Does deictic perspective shift exist? Exploring perspectival integration with *come* and *go*

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Recent work on perspective argues that speakers (Sp) and addressees (Ad) integrate both perspectives (e.g. [1,4,9]), unlike approaches that treated Sp perspective as an initial default (e.g. [3]) – but new work on *come/go* doesn't fully align with either view [2]. While these studies largely focused on a binary Sp/Ad perspective split, our work on *come/go* includes a third potential perspective holder: the matrix subject in contexts like (1a,b). Here, John is the subject of *told*, but not the Sp or Ad of the sentence itself. Crucially, according to a large body of theoretical work (e.g. [5,6,7,8,10]), the subject of a speech verb (abbreviated Sub) can also be a perspective-holder (anchor), in addition to Sp and Ad (see also [7,8] on Ad), so both *come* and *go* are claimed to be fine in (1a,b). Despite its theoretical ramifications, this *deictic perspective shift* is understudied in psycholinguistics and its empirical profile is unclear.

We report three studies that assess the empirical robustness of deictic perspective shift with 3 potential perspective-holders (anchors). This also allows us to ask questions about perspectival integration, in particular whether the Convergent Perspective Boost (facilitation when Sp and Ad perspectives *converge,* [2]) occurs when the converging perspectives do not involve the Sp – potentially disentangling effects of a speaker default from convergence.

Exp1 (n=137, Prolific, 24 targets, 36 fillers) used phone situations like Fig.1. The speaker's utterance has a blank. People rated whether *come* or *go* better fits in the blank (on a scale of *go* to *come*, or *come* to *go*; counterbalanced). Targets were as in (2). The third person (Sub) is the subject of a speech verb (*Vanessa said…*). We manipulated whether the sentence describes motion towards *Sp, Ad or another location*, and tested whether this influences the preference for *come* vs. *go*. In Table 1, ✓ and X indicate, for *come* and *go*, whether use of each verb would be anchored to/aligned with Sp, Ad or Sub perspective, and number of converging perspectives.

Results (Fig.2). *No evidence for perspective shift:* With motion towards the Sp (Table 1, [a-b]), *come* is strongly preferred. Theoretical work argued for perspective shift in here (ex.1), but we fail to observe this. But motion towards Ad reveals hints of perspective shift towards Ad: Although these sentences elicit a stronger *go* preference than motion towards Sp ($p<.001$), they have a weaker *go* preference than motion towards the 'other' location ($p<.01$): people are more likely to use *come* for motion towards the Ad than to an elsewhere location. *No evidence for non-Sp/Ad perspectives modulating come/go use in convergence contexts*: Using *go* for motion towards Sp matches 2 perspectives (Ad, Sub, Table 1[a]) and using *go* for motion towards Ad matches 2 perspectives (Sp, Sub, [b]), but these conditions differ alike. Exp.1 suggests that the subject is not salient enough to trigger perspective shift or participate in convergence effects.

Exp.2 (n= 118, Prolific) used the images from Exp.1 but with ***come* or *go* filled in (ex.3, Fig.3)**. People rated **how natural the sentence sounds** (1 unnatural, 5 natural). Thus, Exp.2 has a 2x3 design (*come/go* and *speaker location/addressee location/other location*).

Results (Fig.4). *Come* (black bars) is rated most natural with motion towards Sp (1st bar), next most natural with motion towards Ad (3rd bar), and least natural with motion towards the other location (5th bar, sig differences, p's<.01). Crucially, *go* (grey) with motion towards Sp (2nd bar, grey) is rated less natural than *come* (1st bar, $p<.001$) – and less natural than *go* with motion towards Ad (4th bar, $p<.001$) or a third location (6th bar, $p<.001$). *Even when we directly test whether people accept deictic perspective shift, we see a reluctance to shift*. Furthermore, a *higher number of converging perspectives* (Table 1) does not translate directly into higher naturalness ratings. It seems that the subject is not salient enough, at least in the neutral contexts we tested, to participate in convergent perspective boosting, echoing Exp.1.

Exp.3 (n=115, like Exp.2, but without syntactic embedding, ex.(4)) replicates Exp.2.

In sum, deictic perspective shift is much less available than previously thought. This challenges claims in the theoretical literature, and provides a foundation for studies testing whether increasing the salience of the subject could render it a potential perspectival anchor.

(1) Situation: The external speaker, Ana, is in Tokyo; John and Linda are in New York. (from [8])
a. Ana: ok "John told Linda that he would come to Tokyo on Thursday."
b. Ana: ok "John told Linda that he would go to Tokyo on Thursday."
c. Ana: * "John will go to Tokyo on Thursday."

