

Obligatory Indexical Shift in Turkish

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Issue Turkish has been repeatedly described as having indexical shift, though descriptions are inconsistent. Sources tend to agree that *pro* optionally shifts, though some sources claim overt 1ST person *ben* is not shiftable (Sener and Sener, 2011) while others report this is possible (Akkus, 2019). Adding to this discussion, we make the following claims: i) overt first person *ben* can shift under the verb *istemek* (want), ii) this shifting is obligatory when the first person is the emphatic *ben kendim*, iii) this set of facts is not explained by existing accounts based on the forms of pronouns (Sener and Sener, 2011) or the positions of shifting operators (Shklovsky and Sudo, 2014).

Background Sener and Sener (2011) describe a difference between Turkish and Uyghur in which the former only allows null 1st person *pro* to undergo indexical shift, while the latter allows both null and overt first person pronouns to shift. Additionally, Uyghur only allows shifts for nominative 1st person, while Turkish is indifferent to case. Sener and Sener propose a novel typology of pronouns between the two languages, arguing that a shifty *de se* pronoun can only be null *pro* in Turkish, but can only be nominative (overt or covert) in Uyghur. However, the comparison sets for the two languages are uneven, as they use different attitude verbs in each language. Akkus (2019) normalizes all comparative data to Turkish 'demek' (say), matching Sener and Sener's Uyghur data, reporting that overt first person *ben* in Turkish optionally shifts with that verb. To account for the case differences in Uyghur, Shklovsky and Sudo (2014) propose that accusative pronouns scramble to a position above the shifting operator, explaining their non-shiftness. Nominative pronouns stay low, though this does force Shklovsky and Sudo to propose that embedded clauses may have heads above an indexical shift operator.

New Facts Not before reported to our knowledge, we find that Turkish *istemek* also selects an embedded clause with an indexical shift operator (claim i):

- (1) a. Ali hep [ben kazanay-ım] ist-iyor.
Ali always 1.SG win-1SG want-PROG
'Ali always wants {Ali/me} to win.'
- b. Ali hep [ben kendim kazanay-ım] isti-yor.
Ali always 1.SG REFL-1.SG win-1SG want-PROG
'Ali always wants {Ali himself/*me myself} to win.'

To account for this verb being more permissive of shifting than 'sanmak' (believe) in Sener and Sener, *istemek* must be a verb of thought (rather than knowledge) according to the Deal (to appear) implicational hierarchy of shifting predicates. Most surprising is the finding that the emphatic *ben kendim* obligatorily shifts, which we observe for all verbs where overt *ben* can shift (claim ii).

Discussion To account for the differences in which predicates allow indexical shifts in their complement clauses, we adopt the proposal from Deal that different predicates can select structures containing different indexical shift operators. As there are no case distinctions between forms, a Shklovsky and Sudo analysis of the obligatory shifting for 'ben kendim' appears untenable. However, shifty overt *ben* already problematizes Sener and Sener's existing proposal (claim iii). We propose that their idea of a typology of pronominal forms is on the right track, but that this must also interact with (at least) two different shifting operators for first persons. One must only be able to shift null *pro*, while the other can shift both *pro* and *ben*; different verbs have different restrictions on which is selected. Departing slightly from Gast (2006), who treats reflexive intensification as a simple identity function, we propose that *ben kendim* adds a *de se* property to *ben*, which Sener and Sener initially proposed to be part of an obligatorily shifting variant of *pro*.

References

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