn't say, “I hurt anyone.”

Quotational Diagnostics II

De Re Ascription: Material inside of a quotation cannot be read de re with respect to a context or centered world that exists outside of the quotation.

- (7) a. Kim doesn't know that Amy is a baker. When talking of Amy, Kim said that she loves the baker.
 b. #Kim doesn't know that Amy is a baker. When talking of Amy, Kim said, "I love the baker."

Iconic Reproduction: To varying degrees, quotations are preferred for use in replicating the manner or diction in which the quotee originally spoke. However, this is much more variable and less reliable than the other three.

- (8) a. Kim talks slow, and told me that Aaaaamyyyyy wiiiiilll beeee heeere soooooon.
 b. ^{pref}Kim talks slow, and told me, "Aaaaamyyyyy wiiiiilll beeee heeere soooooon."

Quotational Diagnostics III

Non-Optional Shift: While indexical shift may be optional in a given language, or only apply to a subset of indexicals, quotation must shift all possible indexicals. There are exceptions to this in “unquoting,” as discussed by Maier (2017).

- (9) a. Yesterday_i John said that he wanted to talk yesterday_{i,i-1}.
 b. Yesterday_i John said “I wanted to talk yesterday_{*i,i-1}”.

Multiple Speech Events: Quotations reference speech acts rather than the propositions which they contain. A quotation which has the same propositional content of two quotations combined is not entailed by the existence of the original quotations.

- (10) a. Kim_i said she_i is happy, and John_j said he_j is happy, thus
 Kim_i and John_j said they_{i+j} were happy.
 b. #Kim_i said “I_i am happy” and John_j said “I_j am happy”, thus
 Kim_i and John_j said “We_{i+j} are happy”.

Pushing Back on Two Major Assumptions

Assumption 1: Indexical pronouns are the only thing worth looking at shifting in embedded contexts.

Claim 1: Any theory of indexical shift must account for the shifting (or lack thereof) or speaker oriented items, evidentials, and evaluative material, as these are innately tied to contextual information.

Assumption 2: There are only two kinds of large embedding, quotation, and non-quotational CP embedding.

Claim 2: The diagnostics of Wh-extraction, NPI licensing, De Re ascription, and multiple speech events are all often thought to cut the spectrum of embedding along the same lines: quotation vs non-quotation. However, this assumption deserves to be challenged, as there is no outright evidence that these must be consistent cross-linguistically.

What's in a Context?

Started by Kaplan (1989): Contexts are sets of referents accessible by indexicals.

- (11) a. $\llbracket I \rrbracket^{c,i,g} = \text{AUTH}(c)$
 b. $\llbracket \text{you} \rrbracket^{c,i,g} = \text{ADDR}(c)$

The length of a context varies by theory, but the general consensus is that the context contains the five referents in (12).

- (12) $c = \langle \text{Speaker/Author}, \text{Addressee}, \text{Time}, \text{Location}, \text{World} \rangle$

Shifty Theory (Anand and Nevins 2004; Shklovsky and Sudo 2014; Deal 2020) argues that indexical shift happens through operators which reassign the context by indices (which have the same 'slots' as contexts).

- (13) $\llbracket \text{OP}_x \rrbracket(\llbracket P \rrbracket)^{c,i,g} = \llbracket P \rrbracket^{c[x=i(x)],i,g}$

This forces shift together: if an operator shifts a context-variable, all items that refer to that context-variable under scope of operator must shift.

Would that which we call a Speaker Oriented Item by any other Context smell as sweet?

Some speaker oriented items include directional verbs, which act in many ways like indexicals.

- (14) a. Kim is in Toronto_i, I am in Boston_j. Kim thinks that Abby is here_{*i,j}.
b. Kim is in Toronto_i, I am in Boston_j. Kim thinks that Abby is ^{OK}going/*coming there_i.

Does that mean that we should embed these into our semantics?

- (15) a. $\llbracket \text{come} \rrbracket^{c,i,g} = \lambda e. \text{MOVE}(e) \wedge \text{DIR}(e, \text{LOC}(c))$
b. $\llbracket \text{go} \rrbracket^{c,i,g} = \lambda e. \text{MOVE}(e) \wedge \neg \text{DIR}(e, \text{LOC}(c))$

What about evaluative adverbs? Epithets?

