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# Protagonist-Mediated Perspective

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## Claim:

Within Free Indirect Discourse, perspectival expressions are **not** obligatorily anchored to the protagonist's perspective. Their anchoring is **protagonist-mediated**.

# Talk Overview

- ◆ Recognizing Free Indirect Discourse
- ◆ Categories of perspectival expressions
- ◆ How are perspectival motion verbs used in (English) FID?
- ◆ Accounting for protagonist-mediated perspective in two theories of FID

# Free Indirect Discourse

# Free Indirect Discourse

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- ◆ A mixed perspective environment in which some linguistic elements are evaluated relative to the narrator's perspective, and others relative to the perspective of a prominent character (the **protagonist**).
- ◆ Fleischman (1990) lays out a 3-part definition: FID is a kind of narration where (1) the features of direct speech (exclamatives, fragments, etc) are reported (2) in the manner of indirect speech, (with third-person pronouns and shifted tense) (3) without the normal structure of a speech report, such as quotation marks or embedding verbs.

# Characteristics of FID

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- ◆ Time (Banfield 1982, Eckardt 2014, Egetenmeyer 2020):
  - Narrator-oriented tense
  - Protagonist-oriented temporal adverbials
- ◆ Person
  - Narrator-oriented number features (Fludernik 1995, Schlenker 2004, Reboul et al. 2016)
  - Ongoing debate over gender features (Doron 1991, Schlenker 1999, Sharvit 2008, Maier 2015, 2017)
- ◆ Scope
  - Matrix-level (root) only (Doron 1991, Hinterwimmer 2017, 2019, Abrusán 2020)
- ◆ Perspectival expressions
  - Claimed to be protagonist-oriented (Doron 1991, Eckardt 2014, Reboul et al. 2016, Hinterwimmer 2019, Abrusán 2021)

# Perspectival Expressions

APPOSITIVES

EVIDENTIALS

EPITHETS

LOGOPHORS

PERSPECTIVAL MOTION VERBS

LONG-DISTANCE REFLEXIVES

PROXIMITY PREDICATES

# Perspectival Expression:

an expression whose meaning depends on the beliefs, perception, or location of a prominent individual chosen by the speaker.

CONTROL

DISCOURSE ADVERBIALS

PREDICATES OF PERSONAL TASTE

EXPRESSIVES

SPATIAL DESCRIPTIONS

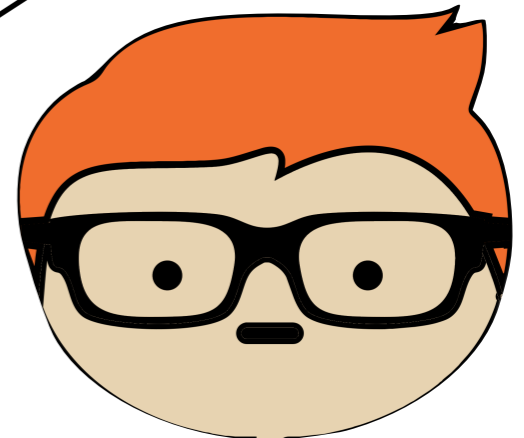
EXEMPT ANAPHORS



# Perspectival Motion Verbs

Perspectival motion verbs like *come* describe motion relative to a **perspective-holder** and an **anchoring relation**.

Thelma  
is coming to  
the bank.



# Perspective Holders

English *come* is licensed by a relatively large set of perspective-holders (Fillmore 1966, Gathercole 1987, Nakazawa 2007, Barlew 2017, Anderson 2021):



## Perspective holders:

- ◆ The **listener**
- ◆ The **speaker**
- ◆ Attitude holders
- ◆ Protagonists
- and more ...

