Perspective Shift with Korean Motion Verbs

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A range of linguistic phenomena are reported to be sensitive to perspective, including predicates of personal taste, epithets, and motion verbs. It is an open question whether these comprise a unified grammatical phenomenon. A number of grammatical mechanisms for perspective have been proposed, including indexical shift (Oshima 2006a; Sudo 2018; Korotkova 2016), logophoricity (Speas and Tenny 2003; Nishigauchi 2014; Sundaresan 2020; Charnavel 2018), and anaphoricity (Barlew 2017; Anderson 2021). In this paper, we provide experimental evidence about the behavior of a class of perspectival expressions in Korean: perspectival motion verbs. We explore the interpretation of *ota* "come" in attitude contexts and find that while all attitude verbs license shifted readings, they are near-obligatory in embedded imperatives and more available with null subjects. We argue that these data are most consistent with a logophoric account.

Grammatical Perspective   Perspectival motion verbs describe motion relative to the location of a perspective-holder; in English, the perspective-holder may be the speaker, listener, an attitude-holder, or other discourse-prominent person (Fillmore 1966; Barlew 2017). Since all languages allow, and many require, the speaker to serve as the perspective-holder (Gathercole 1987; Barlew 2017), non-speaker oriented uses are referred to as *shifted* readings.

There are three main accounts of shifted readings. In indexical accounts, perspective is encoded in the context parameter, which may be manipulated by context-shifting operators (Oshima 2006b; Sudo 2018). In logophoric accounts, the perspective is bound by a logophoric operator that may be projected in any spellout domain with a subject (Charnavel 2018). In anaphoric accounts, the perspective is a free variable resolved by the discourse context: if a non-speaker becomes discourse-prominent, their perspective can anchor *come* (Barlew 2017; Anderson 2021).

In this paper, we explore the behavior of the Korean perspectival motion verb *ota* "come" in different attitude contexts in order to diagnose its grammatical mechanism for perspective-taking.

Experimental Design   We use a forced-choice task to explore the availability of shifted readings of *ota* "come" in attitude contexts. We include three attitude verbs: *pala* "wish", which requires a nominalized complement, and *sayngkak* "think" and *coh* "like", which take CPs. We also manipulate the presence or absence of an overt motion verb subject for each. We also explore three imperative constructions that do not allow overt embedded subjects. In Deal 2020's theory, context shift operators are only projected in finite clauses; since embedded imperatives do not allow tense markers (Pak, Portner, and Zanuttini 2008), the prediction is that *ota* "come" should not shift.

Figure 1a shows the eight embedding conditions; the first five are crossed with pronoun presence, for a total of 13 conditions. Each item consisted of a brief context description, followed by a sentence of dialogue containing the target construction. Participants were asked to select one or both of *ota* "come" and *kata* "go". 33 native Korean speakers completed the experiment, which consisted of 32 main items and 8 filler items, followed by a short demographic survey.

Results   Our results show that *ota* "come" can be anchored to the attitude-holder in all of the attitude constructions that we explore. This is evidence against an indexical analysis, since Korean person indexicals do not shift under verbs of thought and feeling or in nominalized complements (Park 2014). Our findings go against the indexical account's prediction that *kata* "go" should always be selected in the non-*say* attitude conditions.
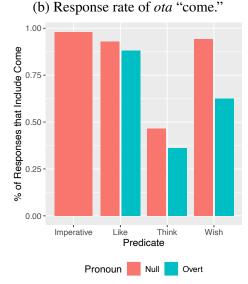
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(a) Experimental Conditions

Think Present: 수진이는 {우리가} 급식실로 {온/간}다고 생각하고 있어. "Sujin thinks {we} are {coming/going} to the cafeteria right now."

Think Past: 수진이는 {우리가} 급식실로 {왔/갔}다고 생각하고 있어. "Sujin thinks {we} {came/went} to the cafeteria."

Like Present: 수진이는 {우리가} 급식실로 {오/가}면 좋겠대. "Sujin would like it if {we} are {coming/going} to the cafeteria."

Like Past: 수진이는 {우리가} 급식실로 {왔/갔}으면 좋겠대. "Sujin would like it if {we} {came/went} to the cafeteria."

Wish: 수진이는 {우리가} 급식실로 {오/가}길 바라고 있어. "Sujin's wish is that {we} {come/go} to the cafeteria."

Control X: 수진이가 급식실로 {오/가}래. "Sujin says to {come/go} to cafeteria."
Control Y: 수진이가 급식실로 {오/가}라는데. "Sujin says to {come/go} to cafeteria."
Control Z: 수진이가 급식실로 {오/가}라했어. "Sujin says to {come/go} to cafeteria."

(b) Response rate of *ota* "come."

Our results show that *ota* "come" is almost always selected for the embedded imperative constructions; a stronger trend than for the standard attitude verb constructions. We propose that these constructions are logophoric: the embedded imperative clause contains a logophoric operator that binds the perspective argument of the embedded motion verb to the subject of the speech verb.

We also find a significant pronoun effect: participants select *kata* "go" more when *wuli* "we" is overt (Student's t-test: $p < 0.0001$). Since the pattern is gradient, we propose that participants optionally project an additional logophoric domain around the overt pronoun that intervenes between the attitude-holder-anchored logophoric operator. Alternatively, in an anaphoric account, the overt pronoun might boost the discourse prominence of the matrix speaker and listener perspectives, making it harder to access the perspective of the attitude-holder. This predicts gradience, but is less parsimonious, since the embedded imperative data is most consistent with a logophoric account.

Conclusion   We provide the first experimental evidence of perspective shift for Korean motion verbs. By testing a range of attitude verbs, we provide evidence in favor of a logophoric treatment of *ota* "come". Although more data is needed to rule out an anaphoric treatment, taken with Charnavel [2018]'s work on French *venir* and Anderson [2021]'s on English *come*, our findings argue for multiple grammatical mechanisms for perspective encoding within a single class of expressions.

[1]   C. J. Anderson. Dissertation. 2021.   **[2]**   J. Barlew. PhD thesis. 2017.   **[3]**   I. Charnavel. *WCCFL*. 2018.   **[4]** A. R. Deal. *A Theory of Indexical Shift: Meaning, Grammar, and Crosslinguistic Variation*. 2020.   **[5]**   C. Fillmore. *Foundations of Language* (1966).   **[6]**   V. Gathercole. *Kansas Working Papers in Linguistics*. 1987.   **[7]**   N. Korotkova. PhD thesis. UCLA, 2016.   **[8]** T. Nishigauchi. *Journal of East Asian Linguistics* (2014).   **[9]** D. Oshima. *BLS*. 2006. **[10]**   D. Oshima. *SALT*. 2006.   **[11]**   M. D. Pak, P. Portner, and R. Zanuttini. *Korean Linguistics* (2008).   **[12]**   Y. Park. Ms. 2014.   **[13]**   M. Speas and C. Tenny. *Syntax and Semantics*. 2003.   **[14]** Y. Sudo. Ms. 2018.   **[15]**   S. Sundaresan. *Annual Review of Linguistics* (2020).