

Towards a Taxonomy of Linguistic Perspective

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1. Introduction

- The notion of perspective plays important roles in many aspects of natural languages, such as:
 - ❑ *construction alternations, anaphora* (syntax)
 - ❑ *deixis & indexicality* (semantics)
 - ❑ *functional sentence perspective* (semantics-pragmatics interface)
 - ❑ *narrative styles, discourse structures* (pragmatics and beyond)
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- Various notions subsumed by or closely related to linguistic perspective have been discussed under different terms in different frameworks.
 - empathy, deixis, logophoricity, topicality, subjectivity, figure-ground, attention focus, ...
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- In this talk, I take up and discuss three major concepts:

- (i) **deixis** (直示)

- (ii) **empathy** (共感的視点)

- (iii) **logophoricity** (発話主体指示性)

and examine *interactions* between them.

2. Deixis

- The term “deixis” has received various (narrow or wide) definitions.
 - “Those expressions whose meanings are contingent on the context of utterance”?
 - Major types of deictic expressions:
 - indexicals/demonstratives (*I, now, here, this*, etc.)
 - deictic motion verbs (*go, come*, etc.)
 - deictic angular expressions (*to the right of*, etc.)
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- **A common assumption:**

- (i) The meanings of deictic expressions are determined relative to the contextually provided **deictic center**.
- (ii) The center typically matches the speaker, but may be **shifted** on occasion.

- In actuality, the “center” needs to be defined differently for different classes of deictic expressions.
 - In other words, there is no unitary concept of “center” that is valid for all types of deictic expressions.
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Indexicals

- Indexicals (指標子)
 - (pure) indexicals: *I, here, now*, etc.
 - demonstratives: *this (book), that (man)*, etc.
 - Indexicals have no descriptive contents, but directly refer to objects (Kaplan 1977, Chierchia & McConell-Ginet 2000).
 - The referents (meanings) of indexicals are determined relative to the context of utterance, which can be formally defined as the tuple of:
<agent (speaker), addressee (hearer), time, place, ...>
 - Indexicals that require an accompanying act of demonstration are called demonstratives, and are distinguished from pure indexicals.
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- “center” for indexicals = the context of utterance (in the Kaplanian sense) =
<agent, addressee, time, place, ...>
 - Since indexicals always refer to the context of utterance (by definition), the center for indexicals ***cannot be shifted***.
 - possible exception:
(大人が泣いている子供に)「ボク、どうしたの?」
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Deictic motion verbs

- Deictic motion verbs: English *go* and *come* and their counterparts in other languages.

(1a) 太郎が僕のところに来た。

(1b) 太郎が僕のところにいった。

(2a) 昨日、太郎が花子のところに行ったらしい。

(2b) 昨日、太郎が花子のところに来たらしい。
... (今日は僕のところに来るかもしれない。)

- A common view (大江 1975, Talmy 1975, 2000, among others):
GO: *motion from the speaker or his proxy*
COME: *motion towards the speaker or his proxy*

Problems of traditional analyses (i)

(3a) Can you come to me?

(3b) I'll come to you.

- If the “center” for *go* & *come* can be either the speaker or the hearer, why are (4a,b) unacceptable?

(4a) ?*Can you go to me?

(4b) ??I'll go to you.

Problems of traditional analyses (ii)

- What serves as the “center” in a sentence like (5)?

(5) Every student {went/came} to talk to at least three professors.

Alternative analysis (Oshima *in press*)

- GO and COME refer to *a set of individuals* (rather than a single individual).
 - In English, typically the reference point set (RP set) = {speaker, hearer}
 - GO requires that *no* member of the RP set be located at the goal.
 - COME requires that *some* member of the RP set be located at the goal.
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Typology of GO & COME

- Languages differ, to some extent, as to what can/must be a member of the RP set.
 - In standard Japanese, for example, the hearer cannot be a member of the RP set when the speaker is the moving entity (*僕が君のところに来る)
 - Individual deictic motion verbs differ as to which portion of the following hierarchy they make reference to:
utterance time < event time < home base
 - e.g. English *go* makes reference to the utterance time only, while Japanese *iku* makes reference to both the utterance time and the event time. (*明日僕を駅まで迎えに行ってください)
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- The speaker has a certain degree of liberty as to the choice of RP members.
 - Taro {went/came} to Hanako yesterday.
 - RP1 = {speaker, hearer, Hanako} -> *came*
 - RP2 = {speaker, hearer} -> *went*
 - The RP set may be considered a component of the Kaplanian context; with this move, GO & COME may be considered indexicals, too (Oshima 2006a, 2006b).

context = <agent, addressee, time, place, **RP**>

Angular Expressions (bound to an I.F.O.R.)

