

# Allocutive Agreement and the Root

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# Linguistic theory, Uniformity Principle

(1) Linguistic theory must minimally tell us:

- How are natural languages the same?
- In what ways can they be different?

(2) Uniformity Principle (Chomsky 2001: 2)

In the absence of compelling evidence to the contrary, assume languages to be uniform, with variety restricted to easily detectable properties of utterances.

To really understand the Uniformity Principle, we need to put some concrete content to the statements of uniformity and diversity.

## Strong Uniformity (Miyagawa 2010)

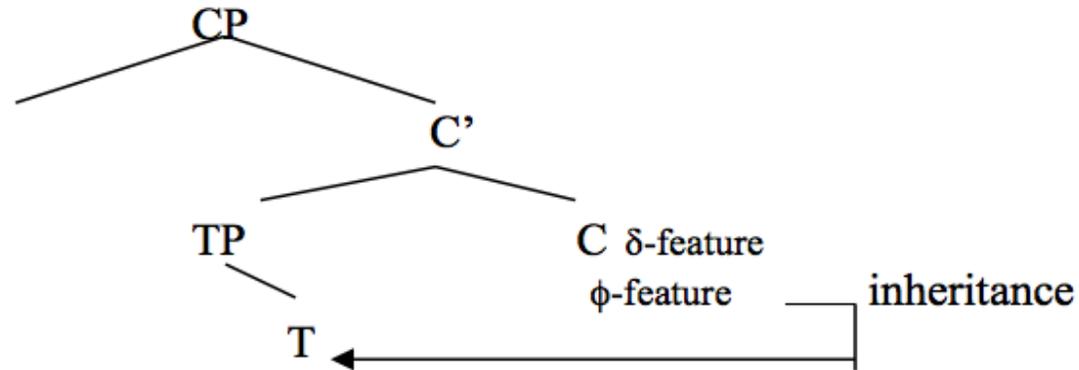
Every language shares the same set of grammatical features, and every language overtly manifests these features.

Grammatical features:  $\phi$ -feature, discourse configurational features (Kiss 1995)

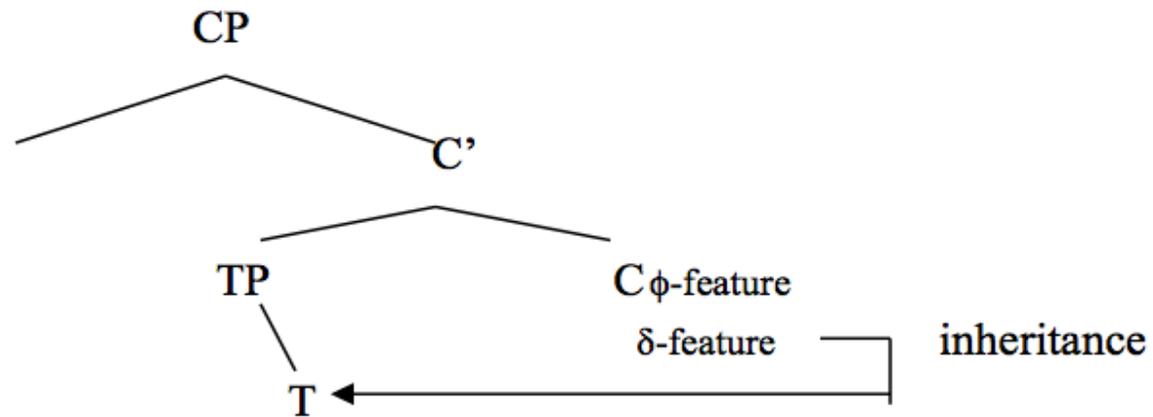
Feature inheritance (Chomsky 2005, 2007; Miyagawa 2010; Richards 2007)

# Feature inheritance (Chomsky 2005, 2007; Miyagawa 2010; Richards 2007)

## (4) Agreement-based languages



## (5) Discourse-configurational languages



# Examples of typology under SU (Miyagawa, in press)

## (6) Some predicted languages

Category I:  $C_{\phi}, T_{\delta}$  Japanese

Category II:  $C_{\delta}, T_{\phi}$  Chinese, English

Category III:  $C, T_{\phi/\delta}$  Spanish

Category IV:  $C_{\phi/\delta}, T$  Dinka

## Category I: $C_\phi, T_\delta$ Japanese

Category I:  $C_\phi, T_\delta$  Japanese

Hayashibe (1975): Children under 5 years of age don't seem to have acquired scrambling. (7b) is interpreted as SOV, not OSV.

