

# Discourse Participants in the Nominal Domain

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## Syntacticization of Discourse Participants

- The *neo-performative hypothesis*: revival of Ross's (1970) idea of encoding the illocutionary force of a given utterance, in part due to the discovery of functional categories, e.g. evidentials (Speas and Tenny 2003), sentence-peripheral particles (Haegeman 2014), vocatives (Hill 2007, 2014; Slocum 2016), response particles (Krifka 2013).

Some evidence comes from languages in which the main predicate shows morphological agreement with the speaker or the addressee.

(1) Allocutive agreement in Basque (Oyharçabal 1993)

a. Pette-k lan egin di-k  
Peter-ERG worked 3.ERG-M

'Peter worked.' (said to a male friend)

b. Pette-k lan egin di-n  
Peter-ERG worked 3.ERG-F

'Peter worked.' (said to a female friend)

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(said to a female friend)

## Syntacticization of Discourse Participants

Speaker agreement in Jingpo (Dai 2010; Zu 2015)

- (2) a. Jongma du hkum ma-s-ai  
 student arrive complete PL-PERF-3.DECL  
 'The students have all arrived.' (subject agreement, neutral)
- b. Jongma du hkum sa-**ga**-ai  
 student arrive complete PERF-1PL-DECL  
 'The students have all arrived.' (speaker agreement, bonding)

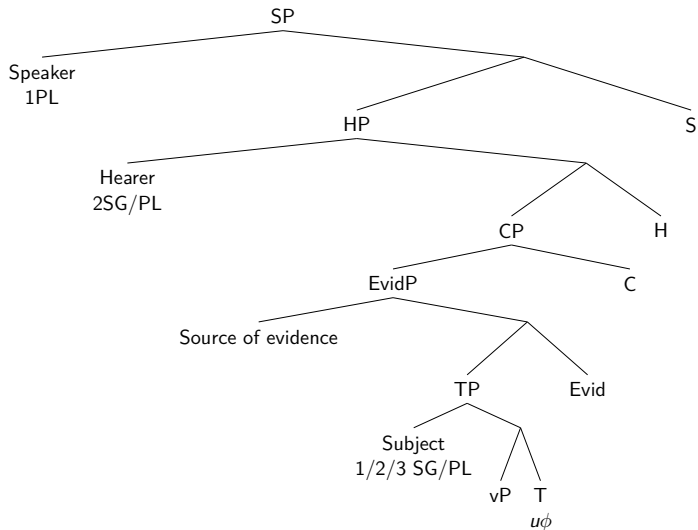
The presence of the speaker agreement establishes an intimate relation between the speaker and the subject (i.e., bonding).

- (2b) indicates that the teacher and her students are on good terms.
- (2a) has no such indication.

# Syntacticization of Discourse Participants

Zu's (2013) proposal

(3)



## Zu's proposal

### (4) The Speech Act Projection (Zu 2015)

$$[{}_{saP} \text{ SPEAKER}_{i\phi} \text{ sa } [{}_{SAP} \text{ HEARER}_{i\phi} \text{ SA } [{}_{TP} \text{ SUBJECT}_{i\phi} \text{ T}_{u\phi} \dots ] ] ]$$

- T is the probe which can probe for all three DPs. T can choose between Speaker, Hearer and the subject to check its  $\phi$ -features. The choices it makes directly affects the semantic interpretation upon spell-out. That is to say, all three agreement relations are treated equally in narrow syntax.
- This is part of the substantial body of work that has emerged articulating a layer of structure, above the CP, to encode properties of the Speech Act (Haegeman 2014; Haegeman and Miyagawa 2016; Hill 2007, 2014; Miyagawa 2012; Speas and Tenny 2003; Wiltschko and Thoma 2015).

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# Speech act Participants in the Nominal Domain

Several types of phenomena signal the encoding of the discourse participants in the nominal domain as well.

