

Indexical shift in Khwarshi

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Introduction. Indexical shift is a phenomenon in reported speech contexts which requires indexicals, e.g. 1st and 2nd person pronouns, ‘tomorrow’, ‘here’, to refer not to the utterance event, but to the reported speech act. Indexical shift has been documented in many typologically diverse languages, e.g. see the list in [Polinsky 2015: 14]. In this talk we will examine the properties of indexical shift in the Khonokh dialect of Khwarshi¹ (Tsezic < Northeast Caucasian).

Data. In Khwarshi, the reported speech is marked by the quotative particle =*łła*, which is usually placed on the last word of the reported speech clause. Shifted reading of indexicals is possible in such context. For example, in (1) the pronoun *da* ‘I.ABS’ can receive two interpretations: it can either refer to the speaker of the whole sentence, or it can shift and refer to the speaker of the reported speech act, *Aminat*. However, the possibility of a shifted reading is not enough to claim that in sentences like (1) indexical shift takes place. A similar interpretation is possible in direct speech, which implies a complete copying of what was said in another speech act. In order to prove that such sentences indeed contain indexical shift, it is necessary to apply structural diagnostics (see, for example, [Shklovsky & Sudo 2014: 384], [Polinsky 2015: 23], [Deal 2020: 97]):

1. Negative polarity item, e.g. *hibakin* ‘anyone’ in (2), contained in the subordinate clause can be licensed by negation in the matrix clause.

2. A'-movement of elements from the subordinate clause to the left edge of matrix clause is possible. (3) shows *wh*-movement of *nakol* ‘where’, which originates in the subordinate clause.

In Khwarshi, indexical shift applies to 1st and 2nd person pronouns and locative adverbs (e.g. *iloho* ‘here’). Pronouns are subject to *Shift Together* constraint [Anand & Nevis 2004], but pronoun shift is independent of adverbial shift. Indexical shift is optional in all cases except one: in reportative contexts, reflexive 1st and 2nd person pronouns which contain the intensifier *-č* must be shifted. Other types of indexical pronouns can receive either of the two possible interpretations. For example, in (4a) for *da* ‘I.ABS’ both interpretations are available, while for *da-č* ‘I.ABS-INTS’ in (4b) only the shifted one is attested.

Discussion. Besides contributing to the general typology of indexical shift, our data are relevant for the comparative study of indexical shift in Tsezic languages. Indexical shift in Tsez, other Tsezic language, was addressed in [Polinsky 2015]. Like in Khwarshi, in Tsez indexical shift is obligatory for the reflexives containing the intensifier (*-č* in Khwarshi, *-tow* in Tsez). These types of indexicals impose the same restrictions on interpretation, despite the fact that they occupy different positions in the pronoun systems of the languages: in Tsez the reflexive with the intensifier is opposed to other reflexives by being strictly non-local, whereas in Khwarshi all reflexives, including the reflexive with *-č*, are local [Testelefs 2019: 84].

Examples

(1) *aminat-i iłła di-*qo-l* da idu j-ejča=łła.*
Aminat-ERG say.AOR I-POSS-LAT I.ABS at.home II-be.AOR=QU
‘Aminat_i told me_j that I_j / she_i was at home.’

(2) *aminat-i esaj di-l hiba-kin b-ajka=łła.*
Aminat-ERG say.AOR.NEG I-DAT who-NPI III-see.AOR=QU
‘Aminat_i didn’t say that I / she_i saw anybody.’

¹ The data were collected during the author’s fieldwork in 2022 in Khonokh village, Republic of Dagestan, Russian Federation.

- (3) *naʁol Aminat-i iʁʁa da j-iʁ'a-ha=ʁʁa?*
 where Aminat-ERG say.AOR I.ABS II-go-PRS=QU
 ‘Where did Aminat_i say I / she_i is going *t*?’
- (4) a. *aminat-i iʁʁa di-qo-l da idu j-ejča=ʁʁa.*
 Aminat-ERG say.AOR I-POSS-LAT I.ABS at.home II-be.AOR=QU
 ‘Aminat_i said that I / she_i was at home.’
- b. *aminat-i iʁʁa di-qo-l da-č idu j-ejča=ʁʁa.*
 Aminat-ERG say.AOR I-POSS-LAT I.ABS-INTS at.home II-be.AOR=QU
 ‘Aminat_i said that *I / she_i was at home.’

List of abbreviations

ABS — absolutive; AOR — aorist; DAT — dative; DIR — directive; ERG — ergative; INTS — intensifier; POSS-LAT — posslative; PRS — present; REFL — reflexive; QU — quotative particle; II, III — agreement classes.

Literature

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