

Reporting and Quoting in Signed Discourse

Josep Quer

ICREA & Universitat Pompeu Fabra

This chapter offers an overview of the mechanisms used in sign languages (SLs) to report someone's utterances, thoughts or actions, which are commonly known as *role shift*. Despite being able to resort to embedding under attitude predicates for indirect reported discourse, SLs have a genuine strategy that flags the reported segment with an array of non-manual markers anchoring it to the reported subject, as well as with a displacement in the referential framework for indexicals. Relying on Catalan SL (LSC) data, we show that despite the surface appearance of direct quotation, we can actually distinguish role shift used for direct and indirect discourse: the lexical markers introducing it, the syntactic position of the reported clause and, most interestingly, the (non)-shifting option for indexicals signal the two types of quoted discourse.

1. Introduction

The linguistic resources displayed by sign languages (SLs) in order to reproduce or recreate someone else's utterances or thoughts have remained absent from the syntactic and semantic research on reported discourse and quotation till very recently. This paper aims at contributing some fresh SL data to the discussion about the proper characterization of reported discourse contexts and to analyze some of their peculiarities within the broader perspective of (in)direct reports. Despite the apparent differences at the surface, it will be argued that the core distinctions of reported structures in signed discourse coincide with the ones we find across spoken languages.

I will describe the formal mechanisms distinguishing direct and indirect discourse in the signed modality. Special attention will be devoted to the behaviour of indexicals in shifted contexts. I will defend and refine a unified treatment of quotational and non-quotational use of role shift in SLs, in line with Zucchi (2004) and other previous research. An analysis will be offered where a covert Point of View Operator will be posited and held responsible for the morphological and semantic properties of role shift constructions. One partial conclusion will be that the crosslinguistic validity of the "Shift-Together Constraint" for indexicals by Anand & Nevins (2004) might not be instantiated in the SLs examined.

The new data discussed comes mainly from Catalan Sign Language (LSC), the SL used by the Deaf Community in Catalonia.¹ However, I also

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undertake limited crosslinguistic comparisons with published American Sign Language (ASL), German Sign Language (DGS), Lingua Italiana dei Segni (LIS) and Danish Sign Language (DSL) data.

2. Role Shift: Properties of Reporting Strategies in SLs

The grammatical phenomenon known as *role shift* (RS) (also called *role taking*, *role switching*, *reference shift* or in some instances *constructed dialogue*, as in Metzger 1995) in SLs is often identified as the equivalent of a direct discourse report or quotation in the visual-gestural modality. It is the genuine means these languages have in order to convey the utterances or thoughts ascribed to a discourse agent, and sometimes to reproduce or rather recreate the dialogue between two or more subjects in a displaced context. It mostly appears in narratives, but not exclusively. General characterizations and analyses of the phenomenon have been put forth by Engberg-Pedersen (1995), Lee et al. (1997), Poulin (1994), Poulin & Miller (1995), Lillo-Martin (1995, in press), Zucchi (2004), Quer (2005), Quer & Frigola (2006) and Herrmann & Steinbach (2007, 2009, 2010) among others.

From a descriptive point of view, RS is typically flagged by two phenomena: (a) displacement of the referential loci associated with 1st and 2nd person discourse referents in signing space; (b) array of nonmanual markers coarticulated with the reported utterance. Starting with the latter, we observe that among the formal characteristics associated with role shift the following ones are the most remarkable, and recurrent:

- a) slight body shift to the side associated with the author of the reported utterance;



Fig. 1. Body shift.

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¹If not indicated otherwise, the examples appearing in this paper are from LSC.

- b) linguistic and affective facial expression associated to the author of the reported utterance;



Fig. 2. Facial expression.

- c) change in the position of the head;



Fig. 3. Head position.

- d) change in the direction of the eye gaze towards the alleged interlocutor in the reported context and, consequently, temporal interruption of eye contact with the actual interlocutor.



Fig. 4. Eye gaze

These nonmanual markings are simultaneously coarticulated and coordinated with the manual material that is interpreted as the reported proposition. Not all of them are obligatory, and the nonmanual marking is often so subtle that it escapes nonnative signers. For DGS, Herrmann & Steinbach (2009, 2010) conclude from a corpus study that the only compulsory marker for RS is eye gaze and that the other markers can supplement it in an overlapping fashion depending on the narrative style of the signer. Although no statistical count on a corpus study has been carried out, for LSC the data analyzed point to the obligatoriness of eye gaze for minimal RS marking.

The second main characteristic of RS is that the indexical referential loci are formally and interpretively displaced. Reference shift affects 1st and 2nd person

pronouns (IX-1, IX-2),² the corresponding possessive pronouns and the verbal agreement associated to them (in agreement verbs and in the agreement auxiliary). Therefore, within a role fragment, the 1st person pronoun typically does not refer to the actual signer but to another individual and the 2nd person one does not refer to the actual interlocutor but to the one in the reported context. In example (1), the pronoun IX-1 occurring in the role part is not interpreted as the actual utterer, but as the referent of the proper name MANEL. At the same time, the interpretation of subject and object agreement of the verb DONAR ‘to give’ is not established with 1st and 2nd persons of the actual context of utterance, but with those of the shifted context (Fig. 3).^{3,4}

- (1) _____ role-i
 MANEL_i THINK IX-1_i 1-GIVE-2 AT-ALL
 ‘Manel thinks that he won’t give me anything at all.’