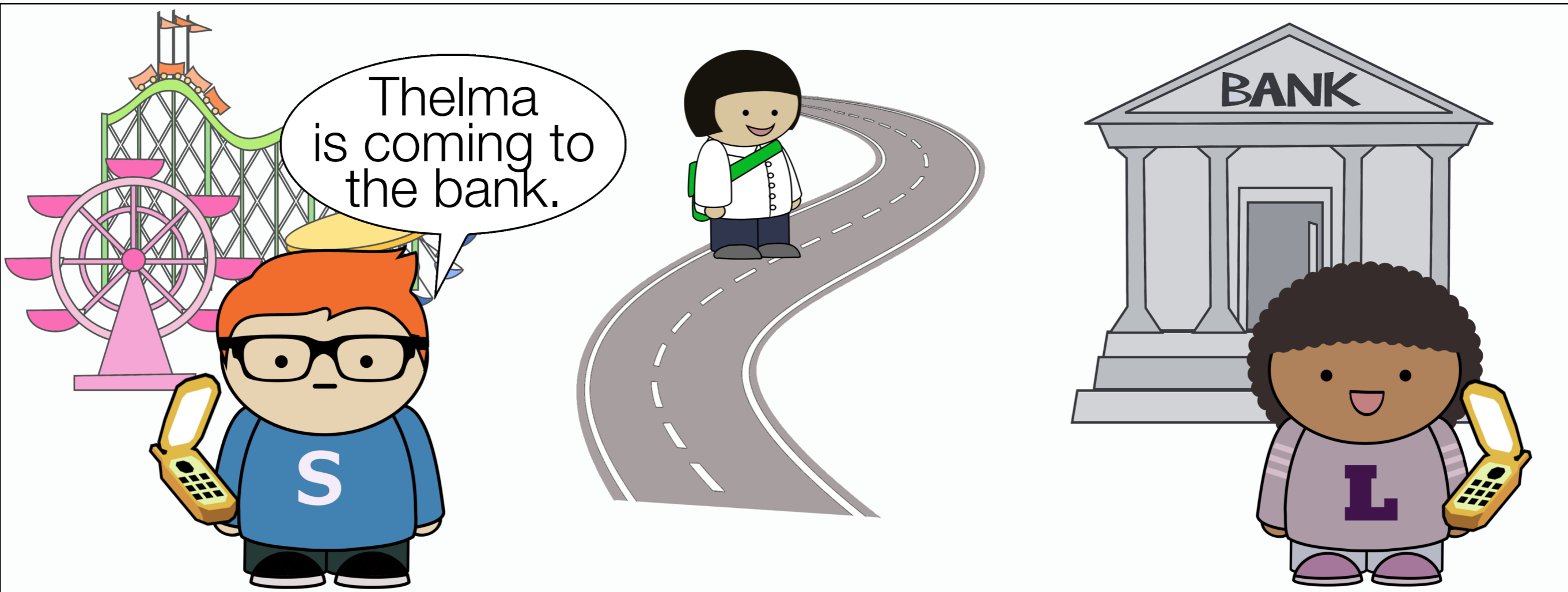
# Anchoring Relations

English *come* also has a cross-linguistically large set of anchoring relations (Gathercole 1987, Nakazawa 2007, Barlew 2017):

## Anchoring relations:

- ◆ Motion destination is the perspective-holder's location at **utterance time**
- ◆ Motion destination is the perspective-holder's location at **event time**
- ◆ Motion destination is the perspective-holder's **home-base**
- ◆ Motion is alongside the perspective-holder