(2) Vanessa said that she will ___ to Los Angeles$_{\text{speaker-loc}}$/Omaha$_{\text{addressee-loc}}$/Buffalo$_{\text{other}}$ next week.
(3) Vanessa said that she will come/go to Los Angeles$_{\text{speaker}}$/Omaha$_{\text{addressee}}$Buffalo$_{\text{other}}$ next week.
(4) Vanessa called. She will come/go to Los Angeles$_{\text{speaker}}$/Omaha$_{\text{addressee}}$Buffalo$_{\text{other}}$ next week.

Table 1. ✓*means that of we adopt the perspective indicated in each column, the sentence (with its verb+location) is natural*	Sp	Ad	Sub	# converge
[a] Vanessa said she will come to Los Angeles$_{\text{SPEAKER}}$ next week.	✓	X	X	1
[b] Vanessa said she will go to Los Angeles$_{\text{SPEAKER}}$ next week.	X	✓	✓	2
[c] Vanessa said she will come to Omaha$_{\text{ADDRESSEE}}$ next week.	X	✓	X	1
[d] Vanessa said she will go to Omaha$_{\text{ADDRESSEE}}$ next week.	✓	X	✓	2
[e] Vanessa said she will come to Buffalo$_{\text{OTHER}}$ next week.	X	X	X	0
[f] Vanessa said she will go to Buffalo$_{\text{OTHER}}$ next week.	✓	✓	✓	3

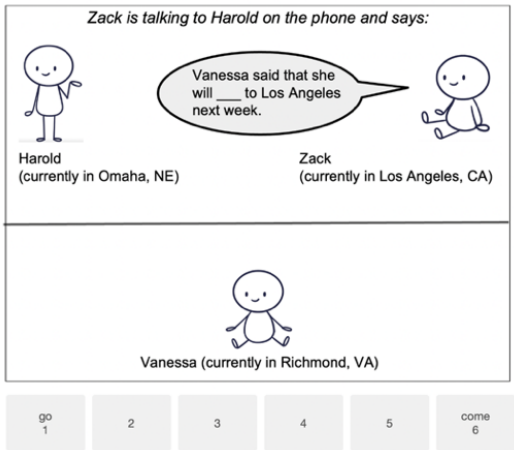

Fig.1 **Exp 1 with blanks**. Sample display. A person's location is indicated below them

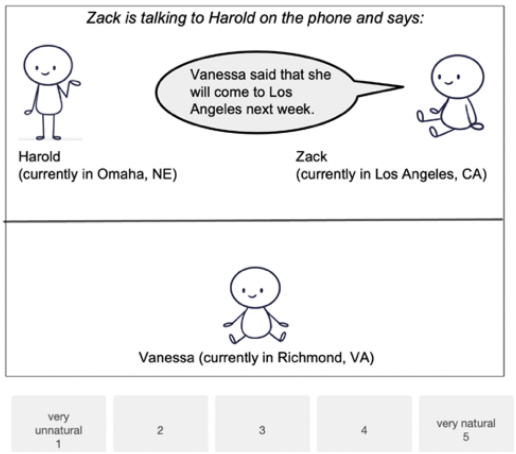

Fig.3 **Exp 2 rating scale**. Sample display.

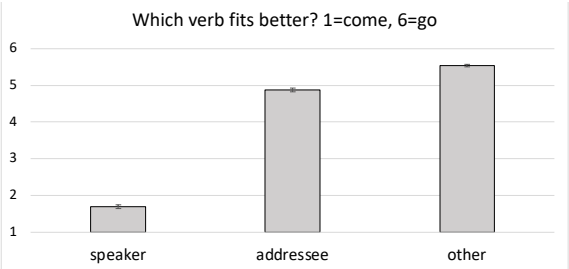

Fig.2. **Exp 1 results** (Counterbalanced ratings remapped. Lower: preference for *come*, Higher: preference for *go*)

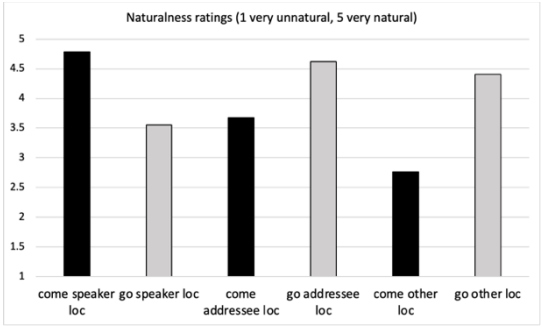

Fig.4. **Exp 2 results**

[1]Anderson/Dillon'19 Guess who's coming… [2]Anderson/Dillon'23 Grammatical perspective-taking [3]Harris'12. Processing perspectives [4]Heller etal.'16 Perspective-taking behavior… [5]Hockett'90 Bring, take, come and go [6]Oe'75 Comparative study of Japanese & English [7]Oshima'06a Perspectives in Reported Discourse [8]Oshima'06b Go and come [9]Ryskin etal.'20 Probabilistic weighting of perspectives [10]Sudo'18 Come vs. Go and Perspectival Shift