- (7) a. SOV: Kamesan-ga ahirusan-o osimasita.  
turtle-NOM duck-ACC pushed  
'A turtle pushed a duck.'
- b. OSV: Ahirusan-o kamesan-ga osimasita.  
duck-ACC turtle-NOM pushed

But Otsu (1994) notes that OSV is fine even for children under 3 years of age with context:

- c. Kooen-ni ahirusan-ga imasita.  
park-in duck-NOM was  
Sono ahirusan-o kamesan-ga osimasita.  
the duck-ACC turtle-NOM pushed

Category II:  $C_{\delta}, T_{\phi}$  Chinese, English

(8) Subject *pro* in Chinese (Miyagawa, in press)

- (i) When controlled by  $\phi$  at T, it is strictly subject-oriented and can only refer to the closest subject within the sentence;
- (ii) When it inherits the topic feature by moving to Spec,CP, it can refer to non-subjects outside the sentence.

### Category III: C, T<sub>φ/δ</sub> Spanish

Clitic Left Dislocation: topicalization

(9) a. Estos libros, Juan los leyó ayer.  
these books Juan them read yesterday  
'These books, Juan read yesterday.'

b. Algunos libros, Juan los leyó ayer.  
some books Juan them read yesterday  
'Some books, Juan read yesterday.' (Arregi 2003)

Catalan: López (2009) concludes that FQs are allowed only in A-movement, not in A'-movement (Lasnik, 2003)

(10) a. Los padres parecen haber asistido todos a la reunión.  
the parents seem-PRES.3PL to.have attended all to the meeting  
'Parents seem to have all attended the meeting.'

b. Los exámenes han sido corregidos todos.  
the exams have-PERF.3PL been corrected all  
'The exams have all been graded.'

Same in Spanish (Jiménez-Fernández 2010)

- (11) Los exámenes los ha corregido todos este profesor.  
the exams CL have-PERF.3SG corrected all this teacher  
'This teacher has corrected all the exams.'

CLLD can also overcome WCO, create a new binder.

## Category IV: $C_{\phi/\delta}$ , T Dinka

Category IV:  $C_{\phi/\delta}$ , T Dinka (a Nilo-Saharan language spoken in southern Sudan; van Ark 2015)

Agreement & topicalization both occur at the CP level.

- (12) a. Àyén à-càm cuñ nè.pàl.  
Ayen 3-eat.SV food P knife.  
'Ayen is eating food with a knife.'
- b. Cuñ à-céem Áyén nè.pàl.  
food 3S-eat.OV Ayen.NOM P knife  
'Food, Ayen is eating with a knife.'
- c. Kóc áa-cé. ròth tị.  
people 3P-PRF.SV self.PL see  
'The people have seen themselves.'



## $\phi$ -feature agreement at C: Politeness marking

Strong Uniformity predicts that  $\phi$ -feature agreement occurs at C in Category I languages:

Category I:  $C_\phi, T_\delta$  Japanese

Politeness marking in French: targets the subject

- (14) a. Tu dances.  
you danse-2SG
- b. Vous dansez.  
you danse-2SP POLITE

May occur freely in subordinate environments

- (15) a. Si tu trouves le livre, appelle-moi.  
if you find-2sg the book, call-me
- b. Je regrette que tu ne sois pas d'accord.  
I regret that you *ne* be-SUBJ not agreed

# Politeness marking in Japanese

## Japanese politeness marking

(16) a. Watasi-wa piza-o tabe-**mas**-u. (FORMAL)  
I-TOP pizza-ACC eat-MAS-present  
'I will eat pizza.'

b. Watasi-wa piza-o tabe-ru. (COLLOQUIAL)  
I-TOP pizza-ACC eat-present  
'I will eat pizza.'

Unlike French, the politeness marking does not target the subject

(17) Imooto-wa ki-mas-u.  
my.sister-TOP come-MAS-present  
'My sister will come.'

# Politeness marking in Japanese as root phenomenon

Also contrary to French, the politeness marking in Japanese is restricted to the root domains as originally defined by Emonds (1969) (Miyagawa 2012, in press):

## (18) Root

A root will mean either the highest S in a tree, an S immediately dominated by the highest S or the reported S in direct discourse. (Emonds 1969: 6)

- (19)
- a. Never had I had to borrow money.
  - b. Because never had I had to borrow money, I have a lot saved.
  - c. John said that never had he had to borrow money.
  - d. \*The fact that never had he had to borrow money is well-known.

- (20) a. Highest S  
 Hanako-wa ki-mas-u.  
 Hanako-TOP come-MAS-PRES  
 ‘Hanako will come.’
- b. S dominated by highest S  
 Hanako-ga ki-mas-u kara, ie-ni ite-kudasai.  
 Hanako-NOM come-MAS-PRES because home-at be-please  
 ‘Because Hanako will come, please be at home.’
- c. Reported S in direct discourse  
 Taroo-wa Hanako-ga ki-mas-u to itta.  
 Taro-TOP Hanako-NOM come-MAS-PRES C said  
 ‘Taro said that Hanako will come.’

