



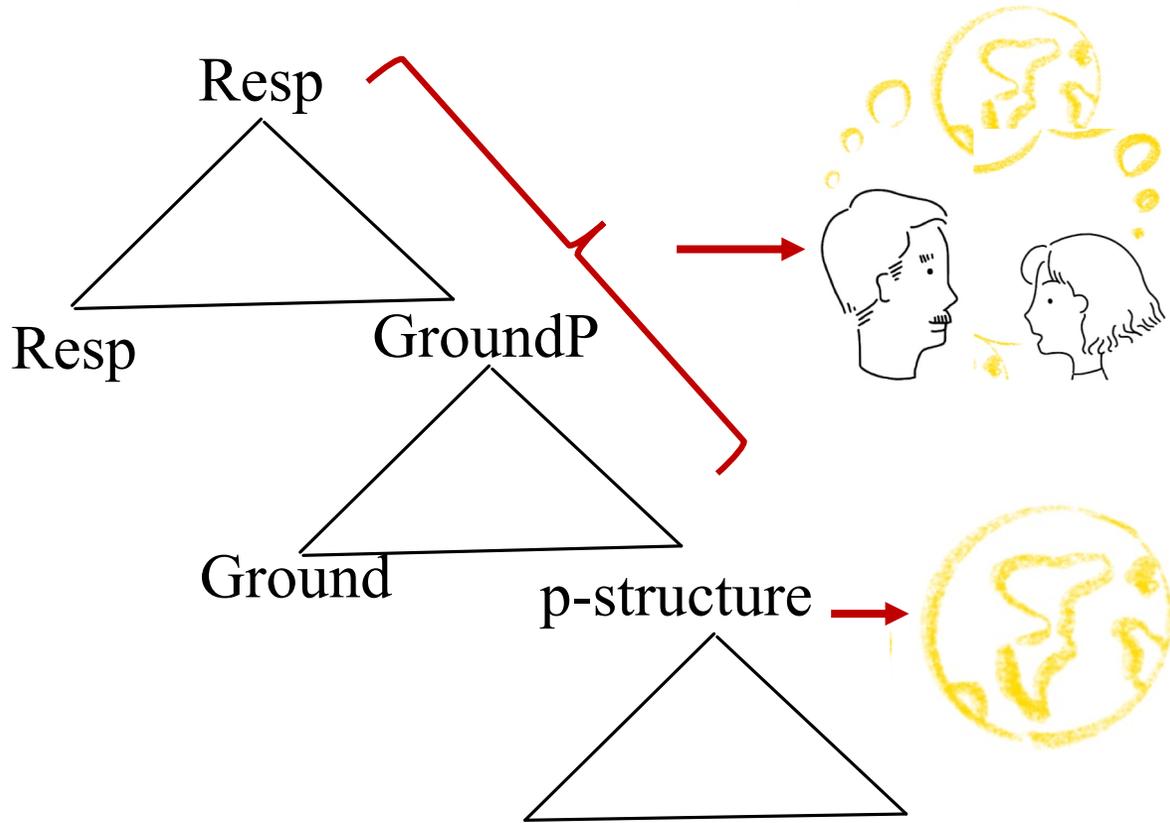
Let's interact with high end nominals

Martina Wiltschko
(ICREA, UPF, UBC)

joint work with
Elizabeth Ritter,
(UCalgary)



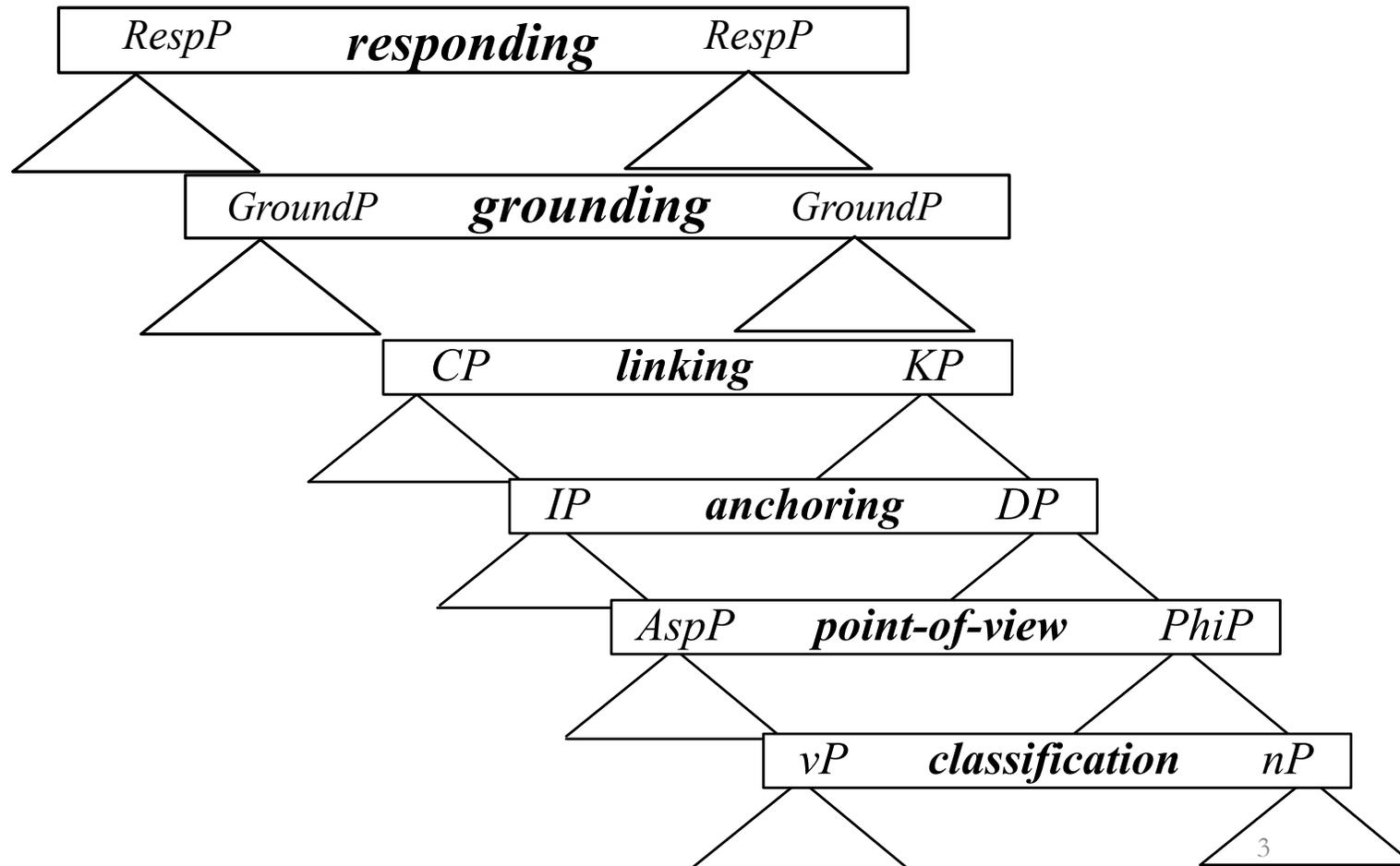
The syntax of interactional language



Interactional structure is about **mental worlds**:
Beliefs, attitudes, evaluations, discourse status,...)

Propositional structure is about the **world**:
propositions, individuals, eventualities,...

Parallels between nominal and clausal structure



Overview

Problem: What are vocatives?

Background: The interactional spine hypothesis

Proposal: The Nominal interactional spine

Analysis: The structure of vocatives on the interactional spine

Other Case-studies:

Two types of “Pronouns” (introducing *paranouns*)

Two types of Formality

Two uses of Demonstratives

What are vocatives?

Le vocatif reste . l'.cart. Il a une fonction appellative distincte de la fonction purement repr.sentative (symbolique) des autres cas. (Kurylowicz 1949: 146–147).

[The vocative stands aside. It has a calling function that is different from the purely representative (symbolic) function of other cases.]

- (1) a. (**Hey**) John, the kids will be home late.
 b. *(**Hey**) husband, the kids will be home late.

A problem

- (1) a. (**Hey**) John, the kids will be home late.
b. *(**Hey**) husband, the kids will be home late.
- (2) a. *(**Hey**) the husband, the kids will be home late.
b. He (*Da) Hons, die Kinda kumman spot ham
hey DET Hans, DET children come late home
'Hans, the children will be home late.'

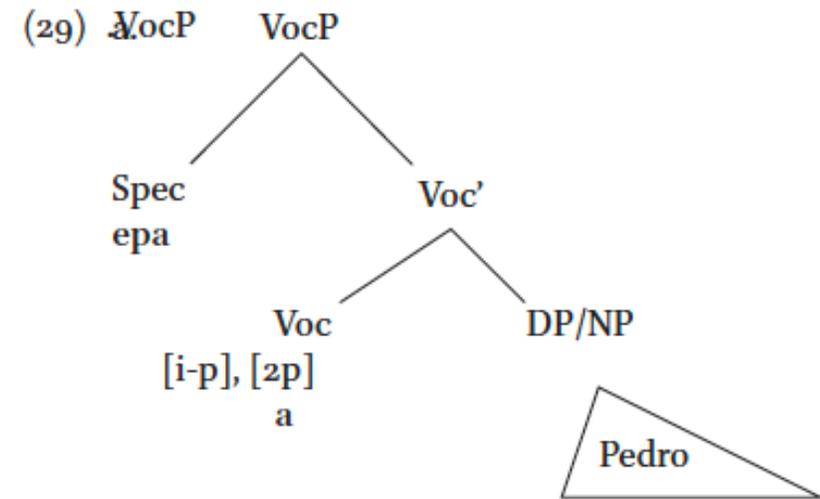
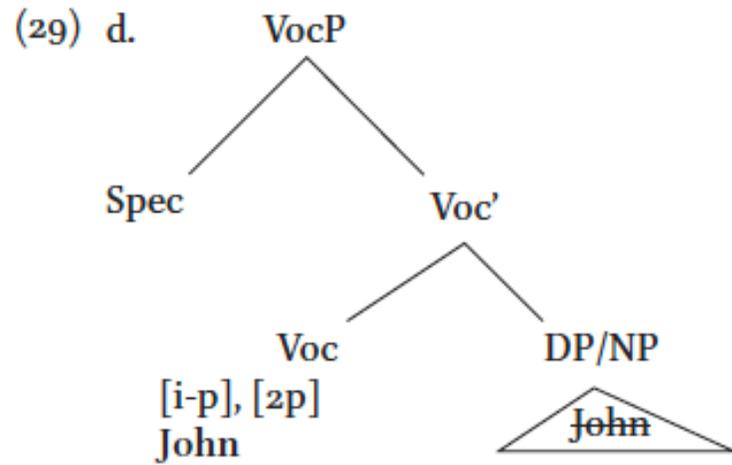
See Hill 2014,

A Problem

	Bare vocative	<i>Hey</i> vocative
Name	✓	✓
Noun	✗	✓
DP	✗	✗

What determines the form, function and distribution of vocatives?

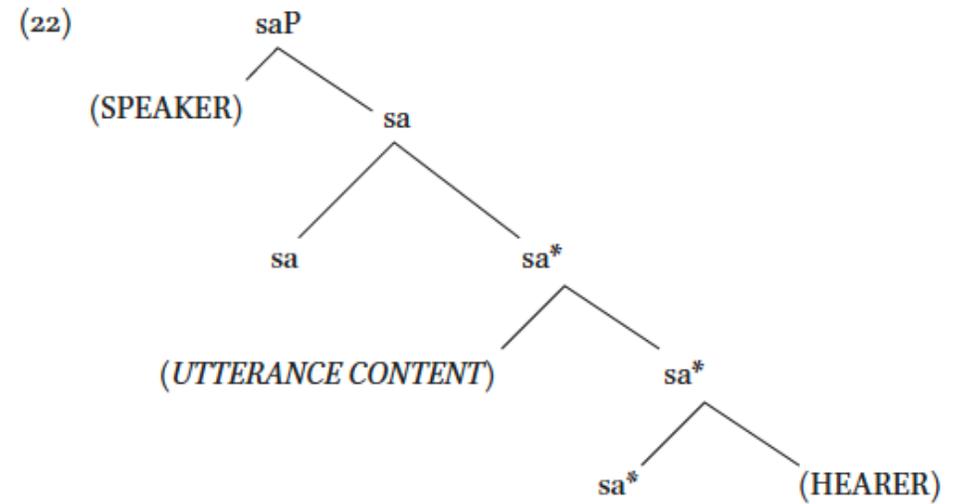
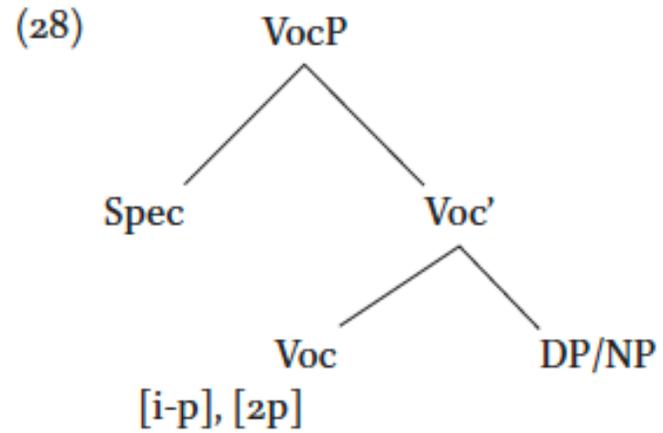
Hill 2014



See also Espinal 2013

Problems

- How is VocP parallel to SaP?



Speas & Tenny 2003

Problems

- How is VocP parallel to SaP?
- SaP suggests that ‘speech act’ is a primitive!
 - but SA’s are derived

Problems

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 - PragP, DiscP, ForceP, ParticleP, SpeakerP, AdrP,

Problems

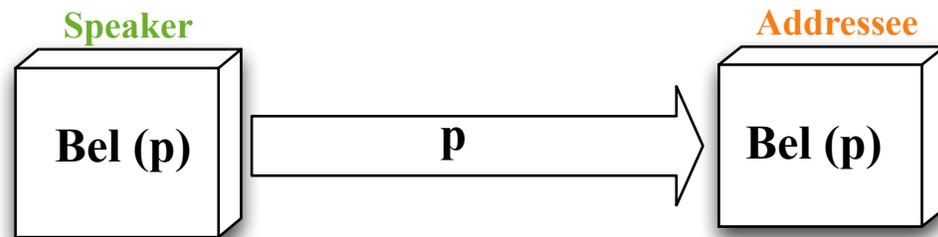
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- SA’s don’t exist in isolation: it’s about *interaction!*