- (16) a. $\llbracket \text{expectedly} \rrbracket^{c,i,g} = \lambda p. p \wedge \text{EXPECT}(p, \text{AUTH}(c))$
b. $\llbracket \text{bastard} \rrbracket^{c,i,g} = \lambda x. \text{DEEM}_{\text{Bastard}}(x, \text{AUTH}(c))$

Quasi-Direct Discourse in Japanese I

Under the reportative particle *to*, indexicals shift optionally, but only when there is no overt content which must under go movement that is c-commanded by the 'shifted' indexical.

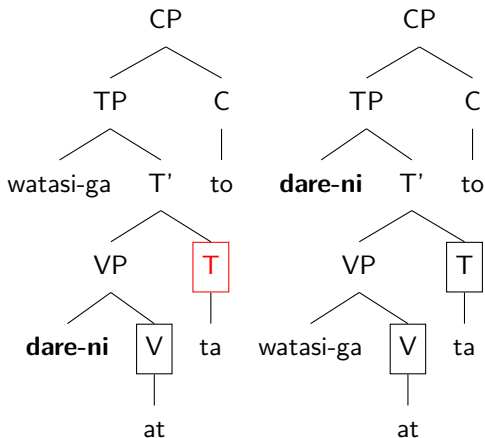
- (17) a. Hanako-wa [watasi-ga dare-ni at-ta-to] it-ta-no.
Hanako-TOP 1SG-NOM who-DAT see-PST-REP say-PST-Q
'Who did Hanako_i say that I_{s,*i} met?'
- b. Hanako-wa [dare-ni₁ (w)atasi-ga t₁ at-ta-to] it-ta-no.
Hanako-TOP who-DAT 1SG-NOM see-PST-REP say-PST-Q
'Who did Hanako_i say that I_{s,i} met?' (Shimamura 2018:41)

This is, wh-items which have wide scope reading and NPIs with outside licensors are not grammatical when c-commanded by something with a perspective shift.

Quasi-Direct Discourse in Japanese II

For Shimamura (2018), this c-commanding discrepancy is because *to* is an adjunct which attaches to a verbal head, quoting its complement, which then moves to C.

(18)



Indexical Shift in Japanese I

Under an attitude verb with the reportative particle *to*, the perspective of expectation must shift to the attitude holder.

- (19) Kinoo John-wa [yappari Mary-wa paatii-ni
yesterday John-TOP as.expected Mary-TOP party-DAT
ku-ru-to] it-ta.

come-NPST-REP say-PST

'Yesterday, John said that as expected Mary would go to the party tomorrow.'

- a. Demo sore-wa watasi-nitotte yosoogai-dat-ta.
but that-TOP 1SG-for unexpected-COP-PST
'But that (Mary's coming to the party) is/was unexpected for me.'
- b. #Demo sore-wa John-nitotte yosoogai-dat-ta.
but that-TOP John-for unexpected-COP-PST
'But that was unexpected for John.'

[Japanese, Saito 2018:343-344]

Indexical Shift in Japanese II

The perspective of honorifics is also mandatorily shifted under these circumstances.

- (20) Kinoo John-wa [asita sensei-gata-ga sono
yesterday John-TOP tomorrow teacher-PL(HON)-NOM that
ryoori-o mesiaga-ru-to] it-ta.
dinner-ACC eat.HON-NPST-REP say-PST
'Yesterday, John said that the teachers would have the delicious
dish tomorrow.'
- a. Watasi-wa karera-o keebetu-si-tei-ru.
1SG-TOP 3PL-ACC contempt-do-ASP-NPST
'I despise them.'
- b. #John-wa karera-o keebetu-si-tei-ru.
John-TOP 3PL-ACC contempt-do-ASP-NPST
'John despises them.' [Japanese, Saito 2018:344-345]

Indexical Shift in Japanese IV

Under these circumstances, *yappari* and *gata* cannot rely on the AUTH variable of the context: first person indexicals don't shift.