(21) Class B (*suppose, believe, think*; Hooper and Thompson 1973)

Taroo-wa [Hanako-ga kuru/\*ki-mas-u to] sinzitei-ru.

Taro- TOP [Hanako- NOM come/come-PRES C<sub>NONFACT</sub> believe-PRES

‘Taro believes that Hanako will come.’

(22) Class C (*(un)likely, impossible, deny*; Hooper and Thompson 1973)

Taroo-wa [Hanako-ga kita/\*ki-mas-u koto]-o hitei-sita.

Taro- TOP [Hanako- NOM came/come-MAS-PRS C<sub>FACT</sub>-ACC deny-PST

‘Taro denied that Hanako will come.’

NOTE: Harada (1976) noted many of the points that would lead to the root nature of *-des/-mas-*.

## Allocutive agreement in Basque

Souletin, an eastern dialect of Basque, has the so-called allocutive agreement along with the familiar subject/object/indirect object agreement. The following, taken from Oyharçabal (1993), all mean ‘Peter worked’ (Miyagawa 2012).

- (23) Four ways to say *Peter worked* in Souletin, an eastern dialect of Basque, depending on who you’re talking to (Oyharçabal 1993)

				<u>allocutive agr.</u>	<u>subj. agr.</u>
				↓	↓
a. <i>To a male friend</i>	<u>Pettek</u> <u>lan</u>	<u>egin</u>	<u>dik.</u>		
	Peter.Erg work.Abs	do.Prf	Aux-3.S.Abs-	2.S.C.Msc.Alloc	-3.S.Erg
	‘Peter worked.’				
b. <i>To a female friend</i>	<u>Pettek</u> <u>lan</u>	<u>egin</u>	<u>din.</u>		
	Peter.Erg work.Abs	do.Prf	Aux-3.S.Abs-	2.S.C.Fm.Alloc	-3.S.Erg
c. <i>To someone higher in status (formal)</i>	<u>Pettek</u> <u>lan</u>	<u>egin</u>	<u>dizü.</u>		
	Peter.Erg work.Abs	do.Prf	Aux-3.S.Abs-	2.S.F.Alloc	-3.S.Erg
d. <i>Plural addressee</i>	<u>Pettek</u> <u>lan</u>	<u>egin</u>	<u>du.</u>		
	Peter.Erg work.Abs	do.Prf	Aux-3.S.Abs-	3.S.Erg	

## Allocutive agreement in Basque

The allocutive agreement is authentic agreement, as we can see by the fact that it competes with the normal 2<sup>nd</sup> person agreement morpheme.

- (24) a. (Nik **hi**) ikusi **haut**.  
(1.S.Erg **2.S.C.Abs**) see.Prf Aux-**2.S.C.Abs**-1.S.Erg  
'I saw you.'
- b. (**Zuek** ni) ikusi **naizue**.  
(**2.P.Erg** 1.S.Abs) see.Prf Aux-1.S.Abs-**2.P.Erg**  
'You saw me.'



## Allocutive agreement in Basque: Questions

Moreover, the allocutive agreement is not allowed in the main clause if it is a question.

(27) a. Lan egiten duia hire lagunak?  
work AUX.3E.Q your friend.ERG  
'Does your friend work?'

b. \*Lan egiten dina hire lagunak?  
work AUX.3E.ALLOfem.Q your friend.ERG

In another dialect, Batua Basque, allocutive agreement occurs in questions (Zu 2014).

(28) Batua Basque

a. Lan egiten **al** di- $\emptyset$ -k hire lagunak.  
work Q aux-3sg.erg-**alloc.m** your friend.erg  
'Does your friend work?' said to a male friend

b. Lan egiten **al** di- $\emptyset$ -n hire lagunak.  
work Q aux-3sg.erg-**alloc.f** your friend.erg  
'Does your friend work?' said to a female friend