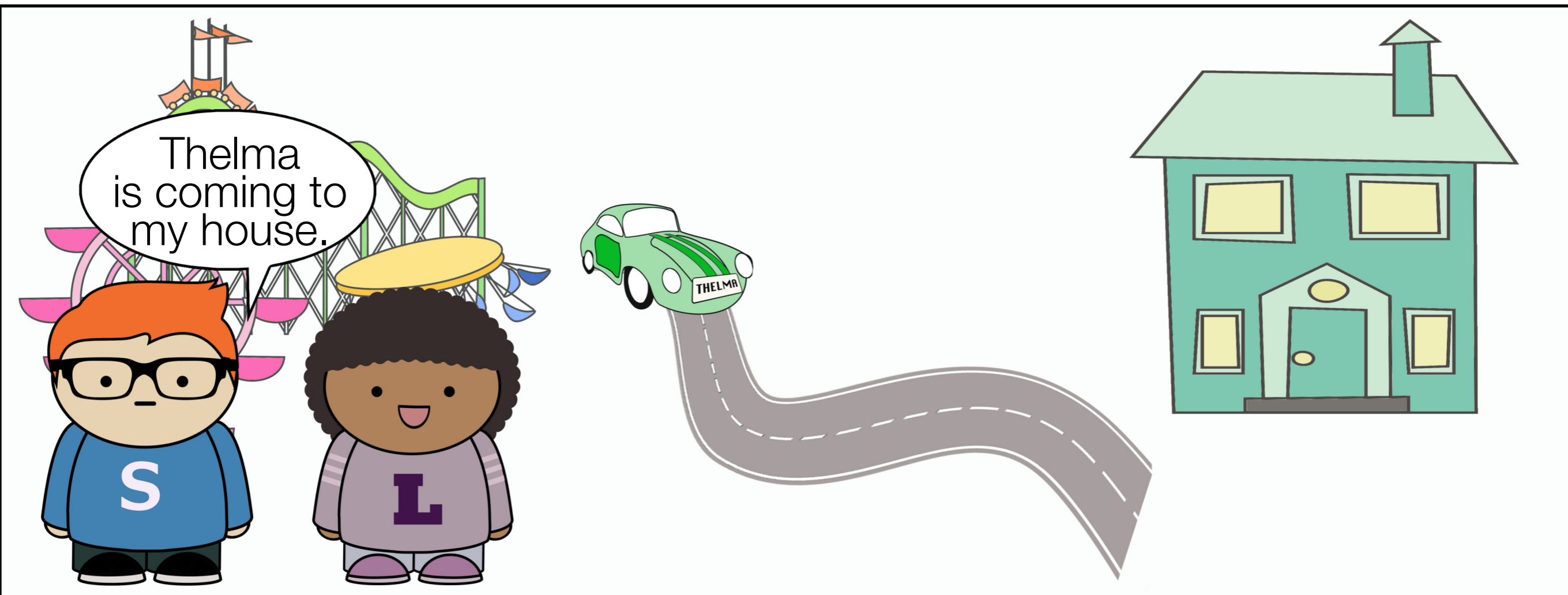
# Listener Located At Destination at Utterance Time



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# Destination is Speaker's Home-base

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# No Available Perspective



# Typology of licensing for *come* equivalents from Gathercole 1987, Nakazawa 2007, Barlew 2017, and Anderson 2021

Language	UT speaker	ET speaker	Listener	Home	Accompaniment	Attitude holder
Shibe	✓	X	X	?	?	?
Spanish	✓	X	X	✓	✓	?
Abaza	✓	X	%	?	?	?
Botin	✓	?	X	?	?	?
Jacaltec	✓	?	X	?	?	?
Thai	✓	?	X	?	✓	?
Mandarin	✓	%	X	X	%	?
Chindali	✓	✓	X	?	?	X
Catalan	✓	✓	?	?	?	?
Chagga	✓	✓	?	?	?	?
Italian	✓	✓	?	?	?	?
Palauan	✓	✓	?	?	?	?
Tangut	✓	✓	?	?	?	?
Nepali	✓	✓	?	%	✓	?
Turkish	✓	✓	?	✓	✓	?
San Lucas Quiaviní Zapotec	✓	✓	%	X	X	X
Korean	✓	✓	%	?	?	✓
Japanese	✓	✓	%	✓	%	✓
Chagga	✓	✓	✓	?	?	?
Texmelucan Zapotec	✓	✓	✓	?	?	✓
French	✓	✓	✓	?	?	✓
Croatian	✓	✓	✓	?	✓	?
Tamil	✓	✓	✓	?	✓	?
German	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	?
English	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓

✓ = acceptance; X = rejection; % = variable acceptance; ? = missing data

# Semantics of Perspectival Motion

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Perspectival motion verbs have been analyzed in a number of ways: as **indexicals** (Taylor 1988, Oshima 2006, Sudo 2018) or as **anaphoric to a discourse-given perspective** (Barlew 2017, Charnavel 2018).