Solution 1: Contexts are bigger than we think: add ORIGO (Korotkova 2016).

- (23)
- a. $\llbracket \text{yappari} \rrbracket^{c,i,g} = \lambda p.p \wedge \text{EXPECT}(p, \text{ORIGO}(c))$
 - b. $\llbracket \text{gata} \rrbracket^{c,i,g} = \lambda x.\text{HON}(x, \text{ORIGO}(c))$
 - c. $\llbracket \text{to} \rrbracket(\llbracket P \rrbracket)^{c,i,g} = \llbracket \text{OP}_{\text{Origo}} \rrbracket(\llbracket P \rrbracket)^{c,i,g} = \llbracket P \rrbracket^{c[\text{Origo}=i(\text{Origo})],i,g}$

Solution 2: These words are indexiphors, and are 'stuck' under intensional operators (Deal 2020).

- (24)
- a. $\llbracket \text{yappari} \rrbracket^{c,i,g} = \lambda p.p \wedge \text{EXPECT}(p, \text{AUTH}(i))$
 - b. $\llbracket \text{gata} \rrbracket^{c,i,g} = \lambda x.\text{HON}(x, \text{AUTH}(i))$

Here I will entertain the notion of the addition of ORIGO.

Peculiarities of ORIGO Shift 1

ORIGO as a perspective shifter has been used by Korotkova (2016) to explain shifting of perspective for evidentials and imperatives.

- (25) Yenghi-nun [Chelswu-ka khaley-lul mek-**te**-la-ko]
Yenghi-TOP Chelswu-NOM curry-ACC eat-SENS-DECL-C
malha-yess-ta.
say-PST-DECL
'Yenghi said that, as she/*I perceived, Chelswu ate the curry.'
[Korean, Korotkova 2016:236]
- (26) ku salam-i inho-eykey [swuni-lul towacwu-**la**] -ko
that person-NOM inho-DAT swuni-ACC help-IMP -C
malhayss-ta.
said-DECL
'He_i told Inho_j 'help-IMP_{i,*s} Swuni.'
[Korean, Pak et al. 2008:170]

Peculiarities of ORIGO Shift 2

Similarly, I have found some Manchu data that supports ORIGO-shift without AUTH-shift for optatives:

- (27) Hūng Baturu usin be ekše-me bargiya-fi
Hūng Baturu field ACC hurry-IPFV.CVB harvest-PFV.CVB
mende aca-**ki** se-mbi
1PL.EXCL.DAT meet-OPT say-IPFV.FIN
'Hūng Baturu_i said that he would meet-OPT_{*s,i} us_{s,*i} after
quickly harvesting the field.'
[Manchu, from Nurhaci Dangse 08, Fascicle 65]

Including the already seen Japanese data, ORIGO-like perspective shift seems to be high left-peripheral non-challengeable phenomena:
Evaluatives (Japanese), Evidentials (Bulgarian, Korean, Turkish),
Imperatives (Japanese, Korean), Optatives (Manchu).

Additionally, all examples I have found are embedded via a SAY verb.

Peculiarities of ORIGO Shift 3

Despite the ORIGO variable representing an entity, in languages which distinguish AUTH from ORIGO, there seems to be no indexical pronouns referring to the ORIGO explicitly.

Perspective shift seems to be particular to SAY embedding, which suggests that it is related to quotational phenomena.

Because ORIGO shift does not require AUTH shift, this would suggest that ORIGO operators are the “leftmost” Indexical Class.