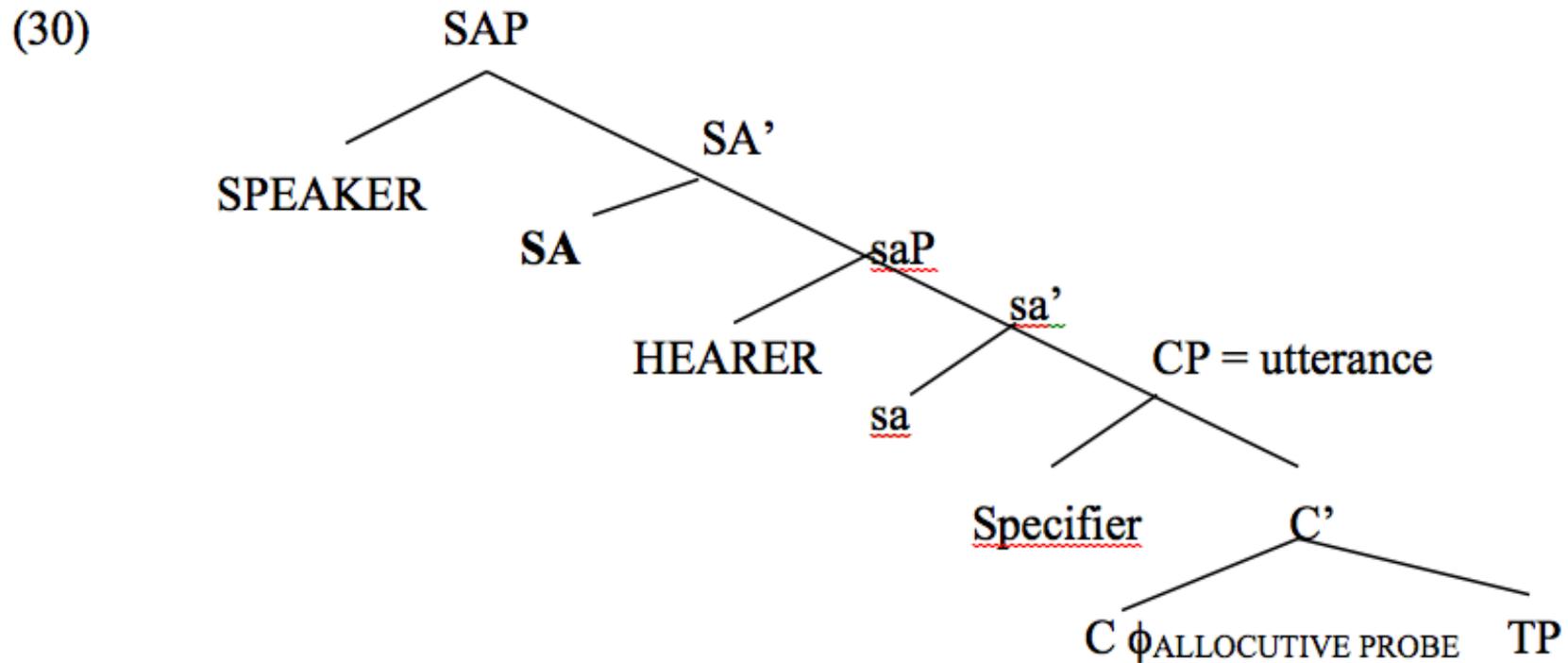
## Questions in Batua and Souletin dialects of Basque

What is the difference between the Batua dialect and Souletin? As Zu notes, in Batua Basque, the question particle **al** occurs away from C.

- (29) a. John ikusi **al** d-u-zu?                      Batua Basque  
John see    Q 3.abs-aux-2sg.erg  
'Have you seen John?'
- b. John ikusi d-u-zu-**ia**?                      Northeastern Basque (Souletin)  
John see    3.abs-aux-2sg.erg-Q  
'Have you seen John?'