## INDEXICAL FAMILY:

(Taylor 1988, Oshima 2006,  
Korotkova 2016, Sudo 2018)

$$[[p_{idx}]]^{C,g} = \alpha(C_a)$$

## ANAPHORIC FAMILY:

(Roberts 2015, Barlew 2017)

$$[[p_{ana}]]^{C,g} = \alpha(a)$$



# Semantics of Perspectival Motion

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Barlew (2017) argues for an anaphoric approach on the basis of quantificational binding contexts:

**Every woman was glad that her wayward child came to Christmas dinner.**

Here, the perspective holder co-varies with the quantifier; indexicals shift only if the context parameter is manipulated.

# Semantics of Perspectival Motion

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$$[[\text{come}]]^{C,g} = \lambda x. \lambda e. \exists R \in \text{ANCHORINGS}. \text{MOVE}(e) \wedge \text{AGENT}(e, x) \wedge R(e, a)$$

where **ANCHORINGS** is the set of licit anchoring relations and **a** is a discourse-given perspective-holder.

**Key Point:** the perspective holder of *come* is **controlled by the discourse context**, not by the context parameter. It can change within sentences, across utterance boundaries, and can co-vary with quantificationally bound elements.

# Summary

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- ◆ Perspectival motion verbs in English allow a range of perspective-holders and anchoring relations.
- ◆ They are **anaphoric** to a discourse-given perspective holder.
- ◆ They are **less strongly speaker-oriented** than other perspectival expressions, since there can be a communicative advantage in adopting a non-speaker perspective.

# Perspectival Motion Verbs in English FID

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- ✦ What we expect based on previous work on perspective in FID: *come* should be **fixed to the protagonist's** perspective.
- ✦ Or possibly: *come* could be anchored to the **narrator's** perspective (like tense and number features on pronouns).

# Protagonist anchoring

Harriet had begun to be sensible of his talking to her much more than he had been used to do, and of his having indeed quite a different manner towards her; a manner of kindness and sweetness!--Latterly she had been more and more aware of it. When they had been all walking together, **he had so often come and walked by her**, and talked so very delightfully!--He seemed to want to be acquainted with her.

*–Emma*

**Motion destination:** protagonist's ET location at Donwell Abbey

**Protagonist:** Harriet

**Protagonist location:** Hartfield

**Perspective holder:** Harriet

**Anchoring relation:** event time location

# Protagonist anchoring

Anne could do no more; but her heart prophesied some mischance to damp the perfection of her felicity. It could not be very lasting, however. Even if he did not **come** to Camden Place himself, it would be in her power to send an intelligible sentence by Captain Harville. Another momentary vexation occurred. Charles, in his real concern and good nature, would go home with her; there was no preventing him.

*–Persuasion*

**Motion destination:** Camden Place

**Protagonist:** Anne

**Protagonist location:** a hotel in Bath

**Perspective holder:** Anne

**Anchoring relation:** home-base

# Protagonist anchoring

All these years the Dalloways had never been once. Time after time they had asked them. **Clarissa (for it was Clarissa of course) would not come.** For, said Sally, Clarissa was at heart a snob— one had to admit it, a snob. And it was that that was between them, she was convinced. Clarissa thought she had married beneath her, her husband being— she was proud of it— a miner's son.

*—Mrs Dalloway*

**Motion destination:** Sally Seton's house

**Protagonist:** Sally Seton

**Protagonist location:** Clarissa Dalloway's house

**Perspective holder:** Sally Seton

**Anchoring relation:** home-base or event time location



# Protagonist's addressee

Richard turned to Lady Bruton, with his hat in his hand, and said,

"We shall see you at our party to-night?" whereupon Lady Bruton resumed the magnificence which letter-writing had shattered. **She might come; or she might not come.** Clarissa had wonderful energy. Parties terrified Lady Bruton. But then, she was getting old.

