

Perspectival plurality: interpreting multiple perspectival elements in one domain

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Perspectival elements--e.g. predicates of personal taste (PPTs, e.g. *tasty*) and logophoric reflexives (e.g. in representational NPs, *picture of herself*)--involve the point-of-view of a perspectival center/judge. Sentences with *multiple* perspectival elements have received little attention, but are important for adjudicating between theories of perspective. However, prior work tests sentences involving the 1st-person speaker, which may underestimate perspectival plurality. A clearer picture may emerge with 3rd-person perspectival centers. We tested perspectival plurality with PPTs and anaphors in representational NPs (RNPs). People (n=42) read sentences with two 3rd person characters, containing RNPs modified by PPTs, and answered questions (Tables 1,2). We manipulated (i) the verb (*told/heard*)--manipulating the *source-* and *perceiver-of-information* status of the subj and obj--and (ii) whether the RNP (*photograph*) contains a reflexive, pronoun or no anaphor (36 targets, 68 fillers). Questions probed PPTs' perspectival centers and anaphors' antecedents (Table 2). People read as if reading excerpts from novels.

We test two hypotheses: **Hyp.1:** If the referent of a logophoric reflexive determines the judge for the PPT (*anaphor-governed judge hypothesis*), in sentences like (1a) answers to the *who-shown* and *whose-opinion* questions should converge. Given Kaiser et al.'09's finding that **reflexives** in RNPs are sensitive to subjecthood and source-of-information, we expect both questions to show a subject preference, but relatively more object choices with *heard* than *told* in structures like (1a). What about *short-distance pronouns* (*photograph of her*), also perspective-sensitive (Tenny'03)? If the anaphor-governed judge hypothesis applies, then--given Kaiser et al.'s finding that RNP pronouns prefer perceivers-of-information--both questions with structures like (1b) should trigger an object preference with *told* and a subject preference with *heard*.

Hyp.2: If perspective-sensitive anaphors and PPTs can be anchored to different perspectival centers (*anaphor-independent judge hypothesis*), answers to *who-shown* and *whose-opinion* questions will diverge. Under this view, both PPTs and perspective-sensitive anaphors are associated with perspectival anchors, but the anchors can be distinct. Based on Kaiser et al., we still expect *pronouns* to prefer perceivers-of-information and *reflexives* to show a subject preference modulated by a source-of-information preference. What about the *judges of PPTs*? Recent work by Bylina'14 and McNally/Stojanovic'17 claims that PPT judges are *experiencers*. In (1a-c), the most plausible experiencer for the PPT (e.g. *frightening*) is the source (sub of *told*, obj of *heard*). If PPT judge identification is not governed by the anaphor's antecedent, we may find an experiencer preference for *whose-opinion* questions in sentences with/without anaphors.

Who-shown results: Reflexives trigger more subject choices than pronouns (glmer, $p < .0001$) which elicit more object choices. The rate of object choices with pronouns is modulated by the verb (p 's $< .01$), replicating the perceiver preference (Kaiser et al.'09). **Whose-opinion results** reveal a strong preference to interpret the **source of information** (subject of *told*, object of *heard*) as the judge of PPTs, in line with the experiencer-based prediction. This holds regardless of the presence of a pronoun, reflexive or no anaphor (p 's $< .01$). Crucially, once we combine these response types, we find a **divergence between PPT judge identification and antecedent choice** (Figs.1,2). In Fig.1 (how often anaphor refers to the subject), if PPT judge identification were aligned with antecedent choice, all bars should be dark blue (subject opinion). However, this is clearly not the case in the *heard* conditions with either pronouns or reflexives: despite a high rate of subject interpretations, there is a high rate of *object-opinion* responses. This disconnect is also visible in Fig.2 which shows how often the anaphor refers to the object. Here, pronouns in particular show high rates of subject opinion responses with *told*, despite an object preference.

Our results support the anaphor-independent judge hypothesis: We find no evidence that PPT judge identification and the perspectival anchor of logophoric reflexives or pronouns go hand-in-hand. Instead, we find clear evidence for perspectival plurality, even within the nominal domain.

Table 1. Example sentences

(1a) Reflexive: Nora {told/heard from} Amy about the frightening photograph of herself.

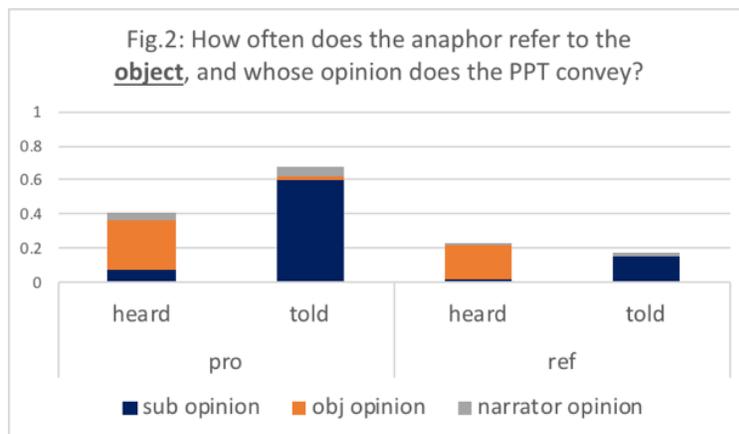
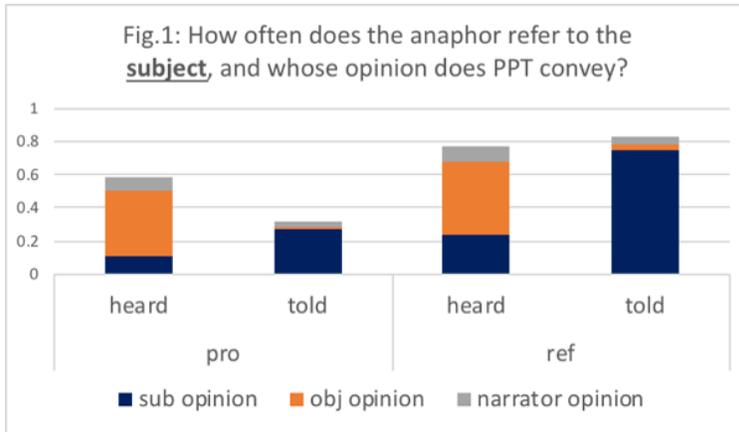
(1b) Pronoun: Nora {told/heard from} Amy about the frightening photograph of her.

(1c) No anaphor: Nora {told/heard from} Amy about the frightening photograph

Table 2. Example questions

(2a) Who is shown in the photograph? Nora Amy
[only asked on anaphor trials, asked first]

(2b) Whose opinion is it that the photograph is frightening? Nora Amy Narrator



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