- Vocatives
  - Inverse Vocatives
  - Reversed Vocatives
- Spatial Deixis
- Realization of (the features of) the hearer



## Vocatives in Turkish and Arabic

- Two ways of expressing vocative have been discussed in Turkish literature:
  - (i) through the vocative particle *ey*, corresponding to the English *o*.
    - (5) *ey Türk genç-liğ-i* (Kornfilt 1997)  
*o Turkish young-DER-CL*  
 'O Turkish youth!'
  - (ii) by shifting the word accent to a previous syllable (Kornfilt 1997; Göksel and Kerlake 2005; Göksel and Pöchtrager 2013).
    - (6) *garsón* 'waiter'  
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## Inverse Vocatives

Inverse vocatives are a type of vocative which bears a possessive marker (after 'Vokativinversion' of Boeder (1989)).

- (7) (The elder brother addresses his little female sibling.)

Abi-**si**,            ayakkabılar-ım-ı getir-ir-mi-sin?

brother-3SG shoes-1SG-ACC    fetch-AOR-Q-2SG

'Her brother, can you fetch my shoes?' (from *İntihar*)

- The lexical item *abi* 'brother' refers to the speaker himself in the conversation, while the possessive agreement on the vocative comes from the hearer.

- (8) (A patient addresses his/her doctor.)

Peki, sana        ne        de-meli,        doktor-cuğ-u?

well    you-DAT    what    say-should    doctor-DIM-3SG

'Well, his/her doctor, what about you?'

- In (8) *doctor* 'doctor' refers to the addressee and the possessive to the speaker.

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## Inverse Vocatives

- Where does the possessive agreement come from? Could it be a default form of agreement?
  - (9) a. *oratman-u, ŝine taddel?* (Sason Arabic)  
 teacher-3M what 2M.do  
 ‘Lit: His teacher, what are you doing?’ (> male student)
  - b. *oratman-a, ŝine taddle?*  
 teacher-3F what 2F.do  
 ‘Lit: Her teacher, what are you doing?’ (>female student)
- As seen in (9), Sason Arabic shows gender agreement with the hearer, which strongly suggests that the possessive agreement is due to the speech act participants.
- On the assumption that agreement is syntactic (Chomsky 1981, 1995, 2001) Speaker and Hearer must be represented in the clausal architecture (cf. Giorgi (2010)).

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## Inverse Vocatives

- In fact, there is a second type of inverse vocative, where the possessive agreement is 1st person (10), uttered in the same context as (7), repeated here as (11).

(10) Anne-**m**, krediye uygun ev var di-yor-lar.  
 mother-1SG loan eligible house there say-PROG-PL  
 ‘My mother, they say there is a house eligible for loan.’  
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## Inverse Vocatives vs. Reversed Vocatives

Inverse vocatives seem to differ from *reversed vocatives* (Hill and Stavrou forthcoming; Hill 2014) in several respects.

- *Reversed vocatives*: In Romanian, the vocative phrase may contain not only the addressee but also the speaker of the utterance.

(12) (Măi) Dane mamă, un' te duci?  
 MAI Dan.VOC mother where REFL go.2SG  
 'Dan, where are you going?'

- The hearer *Dane* and the speaker *mamă* form a single prosodic unit, with the high pitch on the addressee.

## Inverse Vocatives vs. Reversed Vocatives

A common property of the two types is the overt presence of the discourse participants.

- (13) a. (Măi) Dane      *mamă*, un'      te      duci?  
 MAI    Dan.VOC mother where REFL go.2SG  
 'Dan, where are you going?'      (Romanian)
- b. ey    *anne-si*,      buraya gel.  
 PAR mother-3POSS here      come.2SG  
 'Lit: Hey his/her mother, come here!'      (Turkish)



## Inverse Vocatives vs. Reversed Vocatives

- Unlike reversed vocatives (RVs), inverse vocatives (IVs) bear possessive markers.