■ Intrinsic Frame of Reference:

defined by the intrinsic faces of a *reference object*.

- ❑ 太郎は椅子の右側の男を見た。
reference object = the chair
 - ❑ バイクが (バイクの) 右側に倒れた
reference object = the bike
 - ❑ 太郎は ({太郎/自分} の) 右側に本を置いた。
reference object = Taro
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Angular Expressions (bound to an R.F.O.R.)

■ **Relative Frame of Reference:**

defined by a reference object and an origin.

- 太郎は木の右側に立っている男に話しかけた。

reference object = the tree

origin = Taro, the speaker, etc.

cf. 太郎は {太郎から見て/僕から見て/君から見て/ ...} 木の右側に立っている男に話しかけた。

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- To sum: the “center” means quite different things for the four major types of so-called deictic expressions: (i) indexicals, (ii) deictic motion verbs, (iii) I.F.O.R.-bound angular expressions, (iv) R.F.O.R.-bound angular expressions
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3. Empathy

- **Empathy**: a notion first introduced by Kuno & Kaburaki (1977)
 - Definition by Kuno (1987)

“Empathy is the speaker’s **identification**, which may vary in degree, **with a person/thing** that participates in the event or state that he describes in a sentence”
 - The speaker empathizes with X (more than with Y).
 - ≈ The speaker takes X’s point of view
 - ≈ X is the empathy locus (of the clause)
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(1a) 太郎は花子に本をあげた (やった)。

(1b) 太郎は花子に本をくれた。

(1a): $E(\text{Taro}) \geq E(\text{Hanako})$

(1b): $E(\text{Hanako}) > E(\text{Taro})$

- In (1a), the speaker either (i) empathizes more with Taro than with Hanako, or (ii) empathizes equally with Taro and with Hanako.
 - In (1b), the speaker empathizes more with Hanako than with Taro.
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- Constraints on the empathy relation

- *Speech Act Empathy Hierarchy*: The speaker cannot empathize with someone else more than with himself.

(2a) 僕は太郎に本をあげた

(2b) *僕は太郎に本をくれた

(2c) *太郎は僕に本をあげた

(2d) 太郎は僕に本をくれた

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- *Topic Empathy Hierarchy*: Given an event or state that involves A and B such that A is [...] the topic of the present discourse [...], it is easier for the speaker to empathize with A than with B.

(3a) 太郎は、電車に乗ろうとしたが、お金がなくてこまっていた。そうしたら、そこにたまたま花子がいて、500円貸して{??あげた/くれた}。

(3b) 花子は、駅で友達と待ち合わせをしていたとき、たまたま太郎と会った。太郎が財布を忘れて困っていた様子だったので、花子は彼に500円貸して{あげた/*くれた}。

- Empathy-loaded expressions in Japanese:

- あげる (やる、さしあげる) vs. くれる (くださる)
- ~てあげる vs. ~てくれる
- Certain occurrences of pronoun “自分”

(4a) 太郎_iは[花子が自分_iに渡した本]をなくしてしまった。

(4b) ??太郎_iは[僕が自分_iに渡した本]をなくしてしまった。

(5a) 太郎_iは[花子が自分_iに貸してくれた本]をなくしてしまった。

(5b) ?*太郎_iは[花子が自分_iに貸してあげた本]をなくしてしまった。

- Empathy-loaded expressions in other languages:

Syntactic phenomena known as the **syntactic direction** and **nominal obviation**, which are attested in a wide variety of language groups (e.g. Algonquian, Tibeto-Burman) can be best understood as devices to encode restrictions on the empathy relation (Oshima 2007b)

Direct vs. Inverse / Proximate vs. Obviative in Cree

(6a) I **saw (dir.)** him

(6b) He **saw (inv.)** me.

(7a) [The boy]_{prox} **saw (dir.)** [the girl]_{obv}

(7b) [The boy]_{obv} **saw (inv.)** [the girl]_{prox}

- The direct/inverse opposition is entirely analogous to the *ageru/kureru* opposition in Japanese (the former being more systematic).

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- the empathy relation (in a given context) = the ranking of the degrees to which the speaker empathizes with individuals/objects

e.g.:

the speaker > the hearer > Taro > Ziro > Hanako > ...

僕が太郎に本を{あげた/*くれた}.

太郎が次郎に本を{あげた/*くれた}.

- The empathy relation (ranking) can be understood as **a component of the context**, and accordingly, empathy-loaded expressions can be understood as kinds of indexical expressions.

context = <agent, addressee, time, place, RP, **ER**>

- Technically, RP is a set, while ER is a partially-ordered set.
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4. Logophoricity

- The term “logophoric pronoun” refers to a type of pronoun that appears in indirect discourse environments and exclusively refers to the agent of reported speech or thought.

