

Main points

- Georgian has indexical shift
- Shift can be induced even in matrix clauses
- Novel evidence for MONSTER-CENTRIC views

Georgian has indexical shift

- Overtly marked by a phrase-final *-o*:

(1) *Nino-m tkv-a (rom) me v-u-rek'-av*
 Nino-ERG say-3SG.AOR C 1SG 1-VER-call-TS
Dato-s-o
 Dato-DAT-O
 'Nino_N said I_N am calling Dato.'

- Descriptions under *-o* can be read *de re*

(2) *Dato-m tkv-a v-nax-e*
 Dato-ERG say-3SG.AOR 1-see-PART.AOR
es momxrerai-i Tbilisi-o
 DEM.PROX singer-NOM Tbilisi-O
 'Dato_D said I_D saw this singer in Tbilisi.'

Context: Dato knows Bryan Adams for his activism work, but not for his music career. If Dato says to me, "I saw Bryan Adams in Tbilisi", I can report Dato's meeting with *-o*.

- Shifted indexical must be read *de se*

(3) *Dato-m tkv-a (rom) avad v-ar-o*
 Dato-ERG say-3SG.AOR C sick 1-be.PRES-O
 'Dato_D said I_D am sick.'

Context: Earlier, Dato told me he (Dato) is sick.

- Multiple shifted indexicals must *Shift Together*

(4) *Nino-m u-txr-a Dato-s (rom) da-g-i-nax-e-o*
 Nino-ERG APPL-tell-3SG.AOR Dato-DAT C
 PRV-2-APPL-see-AOR.PART-O

- ✓ 'Nino told Dato that I saw you.'
- ✓ 'Nino_N told Dato_D that I_N saw you_D.'
- ✗ 'Nino told Dato_D that I saw you_D.'
- ✗ 'Nino_N told Dato that I_N saw you.'

Unembedded Indexical Shift

- Descriptive observation → An unshifted 1st person pronoun can appear in the matrix clause when the embedded clause is shifted

(5) *Nino-m m-i-txr-a (rom) Dato m-i-qvar-s-o*
 Nino-ERG 1-APPL-say-3SG.AOR C Dato.NOM 1-APPL-love-3SG.PRES-O
 'Nino_N told me_s that I_N love Dato.'

- In (6), *-o* is also on the matrix verb, inducing shift for the matrix 1st person pronoun

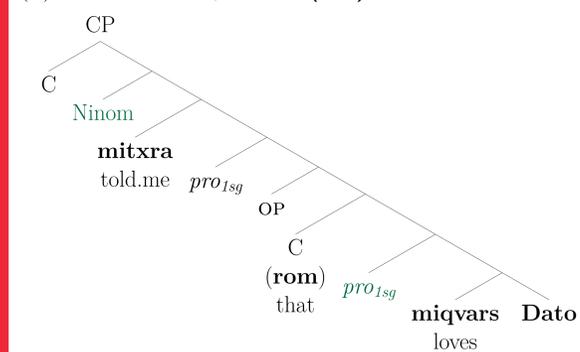
Context: Nino and Dato have been dating for a significant period of time, and Nino tells Gio she loves Dato. If I overhear their conversation, I can tell you:

(6) *Nino-m m-i-txr-a-o (rom) Dato m-i-qvar-s-o*
 Nino-ERG 1-APPL-say-3SG.AOR-O C Dato.NOM 1-APPL-love-3SG.PRES-O
 'Nino_N told me_G that I_N love Dato.'
 (Where Gio and the matrix 1st person pronoun are co-referent)

- There is no higher verb that could license this shift and trigger *-o*
- There must be a separate operator in the matrix CP that triggers both
- Related to free indirect discourse; marked morphosyntactically
- Also similar to shifted adjuncts in Uyghur (Alexander Williams, p.c.)

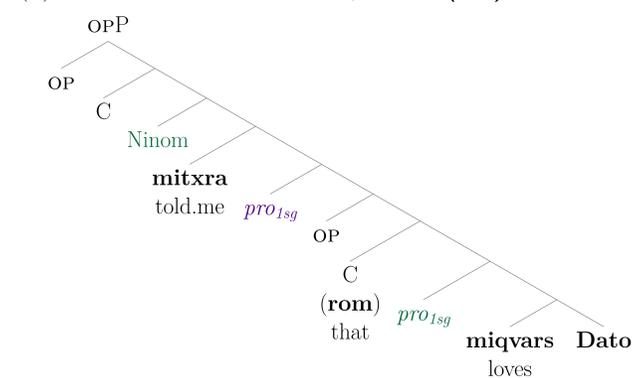
Matrix Monsters

(7) Embedded operator (=5)



- Embedded OP sets the context parameters for the embedded 1st person indexical
- Embedded 1st person indexical shifts to refer to Nino, the attitude holder of the matrix verb

(7) Matrix and embedded operator (=6)



- Here, the additional matrix OP sets the context parameters for the matrix 1st person indexical
- The matrix 1st person indexical shifts to refer to Gio, a salient speaker in the discourse

Conclusion

- Georgian indexical shift provides novel evidence for independent shifty operators
- Shifty operators do not need to be selected or introduced by speech/attitude verbs
- They can merge in the matrix CP layer

Implications

- Georgian indexical shift adjudicates between two broad approaches to indexical shift:

MONSTER-CENTRIC PRONOUN-CENTRIC

([1, 2, 4, 5, 6])

- The scope of indexical shift in Georgian is overtly marked by a phrase-final *-o*
- Indexical shift thus cannot be induced by whether an indexical is shiftable or not (*pace* [3])
- Broadly, *-o* can be used to report the speech or attitudes of a speaker topical in the conversation
- In English, free indirect discourse requires rich contextual support
- But, in Georgian, matrix *-o* can serve as a morphosyntactic indicator of free indirect speech

Select References

- [1] Anand, P. & Nevins, A. 2004. Shifty operators in changing contexts. [2] Anand, P. 2006. De de se. [3] Schlenker, P. 1999. Propositional attitudes and indexicality: A cross-categorical approach. [4] Shklovsky, K. & Sudo, Y. 2014. The syntax of monsters. [5] Deal, A.R. 2018. Shifty asymmetries: Universals and variation in shifty indexicality. [6] Sundaresan, S. 2018. An alternative model of indexical shift: Variation and selection without context-overwriting.

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