Fig. 5. 1-GIVE-2

² Pronominal reference in the singular is typically realized in SLs as an index (glossed as IX) consisting in a pointing handshape that is oriented towards present referents (IX-1=author, IX-2=addressee, IX-3=[-author, -addressee] present referent). Non-present referents are localized in a locus of the signing space to which IX points.

³ I follow the usual glossing conventions in the SL literature, according to which manual signs are represented by the capitalized word corresponding to the translation of the sign. The scope of nonmanual markings is represented with a line that spreads over the manual material with which it is coarticulated. The relevant abbreviations for the purposes of this paper are the following ones: #-VERB-# (verb agreeing with subject and object; the number before the verb refers to the grammatical person of the former and the one after the verb refers to the latter); AGR (unbound agreement marker); eg (eyegaze); IXa (locative index pointing to locus *a*); IX-# (pronominal index; the number corresponds to person); hs (negative headshake); RS (role shift); t (topic marking); wh (wh marking); +++ (repetition of the sign). The referential indices *i, j*, etc. link the first person role in RS fragments to the intended author of the reported utterance.

⁴ Sometimes the role adopted does not correspond strictly speaking to an individual, but to an animal (personification) or a group of people or an entity (e.g. ‘The government think that...’). It is also possible that the reported subject is the actual signer, but in another context and maybe interacting with another illocutionary agent.

Similarly, in the RS fragment occurring in the LSC example in (2), the 1st person pronoun does not refer to the actual signer but to the signer of the reported context, as we can observe: the pronominal sign IX-1 ‘I’ does not refer to the author of this example, but to the referent of JOAN, the individual to whom the thought is ascribed as subject of the verb THINK introducing the reported discourse.

- (2) $\overline{\text{IXa MADRID JOAN}_i \text{ THINK IX-1}_i \text{ STUDY FINISH HERE MADRID}}$ RS-i
 ‘When he has in Madrid, Joan thought he would finish his studies there in Madrid.’

3. Varieties of report is RS

The strategy with RS constitutes a much more genuine mechanism for SLs to report someone’s utterance or thought than regular indirect discourse of the kind we find in spoken languages like English, for instance. However, the latter is an existing option, as we can see in example (3) with regular embedding of a complement clause reporting on Anna’s utterance. It should be compared with the parallel case with RS in (4). If we put the nonmanual markings of RS aside for a moment, the main difference resides in the use of pronominals: the 1st person pronoun in (4) does not get interpreted in the actual context of utterance, but in the derived context of the report. The subject pronominals of the reports in (3) and (4) is contrasted in Figures 6 and 7.

- (3) ANNA_i 3-SAY-1 IX-3_i FED-UP LOSE+++
 ‘Anna told me that she was fed up with losing so often.’
- (4) ANNA_i 3-SAY-2 $\overline{\text{IX-1}_i \text{ FED-UP LOSE+++}}$ RS-i
 ‘Anna told you that she was fed up with losing so often.’



Fig. 6. IX-3_i in (3).

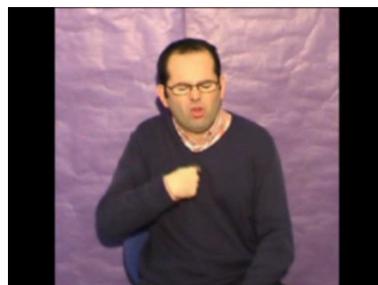


Fig. 7. IX-1_i in (4).

Unlike in English indirect discourse, for instance, the default interpretation of indexical personal pronouns in the scope of RS is not determined by the utterance

context but rather by the context of reported conversation.⁵ This is not a particular fact of RS in LSC, but it seems to be recurrent in the other SLs where the RS phenomenon has been attested, as in (5) from ASL.

- (5) JOHN_i SAY IX-1_i WANT GO (ASL: Lee et al. 1997)
 ‘John said: “I want to go.”’/ ‘John said that he wanted to go.’⁶

Lee et al. (1997) treat examples of this sort as instances of reported direct speech or direct quotation realized as two juxtaposed clauses. Although such cases do exist, we will see that RS is also realized in constructions where reported direct speech cannot be at play (cf. Lillo-Martin 1995, who provides empirical arguments for the embedded status of the reported clause in ASL).

Characterizing RS fragments simply as direct speech is not accurate. On the one hand, LSC has explicit markers of direct quotes such as VOICE (Fig. 8), SAY1 SENTENCE (Fig. 9), DECLARE (Fig. 10), AUTHOR+verb of saying (Fig. 11), etc. These markers cannot introduce regular indirect discourse reports, i.e. non-RS structures.



Fig. 8. VOICE.



Fig. 9. SAY1 SENTENCE.

⁵ This remark only makes sense under the narrow view that SL pronouns are pointing signs directed to referential locations. From a composite view of pronominal paradigms like Berenz’s (2002), both manual and nonmanual ingredients determine the form of the pronoun: in the RS version of the 1st person pronoun the pointing is equally directed towards the signer’s chest, but unlike in the non-RS counterpart, eye gaze is not directed towards the interlocutor, but rather towards the locus of the reported interlocutor.

⁶The first translation is the one offered originally by Lee et al. (1997), but in order to remain neutral as to the direct/indirect character of RS, the indirect report version in English has been added.



Fig. 10. AUTHOR



Fig. 11. DECLARE



An instantiation of direct quote can be found in (6).

- (6) _____RS-i
 ANNA_i EXPLAIN SAY1 SENTENCE IX-1_i BROTHER MAN 3-IGNORE-1
 “Anna told me: ‘My brother ignores me.’”

