

1. THEORETICAL BACKGROUND: INDEXICAL SHIFT

- ❖ **Indexicals:** Context-dependent expressions, interpreted based on the context in which the sentence is uttered, including pronouns (*I, you*), locative indexicals (*here*), and temporal indexicals (*today, now* and *tomorrow*) etc.

- **Indexical shift** is attested in **Quotation & Indirect reports**:

In **Quotations**: The indexicals necessarily shift to the context of the reported speech act.

- (1) a. John said: ‘**I** am rich.’ [**I** = **John**; ≠ Speaker]
b. John said: ‘**I** am **here**!’ [**here** = the location **John**, but not the Speaker, is at upon the utterance]

In **Indirect report**: Unlike English (2), in some languages like Zazaki (3), Amharic (4), and Korean, a.o., **indexical shift** is also possible. A sentence in a form like ‘John said that I am rich’ can mean John’s self report of being rich.

- (2) [English]
 - a. John said that **I** am rich. {**I** = Speaker, ≠ **John**; **No Shift**}
 - b. John said that I was born **here**. {**here** = location of the speech; **No Shift**}
- (3) [Zazaki] (Anand & Nevins, 2004)

Hesen_i (mi-ra) va ke **ez**_{/rk} dewletia
Hesen.obl (l.obl-to) said that I rich.be-pres
‘Hesen said that {**Hesen** is, I am} rich.’

{**ez** = Speaker or **Hesen**; **Optional Shift**}
- (4) [Amharic] (Schlenker, 2003)

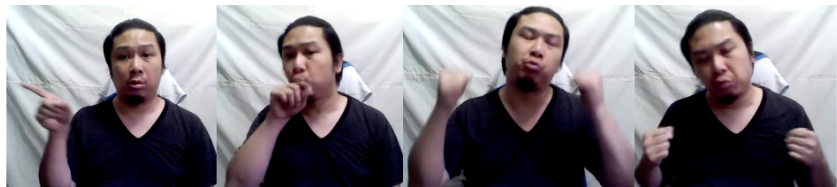
john Jägna **näNN** yt-lall
John hero I-am says-3sg.m
‘John says that **he** (**John**) is a hero.’

{**näNN** ≠ Speaker; = **John**; **Obligatory Shift**}

Zazaki & Amharic involves a **Context-Shifting Operator**
[[Op_iIP]]^{c,s,w} = λx^{*}_e. λw^{*}_e. [[IP]]^{c,s[i → x^{*}],w^{*}}

2. TWO ACCOUNTS OF ROLE SHIFT (RS) IN SIGN LANGUAGES

- ❖ **Action RS** : The RS that demonstrates the action of an individual (5a), often involves a Constructed Action (CA).



(5a) IX-3 BIRD CA (playing-on-the-swing) ‘The bird was like this (playing on the swing.)’

- ❖ **Attitude RS**: The RS that reports an individual’s language expression or thoughts; lead by a **matrix verb** such as SAY and THINK (4b).



(5b) MOM SAY-3 **IX-1** BUSY ‘Mom said: “I am busy.”

- **Two Accounts of RS: Demonstration (quotation) vs. Indexical Shift Operator**

- ❖ **Demonstration Account** (Davidson 2015): RS is demonstration: Action RS is a (body) classifier construction; Attitude RS is a quotation; both are subtypes of demonstration. **Predictions**: Indexicals under Attitude RS will obligatorily shift to the context of the reported discourse; Other quotation-like behaviors will also apply to Attitude RS, such as the banning of wh-extraction out of RS.

- ❖ **Indexical Shift Operator** (Schlenker 2017a, b): RS is a **context-shifting operator**. It is parameterized to account for cross-linguistic variations: indexicals under RS in ASL and LSF shift together (6a); but those in LSC and DGS can show mixed shifting (**‘mixed-indexicals’**) (6b). **Prediction**: Indexical shift under RS in HKSL will pattern with either ASL (no mixed indexicality) or LSC (allowing mixed-indexicality).

- (6) a. IX-a JOHN THINK [_{IP} **IX-1** SIGN GOOD] [ASL, Schlenker, 2017a]
‘John thinks: ‘I sign well.’’
b. ANNA_i IX-3 3-TELL-2 [_{IP} **TWO-OF-US**_{/i2} WIN AT-LAST] [LSC, Quer, 2011]
‘Anna told you that the **two** of **you** had won at last.’

3. METHODOLOGY

- **Goal.** Examine the two accounts of Role Shift with HKSL data.
- **Research questions.** 1. Do indexicals under RS necessarily shift? 2. Can indexical shift occur without RS?
- **Data Collection.**

Step 1. Translation task: By one signer; Written Chinese → HKSL; Indexicals tested: see Table 1; Two Conditions:

- a. Without RS (i.e., indirect report); b. With RS (i.e., Attitude RS)

Step 2. Judgement tests of the play-back videos: Two signers; Judgement questions: a. Grammaticality (good/bad/so-so);

- b. Interpretation of the indexicals (shifted/non-shifted/both).

4. DATA

Table 1. Summary of indexical shift in reported signing in HKSL

Indexical signs	a) without RS		b) with RS
	signer A (s.A)	signer B (s.B)	
IX-1	optional (7a)	optional (7a)	obligatory (7b)
WE-TWO	optional (12a)	none	obligatory
HERE	optional (8a)	optional (8a)	obligatory (8b)
TOMORROW	obligatory (9a)	obligatory (9a)	obligatory (9b)
TODAY	obligatory (10a)	none (10a)	obligatory (10b)

Main observations:

- With RS, all indexicals obligatorily shift
- Without RS, some indexicals can also shift:
 - a. IX-1, WE-TWO, HERE optionally shift
 - b. TOMORROW obligatorily shifts
 - c. TODAY gets opposite judgements
- The RS necessarily starts on the matrix verbs SAY, THINK, and GUESS. (c.f. ASL, Koulidobrova & Davidson, 2015)

- (7) a. MOM_i SAY-2 **IX-1**_{/i} BUSY ‘Mom said that {**she** is, I am} busy.’
b. MOM_i SAY-2 **IX-1**_{/i} BUSY ‘Mom said that {**she** is, #I am} busy.’