*—Mrs Dalloway*

**Motion destination:** the Dalloway house

**Protagonist:** Lady Bruton

**Protagonist location:** Lady Bruton's house

**Perspective holder:** Richard

**Anchoring relation:** home-base or event time location

# Protagonist's addressee

Instantly, for no reason at all, Mrs. Ramsay became like a girl of twenty, full of gaiety. A mood of revelry suddenly took possession of her. Of course they must go; of course they must go, she cried, laughing; and running down the last three or four steps quickly, she began turning from one to the other and laughing and drawing Minta's wrap round her and saying she only wished she could **come** too, and would they be very late, and had any of them got a watch?

*–To The Lighthouse*

**Motion destination:** the beach

**Protagonist:** Mrs. Ramsay

**Protagonist location:** the Ramsays' house

**Perspective holder:** Minta, Prue, and Paul

**Anchoring relation:** motion alongside the perspective holder

# Protagonist's addressee

So, Lily thought, it was probably an excuse of his for moving, for getting out of earshot, that made Mr. Bankes almost immediately say something about its being chilly and suggested taking a stroll. **She would come, yes.** But it was with difficulty that she took her eyes off her picture.

*–To The Lighthouse*

**Protagonist:** Lily Briscoe

**Protagonist location:** outside the Ramsays' house

**Perspective holder:** Mr. Bankes

**Anchoring relation:** motion alongside the perspective holder

# Protagonist's addressee

Here was a man who turned to her in the extremity of his loneliness and his humiliation: if she came to him at such a moment he would be hers with all the force of his deluded faith. And the power to make him so lay in her hand—lay there in a completeness he could not even remotely conjecture. Revenge and rehabilitation might be hers at a stroke.

*—The House of Mirth*

**Motion destination:** George Dorset's location

**Protagonist:** Lily Bart

**Protagonist location:** grounds of the Gormer estate

**Perspective holder:** George Dorset

**Anchoring relation:** utterance time location

# Attitude holder reported by protagonist

Emma, to dissipate some of the distress it occasioned, judged it best for her to return Elizabeth Martin's visit.

How that visit was to be acknowledged--what would be necessary-- and what might be safest, had been a point of some doubtful consideration. Absolute neglect of the mother and sisters, **when invited to come**, would be ingratitude. It must not be: and yet the danger of a renewal of the acquaintance!

*–Emma*

**Motion destination:** the Martin farm

**Protagonist:** Emma

**Protagonist location:** Hartfield

**Perspective holder:** Elizabeth Martin

**Anchoring relation:** home-base or utterance time location

# Attitude holder reported by protagonist

There was some quality which she herself had not, some lustre, some richness, which attracted him, amused him, led him to make favourites of girls like Minta. They might cut his hair from him, plait him watch-chains, or interrupt him at his work, hailing him (she heard them), "Come along, Mr. Ramsay; it's our turn to beat them now," **and out he came to play tennis.**

But indeed she was not jealous, only, now and then, when she made herself look in her glass, a little resentful that she had grown old, perhaps, by her own fault. *—To The Lighthouse*

**Motion destination:** the tennis court

**Protagonist:** Mrs. Ramsay

**Protagonist location:** inside the Ramsay house

**Perspective holder:** Minta Doyle

**Anchoring relation:** utterance time location

# Attitude holder reported by protagonist

[Mrs. Norris] proclaimed her thoughts. She must say that she had more than half a mind to go with the young people; it would be such an indulgence to her; she had not seen her poor dear sister Price for more than twenty years; and it would be a help to the young people in their journey to have her older head to manage for them; and she could not help thinking **her poor dear sister Price would feel it very unkind of her not to come by such an opportunity.**

*–Mansfield Park*

**Motion destination:** Portsmouth

**Protagonist:** Mrs. Norris

**Protagonist location:** Mansfield Park

**Perspective holder:** Mrs. Price

**Anchoring relation:** home-base or event time location

# Co-varying

**How much she wanted it--that people should look pleased as she came in**, Clarissa thought and turned and walked back towards Bond Street, annoyed, because it was silly to have other reasons for doing things. Much rather would she have been one of those people like Richard who did things for themselves, whereas, she thought, waiting to cross, half the time she did things not simply, not for themselves; but to make people think this or that.