On the other hand, RS segments can be introduced by propositional attitude predicates such as SAY (Fig. 12), REPLY (Fig. 13), THINK (Fig. 14), etc. (see for instance (1)-(3)).



Fig. 12. SAY.



Fig. 13. REPLY.



Fig. 14. THINK

At face value, these RS introducers might seem to simply signal direct quotation. On closer inspection, though, we identify cases that cannot be classified as such due to the interpretation of the indexicals appearing in its domain. An instance of RS used in a non-direct quotation can be found in (7) from LSC. The crucial fact to note in this example is that the reported thought could not be a quotation with the intended meaning of the indexical *HERE*: uttered in Barcelona, *HERE* in (7) refers by default to Barcelona and not to the reported context the location parameter of which is Madrid, where Joan is argued to entertain the reported thought.

- (7) _____t _____RS-i
 IXa MADRID_m MOMENT JOAN_i THINK IX-1_i STUDY FINISH *HERE*_b
 ‘When he was in Madrid, Joan thought he would finish his study in Barcelona.’

This kind of RS example must be contrasted with one involving direct quotation introduced by *DECLARE*, as in (8): given similar place and time coordinates as in

the previous example, the reported discourse can only be interpreted as meaning that Joan said he would finish his study there last year. In this case, the time and place indexical coordinates do not have access to the context of utterance, arguably because RS has been overtly introduced by a direct quote marker.

- _____RS-i
- (8) YEAR-LAST JOAN-i DECLARE IX-1; HERE YEAR-THIS STUDY FINISH
 ‘Last year Joan declared: ‘This year I’ll finish my study here.’

On the basis of this evidence we can safely conclude that RS structures do not form a uniform class and that they actually serve the expression of both direct and non-direct reported discourse. A further property that distinguishes both cases is of syntactic nature: while direct quotes in LSC can be preposed (topicalized) vis-à-vis the introducing main sentence (9), ungrammaticality obtains if we try to do the same with a RS indirect discourse segment (10):

- _____RS-i
- (9) IX-1 ANGRY AGR-2 IX-3c SENTENCE SAME IX-3a ANNAi 3a-SAY-3b IX-3b PEDRO
 ‘‘I’m angry at you’ said Anna to Pedro.’

- _____RS-i
- (10) *IX-1 ANGRY AGR-2 YESTERDAY IX-3a ANNAi 3a-SAY-3b IX-3b PEDRO
 ‘Anna said to Pedro that she was angry at him.’

This brief characterisation of RS varieties allows us to distinguish between standard indirect discourse of the English type from non-direct reported discourse. In LSC the former is not marked by RS, while the latter is, but unlike direct reported discourse (direct quote), it allows for partial indexical access to the matrix context. For indexical interpretation, see section 5 below.

However, further distinctions have been made in the domain of reported discourse in SLs. As discussed in Zucchi (2004) for LIS, RS seems not to be exclusively restricted to quotational environments, being able to also appear outside the scope of an attitude predicate, as in (11): the main clause is not an attitude report in the usual sense, as it is not introduced by a reportive predicate such as ‘say’ or ‘think’, but it has the same surface properties as a direct quotation. In this example RS implies that the subject of the agreeing verb DONATE is coreferential with GIANNI.

- _____RS-i
- (11) GIANNI_i ARRIVE BOOK 1-DONATE-2
 ‘When Gianni arrives, he will give you the book as a present.’
 (LIS: Zucchi 2004)

The question can be raised whether this is an instance of quotative RS or not. As a matter of fact, the translation given does not convey the reportive component of

the utterance. A more accurate rendering would be “When Gianni arrives, he will be like ‘I’ll give you the book as a present.’”, where the quotative component is clearly present.

Some other examples instantiate the possibility for RS to occur independently (non-introduced RS), as in (12) from ASL. As in the previous case, no overt predicate introduces the report and only the attitude holder MOM is made explicit.

- (12) _____RS-i
 MOM_i IX-1_i BUSY (ASL: Lillo-Martin 1995)
 ‘Mom’s like, I’m busy!’

A comparable case in LSC can be found under (13): the RS stretch has to be attributed to the author of the e-mail referred to in the first part of the utterance and the 2nd person pronoun is linked to the actual 1st person that reports having received the e-mail.

- (13) _____t _____RS-i
 JOAN_i MAIL ELECTRONIC 3-SEND-1 IX-2 ALL GUILT IX-2
 ‘In an e-mail Joan sent to me, he was like ‘It’s all your fault.’’

The peculiarity these three examples of RS share is that the RS is not explicitly introduced. I would like to claim that what has been called “non-quotative RS” is plain RS lacking an explicit introducer. This is actually the default in extended narrative discourse, where illocutionary agents have been established and utterance/thought reports are regularly interspersed in the narration.

Lillo-Martin (in press) suggests that the use of a 1st person pronoun in RS segments is what crucially distinguishes quotative from non-quotative uses, the latter reporting actions from the perspective of the agent, not utterances or thoughts. Although this matter deserves further examination, I would like to defend the idea (cf. Quer 2005) that such distinctions, if necessary at all, cannot be reduced to the presence or absence of an overt 1st person pronoun: as soon as RS is activated, the whole array of properties of a displaced context are present, irrespective of whether a 1st person pronoun is present or not.⁷

Beyond the lack of a lexical introducer, these instances of so-called non-quotative RS display the same properties with respect to pronominal interpretation, but also with respect to locative and temporal indexicals such as HERE or YEAR-THIS. Although more crosslinguistic work is needed on this

⁷ An alternative possibility that needs to be explored is whether cases of so-called non-quotative RS (or constructed action in the sense of Lillo-Martin in press) share some core property with free indirect discourse (represented speech in Smith’s 2009 terms). However, I am skeptical about this link, as pronominal reference (and the phenomena related to it) in alleged non-quotative RS is identical to the one in quotative RS.

specific group of data, they turn out to be crucial for the overall account of context shifting in SLs.