(15) a. *oratman-u, ŝine taddel?* (Sason Arabic)  
teacher-3M what 2M.do

'Lit: His teacher, what are you doing?' (said to a male student)

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- RVs are restricted to kinship terms, whereas IVs are compatible with a relatively large set of expressions, e.g. professions, nominalized adjectives, etc. Thus, not totally lexicalized, and somewhat productive.

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# Inverse Vocatives in Media

## Güzin Abla

guzinabla@hurriyet.com.tr



Kategoriler 0 Takip Edilen 0 Takipçi 89595 Fotoğraflar 0 Tüm Yazıları Takip Et +









VAZDIR
A A

### Çocuklara "annem, aşkım" diye hitap eden büyükler

17.03.2015 Salı

Güzin Hanım; aklıma takılan bir konu var. Her yerde, hatta yakınlarımız arasında da, çocuklara isimleri yerine "aşkım, annem, dayısı, teyzem, ablam, babacım" gibi sözcüklerle hitap edildiğini görüyorum, duyuyorum. Açıkçası itici buluyorum bu hitapları.

*Ancak kişisel beğenim bir yana "Acaba büyüme sırasında çocukta psikolojik sorun yaratır mı bu?" diye endişeleniyorum.*

*Bazısı daha konuşmayı bilmeyen, dünyayı, kendini, kelimeleri keşfetme, öğrenme aşamasında olan bebeklere, küçük çocuklara bu şekilde hitap edilmesi, onlarda "kim oldukları" konusunda karmaşaya yol açmaz mı?*

#### Yazar Arşivi

Arşivden Yazar Seçiniz

Ay
Yıl
Ara



**Ertuğrul Özkök** 08:26

İyi bir anayasa yapaalım artık aramıza kan girmesin



**Ahmet Hakan** 08:18

Kan dökmeyi Kemal oyun mu sandın?



**Vahap Munyar** 07:55

Bu fotoğrafta 22 şirket var

#### Yazılarım

## Inverse Vocatives vs. Reversed Vocatives

- The particle *mai* in Romanian always modifies the addressee, but not the speaker in RVs, in addition to its use in regular vocatives.

(16) \*Măi mamă Dane, un' te duci?  
 MAI mother Dan.VOC where REFL go.2SG  
 'Dan, where are you going?'

- IVs, however, may follow particles such as *ey* in Turkish (18), just as regular vocatives do (17).

(17) *ey çocuklar*, buraya gelin.  
 PAR kids here come.2PL  
 'Hey kids, come here!'

(18) *ey anne-si*, buraya gel.  
 PAR mother-3POSS here come.2SG  
 'Lit: Hey his/her mother, come here!'



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## Inverse Vocatives vs. Reversed Vocatives

- Note that there is also an adjacency restriction between the particle and the IV. No constituents or interjections can come between them.

- (19) a. *ya habb-u, řa dođtor mıřit-e.*  
 PAR love-3M to doctor went-2F  
 ‘Lit: Hey, his lover, you went to the doctor.’
- b. \**ya řa dođtor habb-u, mıřit-e.*  
 PAR to doctor love-3M went-2F  
 ‘Intended: Hey, his lover, you went to the doctor.’

## Inverse Vocatives vs. Reversed Vocatives

- What follows from the restrictions so far is a prediction regarding the non-cooccurrence of IVs with regular vocatives. This is correct.

- (20) a. \**ey anne-si* Murat  
 PAR mother-3SG.POSS Murat  
 'Lit: Hey his/her mother, Murat!'
- b. \**ey Murat anne-si*  
 PAR Murat mother-3SG.POSS  
 'Lit: Hey his/her mother, Murat!'

- same facts in Sason Arabic.