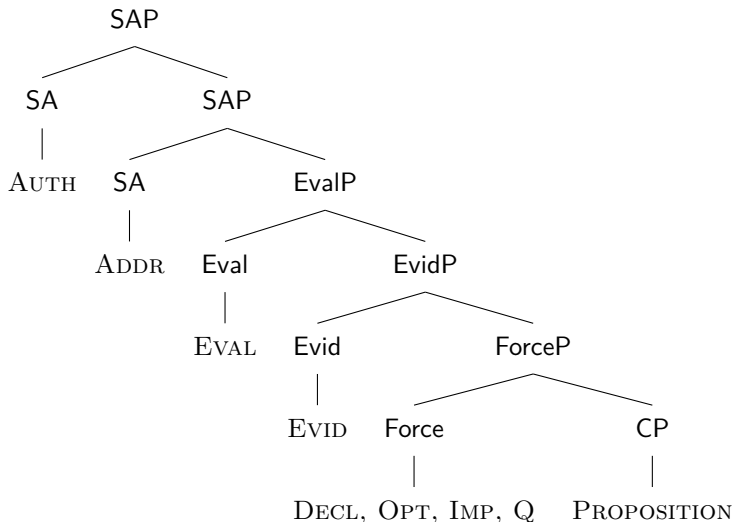
(28) Implicational Hierarchy of Indexical Classes:
(ORIGO) > AUTH > ADDR > LOC

However, it has not been ruled out that there may be languages which allow AUTH shift but not ORIGO shift.

Structurally, perspective related heads are below the Speech Act Projection, where AUTH and ADDR heads are assumed to be.

Left Peripheral Structure

(29) Speas and Tenny (2003); Corr (2016); Rabinovitch (2020)



All heads above the propositional domain have speech act semantics.

Speech Acts are Distinct from Propositions I

There are independent reasons to consider Speech Acts as separate from Propositions. True questions have interrogative force; they are speech acts.

- (30) a. Juan dijo [quién venía].
 Juan said who come-PST
 'Juan said who was coming.'
 b. Juan dijo [**que quién** venía].
 Juan said that who come-PST
 'Juan said: who was coming?'
- [Spanish; modified from Etxepare 2010:618]

These constructions are not quotation, indexicals do not shift.

- (31) Los prisioneros repitieron **que adónde** los llevábamos.
 the prisoners repeated that where CLT.3PL taking-1PL
 'The prisoners; repeated: where were we_s taking them_i?'
- [Spanish; mf. Suñer 1993:69]

Speech Acts are Distinct from Propositions II

Nodes which exist above ForceP are not challengeable. They do not change truth conditions.

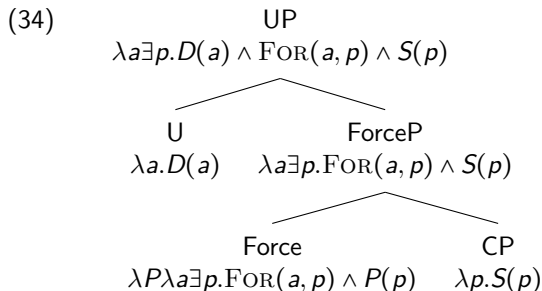
- (32) a. Inés-qa qaynunchay ñaña-n-ta-s watuku-sqa
Inés-TOP yesterday sister-3-ACC-REP visit-PST2
'Inés visited her sister yesterday'
Evidence: speaker was told that Inés visited her sister yesterday
- b. Mana-n chiqaq-chu. Manta-n-ta-lla-n watuku-rqa-n
not-DIR true-NEG mother-3-ACC-LIM-DIR visit-PST1-3
'That's not true. She only visited her mother.'
- c. #Mana-n chiqaq-chu. Mana-n chay-ta willa-rqa-sunki-chu.
not-DIR true-NEG not-DIR this-ACC tell-PST1-3s2O-NEG
'That's not true. You were not told this.'
[Cuzco Quechua; Faller 2002:195-196]

Rather they effect sincerity conditions.

Speech Acts are Distinct from Propositions III

- (33) While a proposition is true when it accurately represents the world of evaluation, “[a] performance of an illocutionary act is sincere when the speaker has the mental state that he expresses in the performance of that act and it is insincere otherwise.” (Vanderveken 1990:117).

To build a semantics, I include an additional sortal domain above that of propositions (Ramchand and Svenonius 2014; Rabinovitch 2020).



Speech Acts are Distinct from Propositions IV

Force Relations $\text{FOR}(a, p)$ describe how the sincerity conditions relate to the truth conditions.

If all ORIGO shift relates to material within the Speech Act (Utterance) Domain, then there is a question of why speech act semantics tie into ORIGO so much.