The interactive nature of speech acts

S asserts p if

- i) S believes p
- ii) S wants A to believe p

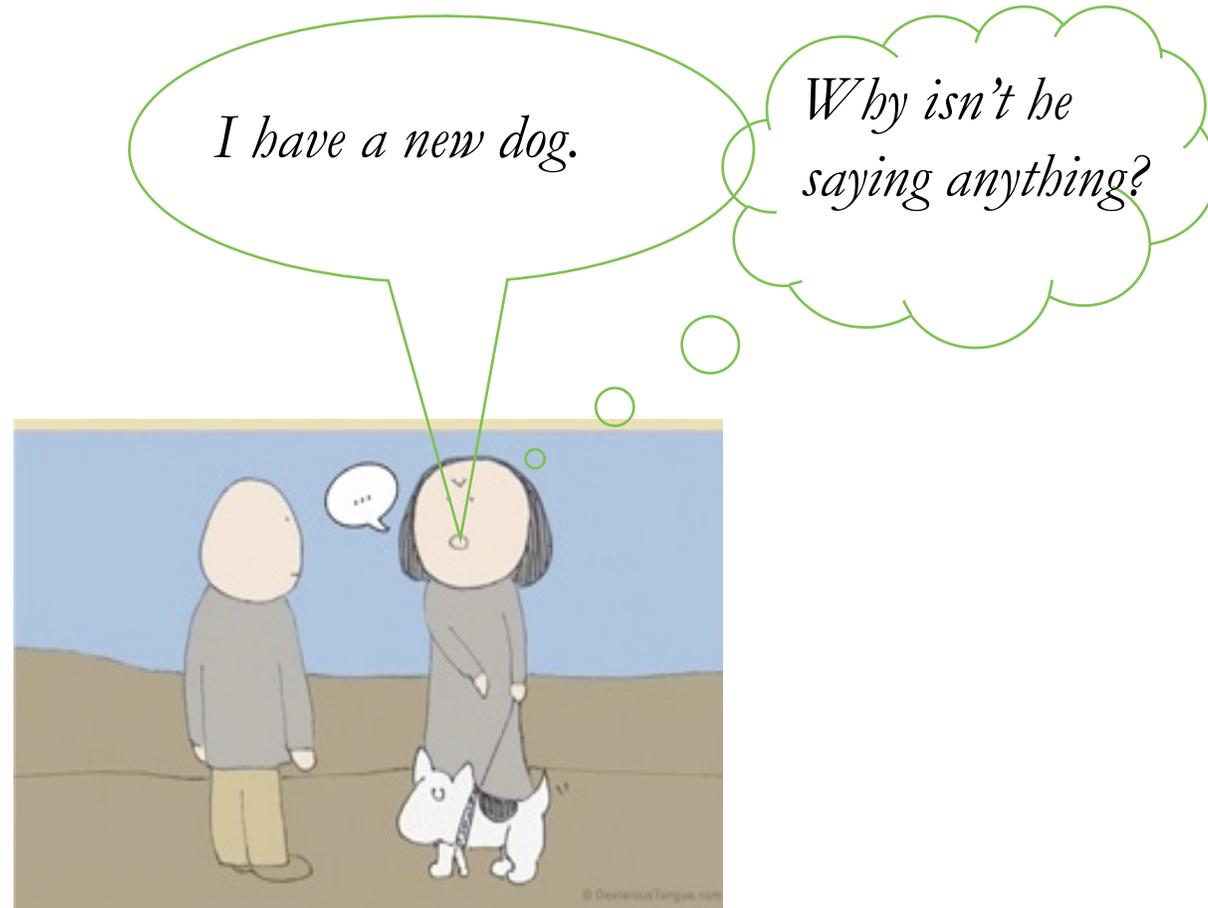
Bach & Harnish 1979



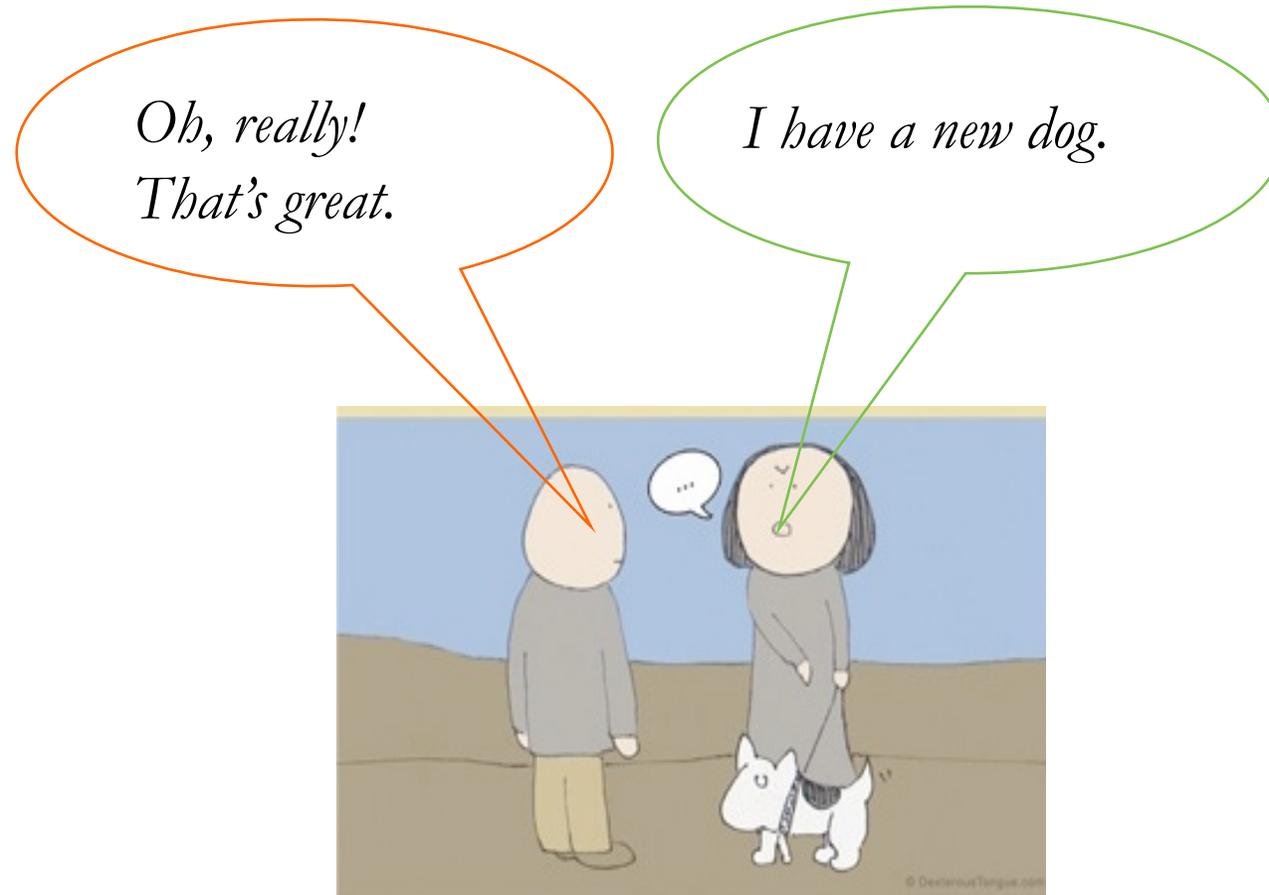
The grammar of interactional language

The interactive nature of speech acts

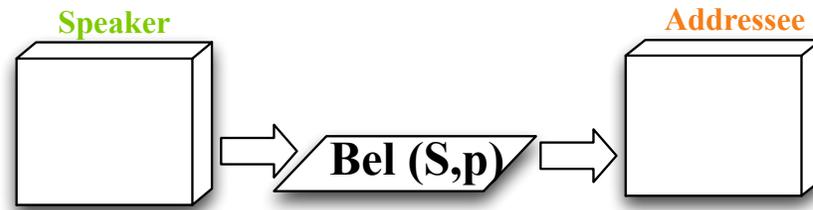
Assertions often need a response



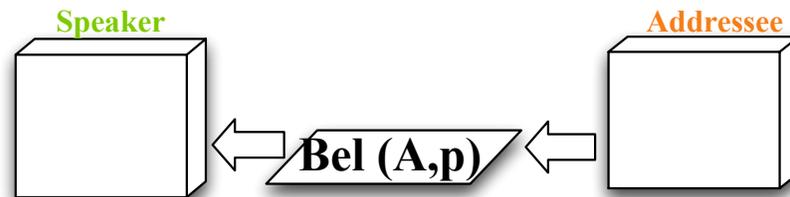
The interactive nature of speech acts



Initiating move



Reactive move



Problems

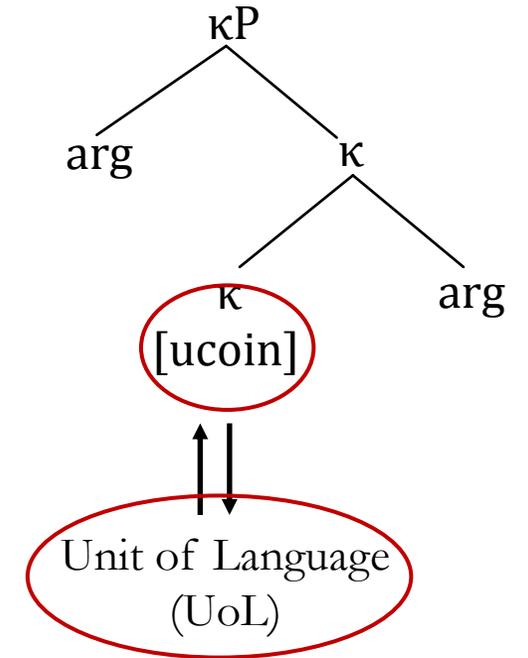
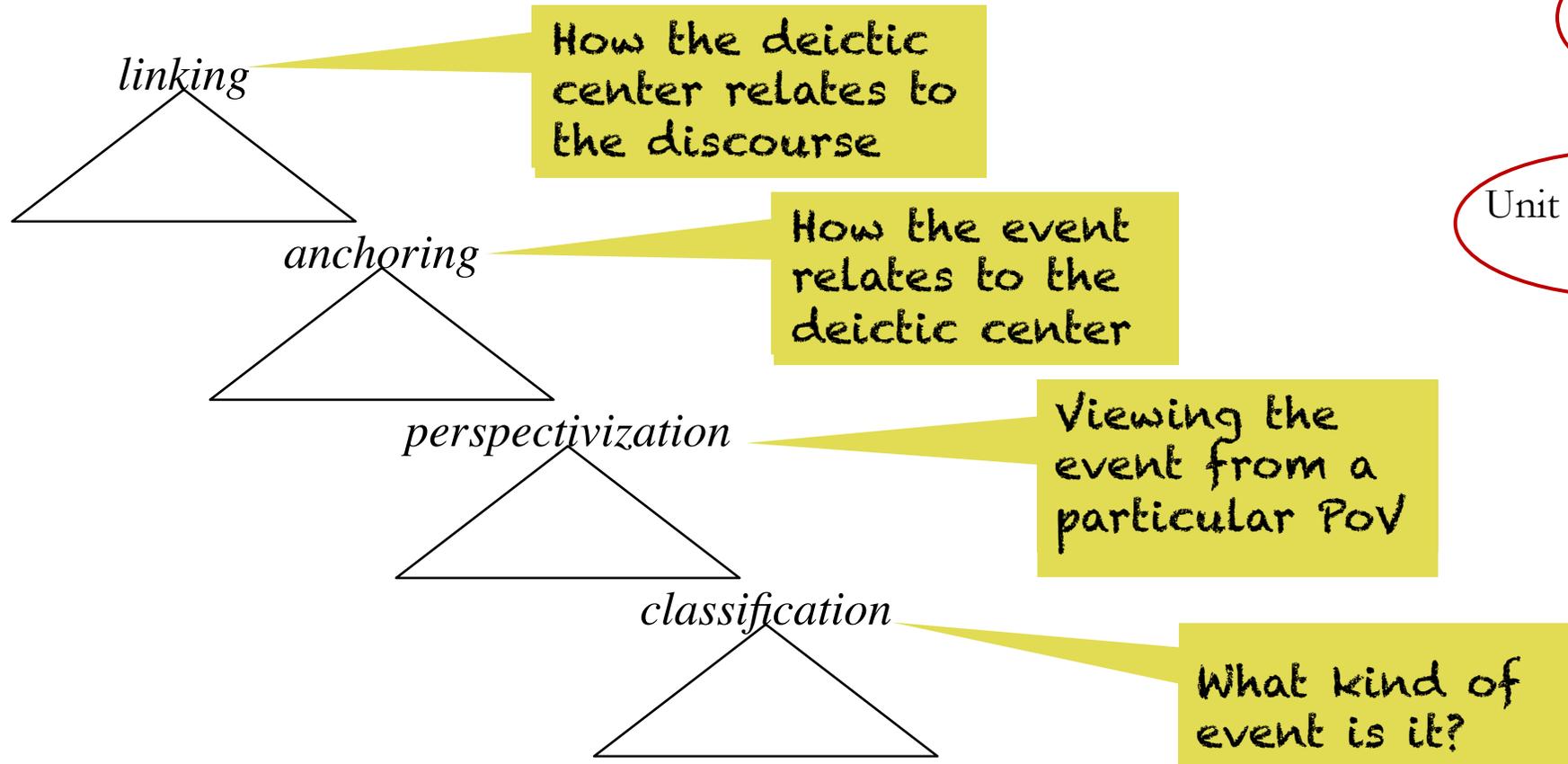
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Overview

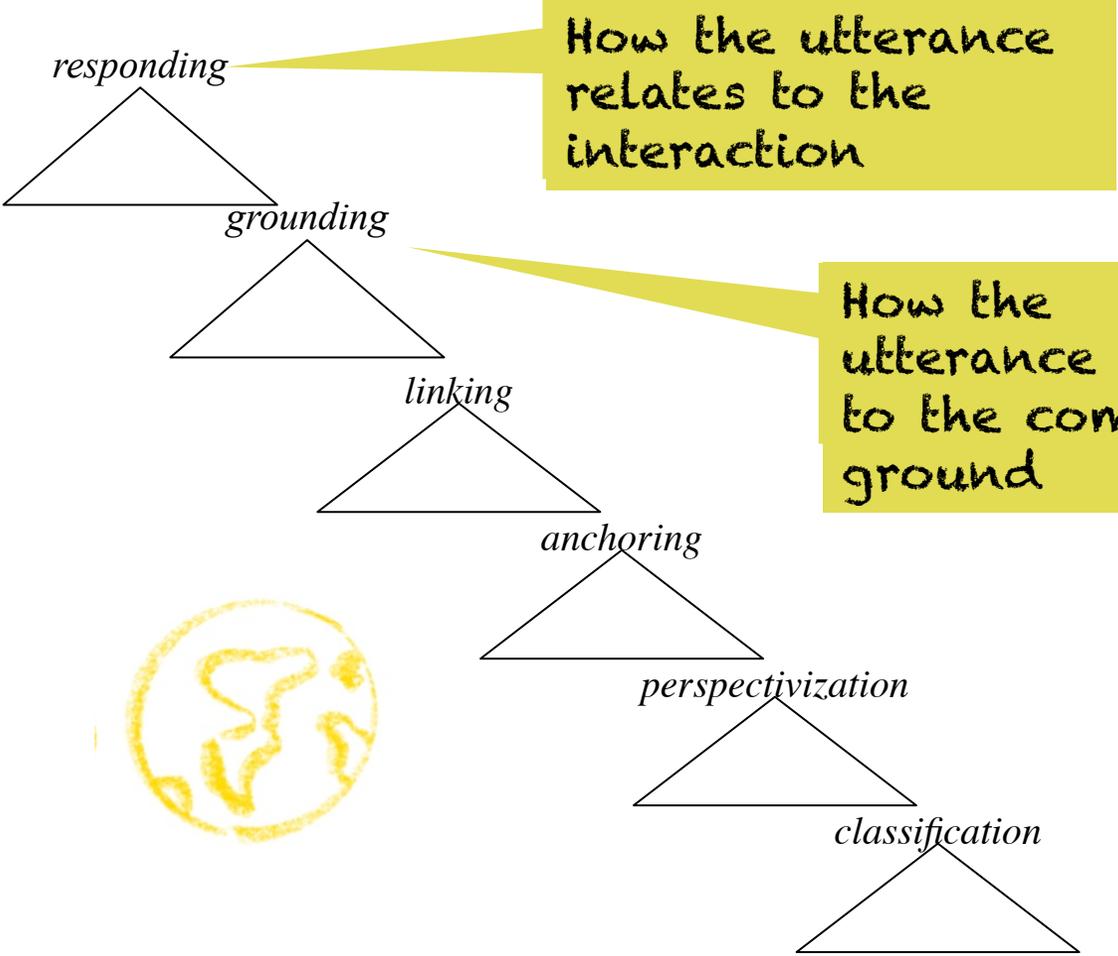
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The universal spine

Syntactic domains are associated with core abstract functions



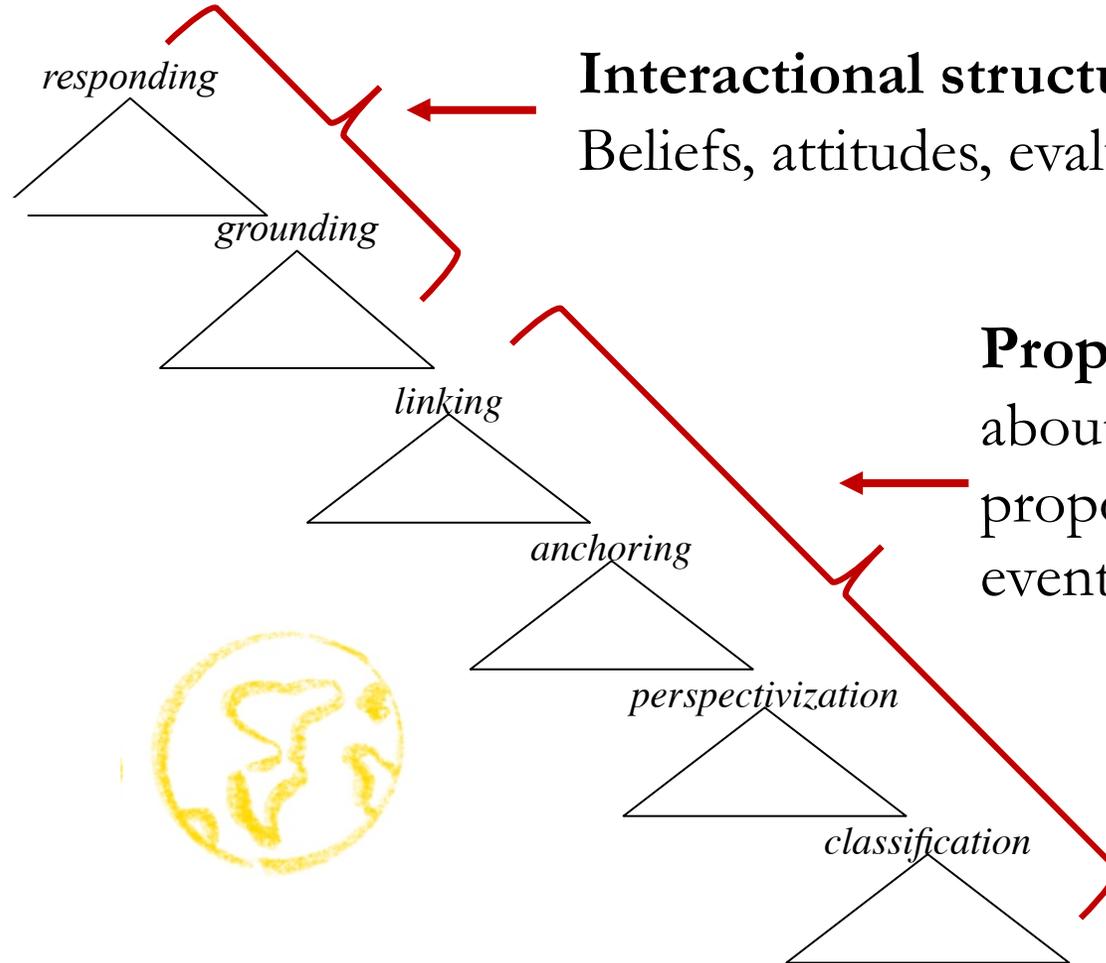
The interactional spine



How the utterance relates to the interaction

How the utterance relates to the common ground

The interactional spine

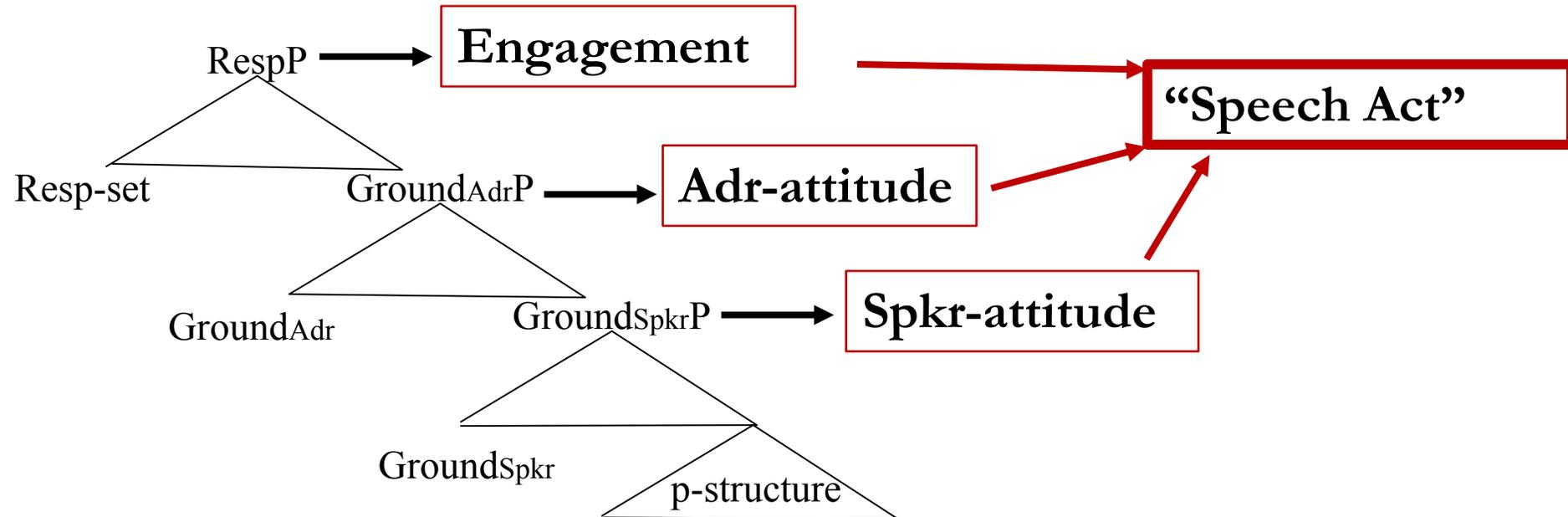


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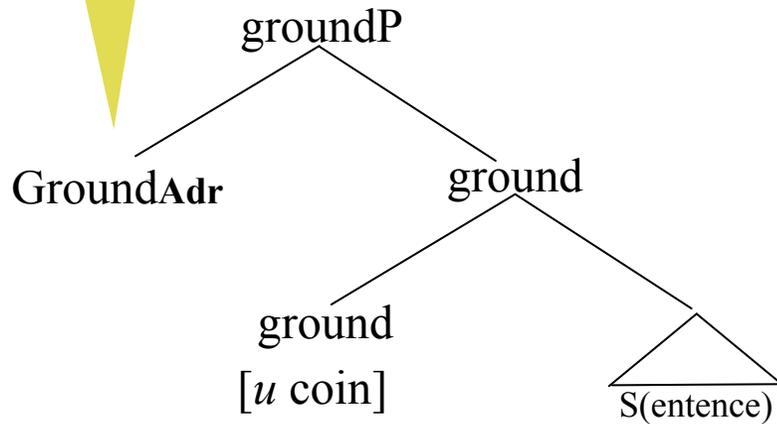
Extending the spine



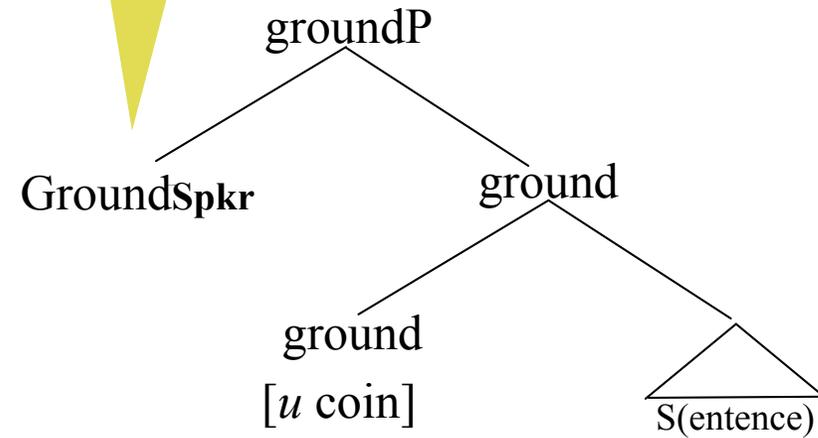
Wiltschko 2016,
Wiltschko & Heim 2016

The function of GroundP: commitment

What I'm saying
{is/is not} in
your ground



What I'm saying
{is/is not} in
my ground



Mandarin: *de* (Bel,(S,p))

Context: John was told that Mary drives to work. He wonders whether he can take a ride each morning. But he is not sure whether Mary drives every morning. He runs into Bob, Mary's husband, and wants to know whether it is true. Bob says:

Ta meitian zaoshang kaiche shangban **de.**

She every.day morning drive work **PRT**

'She (really) drives to work every morning.'