# The speech act phrase (SAP)

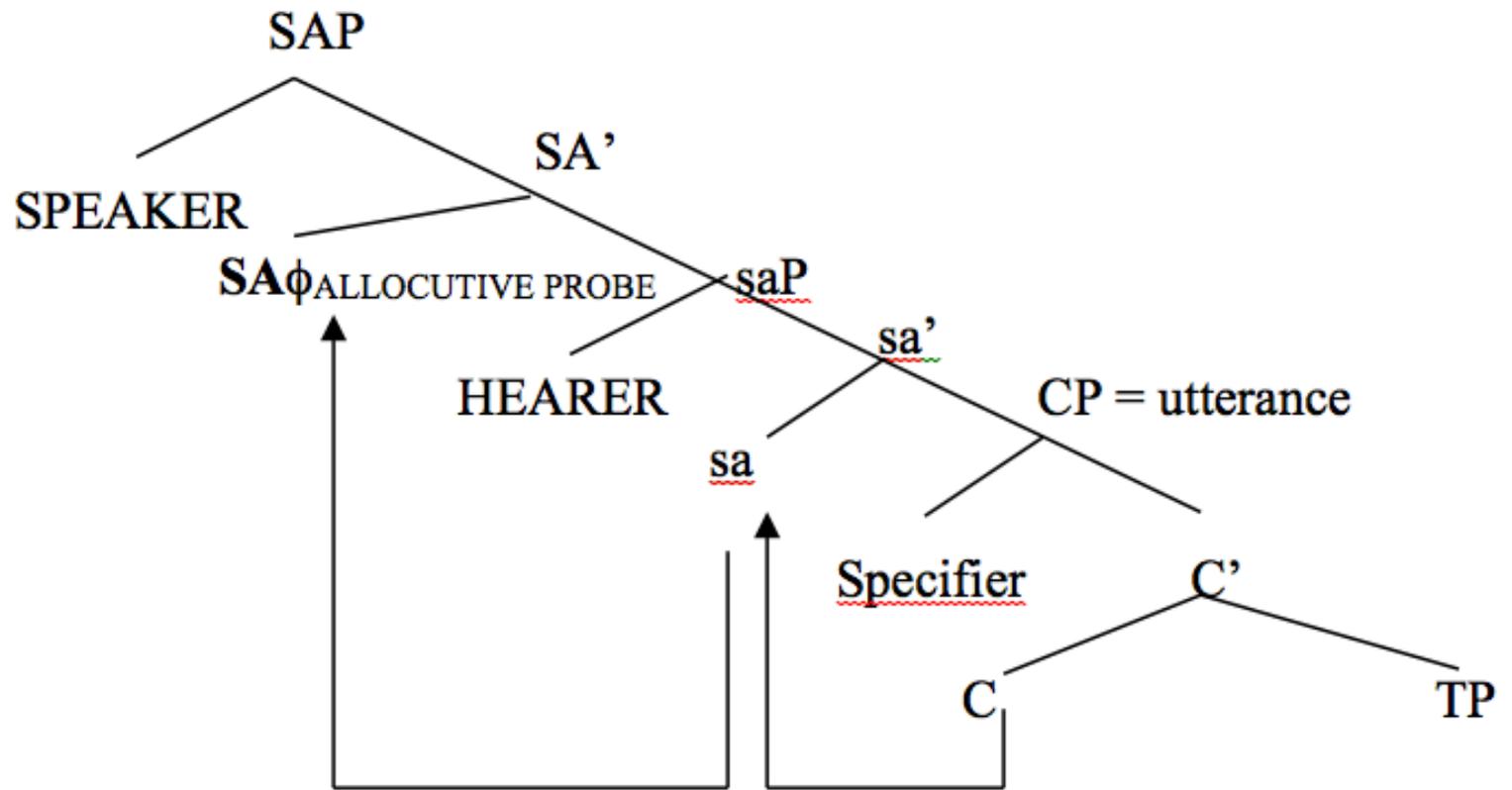
Allocutive agreement requires a second person “goal” in the structure that corresponds to the addressee: Ross’s (1969) performative analysis, updated by Speas and Tenney (2003) and Haegeman and Hill (2011).



# The speech act phrase (SAP) and allocutive agreement

The allocutive feature raises to the higher shell (Miyagawa 2012)

(31)



## Politeness marking in Japanese as allocutive agreement

Oyharçabal (1993), referring to Miyagawa (1987), observes that the Japanese politeness marking has the same function and distribution as the Basque allocutive agreement.

Basque allocutive agreement:

- politeness marking (formal, colloquial)
- borne by C

The politeness marking in Japanese is borne by C (Miyagawa 1987)

(32) Dare-ga ki-mas-u ka? (FORMAL)  
who-NOM come-MAS-PRES Q  
'Who will come?'

(33) \*Dare-ga kuru ka? (COLLOQUIAL)  
who-NOM come Q  
'Who will come?'

(34) *ka* must be selected by a head.

The following contrast between bridge and nonbridge matrix verbs shows this.

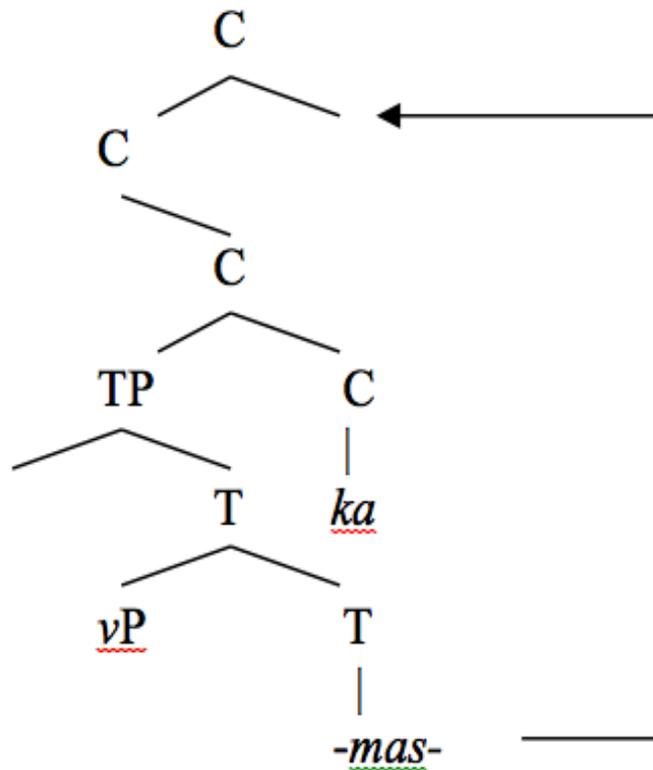
Bridge/Non-Bridge verbs

- (35) a. Bill-wa [CP dare-ga kuru *ka*] itta.  
Bill-TOP who-NOM come Q said  
'Bill said who will come.'
- b. ?\*Bill-wa [CP dare-ga kuru *ka*] donatta.  
Bill-TOP who-NOM come Q shouted  
'Bill shouted who will come.'