## Sason Arabic vs. Palestinian Arabic

- Palestinian Arabic lacks the possessive marker and patterns like Romanian RVs.
  - spellout of the speaker and the hearer
  - ordering restriction

(21) [an uncle addresses his niece named Layla]

ya layla ammo

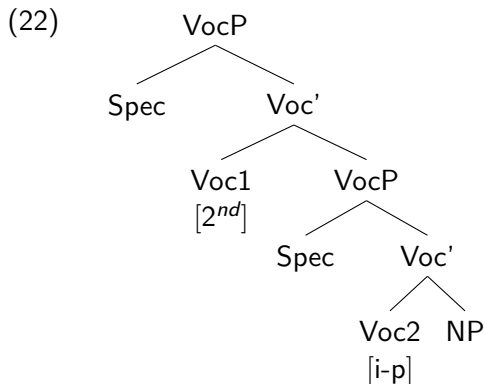
VOC layla uncle

'Lit: O Layla uncle!' (Sam Alxatib, p.c.)

- *cf.* Moroccan Arabic, which patterns like Sason Arabic (Elabbas Benmamoun, p.c.)

## Reversed Vocatives

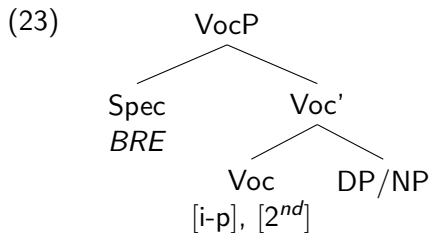
Hill and Stavrou (forthcoming) propose the structure in (22) for reversed vocatives:



- The features [i-p] and [2<sup>nd</sup>], associated with VocP, are mapped to separate heads, which is a modification from the original structure.

## Syntax of Vocatives

(23) is the structure Hill and Stavrou (forthcoming) and Hill (2014) propose for regular vocatives:



- [i-p] entails that VocP is an entity (i.e. another person, an addressee) not an event, and concerns the inter-personal relation between the speaker and the hearer, as a property of VocP (cf. Espinal's (2013) *deictic feature*).
- [2<sup>nd</sup>] entails that Voc takes over the function of D.

# The Issue of Reference

- The [2<sup>nd</sup>] feature is postulated in order to restrict the interpretation of the noun to 2nd person, since it stands for the identification of the addressee. That is, vocative nouns have obligatory [2<sup>nd</sup>] feature, which is associated with Voc, not D.
- This perspective lines up with the traditional definition of vocatives as nominal phrases that refer to the addressee of an utterance:
  - 'A vocative NP necessarily refers to the *addressee* of its sentence, while a referential NP may refer so, but not necessarily' (Zwicky 1974).
  - '... This structure takes vocatives to be regular NPs or DPs embedded in a functional layer that allows them to *map the addressee*' (Hill 2014)
  - 'They [vocatives] are indexical, involving reference to the *addressee*' (Portner 2004).

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## The issue of Reference

- The [2<sup>nd</sup>] feature would not capture the observed pattern in languages such as Turkish and Sason Arabic.

(24) a. [Context: mother addresses her son]

*imm-u*,      *ta*      *nihane*

mother-3M come.2M here

'Lit: His mother, come here!'

b. [Context: wife addresses her husband]

*coj-a*,      *mez*      *nihane!*

husband-3F look.2M here

'Lit: Her husband, look here!'

- In (24a), the speaker is the mother, which is expressed by the lexical item *imm* 'mother', and the possessive reflects the gender of the addressee.
- (24b) exhibits the opposite pattern: *coj* 'husband' denotes the hearer, while the possessive reflects the gender of the speaker.

# The issue of Reference

- Therefore, any postulation with respect to the denotation in (24a) will require the opposite for (24b).
- This also differs from Zu's (2013, 2015) proposal, where T is the probe. In inverse vocatives, it is not easy to speak of an Agree relation that is related to T.
- *Foreshadowing*: IVs could just be part of a bigger pattern where discourse participants are marked in the nominal domain.

## Is IV-agreement genuine agreement?

- Despite the gender agreement, could instances such as (25) be treated simply as a shift of perspective or a matter of expressivity, i.e. where the speaker takes the perspective of the hearer?