Here I have put aside from the discussion cases of so-called *constructed action* (Metzger 1995), which frequently cooccurs with RS in narrative discourse. Within constructed action, the signer adopts the role of the referent in order to reproduce not his/her linguistic discourse, but his/her actions, postures or gestures in a more or less imitative fashion. This aspect is a poorly studied one, although it is found regularly in the descriptions of narrative techniques in sign languages (see Quinto-Pozos 2007). An example of this is presented in Figures (15)-(17), from Aesop's fable "The lion and the mouse": the lion's roaring is first mimicked with a mouth gesture and facial expression (Fig. 15) and then reported with a classifier construction for the opening of the mouth (Fig. 16) and the lexical sign SOUND (Fig. 17).



Fig. 15. Roaring gesture.



Fig. 16. CL-open-mouth.



Fig. 17. SOUND.

These are the most complex cases to account for, as they require teasing apart what is gestural from what is linguistic in a RS segment. As a consequence of the language modality, both regularly coexist, either simultaneously or consecutively. Although sometimes the limiting line between the two sorts of elements is hard to draw and specific research is seriously needed, I would like to defend that it exists.

The main conclusion of this brief characterisation of RS in LSs is that irrespective of whether RS is introduced or not by an attitude predicate, SLs display finer distinctions in RS between its use in direct quotes and non-direct reported discourse (next to indirect reported discourse without RS). In the next section we will try to put some of the attested facts on deictics into the perspective of indexical interpretation in language in general.

4. Indexicals that Shift

The received view on indexical expressions is that elements such as 1st and 2nd person pronouns, temporal and locative deictics are directly referential, following the basic approach of Kaplan (1989). This characterization has been summarized by Schlenker in the Fixity Thesis reproduced under (14).

(14) *Fixity Thesis* (a corollary of Direct Reference)

The semantic value of an indexical is fixed solely by the context of the actual speech act, and cannot be affected by any logical operators.

(Schlenker 2003: 29)

Although operators are in principle conceivable that could shift the context of evaluation of an indexical, Kaplan excludes this possibility and calls them ‘monsters’. At face value, this view seems to account quite accurately for indexical interpretation in a language like English. However, Schlenker (2003) argues that such monsters do exist and are instantiated in certain languages by attitude predicates. An example of such a shifted indexical would be represented in the following example in Amharic, where the 1st person in the scope of ‘say’ does not refer to the actual utterer but to John, the reported utterer:

(15) Situation: John says: ‘I am a hero’

jon	jəgna	nə-ññ	yil-all	(Amharic)
John	hero	be.PF-1sO	3M.say-AUX.3M	
‘John _i says that he _i is a hero.’				
(Lit.: ‘John _i says that I _i am a hero.’)				

(Schlenker 2003: 68)

From a crosslinguistic point of view, this is not an isolated case. Languages like Havyaka Kannada (Dravidian), for example, use the same set of pronouns for denoting actual and reported speech act participants. As a consequence, the reference of the embedded 1st person pronoun can be anchored to the reported context of utterance (16i) or to the matrix context (16ii):

(16)	en-na	ello:ru-de	hogaḷuttavu	he: ḷi	ra:ju	enna-tre	he:liddā
	me.ACC	all.EMPH	praise	that	Raju	me-with	tell.PERF

(i) Raju₁ has told me₂: “Everybody praises me₁.”

(ii) Raju₁ has told me₂ that everybody praises me₂. (Bhat 2004: 58)

What this example shows is that the semantic value of the same linguistic expression, the 1st person pronoun in the reported proposition, is not unambiguously determined by the actual context of utterance.

Recent work (Anand & Nevins 2004, Schlenker 2003, Speas 1999) has extensively shown that the Kaplanian analysis of indexicals in the scope of attitude reports is challenged empirically by languages like Amharic, Navajo, Slave or Zazaki, where 1st person pronouns embedded under a verb of saying, for instance, can corefer with the matrix clause subject (the attitude holder or reported agent), and not necessarily with the actual utterer, as happens in English.

In view of this sort of facts, the definition of indexical expression should arguably be made more precise. According to Schlenker (2003), “an expression qualifies as indexical if its semantic value is determined by some feature of the context of utterance” (Schlenker 2003: 31). For instance, Amharic ‘I’ in (15)

above qualifies as a strict indexical, as it must refer to the speaker of some context, although not necessarily the context of the actual speech act. It differs in that respect from logophoric pronouns, which are only grammatical in embedded contexts.

Schlenker implements his proposal in an extensional semantics, where attitude verbs are quantifiers over contexts of thought or speech and may bind free context variables. The simplified representation of this view can be found under (17) for example (15): c_i stands for the context of the reported speech act, and c^* for the context of the actual utterance.