Ta meitian zaoshang kaiche shangban.

She every.day morning drive work

She drive to work every morning.

Mandarin: a (\neg Bel,(S,p))

Context: John is talking with his advisor Mary for his graduation. He thinks he has already done what are required for graduation. But Mary thinks he needs to publish another article before his graduation.

John: Dou wancheng le. Wo xianzai deng zhe biye le.
Everything is done. Now I am waiting for my graduation.

Mary: Buguo ni hai xuyao fabiao yi pian lunwen.
But you still need publish one cl paper
But you need to publish one more paper (before you graduate).

John: Shenme? Wo hai dei xie yi pian lunwen ***a***
What? I still must write one CL thesis **PRT**
What? I still have a thesis to write (which is out of my expectation).

Mandarin particles: *ma* (Bel,(A,p))

Context: Mary sent John a puppy to keep. After a month, John calls Mary to ask which kind of dog's food is better for his dog. He says to Mary:

Ni shangci gei wo le tiao gou **ma** ...

You last.time give me asp cl dog prt

...wo xiang wen ni nage paizi de gouliang hao.

I want ask you which brand poss. dog.food good.

'Remember you gave me a dog last time.

Now I want to ask which food is good for him.'

Mandarin particles: bei (\neg Bel,(A,p))

Context: Mary knows that John doesn't like cats. But one day when they are in the supermarket, she finds that John is looking at cat toys.

Mary: Ni zenme kan mao de dongxi?

You why look cat poss. things

Why are you looking at the cat stuff?

John: Wo erzi jian huilai yi zhi mao **bei** yiding yao yang.

My son pick back one cl cat prt, certainly want keep

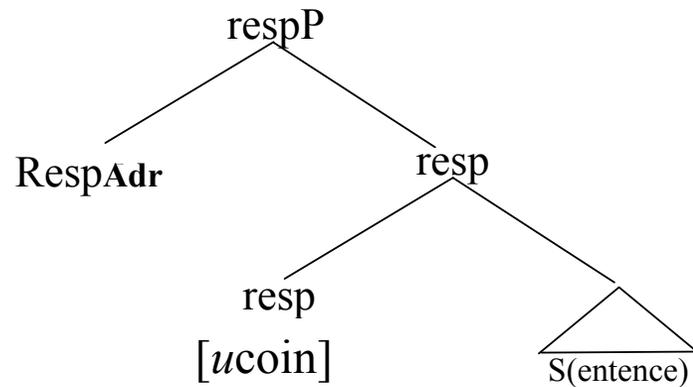
(You haven't known that) my son picked up a cat somewhere and wants to keep it anyway.

The function of RespP: engagement

RespP is sensitive to the discourse move

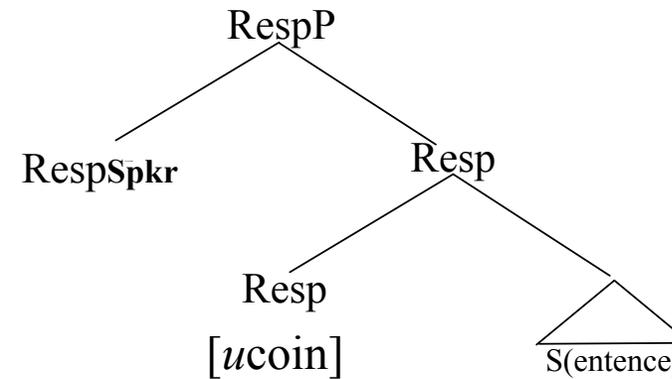
INITIATION:

[[.....] **Confirmational**]



REACTION:

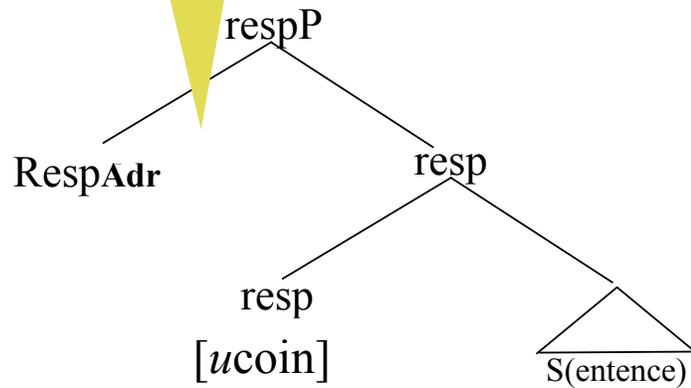
[**Response marker** [.....]]



The function of RespP: engagement

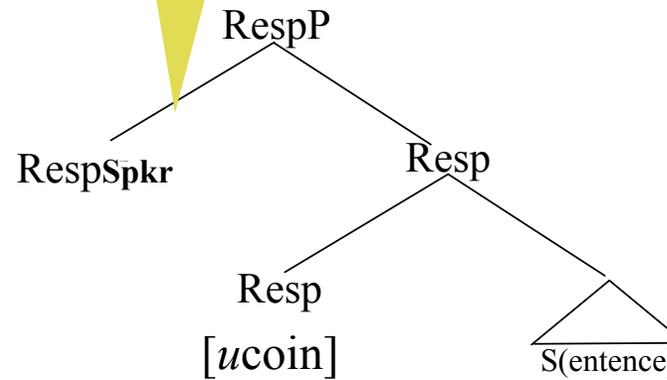
What I'm saying
{is/is not} in your
response-set

INITIATION:
[[.....] **Com** mational]



What I'm saying
{is/is not} in
my response-set

RESPONSE:
[.....] **Response marker** [.....]



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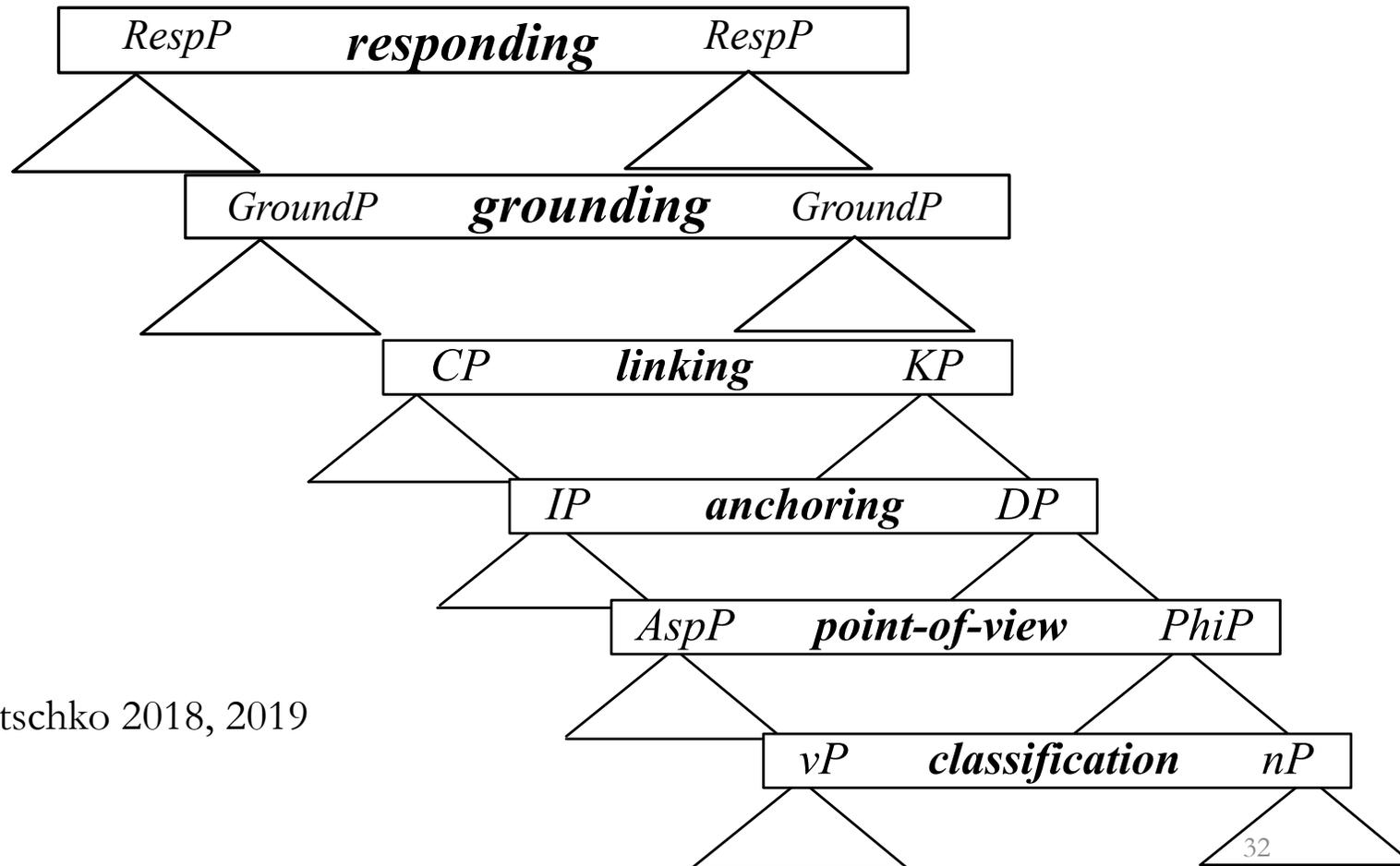
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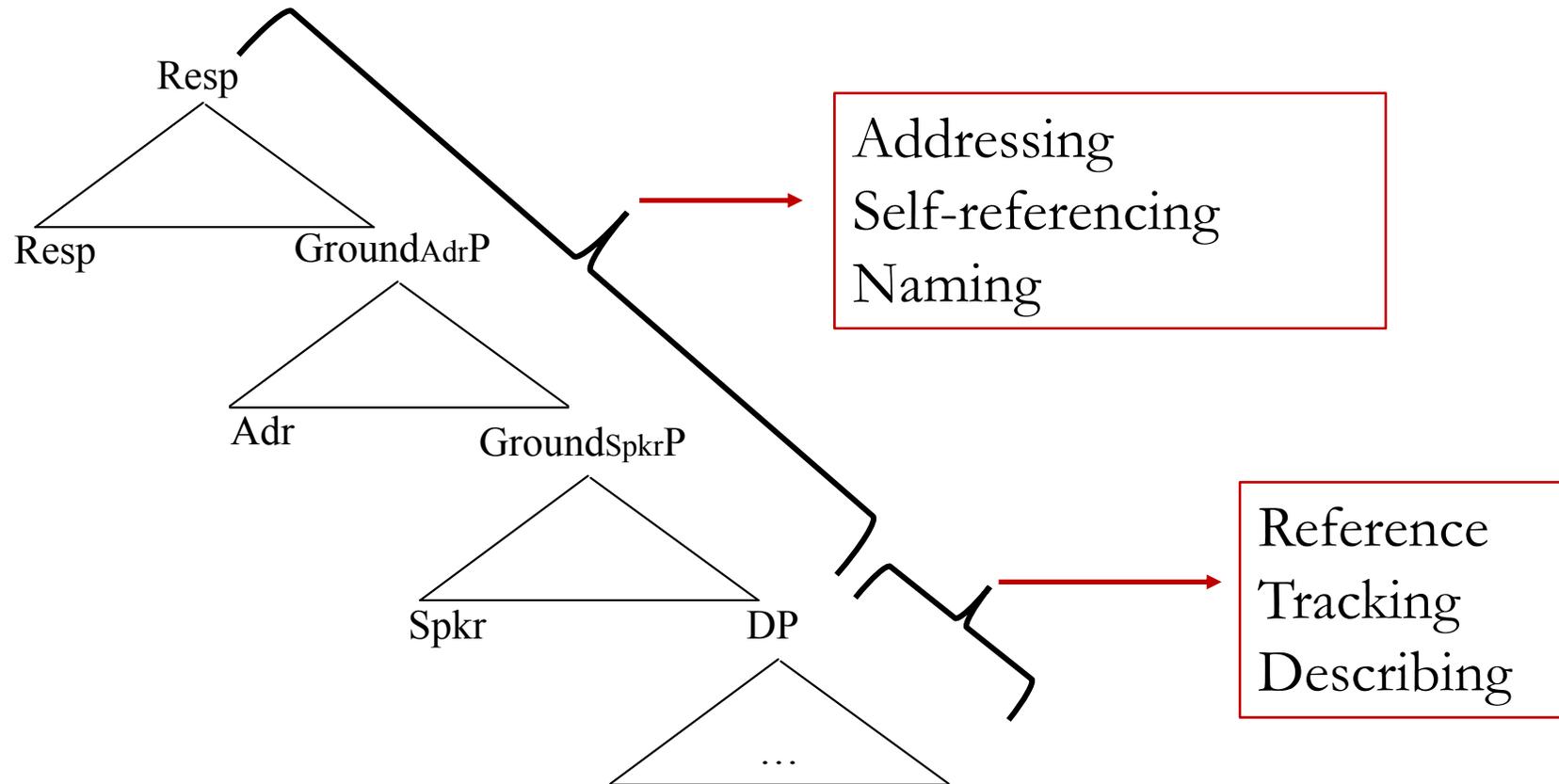
Two uses of Demonstratives

Parallels between nominal and clausal structure

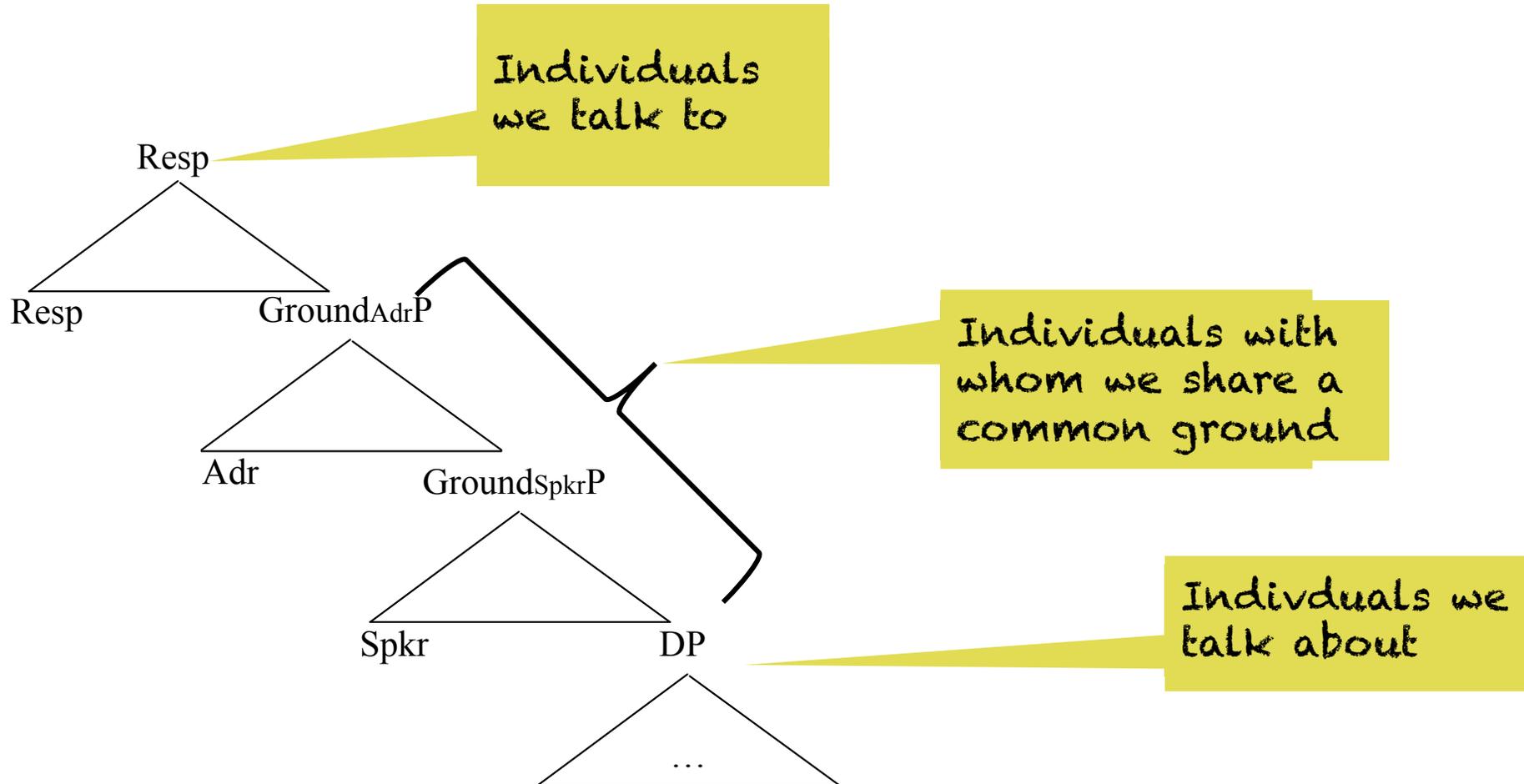


Ritter & Wiltschko 2018, 2019

What we do with nominals?