(25) Anne-m, krediye uygun ev var di-yor-lar.  
 mother-1SG loan eligible house there say-PROG-PL  
 'Lit: My mother, they say there is a house eligible for loan.'  
 (*Leyla ile Mecnun*, TV show)

## Is IV-agreement genuine agreement?

- No:

A shift of perspective predicts (26) to be grammatical in the same scenario, only with multiple hearers. This is not correct.

(26) [Context: a mother addresses her sons]

\*Anne-miz, krediye uygun ev var di-yor-lar.

mother-1PL loan eligible house there say-PROG-PL

'Lit: Our mother, they say there is a house eligible for loan!'

- (thanks to Sabine Iatridou for bringing this to my attention, see also Podobryaev (2014) for a similar argument for imposters).



## Is IV-agreement genuine agreement?

- This argument extends to inverse vocatives as well. The possessive on the IV is identical to the agreement with the thematic arguments.

- (28) a. haval-**u**, amma tımme?  
 friend-3M where 2M.go  
 Lit: 'His friend, where are you going?'
- b. adaş-tu haval-**u**.  
 saw.1SG friend-3M  
 'I saw his friend.'

## Inverse Vocatives vs. Reversed Vocatives

- In terms of their functions, they can be used both as *call* and *address* vocatives in the sense of Zwicky (1974).

(29) a. Ey abi-si,            nerde-sin? (call)  
 ey brother-3SG where-2SG

'Hey his/her brother, where are you?'

b. Şimdi, abi-si,            sana birşey        (address)  
 now brother-3SG you something

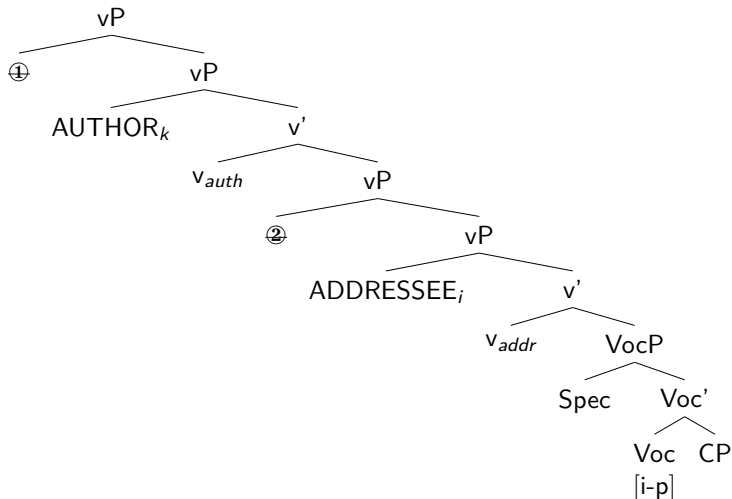
söyle-yeceğ-im

say-FUT-1SG

'Lit: Now, his/her brother, I will tell you something.'

## Structure of (Inverse) Vocatives

(30)





## Structure of (Inverse) Vocatives

- In (30), Voc is associated only with the [i-p] feature, which yields the vocative interpretation. Yet it doesn't tell us which discourse participant the lexical item refers to.
- In order to capture the patterns, I posit that denotation and  $\phi$ -features are results of separate operations.
  - This allows the denotation of the lexical item and the possessive to be to different participants.
- The denotation is the result of the index relation established between the vocative DP and the antecedent that is higher in the structure, i.e. either AUTHOR or ADDRESSEE of Collins and Postal (2012). Accordingly, if the indexation is with the AUTHOR, the reference is to the speaker, and if the indexation is with the ADDRESSEE, then the denotation of the vocative phrase is to the hearer.

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## Imposter Operator inside the Clause

- In order to account for instances where the presence of 1st person or 3rd person possessive leads to no change in truth value, I will employ Podobryaev's (2014) imposter-operator analysis, which allows 3rd person features to pick out the speaker/hearer in the context of an imposter, in this case, vocatives.
  - Collins and Postal (2012): 'Vocatives are *bona fide* imposters.'