(17) SAY_{<John, now, actually>} c_i be-a-hero (agent(c_i), time(c_i), world(c_i))

Crosslinguistic variation in the shifting possibilities of indexicals is made dependent on whether the denotations of particular indexicals have free context variables or not. In the case under examination, Amharic 'I' would be lexically underspecified for its context variable (18b), as opposed to its English counterpart (18a):

- (18) a. English 'I': $[[I]] = \text{agent}(c^*)$
b. Amharic 'I': $[[I]] = \text{agent}(c)$, c an underspecified context variable

It is further argued by Schlenker that, unlike 1st and 2nd person pronouns, temporal adverbials in English such as *two days ago* shift optionally, as in example (19): only the shifted reading of the temporal expression would yield a felicitous result (19b), while the temporal expression *the day before yesterday*, which is indexical to the actual context, results in infelicity (19a). According to him, this constitutes an argument in favour of treating attitude verbs as quantifiers over contexts rather than as context-shifting modal operators that overwrite all the contextual variables (for the opposite view, though, see Anand & Nevins 2004, who treat this expression as anaphoric).

- (19) John has told me repeatedly over the years: 'I was sick two days ago.'
- a. # John has told me repeatedly over the years that he was sick the day before yesterday.
b. John has told me repeatedly over the years that he was sick two days ago.

On the other hand, under this account logophoric pronouns would be indexicals that can never be dependent on the actual context of utterance, as represented in (20).

(20) Logophoric pronoun: + indexical, $-c^*$

Mupun (Chadic) (Frajzyngier 1993) instantiates the case of 1st and 2nd person logophoric pronouns as characterized by Schlenker. They are always anchored in

the derived context (21b)-(22b), as opposed to the non-logophoric ones (21a)-(22a), which refer to the actual discourse participants.

- (21) a. wu sat nə n-nas wur
 3MSg say that beat.1Sg 3MSg
 ‘He said that I beat him.’
- b. wu sat nə di nas an
 3MSg say that Log1MSg beat 1Sg
 ‘He₁ said that he₁ beat me.’
- (22) a. n-sat n-wur nə wur ji
 1Sg-say to-3Sg that 3Sg come
 ‘I told him₁ that he₂ should come.’
- b. n-sat n-wur nə gwar ji
 1Sg-say to-3Sg that Log2 come
 ‘I told him₁ that he₁ should come.’

These are the essential features of the framework I am going to assume for the analysis of indexical behaviour in RS in SLs. However, nothing crucial hinges on this particular choice, and probably other approaches that can accommodate the phenomenon of indexical shift and the basic crosslinguistic facts related to it could be adopted.

5. SL Indexicals in Role Shift

5.1 Shifted Second Person Reference

The published data on RS in different SLs indicates that pronominal reference in reportive contexts behave much as Amharic 1st person pronoun, that is, it is not indexical to the actual utterer, but to the individual to whom the reported attitude is ascribed. Nevertheless, 2nd person reference unsurprisingly shows shifty behaviour as well. In the LSC examples under (23) and (24) this fact is illustrated through verbal agreement: 2nd person on the unbound agreement marker in (23) and on the agreeing lexical verb in (24).⁸

⁸Most of the SLs documented to date group their verbal lexical items in three main categories according to their behaviour with respect to agreement: (i) plain verbs, which do not agree; (ii) agreeing verbs, which display agreement with subject and/or object, and (iii) spatial verbs, which agree with their locative arguments (see Padden 1988). Some languages have additional means to show agreement with plain verbs, like agreement auxiliary predicates. The AGR sign in (23) is such a case in LSC.

_____RS-i

(23) YESTERDAY ANNA_i IX-3a 3a-TELL-3b PEDRO IX-1_i ANGRY AGR-2
 ‘Yesterday Anna told Pedro that she was angry at him.’

_____RS-i

(24) YESTERDAY ANNA_i IX-3a 3a-TELL-1 IX-1_i 1-HELP-2
 ‘Yesterday Anna told me that she would help me.’

The occurrence in these examples (23) and (24) of 2nd person morphology linked to parameters of the embedded context and not to the actual context of utterance already makes clear that shifted reference of pronouns in RS is not limited to 1st person, as Zucchi’s (2004) seems to imply for LIS.

5.2 *Non-shifted Interpretation of Indexicals in RS*

Despite the general tendency for indexical pronouns to shift reference within RS, non-shifted (or back-shifted) interpretations of 1st/2nd pronouns in the scope of RS have been also reported for SLs. One such example is (25), taken from Engberg-Pedersen (1995): in a RS stretch of discourse reporting her mother’s signing, the utterer uses 1st person pronouns (regular and possessive pronouns) to refer to herself, where a 2nd person would have appeared in direct discourse. This amounts to picking up the reference of the 1st person pronoun from the actual context of utterance within the domain of a reported context, as indicated by the RS nonmanuals.

_____RS-mother
 _____neg

(25) IX-1 MOTHER FATHER HOME AGAIN / IX-1
 ‘...that my mother and father would go home again, not me.’
 (DSL: Engberg-Pedersen 1995)

There are even more complex cases that involve pronouns which access both the reportive and the actual context: in the LSC sentence (26) the dual 1st person pronoun TWO-OF-US, the 2nd person included in the dual pronoun is ambiguous between the actual addressee of the utterance or the reported addressee. In the former case, we actually have an instance of “mixed” indexicality. However, due to the complexity derived from additional factors in plural pronouns, I leave such cases out of consideration here.

_____RS-i

(26) ANNA_i IX-3 3-TELL-2 TWO-OF-US_{i+2} WIN AT-LAST
 ‘Anna told you that the two of you had won at last.’