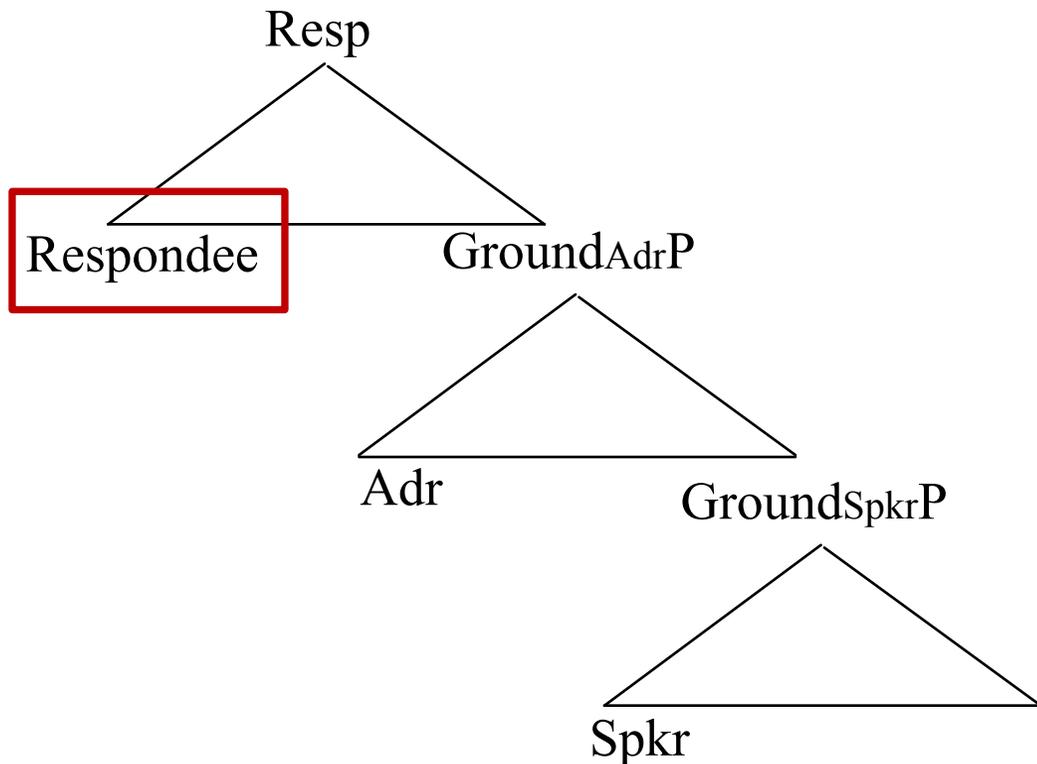


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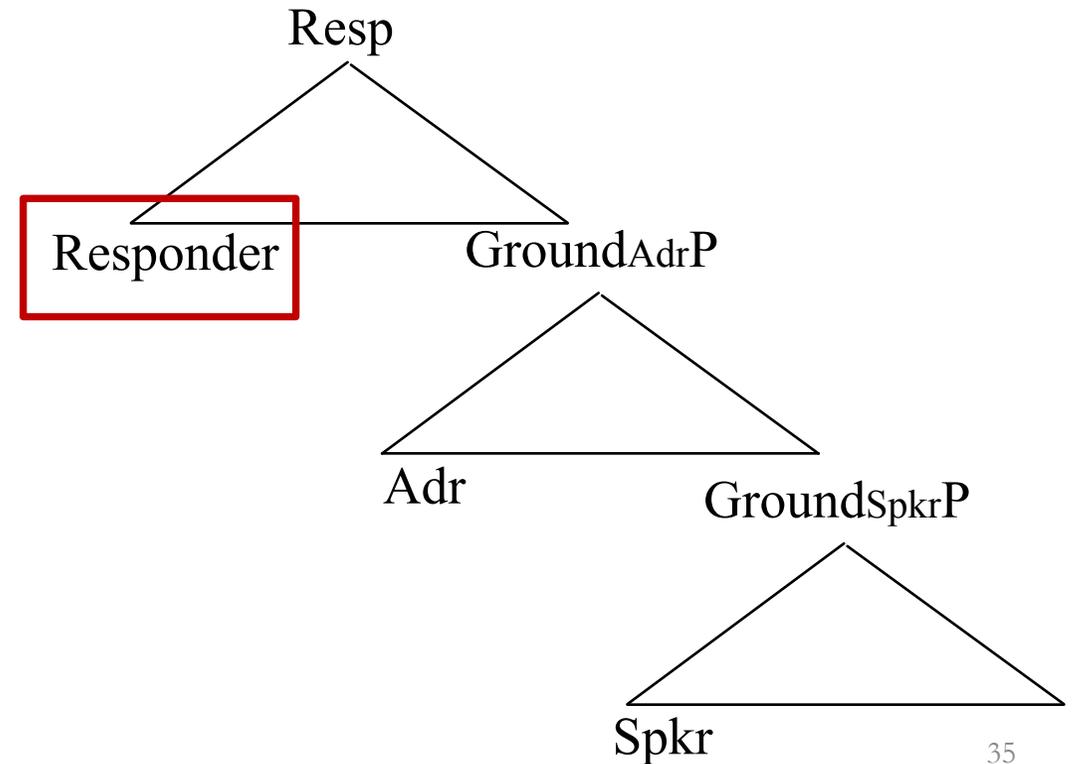


The function of RespP: engagement

INITIATION



REACTION



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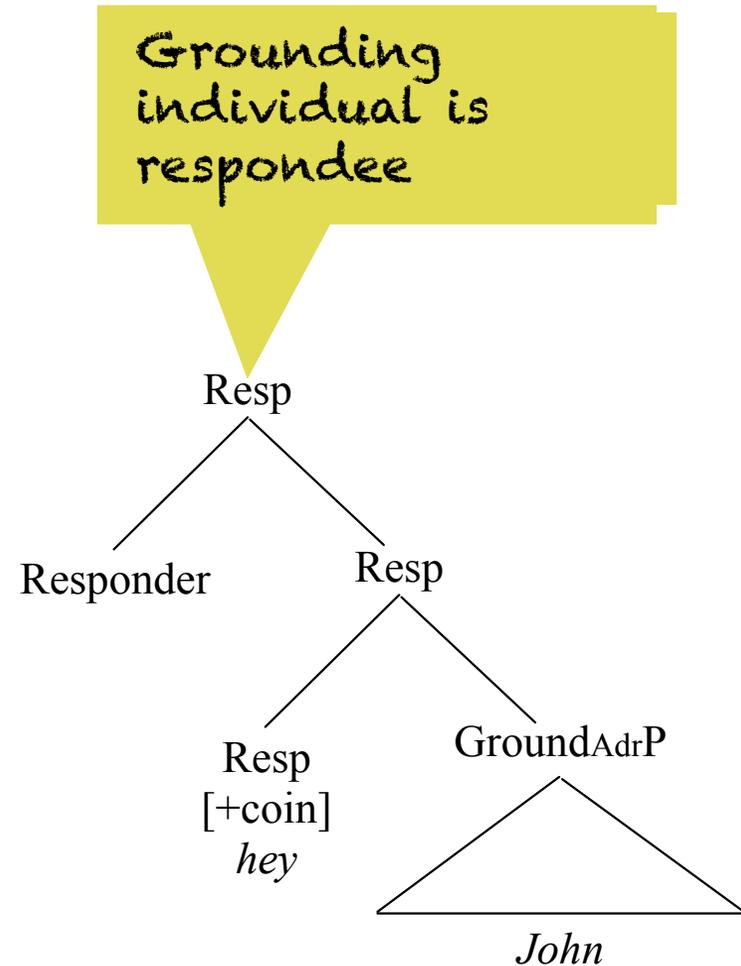
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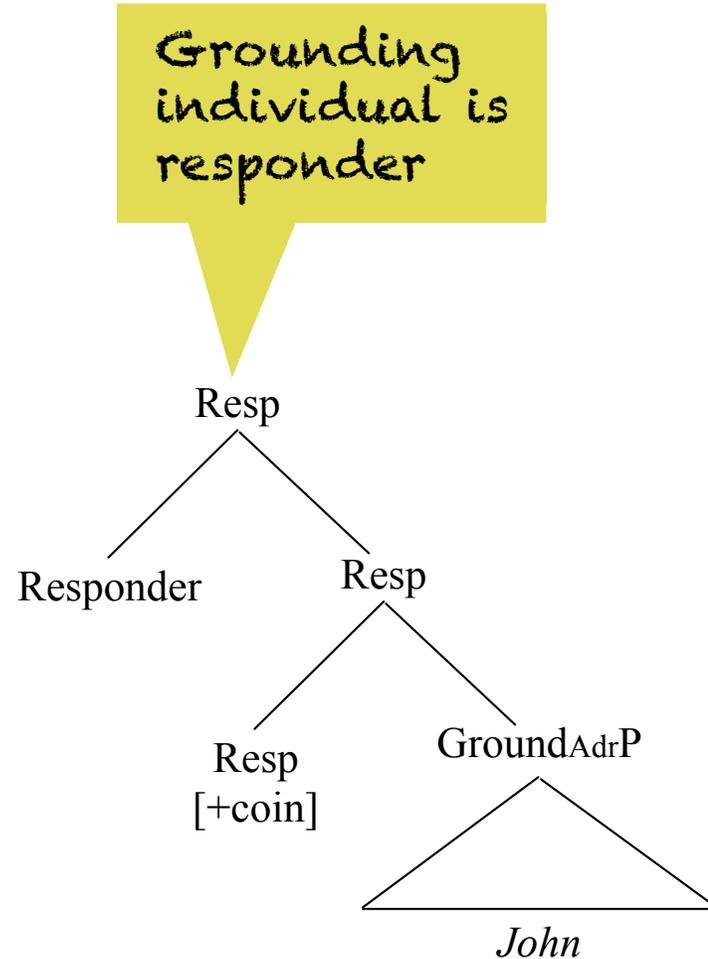
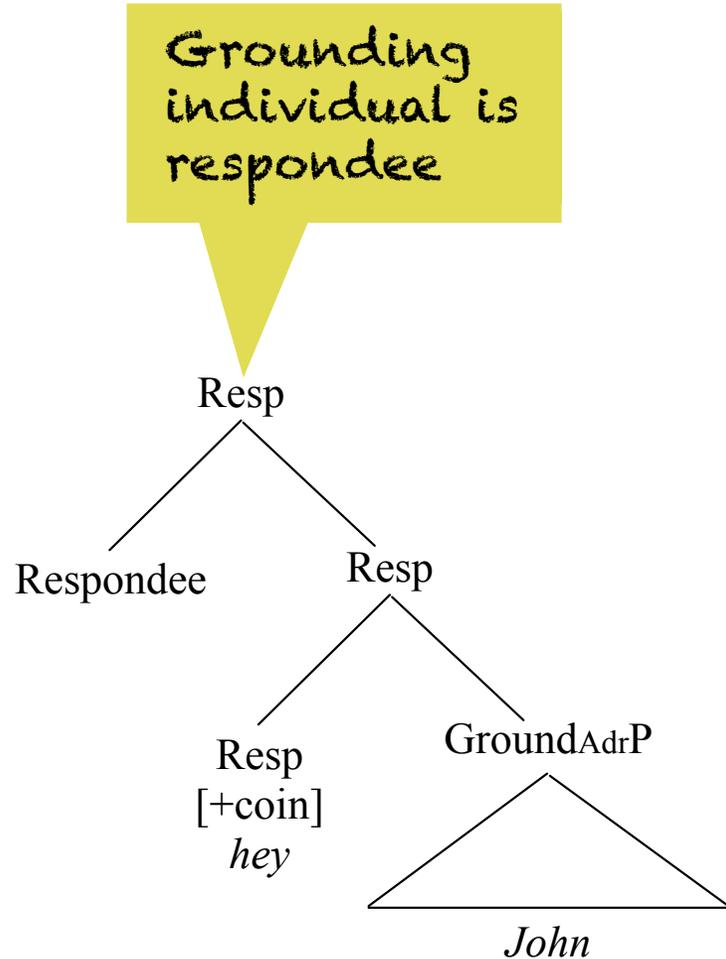
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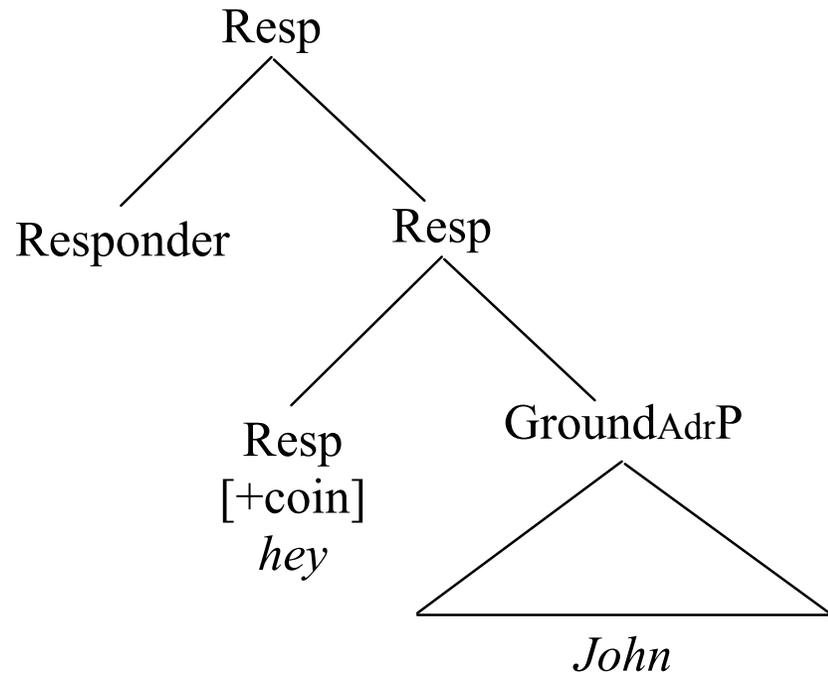
The syntax of vocatives



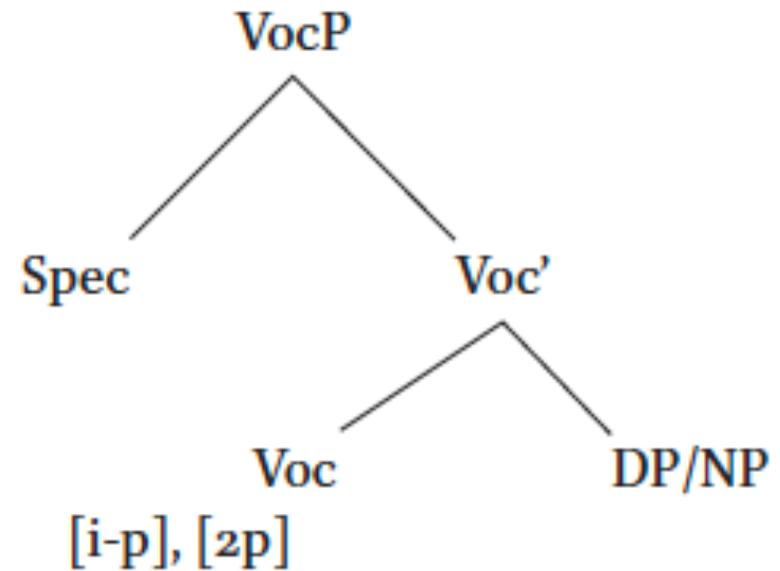
The syntax of vocatives



The syntax of vocatives



(28)



Hill 2014

The syntax of vocatives

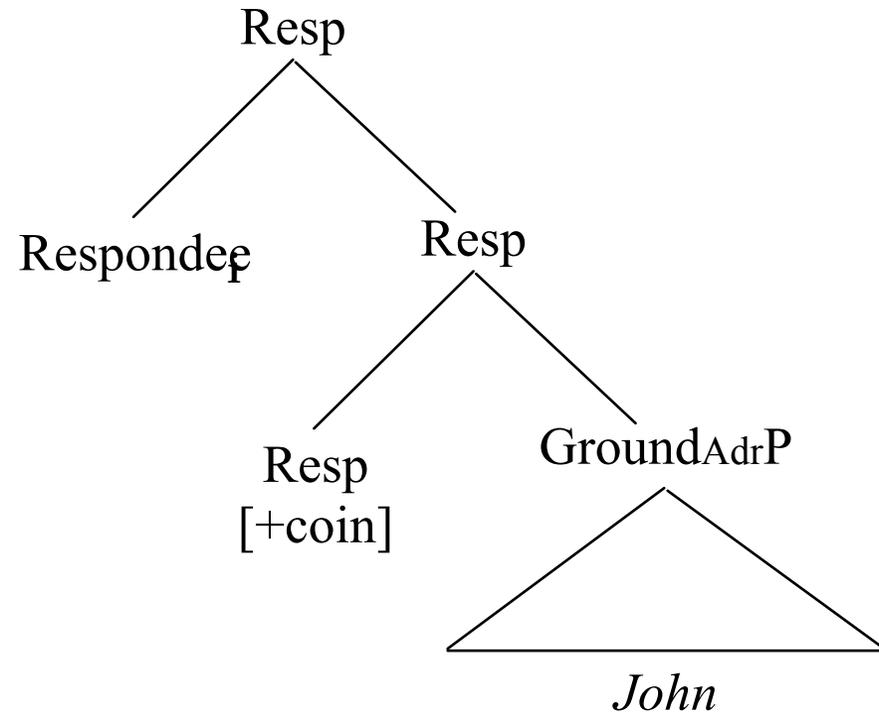
Names and nouns differ!

- (1) a. (**Hey**) John, the kids will be home late.
b. *(**Hey**) husband, the kids will be home late.
- (2) *(**Hey**) the husband, the kids will be home late.

	Bare vocative	<i>Hey</i> vocative
Name	✓	✓
Noun	✗	✓
DP	✗	✗

What determines the form, function and distribution of vocatives?

The syntax of vocatives



General lexicon:

girl

parent

husband

dog

house

...

List of names

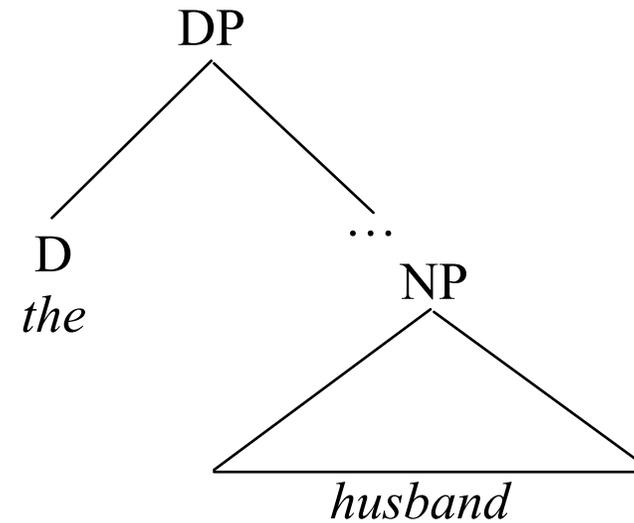
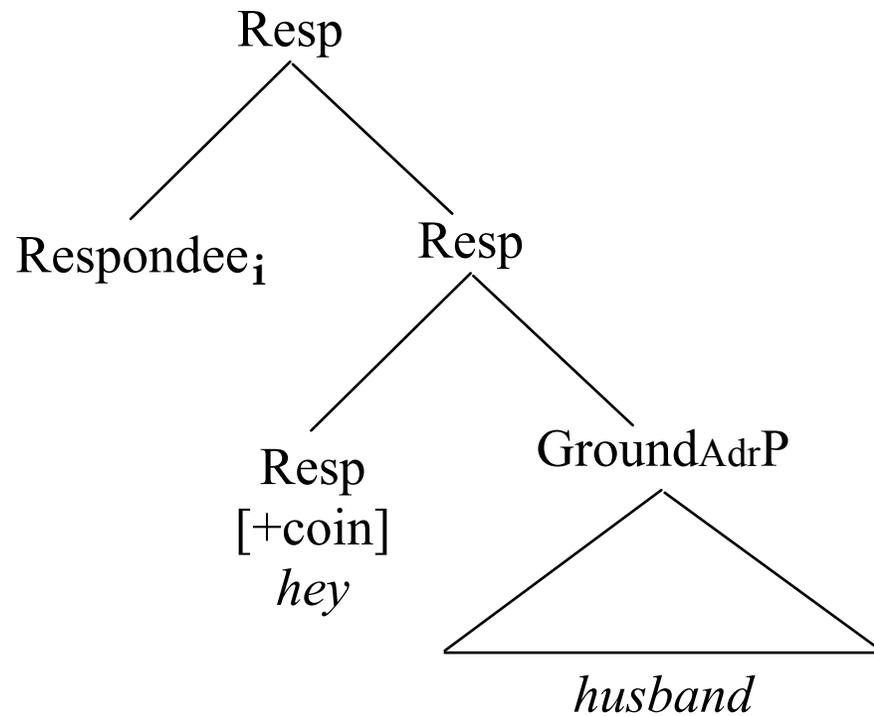
John_i

Selma_j

Francesca_k

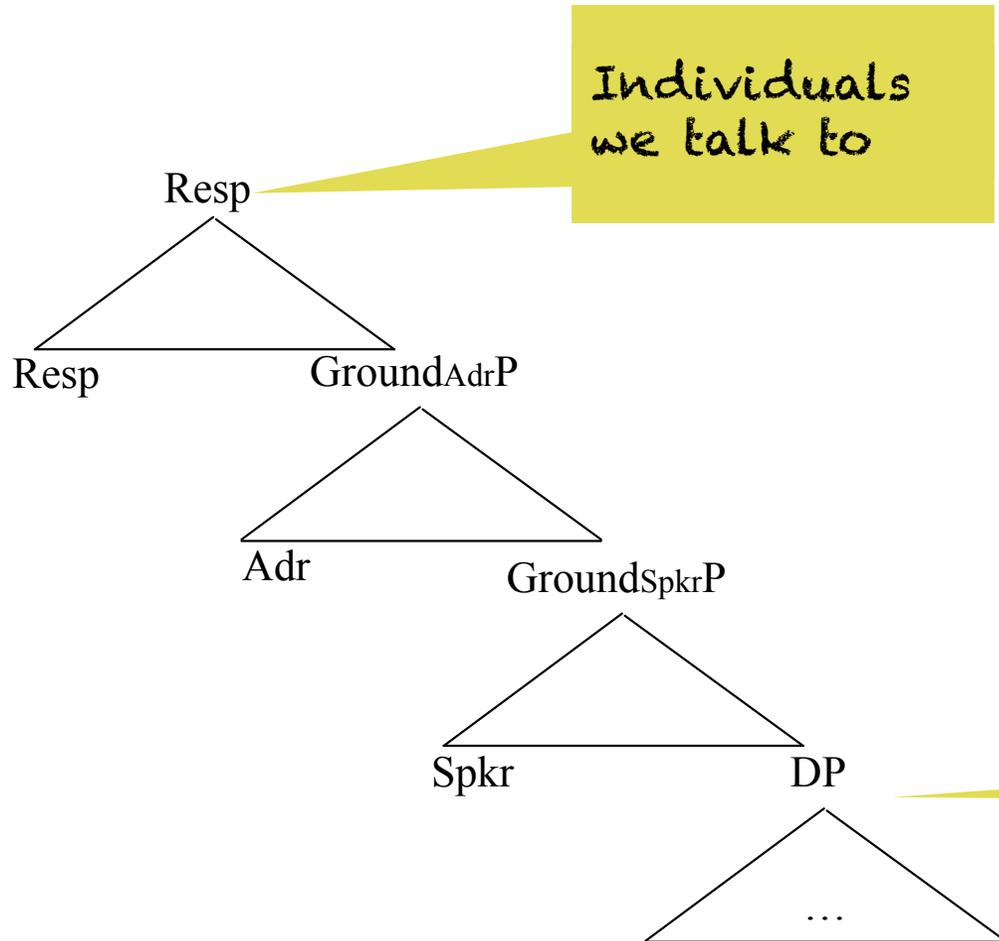
...