- (8) [Context: Aaron and Kenny are having a conversation in Hong Kong, Aaron said:]
a. CONNIE_k IX-a MACAO_a STAY, IX-3 THINK **IX-1**_{k/i} FUTURE STAY **HERE**_{a/i}
‘When Connie was in Macao, she thought that {**she**, I} will stay in {**Macao**, Hong Kong}.’
b. CONNIE_k IX-a MACAO_a STAY, IX-3 THINK **IX-1**_{k/i} FUTURE STAY **HERE**_{a/i}
‘When Connie was in Macao, she thought that {**she**, #I} will stay in {**Macao**, #Hong Kong}.’

- (9) [Utterance time: the day of the data collection (2020/11/12)]
a. YEAR 2020 OCTOBER-FIRST, CONNIE GUESS **TOMORROW** LISA COME.
‘On October 1st 2020, Connie guessed that Lisa would come on {**2020/10/02**, #2020/11/13}.’
b. YEAR 2020 OCTOBER-FIRST, CONNIE GUESS **TOMORROW** LISA COME.
‘On October 1st 2020, Connie guessed that Lisa would come on {**2020/10/02**, #2020/11/13}.’

- (10) [Utterance time: the day of the data collection (2020/11/12).]
a. YEAR 2020 OCTOBER-FIRST, CONNIE GUESS **TODAY** LISA COME
‘On October 1st 2020, Connie guessed that Lisa would come on s.A: {**2020/10/01**, #2020/11/12}; s.B: {#**2020/10/01**, 2020/11/12}’
b. YEAR 2020 OCTOBER-FIRST, CONNIE GUESS **TODAY** LISA COME
‘On October 1st 2020, Connie guessed that Lisa would come on {**2020/10/01**, #2020/11/12}.’

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5. ANALYSIS

- ❑ **RS is quotation-like.** With RS, the reported signing (dubbed as the counterpart of the term ‘reported speech’) shows quotation-like behaviors.

- All indexicals shift (see Table 1);
- Wh-extraction out of RS is banned (11).

- (11) ‘What did the bird playing on the swing feel is problematic?’
a. IX-3 BIRD CA(PLAYING-ON-THE-SWING) FEEL PROBLEMATIC **WHAT**
b. *IX-3 BIRD CA(PLAYING-ON-THE-SWING) FEEL PROBLEMATIC **WHAT**

- ❑ **The 2nd person agreement marking of the verb can cause ambiguity between an indirect report and an (unmarked) quotation.**

- (12) a. CONNIE, SAY-2 **WE-TWO**_{%i+2/j+2} FRIEND
‘Connie said that {%**Connie** and **her addressee**, signer and his/her addressee} are friends.’
[% means conflicting judgments between the two s(igners): s.A- available; s.B- not available].

- b. CONNIE, SAY-3 **WE-TWO**_{*i+2/j+2} FRIEND
‘Connie said that {#**Connie** and **her addressee**, signer and his/her addressee} are friends.’

The seemingly optional indexical shift of WE-TWO in (12a) is due to the ambiguity caused by the **2nd person agreement** of the matrix verb. Just as when **hearing** the speech utterance ‘*John said I am rich*’, one can get both interpretations of (1a) and (2a), when **seeing** the signing of (12a), one can interpret it as a plain indirect report

(indexicals do not shift), or a quotation (indexicals must shift), i.e., a quote in mind but not marked by RS. When the agreement marking changes to 3rd person, the shifted reading is eliminated (12b).

- ❑ **TOMORROW should be interpreted as ‘the next day’ instead of an indexical, which explains its ‘obligatory shift’.** In narratives, TOMORROW is used to refer ‘the next day’ regardless of the tense.

- (13) TOMORROW MORNING, IX-a FROG ABSENT ‘The next morning, the frog disappeared’ (CSLDS, 2018, Frog_ad_WK:00:00:54)

- ❑ **Some notes on SELF.** Without RS, signers prefer to use SELF (body-anchored) over IX-1, which can stand alone in an embedded clause (14), but not in a matrix clause (15). This indicates that the embedded clause with SELF in (14) is not independent as a pure quotation would be.

- (14) a. MOM_i FEEL SELF_{/i} BUSY ‘Mom felt that {**she** is, #I am} busy.’ (15) *SELF BUSY. ‘Intended: I’m busy.’
b. MOM_i FEEL SELF_{/i} BUSY ‘Mom felt that {**she** is, #I am} busy.’

Potential directions: SELF in HKSL might have several ‘characters’ as the long-distance reflexive *ziji* in Mandarin Chinese. One of the characters is logophor, in that it is not a true anaphor in the sense of Binding Theory (14a); Some cases with SELF might also involve a silent pronoun *pro*, a form of null argument: *pro* SELF (c.f. null argument in ASL, Lillo-Martin 1986).

- ❑ **Remaining questions.** 1. The reasons for the cross-signer variations of the judgement on TODAY; 2. Whether mix-indexicality in WE-TWO is possible in (12a).

6. CONCLUSION

- Indexical shift in HKSL can occur in ‘reported signing’ both with and without RS.
- The indirect discourse in HKSL involves a type of embedded clause that has intermediate status between a quotation and a plain embedding, shown by the data involving SELF.
- Neither Demonstration Account nor Indexical Shift Operator Account suffices to fully explain the data of HKSL.