## Imposter Operator inside the Clause

- (31) and (32) illustrate imposters from inside the clause, and the possibility of variation in  $\phi$ -features (verbal and pronominal). Akkuş and Frank (2016), Akkuş (2016) extend Podobryaev's (2014) operator analysis to account for these instances. The idea is that in cases of 3rd person features, an operator is introduced, while in others not.

(31) Mami e ka shpirt bebushin  
 mommy CL-ACC.3S has.3S soul little baby.THE.ACC  
 e saj / tim.

agr.**3** / **1**

'Mommy loves her little baby.'

(32) Zatialiniz çok yorgun-Ø /-sunuz.  
 your highness very tired.-**3**/**-2**

'Your highness is very tired.'

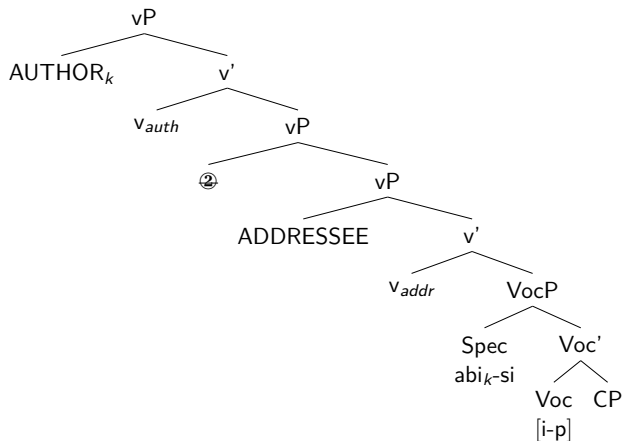
## Structure of (Inverse) Vocatives

(33) Abi-si, nerde-sin? (brother to sister)

brother-3SG where-2SG

'Her brother, where are you?'

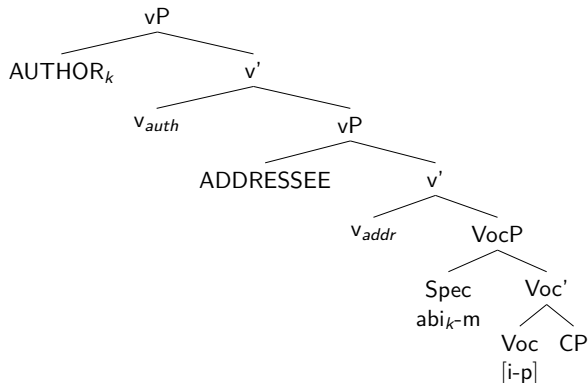
(34)



## Structure of (Inverse) Vocatives

- (35) Abi-m, nerde-sin? (brother to sister)  
 brother-1SG where-2SG  
 'Lit: My brother, where are you?'

(36)



## More on the $\phi$ -features

- The example in (37) suggests that different  $\phi$ -features can be transmitted from multiple sources (in line with Collins and Postal 2012, *pace* Kratzer (2009)).

(37) [Context: A radio show hostess addresses her listeners.]

Günaydın      can-lar-ı      umarım her şey  
 good morning dear-PL-3SG I hope everything  
 yolundadır.  
 alright

'Lit: Good morning, her dears, hope everything is alright.'

- The person feature on the inverse vocative comes from the AUTHOR, while the number feature from the ADDRESSEE. Also, the denotation is to the hearer.

## Spatial Deixis

Nominal morphology in Noon (a Cangin language of Senegal) provides another piece of evidence for the representation of discourse participants.

- Spatial deictic terms/morphemes express relations as relative to some perceiver (Fillmore 1971).
- Noon has three suffix forms for a nominal to define its spatial position, the so-called position markers (Soukka 2000).
  - ii* 'close to the speaker'
  - um* 'close to the addressee'
  - aa* 'distant to both speaker and addressee'
- These spatial definitions are expressed as part of the definite suffix, i.e. they occur inflected on NPs.