One possible solution: ORIGO is a centered world by which a proposition p is evaluated through expression of the force relation.

$$(35) \quad \llbracket \text{FORCE} \rrbracket^{c,i,g} = \lambda P \lambda a \exists p. \text{FOR}(a, p(\text{ORIGO}(c))) \wedge P(p)$$

This immediately does away with one concern of introducing an additional context variable ORIGO is WORLD. This also helps to explain why we don't see pronouns which refer to ORIGO: world pronouns are silent.

Alternatively, if this is due to AUTH oriented indexiphors, we must still explain why these are so connected to the speech act domain, and why an explicit AUTH indexiphor are relatively rare.

A Reanalysis of Uyghur Shift

Uyghur is a Turkic language often analyzed as having indexical shift for both first and second person pronouns (Sudo 2010; Shklovsky and Sudo 2014).

- (36) Tursun [**kim**-ni kör-d-**üm**] dé-di?
Tursun who-ACC see-PST-1SG say-PST.3SG
'Who did Tursun_i say he_j saw?' [Uyghur]

The first person conjugation shows that the indexical has shifted, and the presence of the wh-word suggests that this is true indexical shift rather than quotation.

My consultant confirmed the sentence from Shklovsky and Sudo (2014), which indicates that the wh-word can have a large scope reading, being asked by the speaker rather than the quotee.

De Re Ascriptions are Allowed (pro-indexical shift)

Context: Ahmet does not know that Ghéni is a professor. First, Ahmet says to me (37-a). I can then report to another person (37-b), despite the fact that I know Ahmet does not think that Ghéni is a professor (based on Shklovsky and Sudo (2014):382).

- (37) a. Ghéni ket-ti.
 Ghéni leave-PST.3SG
 ‘Ghéni left.’
- b. Ahmet [profesor ket-ti] dé-di.
 Ahmet professor leave-PST.3G say-PST.3G
 ‘Ahmet said the professor left.’

Multiple Speech Events are Allowed (pro-indexical shift)

Context: Ahmet and Muhemmet are two students who took a test in class today. After the test, I met Ahmet, who said (38-a). A while later, I met Muhemmet, who said exactly the same thing. I can report on this situation to Ghéni by saying (38-b) (based on Shklovsky and Sudo (2014):385).

- (38) a. (Men) imtihan-din öt-t-üm.
1SG.NOM test-ABL pass-PST-1SG
'I passed the test'
- b. Ahmet we Muhemmet, (ular) (**biz**) imtihan-din
Ahmet and Muhemmet 3PL.NOM 1PL.NOM test-ABL
öt-t-**uq** dé-di.
pass-PST-1PL say-PST.3
'Ahmet_i and Muhemmet_j said that they_{i+j} passed the test'

NPI items are Opaque (pro-quotation)

- (39) a. Men **hichkim**-ni kör-**mi**-d-im.
1SG.NOM nobody-ACC see-NEG-PST-1SG
'I didn't see anyone'
- b. *Men **hichkim**-ni kör-d-üm.
1SG.NOM nobody-ACC see-PST-1SG
Intended meaning: 'I didn't see anyone' [Uyghur]
- (40) a. Tursun [**birliri**-ni kör-d-üm] dé-**mi**-di.
Tursun somebody-ACC see-PST-1SG say-NEG-PST.3SG
'Tursun_i didn't say he_j saw anyone.'
- b. *Tursun [(men) **hichkim**-ni kör-d-üm]
Tursun 1SG.NOM nobody-ACC see-PST-1SG
dé-**mi**-di.
say-NEG-past.3sg.
Intended meaning: 'Tursun_i didn't say that he_j saw anyone'
[Uyghur]

Shklovsky and Sudo (2014) marks (40-b) as grammatical. Consultant says its okay if the embedded clause is an ungrammatical quotation, 'Tursun didn't say, "I saw anyone"'.

Conclusion

As of now, there is no explicit solution to explaining these cross-linguistically robust connections.

Additionally, many of these judgements are particularly sensitive, and perhaps we need to account for this as well.

I am interested in seeing if anyone has data from other languages I should follow, or suggestions on what I should look for in the languages I'm currently working on (Uyghur, Japanese, Manchu, Turkish).

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