The syntax of vocatives



Just as D turns a predicate into a referential argument, *hey* turns a noun into a participant in the interaction.

The syntax of vocatives



- Interactants assign index to DP's to place into common ground
- Referents to which interlocutors assign an index cannot simultaneously be interlocutors.
- Names have intrinsic indices as part of their lexical entry.

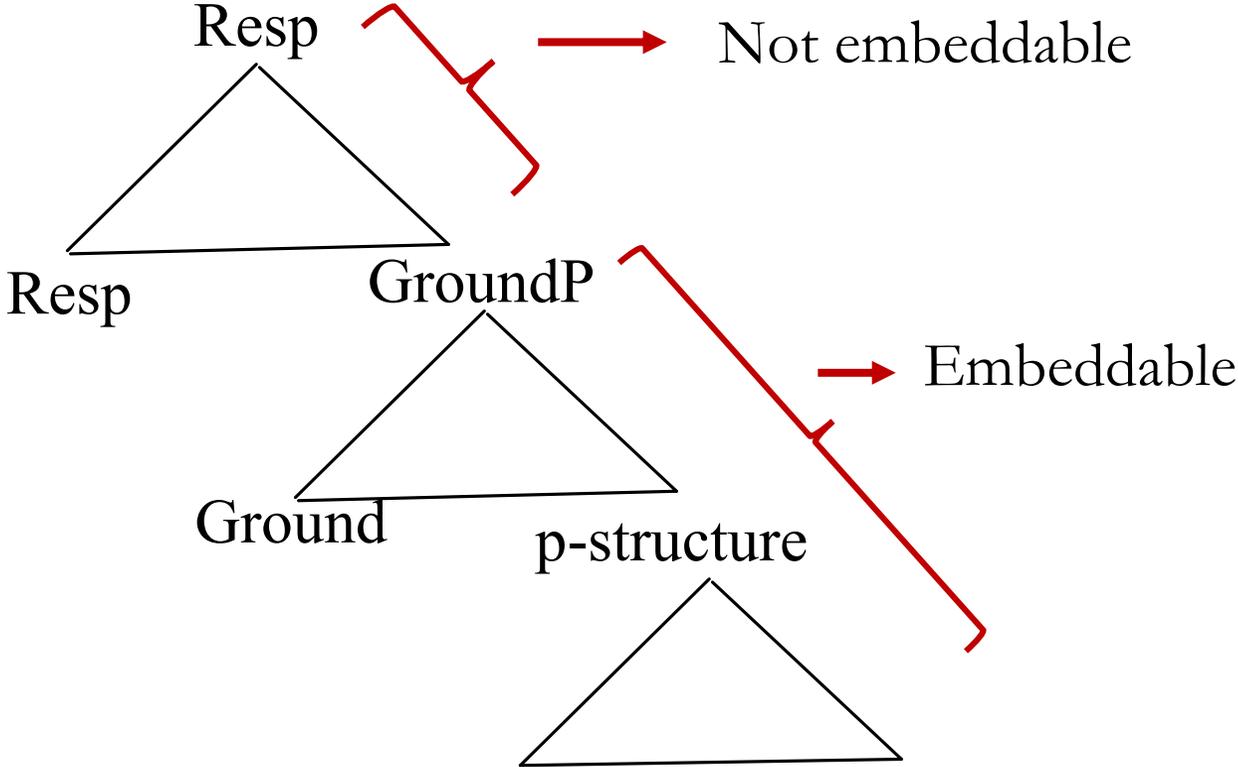
Terms of endearment and epithets

1.
 - a. Sweetheart! What happened?
 - b. What happened, sweetheart?

2.
 - a. *?Sweetheart came.
 - b. *?I saw sweetheart

Dedicated terms of address cannot be used as arguments.

The syntax of interactional language



The grammar of terms of endearment

1. a. Sweetheart! What happened?
b. What happened, sweetheart?

2. a. *?Sweetheart came.
b. *?I saw sweetheart

1. a. You *()! What happened?
b. *What happened, you?

2. a. You came.
b. I saw you.

Hence 2nd person pronouns cannot be dedicated terms of address.
Require pointing  to be used as term of address!

The grammar of terms of endearment

1. a. Sweetheart! What happened?
b. What happened, sweetheart?

2. a. *?Sweetheart came.
b. *?I saw sweetheart

1. a. Sie *(👉)! Was ist passiert?
b. *Was ist passiert, Sie?

2. a. **Sie** sind gekommen.
You_{formal} came.
b. Ich habe Sie gesehen
'I have seen you_{formal}.'

Hence 2nd person pronouns cannot be dedicated terms of address.

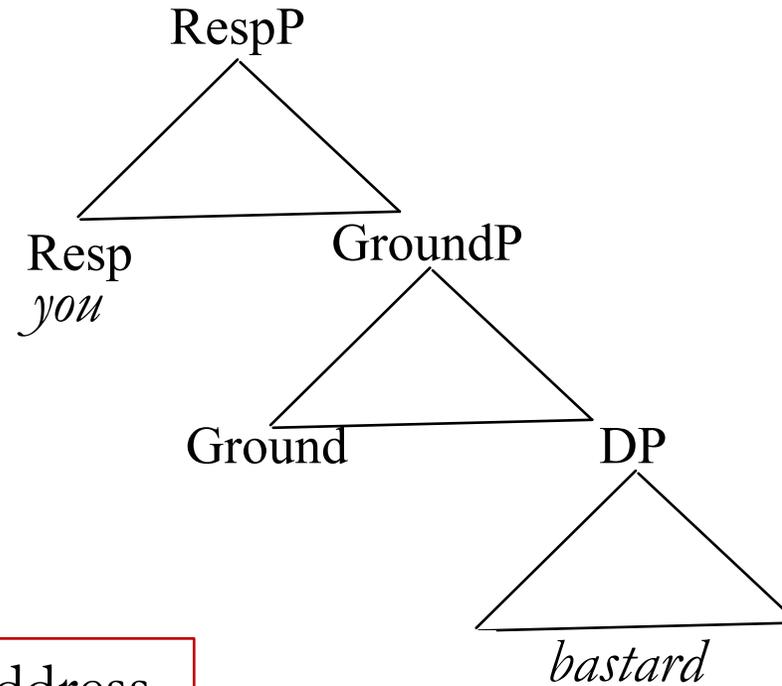
Terms of endearment

1. a. *?Bastard! What are you doing?
You bastard! What are you doing!
- b. What happened, ?*bastard?
What happened, you bastard!

2. a. *You bastard didn't come.
- b. You bastard, you didn't come.

Not all nouns can be used as terms of address
They require overt marking with 2nd person pronoun

Dedicated terms of address



you marks nominal as a term of address

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Two types of pronouns

Ritter & Wiltschko 2018

1st	je	nous
2nd	tu	vous
3rd	il/elle	ils/elles

Grammatical Features

[± 1]

[± 2]

Speech Act Roles

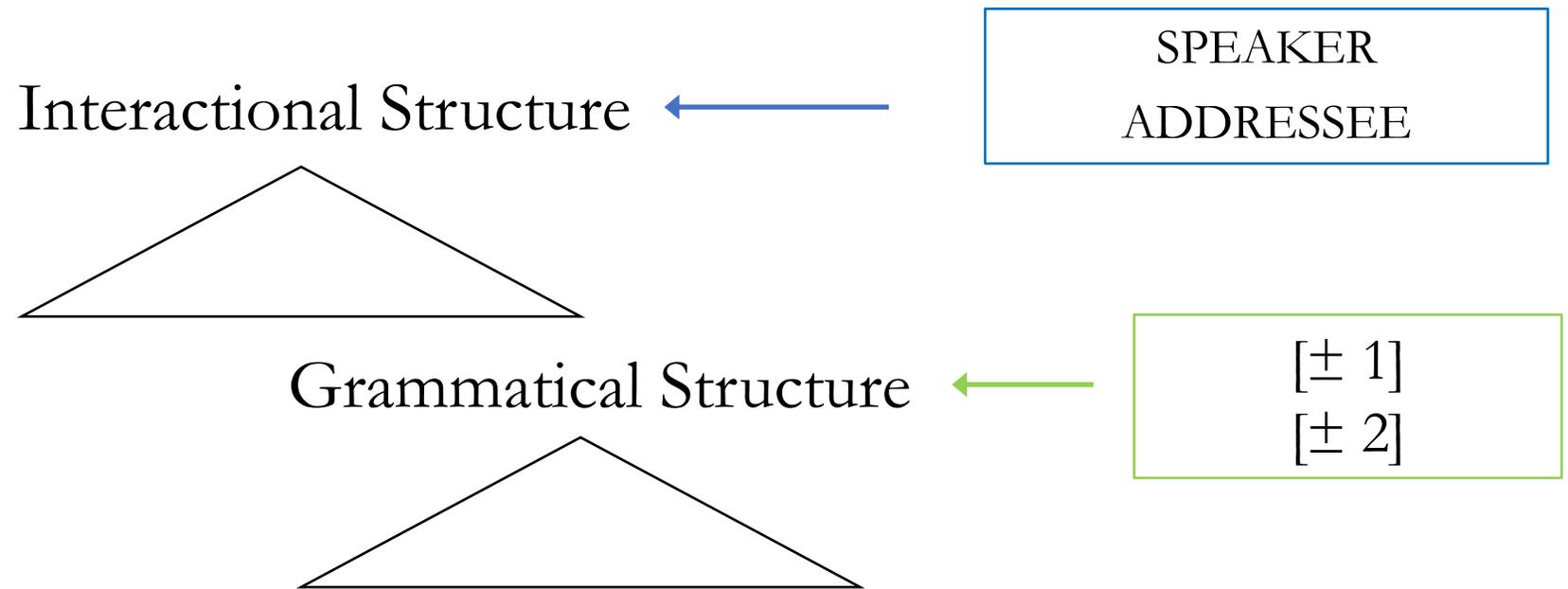
PARTICIPANT

SPEAKER

ADDRESSEE

Person paradigms differ across languages

	SG	PL
1st	je	nous
2nd	tu	vous
3rd	il/elle	ils/elles



But pronominal paradigms vary significantly

Pronouns

- Spell out bundles of phi-features
- Phi features typically include at least PERSON and NUMBER
- We might expect pronominal paradigms to look like this:

	SG	PL
1st	[1]-[sg]	[1]-[pl]
2nd	[2]-[sg]	[2]-[pl]
3rd	[3]-[sg]	[3]-[pl]

Pronominal paradigms vary

Koasati (Muskogean)

	SG	PL
1st	a.nó	kos.nó
2nd	is.nó	has.nó
3rd	ibis.nó	

- No number contrast in 3rd person

Pronominal paradigms vary

Ainu

	SG	PL
1st	kuani	cioka/ciutar
2nd	eani	ecioka/eciutar

- No 3rd person
- No transparent expression of 1st & 2nd person

Pronominal paradigms vary

Japanese

	SG	PL
1st	watakushi	watakushi-tachi
2nd	anata	anata-tachi
3rd male	kare	kare-ra
3rd female	kanojo	kanojo-tachi

- Pronouns used for human referents only

Pronominal paradigms vary

Aceh (Austronesian)

	SG	PL
1st familiar	kee	---
1st polite	ulôn, lôn, ulông, long, ulôntuwan, lôntuwan	
1st EXCL neutral	---	kamoe
1st INCL neutral	---	geutanyoe
2nd familiar	kah	
2nd neutral	gata	
2nd polite	droe=neu(h)	
3rd familiar	jih	
3rd polite	gopnyan, götnyan	
3rd reverential	droe=neu(h)(=nyan)	

- 1st person inclusive & exclusive
- Formality distinctions

Pronominal paradigms vary

Mixteco Chalcatongo (Oto-Manguean)

1st familiar	rùʔù
1st polite	naʔa
1st inclusive	žóʔó
2nd familiar	róʔó
2nd polite	níʔí
3 masc	čàà ‘man’
3 fem	ñãʔã ‘woman’
3 polite older	toʔo ‘older person’
3 younger deceased, etc.	(žii ‘masculine)
3 supernatural	íʔa, iža ‘god’
3 animal	kiti
3 other	--

- No number distinctions
- 1st person inclusive & exclusive
- Formality distinctions
- Generic nouns used for 3rd person pronouns (animate referents only)

An empirical problem (or two)

The variability problem:

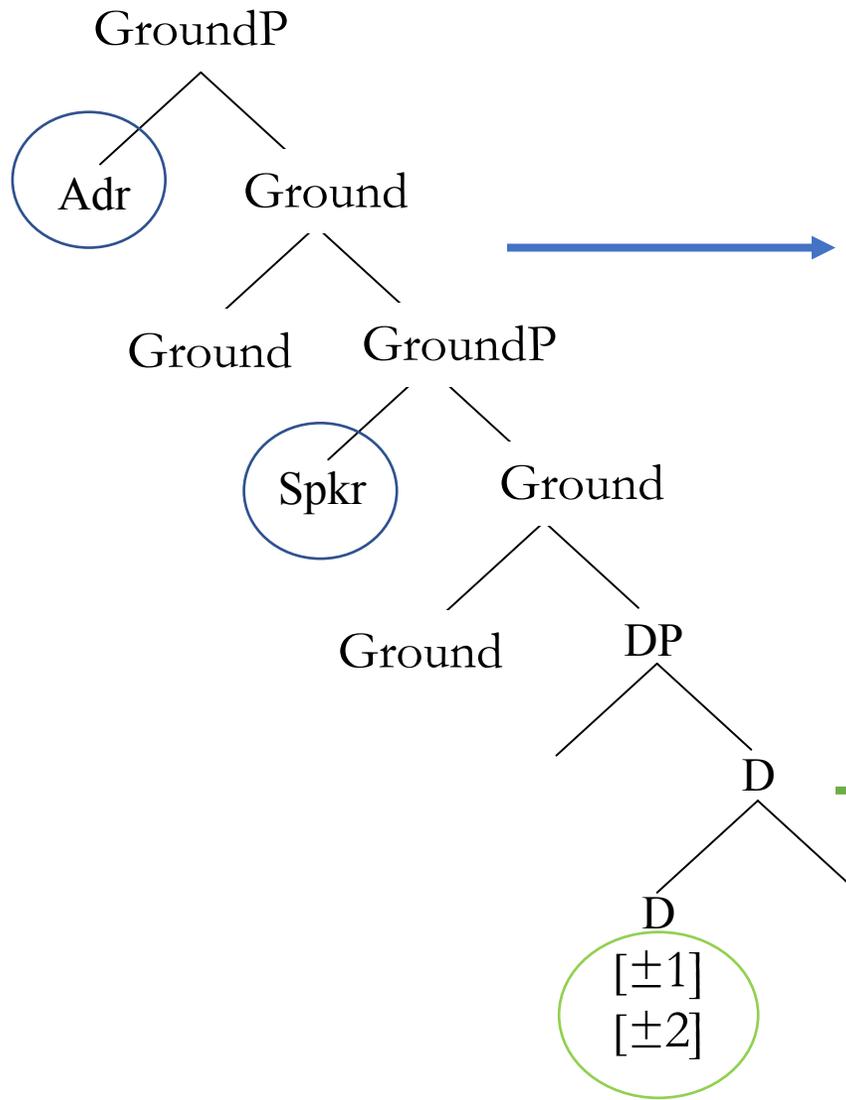
Why are pronominal paradigms ...

- variable across languages?
- morphologically opaque?
- often asymmetric?

The universality problem

Why do all languages have pronominal paradigms that distinguish (at least) speaker and addressee?

Proposal



PRAGMATIC PERSON

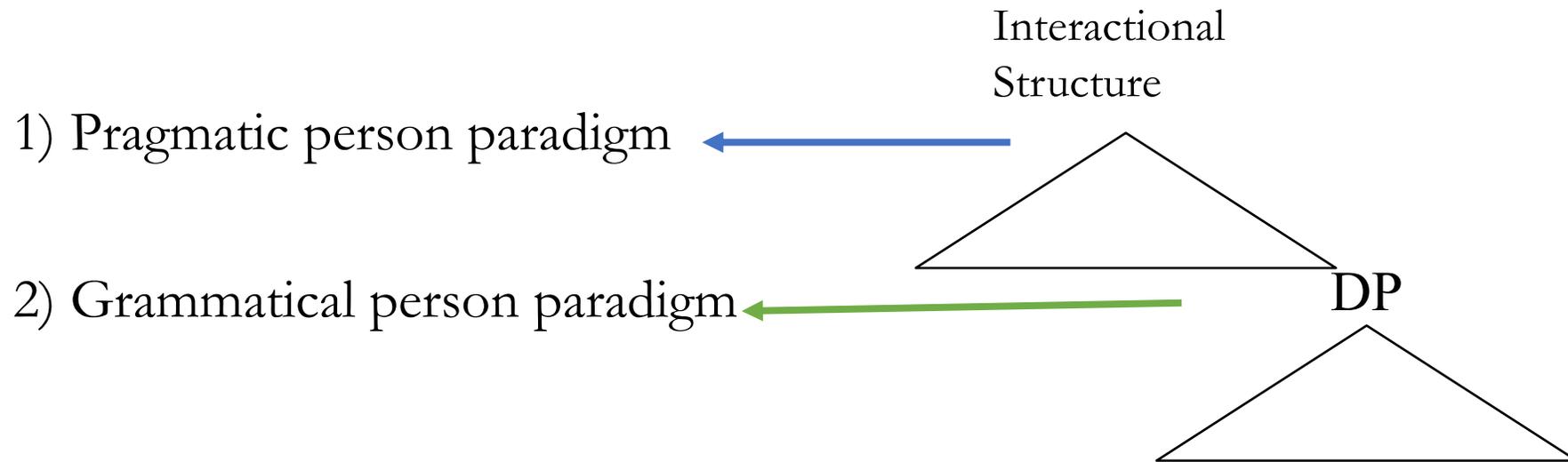
... corresponds to **speech act role**
... universally fixed

GRAMMATICAL PERSON

... binary features
... variable across languages

Proposal

2 sources of person yield 3 types of paradigms

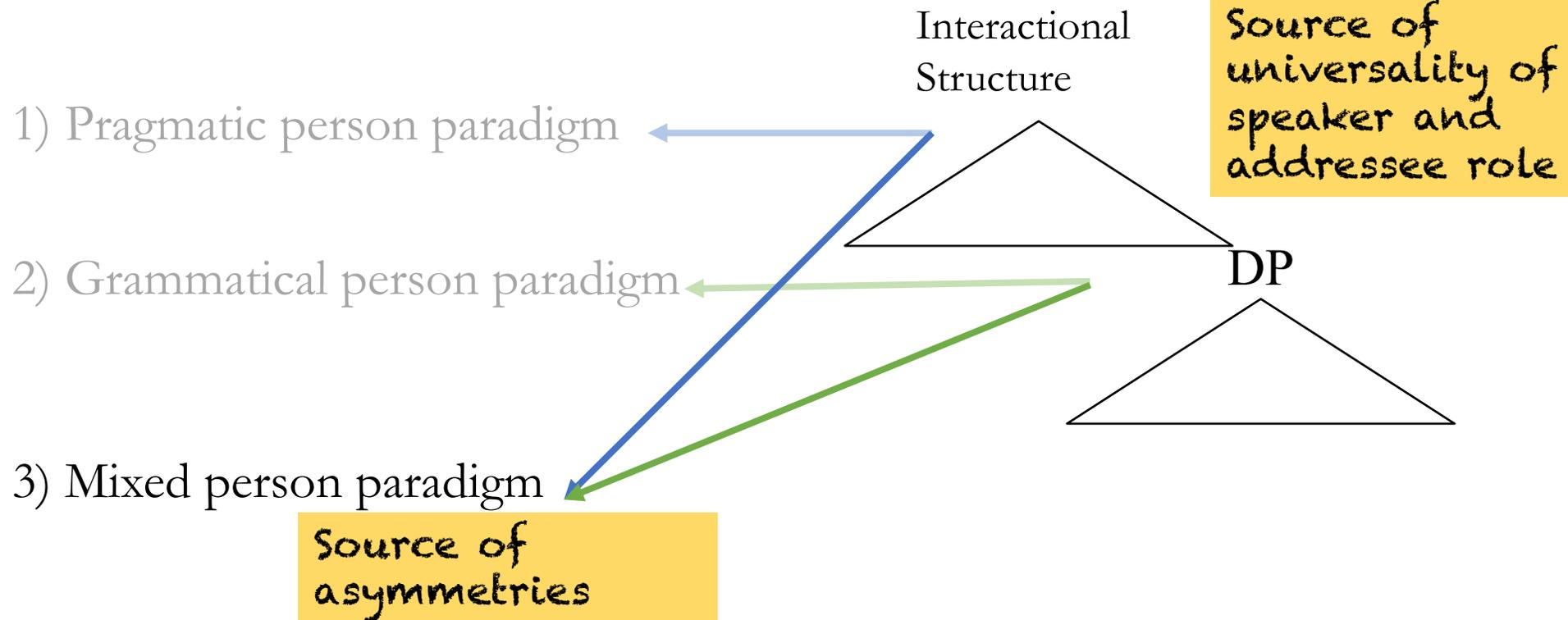


...

