Contents
4. Michael Frazier and Masaya Yoshida. Remarks on gapping in ASL.
5. Sumiyo Nishiguchi. Shifty operators in Dhaasanac.
There has been much debate on whether or not contexts are shiftable. Kaplan 1977 claimed that they are not, but 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. Without context shift, an indexical I only refers to the speaker or the writer as in the English (1a). The result of context shift is that indexicals such as I, you, here, now, and yesterday can potentially change their reference – similarly to what happens in direct quotation as in (1b).

(1) a. Baali said that I am an idiot.
    b. Baali said “I am an idiot.”

In this snippet I present data from Dhaasanac that contradict Kaplan’s claim and that echo Anand and Nevins’ Zazaki data. Dhaasanac is a Cushitic language spoken by approximately 48,000 people in Ethiopia and Kenya (Lewis 2009, Tosco 2001). The data used in this study are based on fieldwork I conducted in 2011.

In (2), the subject of the embedded clause refers either to the matrix subject Baali or the speaker of the sentence. Here, in contrast to the English (1a), the reference of I appears to be shifted by a monstrous attitude predicate say.

(2) Baali$_i$ kieye yaa/yu$_i$ [speaker] deech.
    Baali say.3SG.PAST I.SUB/LABS idiot
    ‘Baali said {I/he} was an idiot.’

Note that (2) does not seem to be a direct quotation. Direct discourse is known to be opaque to A’ extraction (Partee 1973, Recanati 1999, Schlenker 1999). However, the object extraction in (4) and (5) does not affect the reference of I in the relative clauses.

(3) Baali$_i$ kieye “yaa/yu$_i$ [speaker] deech”.
    Baali say.3SG.PAST I.SUB/LABS idiot
    ‘Baali said “{I/he} was an idiot”.’

(4) Ini giri Hassan, kieye yu$_i$ [speaker] af gaa duŋgeka he midab.
    girl that Hassan say.3SG.PAST I.LABS mouth on kiss.1SG.PAST be beautiful
    ‘The girl that Hassan said {Hasan/I} kissed is pretty.’

(5) Maaya Baali$_i$ kieye NY ha yu$_i$ [speaker] gaa aargira?
    who Baali say.3SG.PAST NY PREVERBAL I.LABS in see.FUTURE
    ‘In NY, who did Baali say {Baali/I} would meet?’

Moreover, the indexical yesterday, which on a Kaplanian view should never shift temporal reference from one day before the utterance, seems indeed to shift reference
in Dhaasanac embedded clauses. From (6), it is interpreted that Loya met Baali one day before the reference time of the matrix, that is, eight days ago.

(6) Ram tiiya beeyetia Baali ye geey kieye
days seven ago Baali to me tell.3SG.PAST say.3SG.PAST
Loya gefere mu(\text{\textsuperscript{1/speaker}}) hol arge.
Loya yesterday him REFLEXIVE meet.3SG.PAST
`A week ago, Baali told me that Loya met him the day before.’
(\neg Loya met Baali eight days ago./Loya met Baali yesterday.)

References