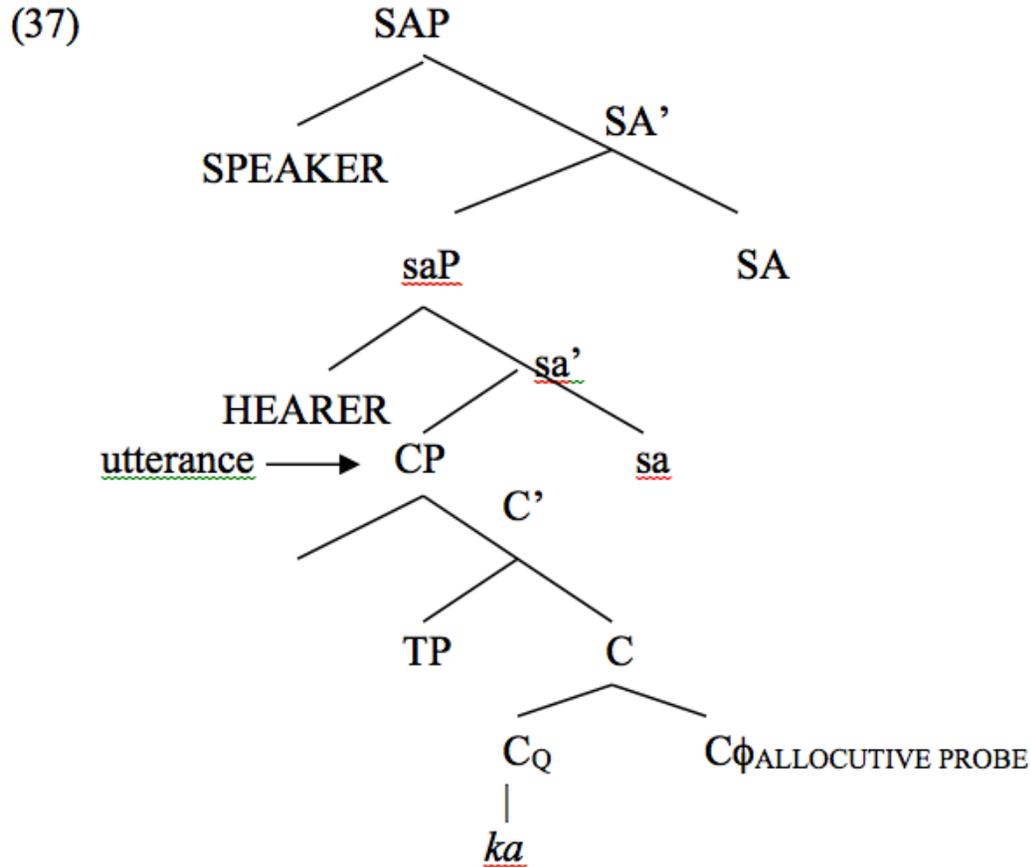
# Politeness marking at C

(36) -mas- (Miyagawa 1987)

The politeness suffix begins in the region of T, and raises to CP. This is a form of LF affix raising (cf. Pesetsky 1983, Kitagawa 1986).



# Politeness marking at C



In Japanese, only the formal form, *-mas-*, is associated with the  $\phi$ -feature probe that forms an allocutive agreement, while in Souletin, both formal and colloquial styles have allocutive agreement.

## Politeness marking at C

If *-mas-* is indeed a  $\phi$ -feature probe like allocutive agreement in Souletin, it requires the “super structure” created by the “sa” head. This makes the prediction that *-mas-* cannot occur in embedded contexts where *ka* must be selected by a matrix verb. This prediction is borne out.

- (38) Bill-wa [CP dare-ga kuru/\**ki-mas-u ka*] tazuneta.  
Bill-TOP who-NOM come/come-MAS-PRES Q asked  
'Bill said who will come.'

## Speech act projection in English: style adverbs

### (39) Root

A root will mean either the highest S in a tree, an S immediately dominated by the highest S or the reported S in direct discourse.  
(Emonds 1969: 6)

- (40)
- a. Never had I had to borrow money.
  - b. Because never had I had to borrow money, I have a lot saved.
  - c. John said that never had he had to borrow money.
  - d. \*The fact that never had he had to borrow money is well-known.

## Speech act projection in English: style adverbs

Amano (1990) (cf. Miyagawa 2012): Style adverbs are root phenomena

(41) *Style* (Greenbaum 1969; Quirk et al 1972, 1985)

frankly, truthfully, honestly, ...