Proposal

2 sources of person yield 3 types of paradigms

Source of variation



...

Distinguishing pragmatic & grammatical person

Properties	Grammatical person	Pragmatic person
Grammatical number	✓ [\pm plural], ...	✗ (associative only)
Grammatical gender	✓ [\pm feminine], ...	✗ (semantic gender only)
3rd person	✓ [-1, -2]	?? (tbd)
1 st inclusive pronoun	✓ [+1, +2]	✗ SPKR <i>or</i> ADDR
Formality distinctions	✗	✓

Distinguishing pragmatic & grammatical person

Pragmatic person paradigm

- 2 SA roles - Speaker & Addressee

Ainu

	SG	PL
1	kuani	cioka/ciutar
2	eani	ecioka/eciutar

Grammatical person paradigm

- 2 binary person features - [± 1 , ± 2]

Waris

1 excl.	ka
1 incl.	pi
2	ye
3	he

Mixed paradigm

Turkish

	SG	PL
1	ben	biz
2	sen	siz
2 formal	siz	
3	on	on-lar
Nouns	kiz 'girl'	kiz-lar 'girls'

Associative plural for 1 & 2 person
= Spkr/Addr & associates

Formality

Additive plural for 3 person & common Ns
= Other + Other + .../N +N + ...

Evidence I

The complementarity of clusivity and formality

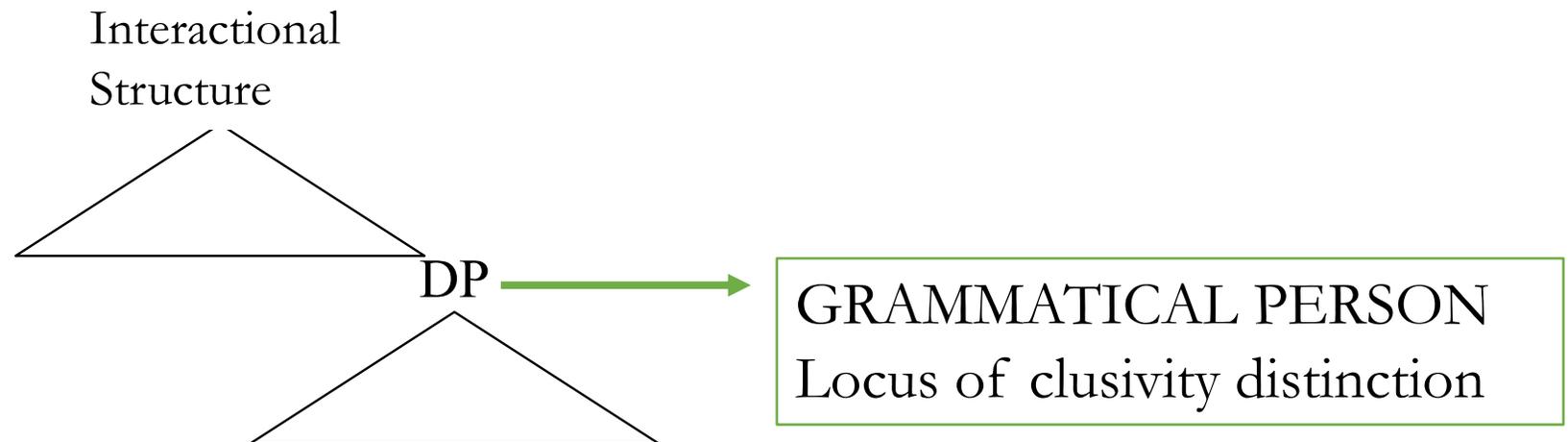
Distinguishing pragmatic & grammatical person

Properties	Grammatical person	Pragmatic person
Grammatical number	✓ [\pm plural], ...	✗ (associative only)
Grammatical gender	✓ [\pm feminine], ...	✗ (semantic gender only)
3rd person	✓ [-1, -2]	??
1 st inclusive pronoun	✓ [+1, +2]	✗ (SPKR <i>or</i> ADDR)
Formality distinctions	✗	✓

Clusivity

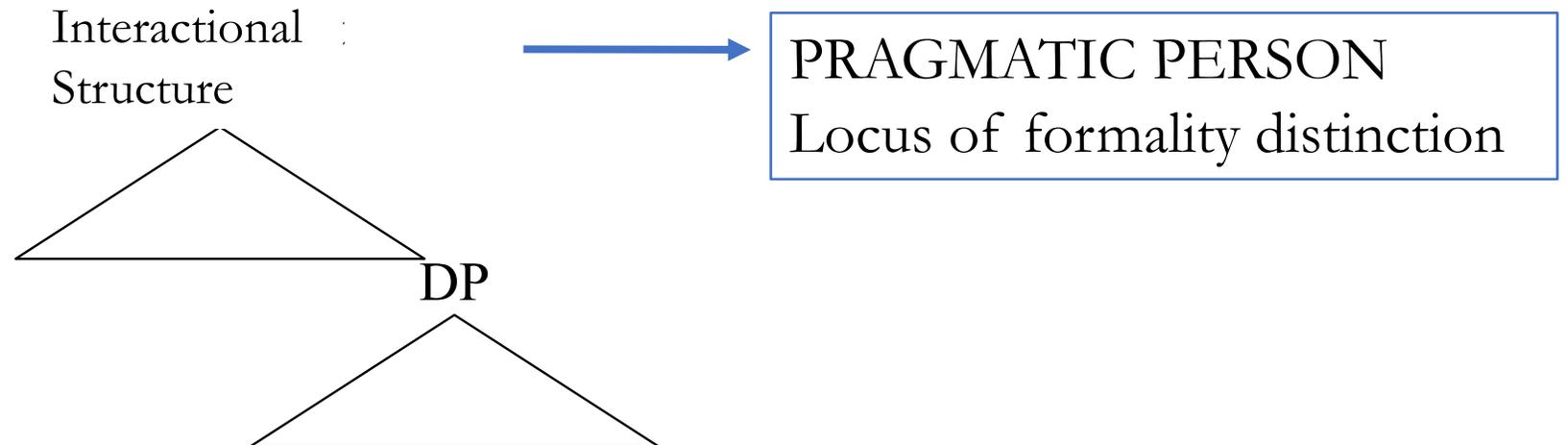
- only grammatical person is realized by binary features
- an inclusive/exclusive distinction arises via combining binary features

	$[\pm 1]$	$[\pm 2]$
1excl.	+	-
1incl.	+	+
2	-	+
3	-	-



Formality

- ... indicates social status of current speaker relative to current addressee
- ... must access pragmatic information about **distinct** SAPs – SPKR & ADDR



No formality in 1st inclusive pronouns

Mixteco Chalcatongo (Oto-Manguenan)

	FREE	CLITIC	Person
1 familiar	rùʔù	=rí	SPKR (familiar)
1 polite	naʔa	=na	SPKR (polite)
1 inclusive	žóʔó	=žó	[+1,+2]
2 familiar	róʔó	=ro	ADDR (familiar)
2 polite	níʔí	=ní	ADDR (polite)
3 masc	čàà ‘man’	=ðe	
3 fem	ñãʔã ‘woman’	=ña	
3 polite older	toʔo ‘older person’	=to	
3 younger deceased, etc.	(žii ‘masculine)	=ži	
3 supernatural	íʔa, iža ‘god’	=ža	
3 animal	kiti	=ti	
3 other	--	--	

No formality in 1st inclusive pronouns

Aceh (Austronesian)

	SG	PL	Person
1 familiar	kee	---	SPKR (familiar)
1 polite	ulôn, lôn, ulông, long, ulôntuwan, lônтуwan		SPKR (polite)
1 excl. neutral	---	kamoe	[+1,-2]
1 incl. neutral	---	geutanyoe	[+1,-2]
2 familiar	kah		ADDR (familiar)
2 polite	droe=neu(h)		ADDR (polite)
2 neutral	gata		[-1,+2]
3 polite	gopnyan, götnyan		
3 reverential	droe=neu(h)(=nyan)		

Evidence II

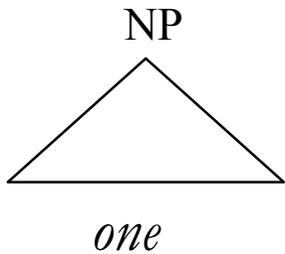
Impersonals cannot have pragmatic person: Evidence from Dutch & Japanese

Two types of impersonals

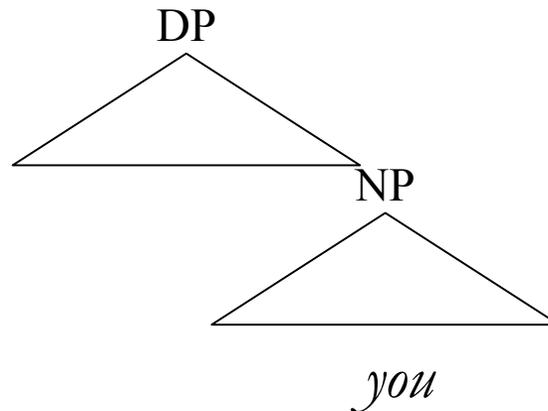
PERSON	English	Example
2nd	you	You shouldn't text while driving.
0	one	One shouldn't text while driving.

Two types of impersonals

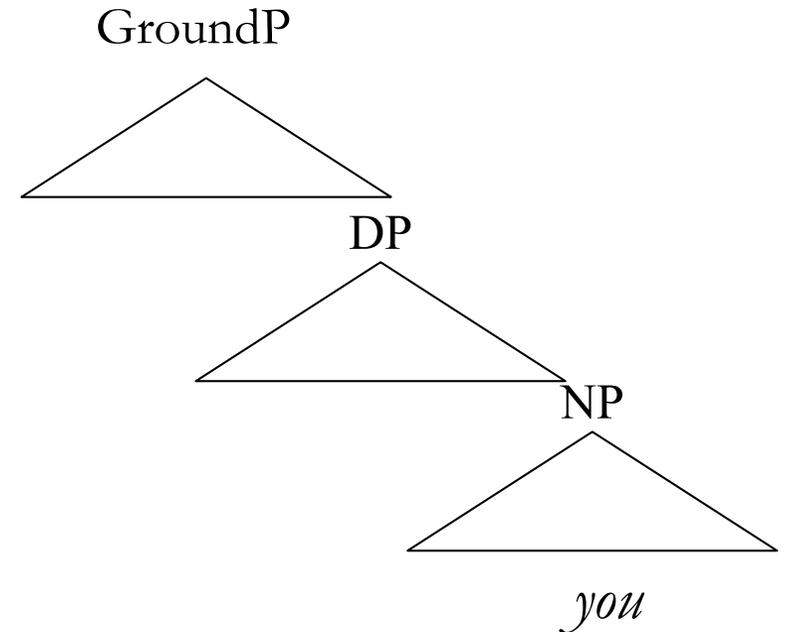
'one' impersonals



impersonal uses of
personal pronouns

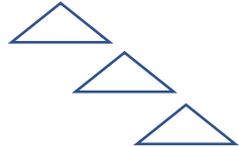
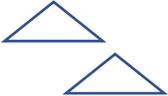


personal uses of
personal pronouns



A strength based typology of pronouns

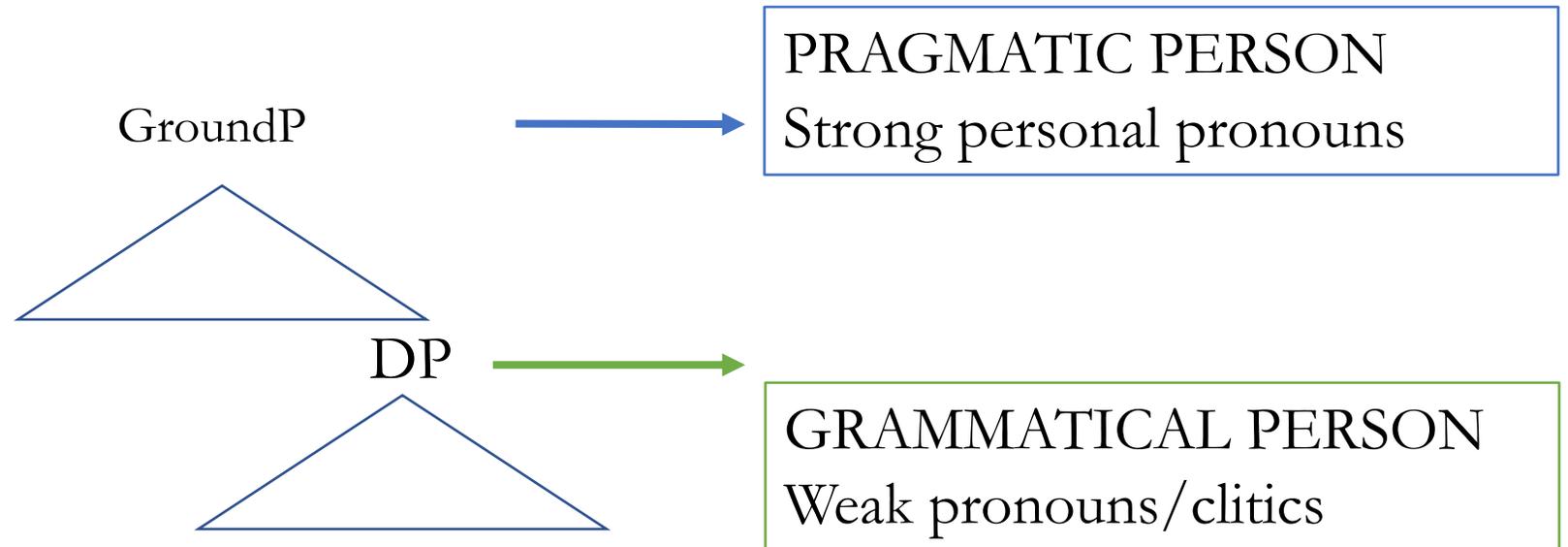
- Cardinaletti & Starke (1999)

Personal Pronoun	Strong	Weak	Clitic
Denotation	human only	human or other	human or other
Morpheme status	free	free	bound
Prosody	stressed	unstressed	unstressed
Structure	Complex 	Simpler 	Simplest 

Strong *or* impersonal pronouns

Hypothesis:

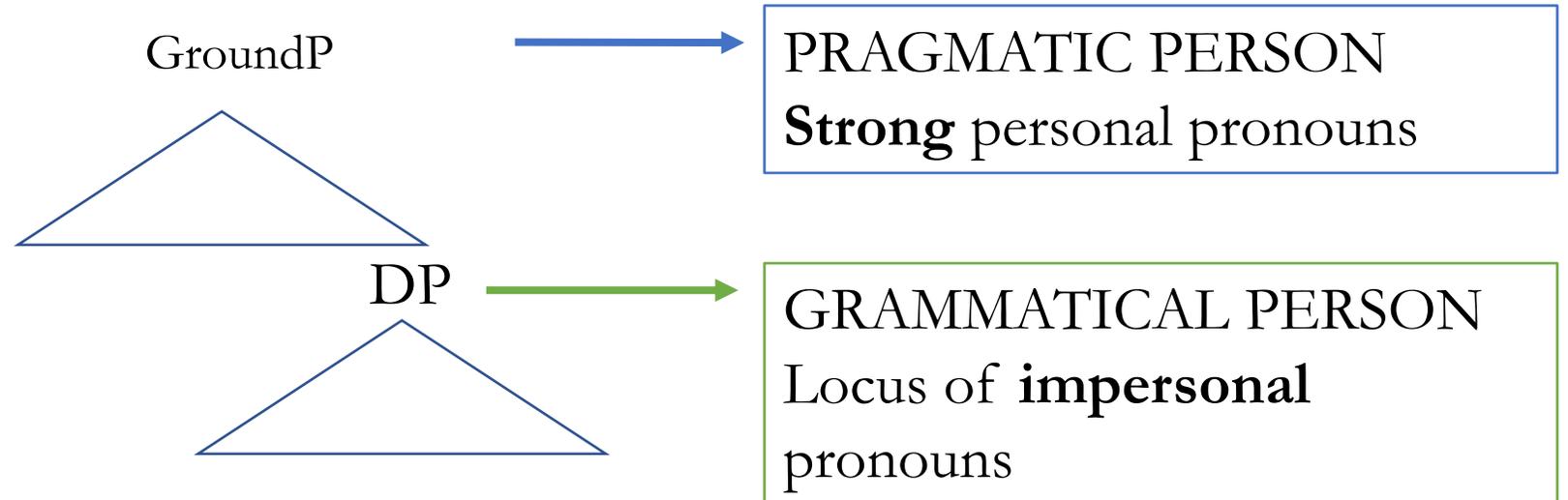
The complexity of strong pronouns relative to weak/clitic pronouns is (partly) due to the addition of the SA layer.