A legitimate question to ask at this point is whether we are actually dealing with the same series of pronouns in RS and non-RS contexts. One could

in principle argue that the coarticulation of a manual pronoun with the specific nonmanual markings of RS is actually the realization of a distinct series of pronouns of the logophoric type. This position, though, cannot be sustained mainly for two reasons. First, the nonmanual morphology associated to RS marking is coarticulated with the whole stretch of reported discourse/thought, and not only with the pronominal form. Second, some indexicals other than pronouns can show the same shifty behaviour and that would mean that we systematically have two series of indexicals, one for those referring directly to the main utterance context and another one for those referring to the parameters of the shifted context. Actually, such an assumption would create an even bigger problem, since it entails that we should potentially have two parallel series of lexical items for the whole lexicon (one with RS nonmanual marking and another one without it). For these reasons, I reject this possibility. Let's examine now some data making the second objection clearer.

Although the RS marker extends over the whole reported proposition, not all indexicals need to be interpreted in the reported context. Locative indexicals like *HERE* do not shift obligatorily in the scope of an attitude predicate such as *SAY*, and the default interpretation is the one that links them to the spatiotemporal parameters of the main context of utterance. Consider the LSC in (7), repeated here as (27) for convenience: while the 1st person pronoun in the reported thought is interpreted as coreferential with the attitude holder *JOAN*, the locative indexical *HERE* refers most naturally to the context of utterance (Barcelona), and not to the derived context where the locative parameter is explicitly fixed (Madrid).

- (27) $\overline{\text{IXa MADRID}_m \text{ MOMENT JOAN}_i \text{ THINK IX-1}_i \text{ STUDY FINISH HERE}_b}$ RS-i
 'When he was in Madrid, Joan thought he would finish his study in Barcelona.'

However, if the indexical *HERE* is further specified, as in the minimally modified sentence (28) (=2), it can end up referring to the other location, Madrid.

- (28) $\overline{\text{IXa MADRID JOAN}_i \text{ THINK IX-1}_i \text{ STUDY FINISH HERE MADRID}}$ RS-i
 'When he has in Madrid, Joan thought he would finish his studies there in Madrid.'

The fact that one and the same indexical (*HERE*) with associated RS morphology can receive both interpretations argues against the possible alternative mentioned above that would resort to two different series of indexical elements in the lexicon.

Not all temporal and locative indexicals, though, behave in the same way. One of them, *NOW* in (29), does not permit shifted reference to the embedded context for some speakers. *YEAR THIS* in (30), though, seems to be able to access both contexts. This must be attributed to lexical differences between

indexical expressions: in a subset of cases, we do find strict indexicality to the main context parameters, while for other indexicals both contexts are accessible.

- (29) $\frac{\text{_____}}{\text{t}} \quad \frac{\text{_____}}{\text{RS-i}}$
 LAST-YEAR JOAN_i; THINK IX-1_i; STUDY FINISH NOW
 ‘Last year, Joan thought he would finish his studies {now/%then}.’
- (30) $\frac{\text{_____}}{\text{t}} \quad \frac{\text{_____}}{\text{RS-i}}$
 LAST-YEAR JOAN_i; IX-3 THINK IX-1_i; STUDY FINISH YEAR THIS#
 ‘Last year, Joan thought he would finish his studies {this year/then-that year}.’

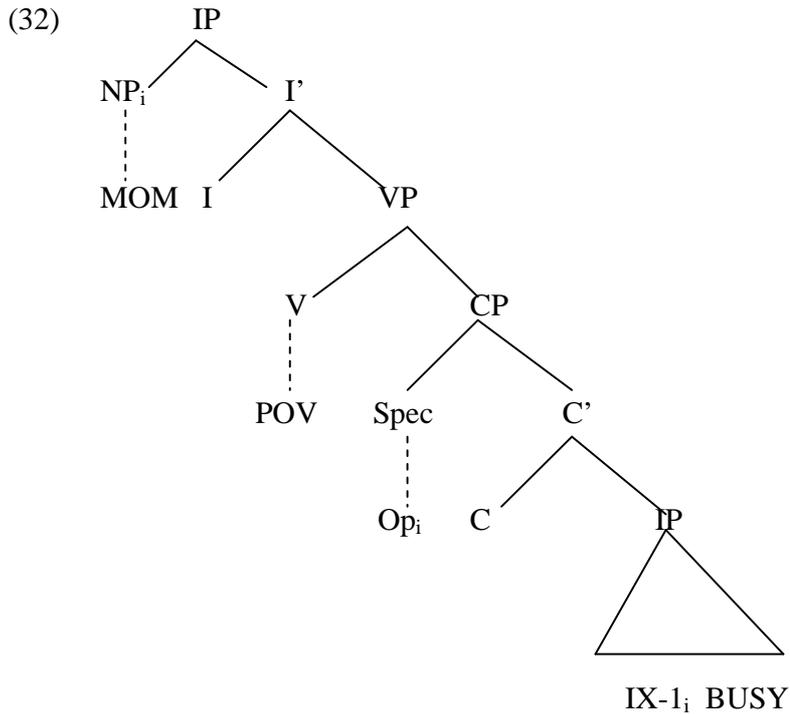
On the basis of Navajo data displaying Direct Discourse Complements, Speas (1999) argues for a split between the system determining deixis for person marking (functional) and the system determining deixis more generally (semantic). In view of the data discussed so far in this paper, we must conclude that such a clear-cut divide does not hold for the SLs at hand, despite the parallelism with some of the Navajo facts. What we have been able to show is that shifted reference of indexicals is not something specific to a particular context parameter.