Highest S:

(42) a. *Frankly*, did you like the article? (question)

b. *Truthfully*, who broke the window? (question)

c. *Honestly*, don't tell him about it. (order)

S immediately dominated by the highest S:

(43) John fired his assistant, because, *frankly*, he was incompetent.

The reported S in direct discourse:

(44) Mary said, "Honestly, no one liked the article."

## Speech act projection and relative clause

Harada (1976): politeness marking may occur in relative clauses

- (45) Watasi-wa mizu-tama-moyoo-no ari-*mas-u* kami-ga  
I-TOP polka dots exist-MAS-PRES paper-NOM  
hosi-i to omoi-mas-u.  
want C think-MAS-PRES  
'I want the paper with polka dots.'

Style adverbs may occur in relative clauses in English (Miyagawa 2012)

- (46) I hired a student who, honestly, no one else was willing to hire.

Root (Miyagawa, in press)

- (47) An unselected clause constitutes a root.

## Further evidence for the speech act projection: Tibeto-Burman

Two languages from the Tibeto-Burman family, Jingpo and Newari, exhibit allocutive agreement (Zu 2015, forthcoming).

### JINGPO

All agreements occur on a sentence final particle.

(48) Subject vs. speaker agreement in Jingpo (Dai 2010:5)

- 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)

(48a) has the normal subject agreement, and neutral interpretation relative to the speaker. In (48b), the speaker agreement implies a close relation, or "bonding," between the speaker and the subject of the sentence, students.

Jingpo: the target of allocutive agreement does not overtly occur

Just as in Basque, the target of the speaker agreement in Jingpo must be covert.

(49) The target of speaker agreement must be covert in Jingpo

(\*Ngai) jongma du hkum sa-**ga**-ai

I student arrive complete PERF-**1PL**-DECL

‘The students have all arrived.’ (speaker agreement, covert speaker)

## Two arguments that the Jinpo speaker agreement is regular agreement

Zu gives two arguments that the speaker agreement is true agreement. First, the speaker agreement has the same morphological form, *ga*, as the normal 1<sup>st</sup> person plural agreement.

(50) Subject agreement with first person pronouns in Jingpo (Dai and Xu 1992:125,162)

a. (Anhte) masum lang hti sa-**ga**-ai

we three time read PERF-**1PL**.DECL

‘We have read (it) three times.’ (subject agreement, optional speaker)

b. Daina go (anhte) yong datshin sa yu mo nga **ga**-ai.

tonight TOP we all movie go see plan IMPF **1PL**.DECL

‘We all plan to go see a movie tonight.’ (subject agreement, optional speaker)

## Two arguments that the Jinpo speaker agreement is regular agreement

Second, like in Basque, the allocutive competes with sentential agreement.

(51) The perfective-final particles, first person subject (Dai and Xu 1992)

Subject	(Indirect) object	Singular	Plural
1	No object	<i>sangai</i>	<i>sagaai</i>
1	1	—	—
1	2	<i>sinde ai</i>	<i>masinde ai</i>
1	3	<i>se ai</i>	<i>mase ai</i>

In cases where both the subject and the object refer to the first person, the sentence-final particle only agrees with the subject.

(52) Ngai anhte-hpe hkyen ton ya sa-**ng**-ai.  
I we-OBJ prepare APPL PERF-1SG-DECL  
'I have already prepared for us.'

## Two arguments that the Jinpo speaker agreement is regular agreement

As evidence that the speaker agreement is part of the regular agreement system, Zu points out that the speaker agreement and 1<sup>st</sup> subject agreement are mutually exclusive.

(53) Speaker agreement and 1<sup>st</sup> person subject agreement are mutually exclusive

a. Ngai du sa-**ng**-ai.

I arrive PERF-1SG-DECL

‘I have arrived.’

b. \*Ngai du sa-**ga**-ai.

I arrive PERF-1PL-DECL

(Int.) ‘I have arrived.’

## Newari: Extending the speech act domain

Newari verb suffixes encode both tense and the so-called conjunct-disjunct distinction (Hale 1980, DeLancey 1992, Hargreaves 2005).

(54) Verbal inflection in Newari (Hargreaves 2005)

Verb suffixes	Past	Nonpast
Conjunct	<i>ā</i>	<i>e</i>
Disjunct	<i>a</i>	<i>i</i>

## Newari: Extending the speech act domain

(55) a. wõ:                    [wa ana wan-ã                    dhakã:] dhãla  
(s)he.ERG    (s)he there go-PST.CONJ that    said  
'(S)hei said that (s)hei/\*j went there.'    (co-indexation)

b. wõ:                    [wa ana wan-a                    dhakã:] dhãla  
(s)he.ERG    (s)he there go-PST.DISJ that    said  
'(S)hei said that (s)he\*i/j went there.'    (disjoint reference)

## Newari: Extending the speech act domain

Evidence for the saP comes from observing the verbal inflection in matrix clauses.