Strong *or* impersonal pronouns

Prediction:

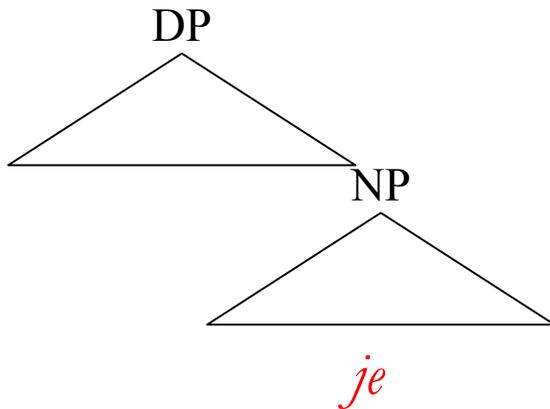
Strong pronouns cannot be impersonal



Dutch strong pronouns cannot be impersonal

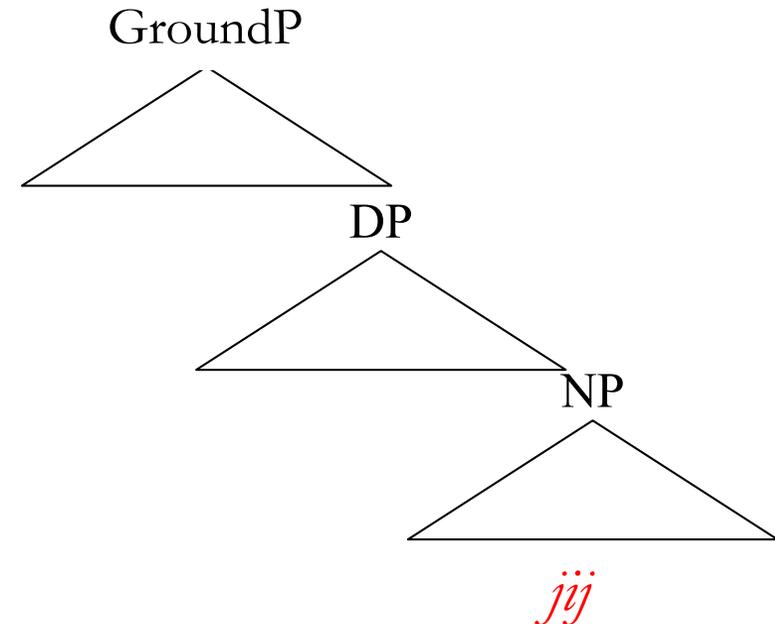
Weak 2nd person pronoun:

refers to anyone who could be an addressee



Strong 2nd person pronouns

refers to current addressee only



Dutch strong pronouns cannot be impersonal

1. In Nederland leerde **je** fietsen zelfs voordat **je** leerde lopen
in Netherlands learned you_{weak} cycle even before you_{weak} learned walk
'In the Netherlands **you**_{indexical} learned to ride a bike even before **you**_{indexical} learned to walk.'

OR

'In the Netherlands **one** learned to ride a bike even before **one** learn to walk.'

2. In Nederland leerde **jij** fietsen zelfs voordat **jij** leerde lopen
in Netherlands learned you_{strg} cycle even before you_{strg} learn walk
'In the Netherlands **you**_{indexical} learned to ride a bike even before **you**_{indexical} learned to walk.'

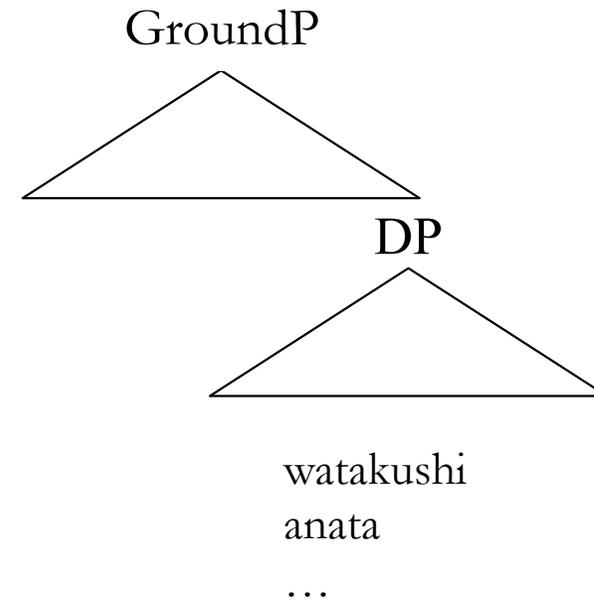
NOT

'In the Netherlands **one** learned to ride a bike even before **one** learn to walk.'

Gruber 2017

Japanese pronouns have pragmatic person

	SG	PL
1	watakushi	watakushi-tachi
2	anata	anata-tachi



Japanese impersonal pronoun is *pro*

1. Sooiu toki-ni-wa *pro*/*anata honnooteki-ni ugoi-te sima-u
Such time-at-TOP you.sg instinctively moving end.up-PRES
'You react instinctively at a time like that.'

(Kitagawa and Lehrer 1990: 755)

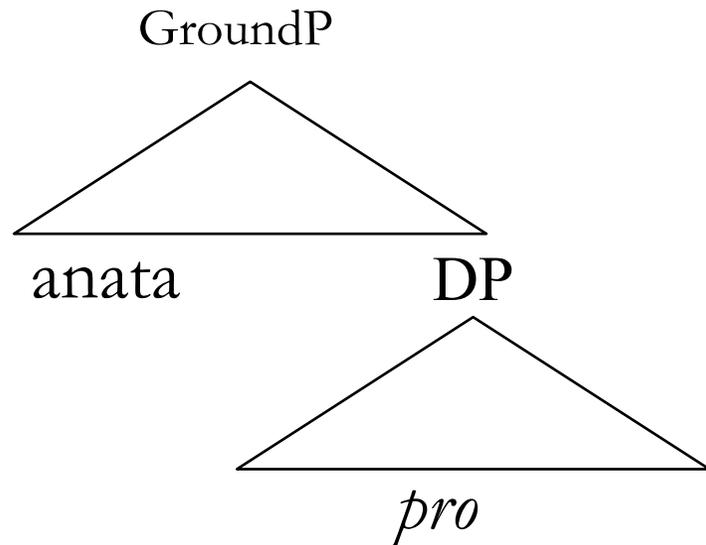
“By definition, personal pronouns used impersonally are not restricted to the speech act context. But in languages like **Japanese ...**, the so-called **(lexical) personal pronouns**, especially those having to do with 1st and 2nd persons, are too closely tied to the actual speech act context. They are simply too loaded with semantic and pragmatic information [to be used as impersonals].”

(Kitagawa and Lehrer 1990: 756)

The internal syntax of Japanese pronouns

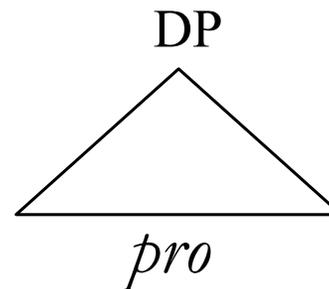
Personal pronoun

→ refers to current addressee only

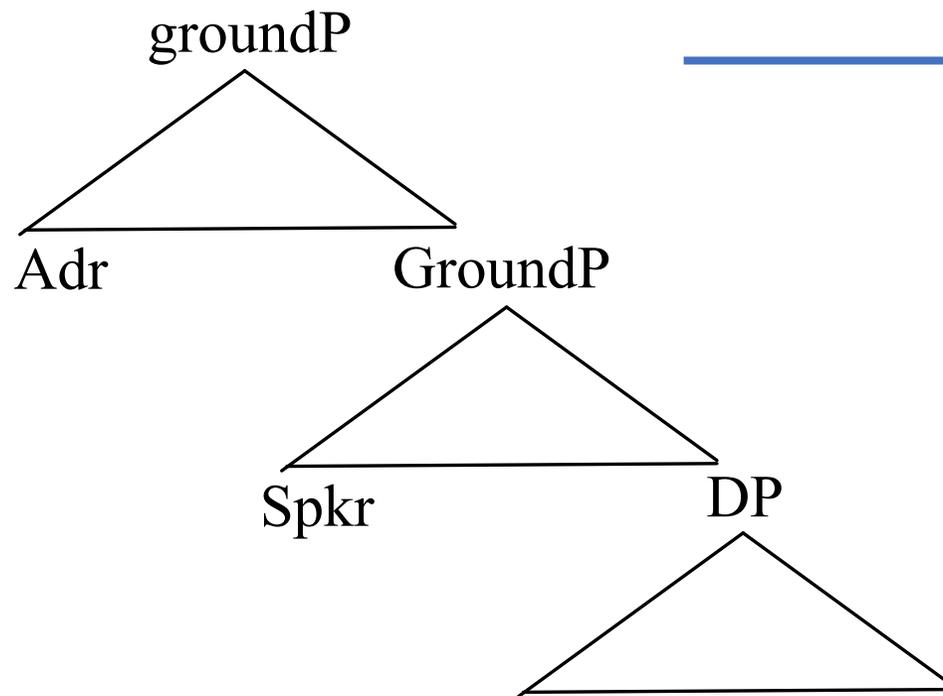


Impersonal

→ refers to anyone who could be an addressee



Two sources for person



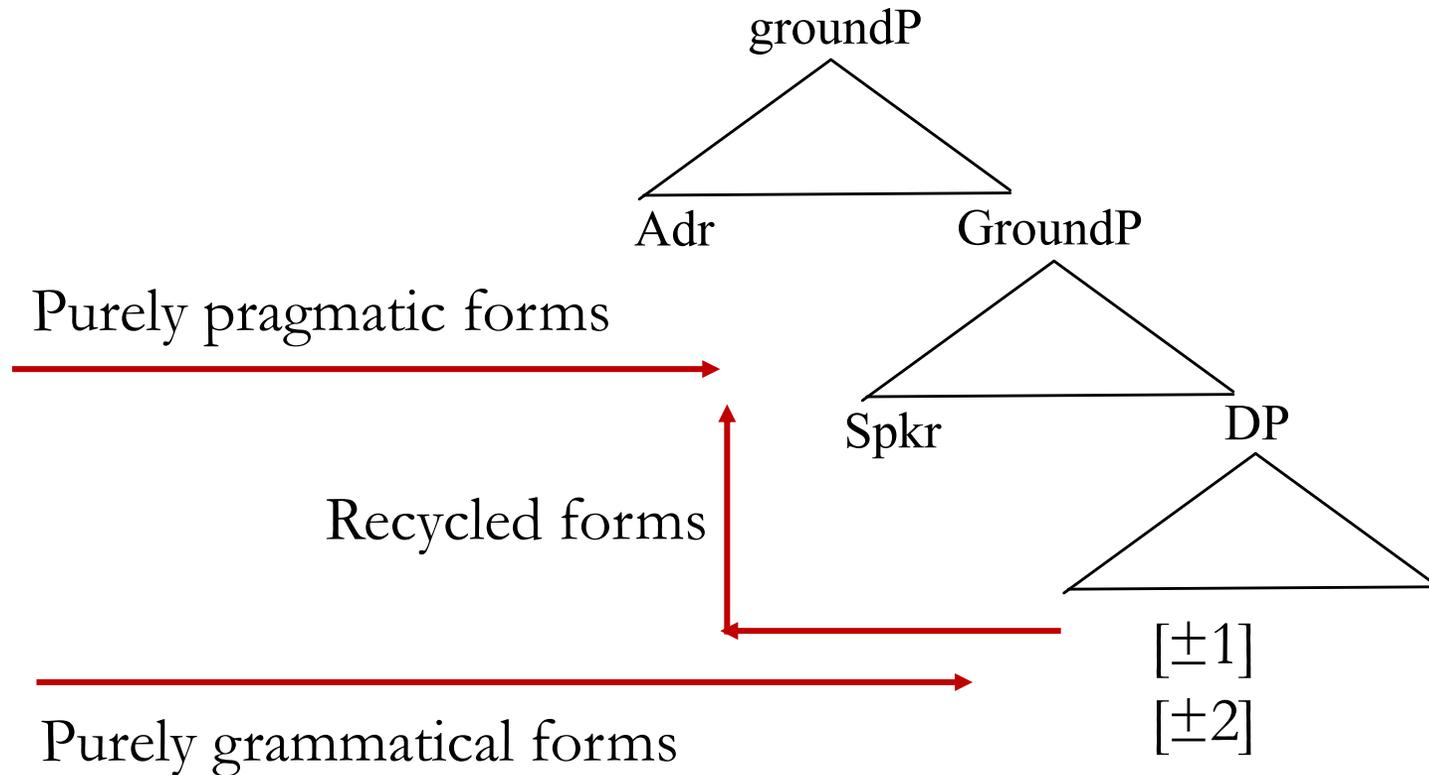
PRAGMATIC PERSON

... corresponds to **speech act role**
... universally fixed

GRAMMATICAL PERSON

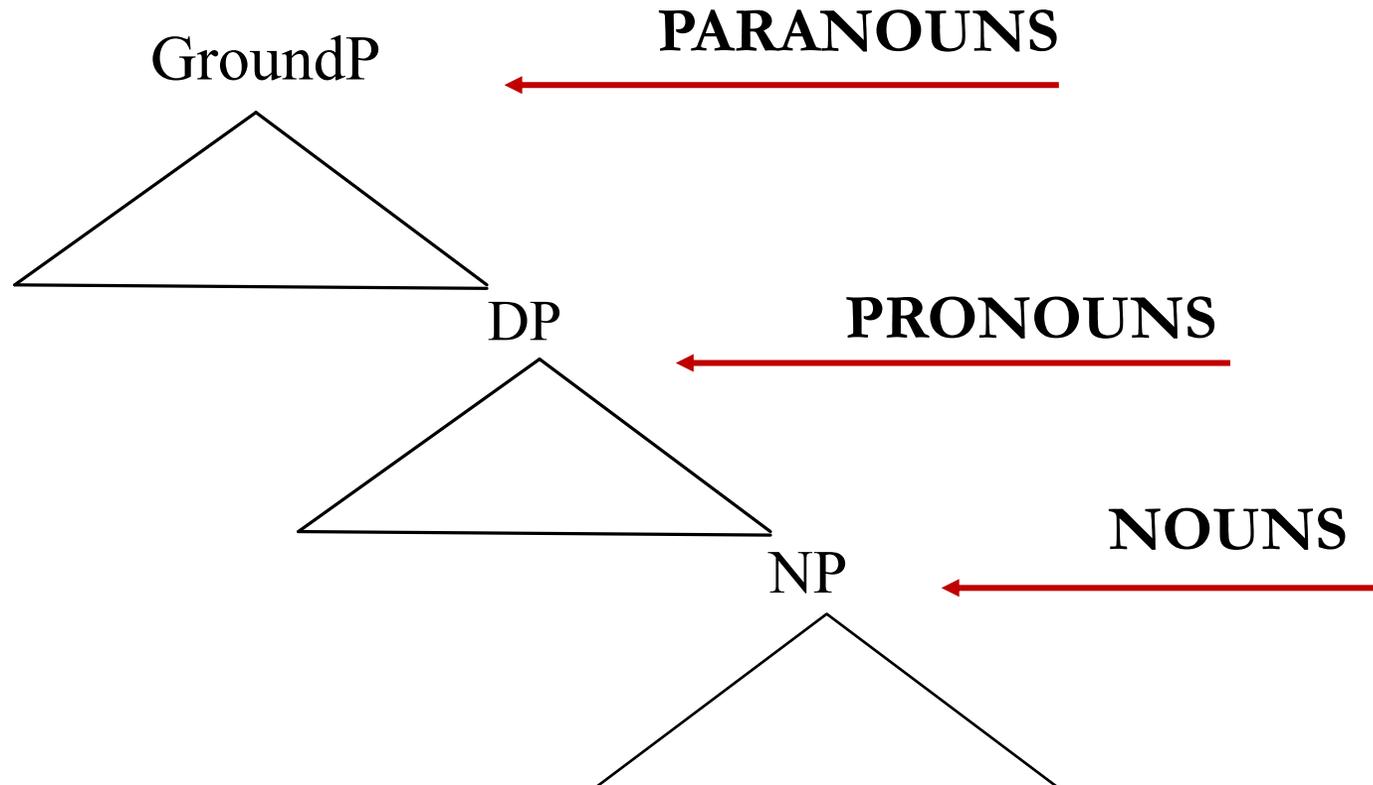
... binary features
... variable across languages

A novel typology



Ritter and Wiltschko 2018, 2019

PARANOUNS



The grammar of Formality

Ritter and Wiltschko 2019

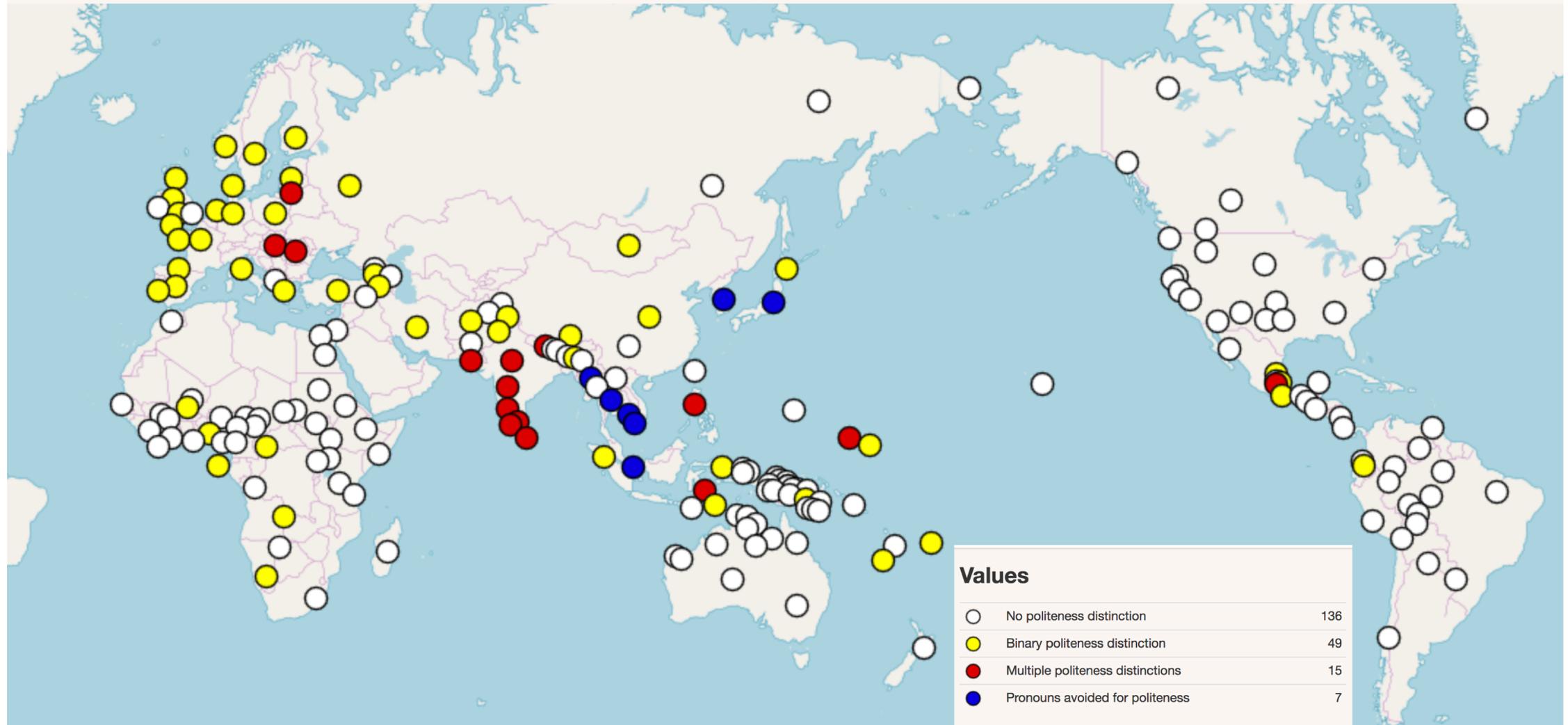
Formality

- No definition of formality
- Typological literature refers to **politeness** (deriving from Brown & Levinson 1978)

While actual human relations of hierarchy, intimacy, and formality are complex and perhaps infinitely varied, their grammatical marking appears to be discrete, distinguishing only a small number of levels.