*—Mrs Dalloway*

**Paraphrase:** For each person that Clarissa visits, she wants them to look pleased when she comes to their location.

**Motion destination:** the location of each person

**Protagonist:** Clarissa

**Protagonist location:** a department store

**Perspective holder:** people

**Anchoring relation:** ET location



# Perspective holders for *come* in FID

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We find that *come* is anchored to many kinds of perspective holders in FID passages:

- ◆ the protagonist
- ◆ addressees of the protagonist
- ◆ authors of speech / attitude reports reported by the protagonist
- ◆ even some implicitly co-varying instances

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**What's missing?**

# Perspective holders for *come* in FID

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Even though the narrator is highly discourse-prominent in FID contexts, there are no examples where the narrator is the perspective-holder for *come*!

In fact, this seems to be infelicitous:

Twelve years ago I had sat in my dreary London apartment, dreaming of Southern Italy, and now I was here. Oh how lovely it would be there! To feel the sun and taste the food!

**If only I could one day earn enough to go/#come there!**

So I had sighed then.

# Protagonist-Mediated Perspective

# Perspective holders for *come* in FID

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## Protagonist-mediated perspective:

The set of licit perspective holders for *come* in a Free Indirect Discourse context is the set of perspectives that are accessible to the protagonist.

A perspective is **accessible** to a protagonist if it is available in the protagonist's Common Ground.

# Which perspectives are accessible ?

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A perspective is **accessible** to a protagonist if it is available in the protagonist's Common Ground.

I assume, following Barlew (2017), that the **speaker and addressee perspectives are automatically added** to the set of discourse-given perspectives in the Common Ground.

**Other perspectives are added when they are made prominent by the discourse context.** For instance, attitude verbs make the perspectives of their subjects relevant, so they are added to the Common Ground's perspective set.

# Perspective holders for *come* in FID

Perspective holders in FID passages:

- ♦ the protagonist
- ♦ addressees of the protagonist

added to the CG by default (Barlew 2017)

- ♦ authors of speech / attitude reports reported by the protagonist
- ♦ addressees of speech reports reported by the protagonist

added to the CG by speech reports

- ♦ even some implicitly co-varying instances

added when individuals are added to the CG via quantification

# Which perspectives are accessible ?

---

A perspective is **accessible** to a protagonist if it is available in the protagonist's Common Ground.

Crucially, the narrator's perspective is not available to the protagonist, because protagonists are not aware that they are being discussed. The protagonist's Common Ground, in a sense, is embedded within the narrator's Common Ground.



# Accounting for Protagonist- Mediated Perspective

# Theories of FID

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I will focus on two main approaches to analyzing FID:

- ◆ Context parameter-based accounts (Doron 1991; Schlenker 2004; Sharvit 2008; Eckardt 2014; Reboul, Delfitto, and Fiorin 2016)
- ◆ Quotation-based accounts (Maier 2015, 2016, 2017)

# Quotation-based accounts

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**Key idea:** FID is **quoted speech/thought** of the protagonist, but select elements are **unquoted** by the narrator.

**Direct thought report:**

"Tomorrow is Monday," Lily thought.

**FID with tense unquoted:**

Tomorrow [was] Monday, Lily thought.

# Quotation and Unquotation in FID

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**Key idea:** FID is a quotation of the protagonist, with tense and pronouns unquoted by the narrator.

**Question:** How does protagonist-mediated perspective fit?

# Quotation and Unquotation in FID

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**Key idea:** FID is a quotation of the protagonist, with tense and pronouns unquoted by the narrator.