(56) Main declarative clauses in Newari

a. *ji ana wan-ã / wan-e*  
I there go-PST.CONJ go-FUT.CONJ  
'I went/will go there.' (Decl: subject = speaker ... conjunct)

b. *cha ana wan-a / wan-i*  
you there go-PST.DISJ go-FUT.DISJ  
'You went/will go there.' (Decl: subject = addressee ... disjunct)

c. *wa ana wan-a / wan-i*  
(s)he there go-PST.DISJ go-FUT.DISJ  
'(S)he went/will go there.' (Decl: subject = 3rd ... disjunct)

## Newari: Extending the speech act domain

### (57) Main interrogative clauses in Newari

a.   ji   ana wan-**a**           /   wan-**i**           lã  
      I   there go-PST.DISJ   go-FUT.DISJ   Q  
      ‘Did/Will I go there? (I don’t remember.)’  
      (Intr: subject = speaker ... disjunct)

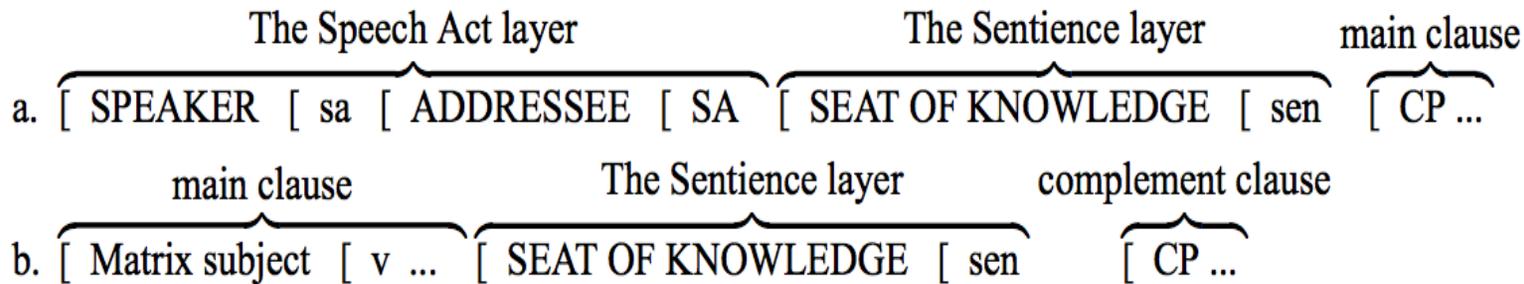
b.   cha ana wan-**ã**           /   wan-**e**           lã  
      you there go-PST.CONJ go-FUT.CONJ   Q  
      ‘Did/Will you go there?’ (Intr: subject = addressee ... conjunct)

c.   wa ana wan-**a**           /   wan-**i**           lã  
      (s)he there go-PST.DISJ go-FUT.DISJ   Q  
      ‘Did/Will (s)he go there?’   (Intr: subject = 3rd ... disjunct)

## Newari: Extending the speech act domain

"Seat of knowledge" in the SENTIENCE layer (Speas and Tenny 2003).

(58) The sentient layer (Speas and Tenney 2003)



(59) Declarative and interrogative sentences and the seat of knowledge

a. Declarative:  $\text{Speaker}_i \dots \text{Addressee} \dots \text{Seat of knowledge}_i \dots \text{Subject}_i \dots \text{V}_{conj}$

b. Interrogative:  $\text{Speaker} \dots \text{Addressee}_i \dots \text{Seat of knowledge}_i \dots \text{Subject}_i \dots \text{V}_{conj}$

## Akkuş and Hill (2017)

In (60a), the noun indicates the speaker whereas the enclitic possessive pronoun indicates the addressee. Conversely, in (2b), the noun stands for the addressee and the possessive enclitic for the speaker. The possessive pronoun, glossed as 3SG, comes in the invariable 3<sup>rd</sup> person singular at all times.

(60)

- a. (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, a novel)

Turkish

- b. (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?’

Turkish

## Akkuş and Hill (2017)

### Palestinian Arabic

Palestinian Arabic (PA) also allows for the concurrent spellout of speaker and addressee in direct addresses, but the implementation involves two juxtaposed nouns, as shown in (61). Furthermore, the spell out is free, in the sense that the speaker may occur without the addressee (hence the brackets around *Layla* in (61), indicating optionality between a lexical or a *pro* category for addressee). This contrasts with the Turkish examples, where the spellout of the speaker obligatorily involves the spellout of the addressee.

(61)

(an uncle addresses his niece named Layla)<sup>2</sup>

ya            (layla)        *ammo*

PRT            Layla            uncle

'Layla uncle,...!'

PA

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