(Ewe)

(1a) Kofi be **yè**-dzo. ‘Kofi_i said he_i left’

(1b) Kofi_i be **e**-dzo. ‘Kofi said (s)he_i left’

In certain languages, reflexive forms have a “logophoric use”.

(Icelandic)

(2a) Jón sýndi Haraldi föt á **sig**.

‘John_i showed Harold_j clothes for himself_{i/j/*k}’

(2b) Jón segir að María elski **sig**.

‘John_i says that Mary loves him_{i/*j}’

In some other languages, indexicals have a “logophoric use”.

(Amharic)

(3) John_i believes that Mary likes me_i.

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- The term “logophoricity” has been sometimes used in a shifted sense, i.e., in the sense of “perspective-sensitivity” (Sells 1987; Huang 2000)

(4a) John_i was going to get even with Mary.

That picture of himself_i in the paper would really annoy her, and ...

(4b) *Mary was quite taken aback by the publicity John_i was receiving. That picture of himself_i in the paper had really annoyed her, and ...

(from Pollard & Sag 1992)

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- 久野 (1978) distinguishes the logophoric and perspectival uses of *zibun*. (see also Culy 1997)

(5a) 太郎は [自分が僕より頭がいい] と思っている。
(logophoric)

(5b) 太郎は [{花子/??僕}が自分に貸してくれた本] を
無くしてしまった。(perspectival)

- Authors like Sells (1987), on the other hand, call both types of *zibun* “logophoric”.
 - I myself subscribe to Kuno’s position (the original & narrower definition of logophoricity) (Oshima 2007a)
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5. Relations between Deixis, Empathy, and Logophoricity

logophoricity & deixis

- logophoric expressions = secondary indexicals (Schlenker 2003 among others)
- Just like the first person pronoun “I” makes reference to the *external* context of utterance, a logophoric pronoun makes reference to the **secondary context** (the context of a reported utterance/attitude).
- In other words, logophoric expressions (logophoric pronouns, etc.) are counterparts of (primary) indexicals in reported discourse.

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- Languages like Amharic have expressions that can be used either as primary or secondary indexicals.

(1) John_i believes that Mary likes me_{i/spk}.

- (**Situation:** Pavarotti is looking at a man in the mirror, who is actually Pavarotti himself. Pavarotti is not aware, however, that he is looking at himself. Then he notices that the pants of the man in the mirror are on fire.)

(2) Pavarotti_i believes that his_i pants are on fire.

(3a) パヴァロッティは彼のズボンが燃えていると思っている。

(3b) パヴァロッティは自分のズボンが燃えていると思っている。

(4a) パヴァロッティは『あの人、ズボンが燃えてる！』と思っている。

(4b) パヴァロッティは『俺のズボン、燃えてる！』と思っている。

- the *de se* mode: The opposition of “I” and “he” is maintained
- the non-*de se* mode: The opposition of “I” and “he” is lost

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- Earlier, we saw that deictic expressions and empathy-loaded expressions may be treated as indexicals.
 - This idea allows us to give a straightforward account of the “perspective shift” phenomena in reported discourse (Kuno 1988).

(Situation: The speaker/addressee are in N.Y.; John is in L.A.)

(5a) John believes that I *went* to L.A. two weeks ago.

(primary perspective)

(5b) John believes that I *came* to L.A. two weeks ago.

(secondary perspective)

(cf.) *I *came* to L.A. two weeks ago

- (5b) is in the *de se* mode with respect to motion deixis; that is, the opposition of GO and COME in John’s original belief is maintained in the report.
 - (5a), on the other hand, is non-*de se* with respect to motion deixis.
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- There are interesting correlations between empathy & deixis, as well as between empathy & logophoricity. (Oshima 2006a, 2007a)
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References

- The talk is based on material from:
 - D. Y. Oshima (2006a) *Perspective in reported discourse*. Ph.D. Thesis, Stanford University.
 - D. Y. Oshima (2006b) Motion deixis, indexicality and presupposition. *Proceedings of SALT XVI*.
 - D. Y. Oshima (2007a) On empathic and logophoric binding. *Research on Language and Computation* 5.
 - D. Y. Oshima (2007b) Syntactic direction and obviation as empathy-based phenomena. *Linguistics* 45.
 - D. Y. Oshima (in press) GO and COME revisited. *Proceedings of BLS* 32.

Check <<http://davidyo.net>> for detailed information and drafts.

References (cont.)

- The rest of the references can be found in the bibliography of Oshima (2006a), except for the following:
 - Chierchia, Gennaro, & Sally McConnell-Ginet (2000) *Meaning and Grammar: An Introduction to Semantics*, 2nd ed. MIT Press.
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