**Question:** How does protagonist-mediated perspective fit?

**Very easily!**

Since perspectival expressions are contained in the quotations of the protagonist, they should **automatically** be evaluated with respect to the protagonist's Common Ground.

# Context parameter accounts

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**Key idea:** FID is a kind of indirect speech / thought report where there are **two context parameters** at play (Doron 1991, Sharvit 2008, Eckardt 2014).

The context of the protagonist: **c**

The context of the narrator: **C**

**C:** <author, addressee, time, location, world>

# Context parameter accounts

Linguistic elements are **lexically specified** to refer relative to **c** or **C**.

Tomorrow was Monday, Lily thought.  
Tomorrow<sup>c</sup> was<sup>C</sup> Monday,<sup>C</sup> Lily thought.

**Time indexicals refer relative to c:**

$[[\text{tomorrow}]]_{C,c,g} = \lambda Q. \lambda e. Q(e) \wedge \tau(e) \subset \text{it.day-after}(t, c_t)$

where  $C$  is the external context parameter,  $c$  is the internal context parameter, and  $c_t$  is the temporal index of  $c$

**Tense and person refer relative to C.**

# Context parameter accounts

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**Key idea:** FID is an **indirect speech/thought report** where the narrator is the author and the protagonist is the attitude holder, and **both of their contexts** are available.

Time / space indexicals are interpreted relative to the protagonist's context; tense and person features are interpreted relative to the narrator's context.



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**Question:** How does protagonist-mediated perspective fit?

**This is more difficult.**

# Protagonist-mediated perspective and context parameters

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First question: how do context parameters affect perspectival expressions?

C: <author, addressee, time, location, world>

For an **anaphorically-perspectival** expression like *come*, the context parameter **shouldn't matter** at all.

If FID is indirect speech, then any perspective that is sufficiently prominent in the **narrator's Common Ground** should be available to anchor *come*.

# Protagonist-mediated perspective and context parameters

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FID has an additional restriction, which might help:

*De dicto requirement* (Schlenker 2004): all content other than tense and person is read *de dicto* according to the protagonist.

# Protagonist-mediated perspective and context parameters

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The *de dicto requirement* has been implemented in different ways.

Schlenker 2004 uses the context parameter, but this won't extend to anaphoric expressions.

# Protagonist-mediated perspective and context parameters

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The *de dicto requirement* has been implemented in different ways.

Reboul, Delfitto, and Fiorin 2016 propose that FID is subject to a **Maximize Shifting constraint**: all elements must shift to the protagonist's perspective when possible.

If this applies to anaphoric elements like *come*, it will be too restrictive: *come* is not always anchored to the protagonist's perspective.

# Finding Common Ground in FID

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One solution would be to extend the bi-contextual premise to Common Grounds as well: in addition to having a protagonist context and a narrator context, FID has a protagonist Common Ground and a narrator Common Ground.

The **narrator's Common Ground** perspective set determines who can serve as the FID protagonist (Hinterwimmer 2019; Bimpikou 2020; Abrusán, Maier, and Stokke 2021).

The **protagonist's Common Ground** perspective set determines who can anchor *come*.

# Finding Common Ground in FID

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This brings the bi-contextual view and the quotation view of FID very close to each other: both involve tracking and switching between two full discourse contexts.

This may require drawing on the same kind of construction/hole mechanisms that Maier (2015) borrows from Shan (2007) for unquotation.



# Summary

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- ◆ There are multiple classes of perspectival expressions.
- ◆ Data on perspectival motion verbs reveals that not all perspectival expressions are protagonist-oriented in FID.
- ◆ Instead, perspectival motion verbs are protagonist-mediated: their anchor must hold a perspective accessible to the protagonist.
- ◆ This poses a challenge for context parameter-based accounts of FID, but is correctly predicted by quotation-based accounts.
- ◆ Extending the bi-contextual account of FID to handle protagonist-mediated perspective brings it closer to a quotation-based account.