(38) kaan-**fi** (Soukka 2000:295)

house-DEF

'the house'

(close to the speaker)



## Spatial Deixis

Importantly, the spatial suffix shows concord, in that it appears also on the adjective (39), the demonstrative (40), or both (41).

- (39) **dök-aa** wi-yaak-**waa** (Soukka 2000:295)  
 town-DEF ATR-big-DEF  
 ‘the big town’ (distant to both speaker and addressee)
- (40) waas-**ii** **wii**  
 road-DEF DET  
 ‘this road’ (near the speaker)
- (41) kedik-**kum** **kum** ki-hoo’-**kum**  
 tree-DEF DET ATR-high-DEF  
 ‘that high tree’ (near the addressee)

## A Potential DP Structure

- A syntactic treatment of this concord is desirable. However, to what degree Zu's (2015) analysis can be extended to these cases is questionable since it is concerned with the nominal domain, and not the verbal domain (cf. Baker's 2008, ch. 5, D agreement)

### (42) The Speech Act for Nominals

$$[{}_{saP} \text{ SPEAKER}_{i\phi} \text{ sa } [{}_{SAP} \text{ HEARER}_{i\phi} \text{ SA } [{}_{DP/NP} \text{ D/N}_{u\phi} \dots ] ] ]$$

- see Hill and Akkuş (in prep) for Southern Italian dialects.

## Siwi

Siwi (a Berber language of Egypt) shows gender/number agreement of demonstratives with the addressee (43)-(45) (Souag 2014), similar to the noun class agreement in Bantu languages (Baker 2003, 2008).

- (43) tasútət    ta-tó-**k**                    ttəlla múddət-la mər  
 palm tree MOD-DEM.F-**2m** 3F.be lifetime  
 'That palm tree has been around for ages.' (male addressee)
- (44) éntf-ax    twərdət ta-tó-**m**                    msabb-kí  
 pick.1SG flower    MOD-DEM.F-**2f** because-2F  
 'I picked this flower for your (f.) sake'                    (female addressee)
- (45) g-úsəd                    g əl aɾbíyya ta-té-**rwən**  
 IRR.3M.come in car                    MOD-DEM.F-**2pl**  
 'He will come in that car.'                    (plural addressee)

# Siwi

- It is possible to consider the nominal counterpart of verbal allocutivity.
- When we look at the identity of morphological marking on discourse participants and thematic arguments, Siwi shows the same pattern.
- The suffixes used to mark addressee agreement on the demonstrative are 'closely parallel to (and historically derive from) the 2nd person prepositional object suffixes: 2m.sg *-ək*, 2f.sg *-əm*, 2pl *-wən*' (Souag 2014a, b).
- Thus, it is on a par with morphosyntactic agreement.

## Marking of the (features) of the hearer

Some other languages also have agreement phenomena that look like agreement with the discourse participants.

- Mupun
- Hdi

## Marking of the (features) of the hearer

In Mupun, a West Chadic language, there is a morpheme *numa*, which occurs only in two environments: in matrix questions with plural addressees (17b), and in declaratives embedded under transitive verbs of saying whose object is plural (17c) (Frajzyngier 1989).

- (46)
- a. wur n-jin-e  
 3M PREP-Jing-INTER  
 'Is he in Jing?'
- b. wur n-jin-e                      nuwa  
 3M PREP-Jing-INTER  
 'Is he in Jing?'                      (plural addressee)
- c. n-sat    mo n?    nuwa na k?    n-kes    makaranta  
 1SG-say 3PL COMP PL    look PERF 1SG-finish school  
 'I told them, look, I have finished school.'

## Conclusion

- In addition to the verbal allocutivity and speaker agreement on the verb, languages encode discourse participants in the nominal domain.
- Vocatives (and its sub-types) provide strong evidence to this end. The syntax of proposals should also take into account the various forms and properties of vocatives.
- Speaker and hearer can also be marked through spatial deixis, e.g. Noon, or number feature, e.g. Mupun.

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