The proposals made for the set of data with shifting indexicals in certain spoken languages like Amharic could straightforwardly tackle the SL examples of RS such as (1)-(3) with an introducing reportive/attitude predicate, that is, instances of so-called quotative RS. However, the same analyses are faced with an additional problem in instances of alleged non-quotative RS like (11)-(13): no attitude verb is present in the structure in order to license the shifted reading of indexicals, a scenario which is explicitly excluded in Schlenker (2003: 69). In the next section I will sketch an approach that tries to solve the problem without giving up the insights of previous analyses.

6. Proposal: Point of View Operator

With the aim to provide a unified account of both introduced and un-introduced instances of RS, I follow the basic insight in Lillo-Martin (1995), where she proposes that a sentence like (31) (= (12)) involves a covert Point of View Predicate (POV). The relevant part of the structure is depicted in (32): the covert POV predicate selects an embedded CP and binds the operator in its Spec. In turn, this operator binds the 1st person pronoun in the RS complement.

- (31) $\frac{\text{_____}}{\text{RS-i}}$
 MOM_i; IX-1_i; BUSY (ASL: Lillo-Martin 1995)
 ‘Mom’s like, I’m busy!’



Building on Lillo-Martin's (1995) analysis, I suggest that the type of languages we are looking at instantiate a Point of View Operator (PVO_{Op}), rather than a Point of View Predicate. This operator materializes in RS nonmanual morphology and accounts for the attested shifted interpretations of indexicals in its scope (1st and 2nd person pronouns, time and locative indexicals). Spreading of nonmanuals over the c-command domain of an Operator has been argued to exist in ASL for other operators such as Wh, Q or Neg (Neidle et al. 2000), whether they are overt or covert: furrowed eyebrows associated with the Wh-Operator in (33) and headshake associated with the Neg Operator in (34).

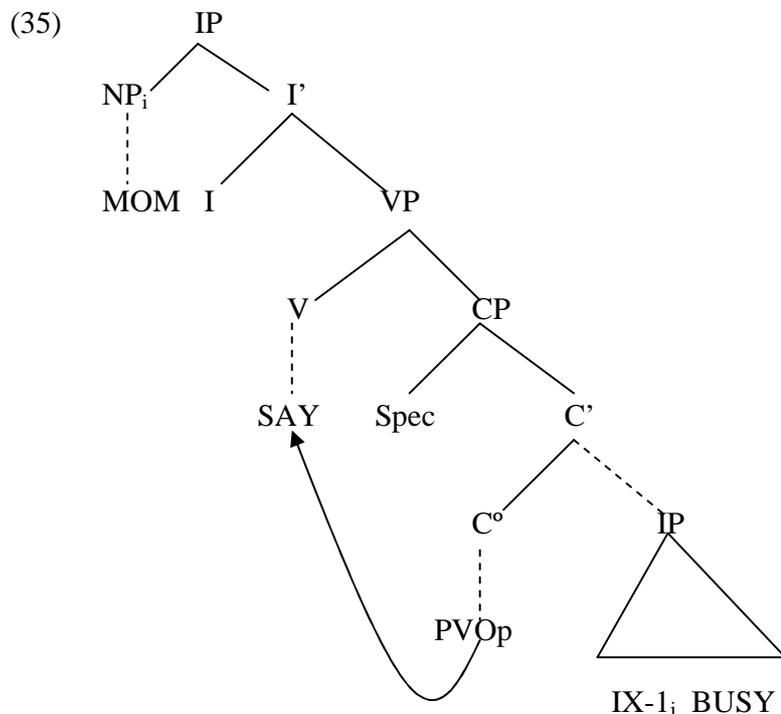
(33) ______{wh}
 LOVE JOHN WHO
 'Who does John love?'

(34) ______{hs}
 JOHN BUY HOUSE
 'John didn't buy a house.'

(ASL: Neidle et al. 2000)

Unlike Lillo-Martin, though, I argue that PVO_{Op} is not a covert reportive/attitude predicate taking a subordinate CP (the reported proposition), but a covert operator over contexts (à-la-Schlenker) sitting in a very high projection of the functional structure of the clause (cf. Cinque 1999 on the expanded left periphery of the clause). For simplicity, I will assume that this projection is CP in order to account

for a number of related facts.⁹ The PVOp would occupy the head of this projection and determine the morphological and interpretive properties of the RS structure within its c-command domain. If such an analysis is on the right track, it is able to unify both the quotational and non-quotational instances of RS, as it does not link context shift to an overt attitude predicate. However, in cases of lexically introduced RS, it remains to be determined how the overt attitude predicate interacts with the empty PVOp, as both seem to fulfill the same function in the analysis. For a minimal variant of example (31) with lexically introduced RS, we would have to posit a structure like the one under (35). The extra assumption required would be that the two attitude operators compose semantically as a result of the incorporation of PVOp into the lexical verb. At this point, though, the details and consequences of such a proposal remain to be worked out.



In contrast to other analyses, the one sketched here does not reduce the issue of RS to the interpretation of 1st person pronoun (Zucchi 2004), since other contextual variables display a comparable pattern of behaviour. It offers strong confirmation for the idea that context variables (author and addressee, time, location) in a derived context can be unselectively bound independently from

⁹ With this I reject the proposal to adopt a Speech Act Phrase hosting POVOp that was mentioned in Quer (2005) on the basis of Speas (1999), Speas & Tenny (2003) and Speas (2004). For a critical evaluation of the latter, see Gärtner & Steinbach (2005). Nothing important hinges on this modification.

each other by an attitude operator or identified with the value of the parameters in the main context of utterance.

6. Some Consequences

6.1 Independent Shift of Indexicals

On the basis of the SL data discussed here, one is forced to relativize the crosslinguistic validity of the “Shift-Together Constraint” (see (36)) proposed in Anand & Nevins (2004) for Slave and Zazaki.

(36) *Shift-Together Constraint*

Shiftable indexicals must shift together.

(Anand & Nevins 2004)

As we have seen, when indexical pronouns (1st and 2nd person) shift under RS, locative and temporal indexicals can still refer to the actual context of utterance, which appears to instantiate direct deixis in their unmarked interpretation. In addition, under appropriate circumstances some of those locative and temporal indexicals can shift, too, with some exceptions that must be derived from their lexical specification. Moreover, it is not clear either that all pronouns in a sentence must shift together, as we find examples of shifted 1st person next to a non-shifted 2nd person in a reported context (see (26) above). Such cases deserve further investigation before they can be consistently incorporated into the general picture.

6.2. Quantifier Binding of Shifted Pronouns

Furthermore, additional support can be offered for Schlenker’s (2003) binding analysis of contextual variables with fresh evidence from SL showing quantifier bound readings of a shifted first person pronoun within the scope of RS. The LSC instances of this are the following ones:

(37) _____t _____eg:1_____eg:front RS-i
 PUPIL ALL_i THINK[^]SEE.refl IX-1_i INTELLIGENT SUPERLATIVE
 ‘Every pupil thinks that he is the most intelligent.’

(38) _____ RS-i
 NOONE_i SAY IX-1_i AGR-1 SCARED DARKNESS
 ‘Noone says he’s scared of darkness.’

A comparable case was independently observed for Abe by Koopman and Sportiche (1989): in (39) a 3rd person referential pronoun (akin to the behaviour of 1st and 2nd person pronouns) can be bound by the main quantificational NP subject. Their hypothesis is that this is made possible by the occurrence of the complementizer *kO*. Similarly, for the SL cases in (37)-(38) I would like to tentatively suggest that it is the covert PVOp what mediates in the bound reading of the embedded subject pronoun.

(39) apoOUN_i γe hE kO n_i ye SE
 nobody Neg said Comp he is handsome

(Koopman & Sportiche 1989: 584)

Note in passing that the SL examples discussed in this subsection constitute strong support for the idea that pronominal indices are actual pronouns, and not just pointing/mostly gestural expressions, as has been often defended in the literature, most prominently by Liddell (see for instance Liddell 2000 for an overview of this position; in favour of the linguistic status of pronouns, with an argument from RS, see Meier 1990).¹⁰

6.3. *Is PVOp A “Monster”?*

As a consequence of the overall discussion of SL data in this paper, one can defend that Kaplanian indexical “monsters” do exist in SLs. The PVOp we find in SLs instantiate such a monster, as shiftable indexicals in its scope are not “directly referential” to the main context of utterance. Zucchi (2004) offers a unified analysis of the quotational and non-quotational RS in terms of the presupposition associated with the 1st person morphology in RS, namely that the 1st person is coindexed with another term in the discourse other than the utterer. However, this might be a simplification, because we have already seen that the referential shift in these constructions can also affect 2nd person pronouns/agreement, locative and time indexicals, and sometimes independently of each other when they cooccur.

¹⁰This argument is more forceful if pronouns are bound by a negative quantifier in the main clause or by a second person plural subject. The LSC data elicited such as (39) seem to confirm this prediction so far. Thanks to Gennaro Chierchia for making this point.

7. Concluding Remarks

Indexical shift seems to be pervasive within what is known as RS, which is present in most if not all SLs described to a bigger or smaller degree. It has been mostly attested for pronominal reference shift (and corresponding verb agreement), but there is little discussion in the literature about other indexicals like temporal and locative deictic expressions. The phenomenon of indexical shift in reportive/attitude contexts described in less familiar spoken languages seems to be pervasive in SLs.

The main points of the discussion can be summarized as follows:

- (i) RS in SL has properties of both direct and non-direct reported discourse, as in several spoken languages.
- (ii) The interpretive and morphological properties of RS can be derived from a Point of View Operator.
- (iii) Quotational and non-quotational instances of RS can be accounted for in a unified fashion, as in Zucchi (2004).
- (iv) Indexicals in RS (1st 2nd person pronouns, locative and time indexicals) can all shift under appropriate conditions.

This chapter constitutes just an attempt at addressing in SL the same kinds of questions raised in the semantics and pragmatics literature on indexical reference in reportive contexts. As we have seen, despite the effects of the visual-gestural modality, some of the the “uncommon” facts described for certain spoken languages are replicated in SLs. This allows us to evaluate the empirical crosslinguistic validity of concrete aspects of recent proposals on indexical shifting.

One question, though, that I have only hinted at in section 6.2 is the *a priori* possible modality effect in shifting reference in reportive contexts. As mentioned there, it has been claimed that SLs do not have actual pronouns and that what we have been calling pronouns here must be reduced, at least in part, to pointing or indicating gestures. Some of the phenomena discussed here obviously argue against such a position. Still, there remain quite important issues to be addressed in this domain, such as the relation between actual deixis and grammaticalized deixis in SLs, but these are questions that must await future work.

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