Portner et al. 2019

WALS on politeness (formality)



Two types of formality: the facts

Type 1 Formality

French pronouns for addressee

tu plain

vous formal

German pronouns for addressee

du plain

Sie formal

- Binary contrast between unmarked and formal pronouns
- Same form for all types of formality contrasts

Type 2 Formality

Korean pronouns for addressee

ne plain

caney plain between adults/elderly male towards male

tangsin plain between adults,
disrespectful toward a stranger

kutay poetic

caki plain and intimate between husband & wife

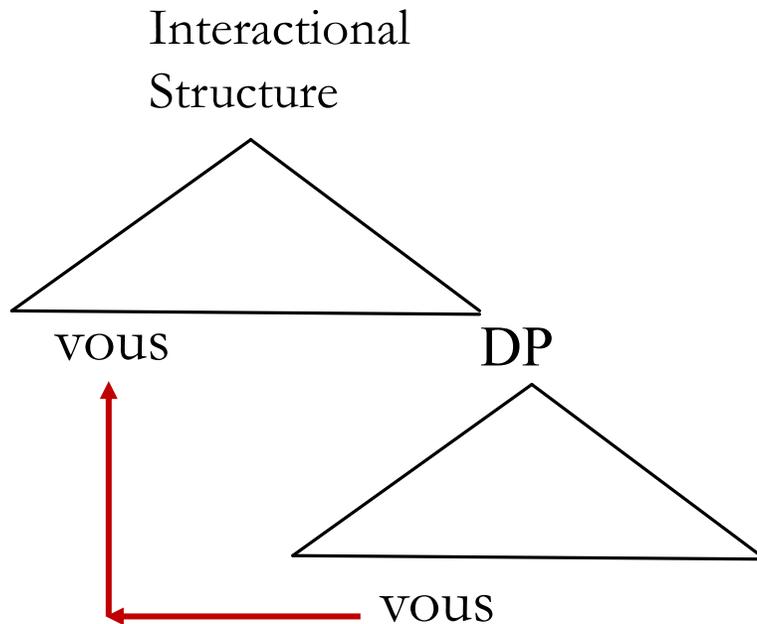
tayk towards a stranger, old-fashioned

- Open-ended class
- Pronouns are mostly avoided for addressee of higher status
- Different forms for different kinds of social relations (e.g., age, sex, status)

Two types of formality: the proposal

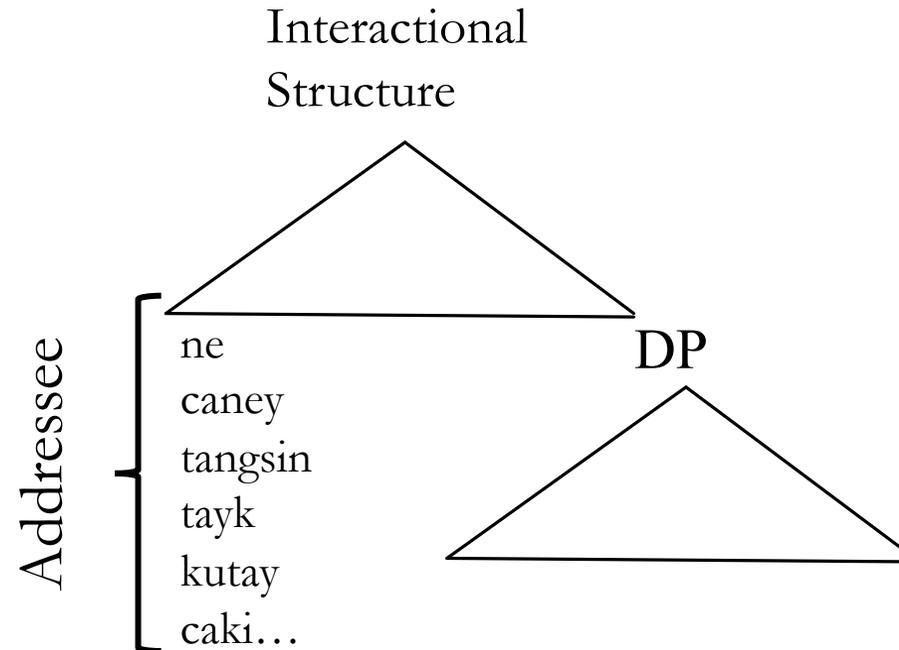
Type 1 formality:

Recycled grammatical content



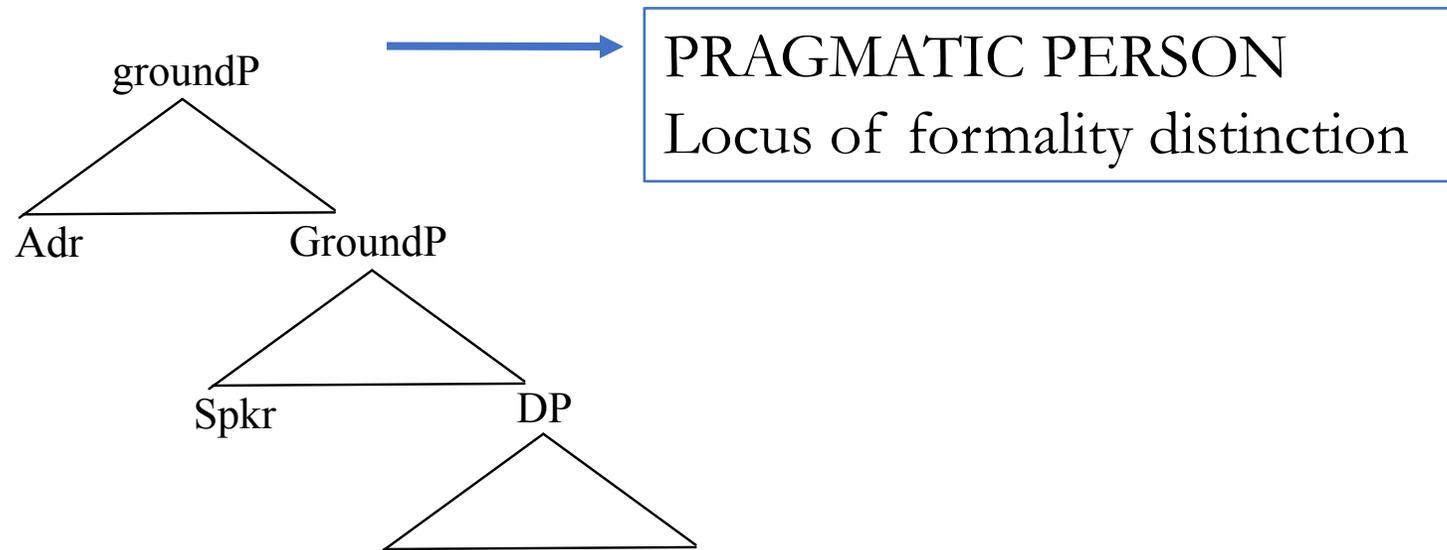
Type 2 formality:

Intrinsic lexical content



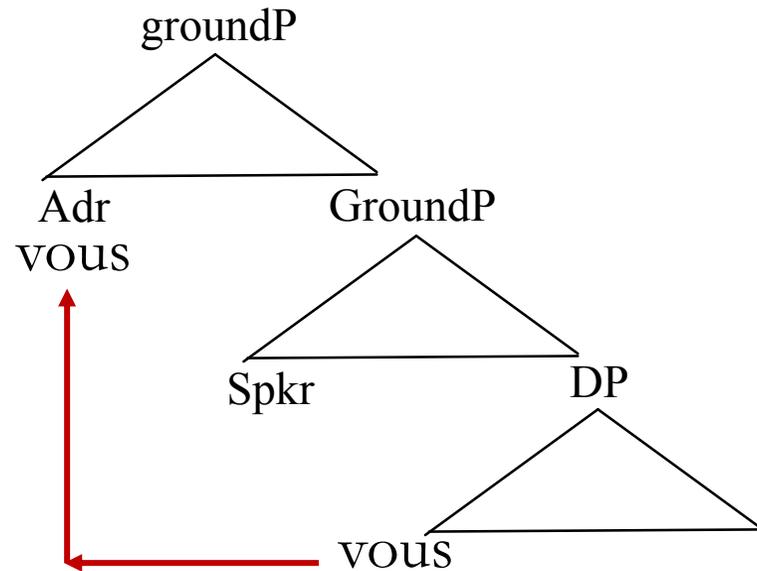
Formality distinctions

- ... indicate social status relative to **current** speaker/addressee
- ... must access pragmatic information about different Speech act participants



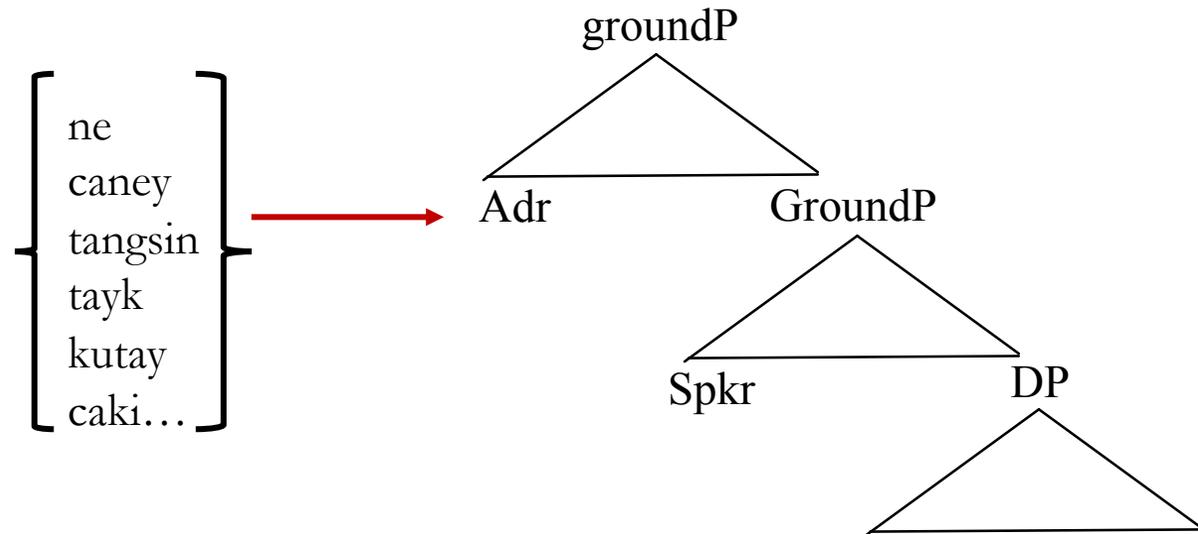
Two types of formality: the proposal

Type 1 formality



Recycled grammatical forms

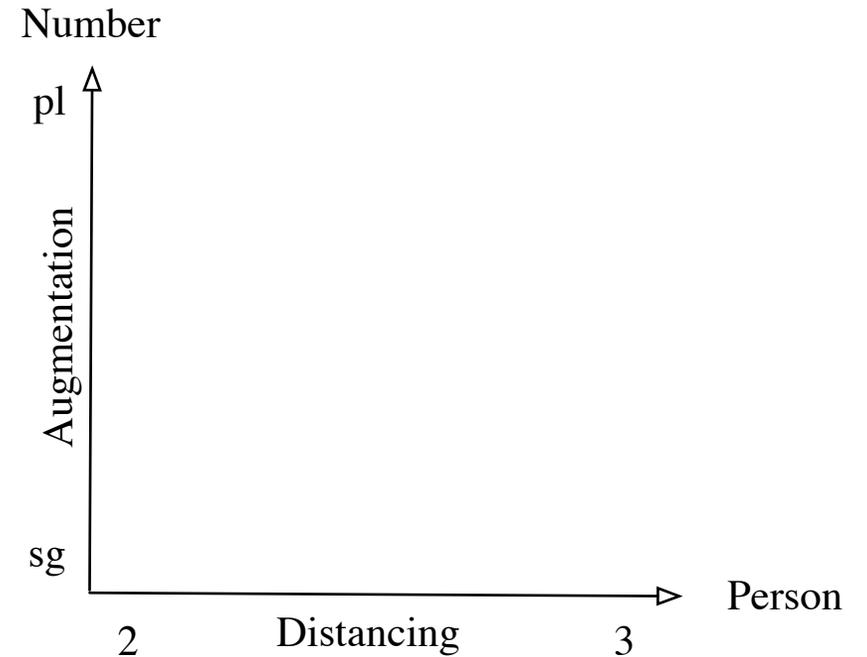
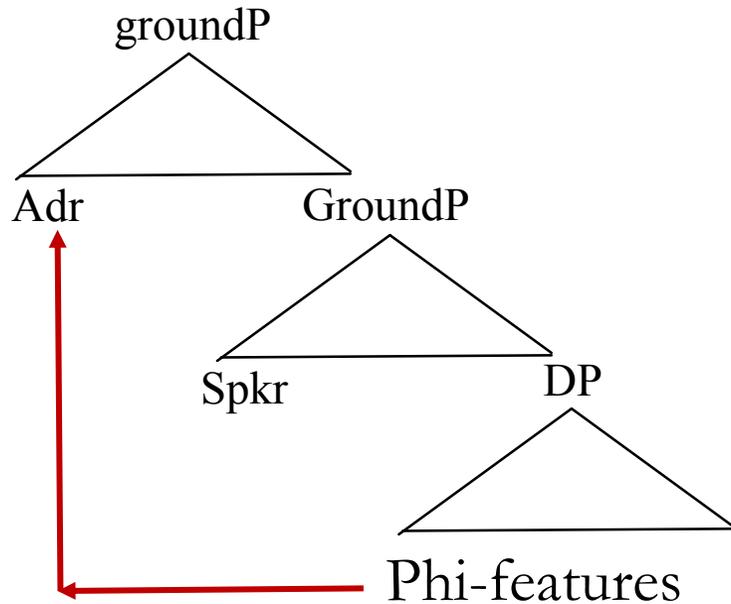
Type 2 formality



Purely pragmatic forms

Type 1 Formality: Recycling

- Grammatical content is re-interpreted as pragmatic content
- Features merged in the DP move to SA-structure and are interpreted there



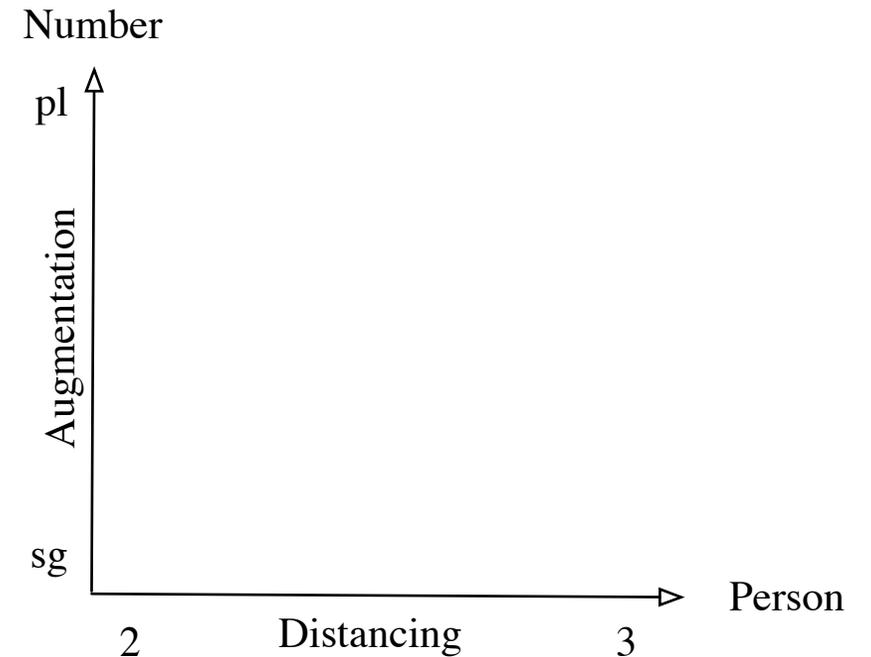
Recycled grammatical forms

[+augmented] (= plural)
[-local] (= 3rd person)

Type 1 Formality: Recycling

Augmentation: Addressee $>$ Speaker
→ derives **higher status**

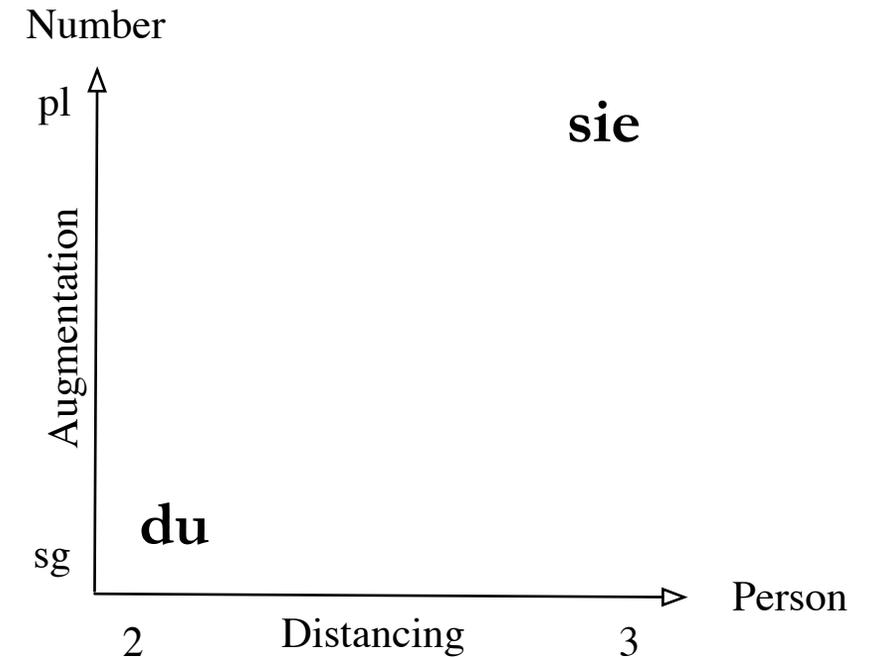
Distancing: Addressee \neq Speaker
→ derives **unequal status**
→ does not specify direction



Recycled pronouns in German

	singular	plural	formal
1	ich	wir	
2	du	ihr	sie
3	er/sie/es	sie	

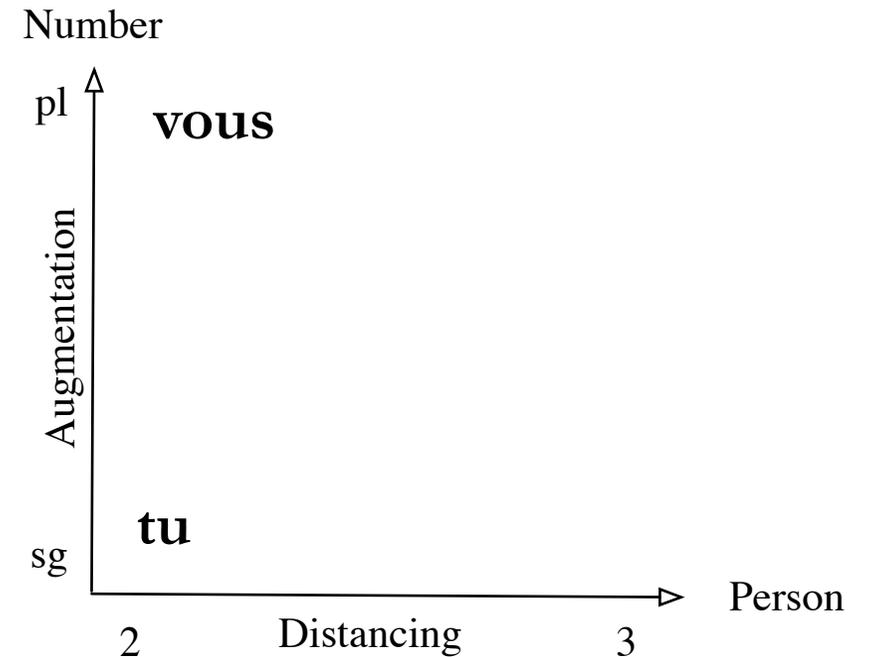
	Number [-augmented]	[+augmented]
Person		
[+local] [+adr]	du	
[-local]		sie



Recycled pronouns in French

	singular	plural	formal
1	je	nous	
2	tu	vous	vous
3	il/elle	ils/elles	

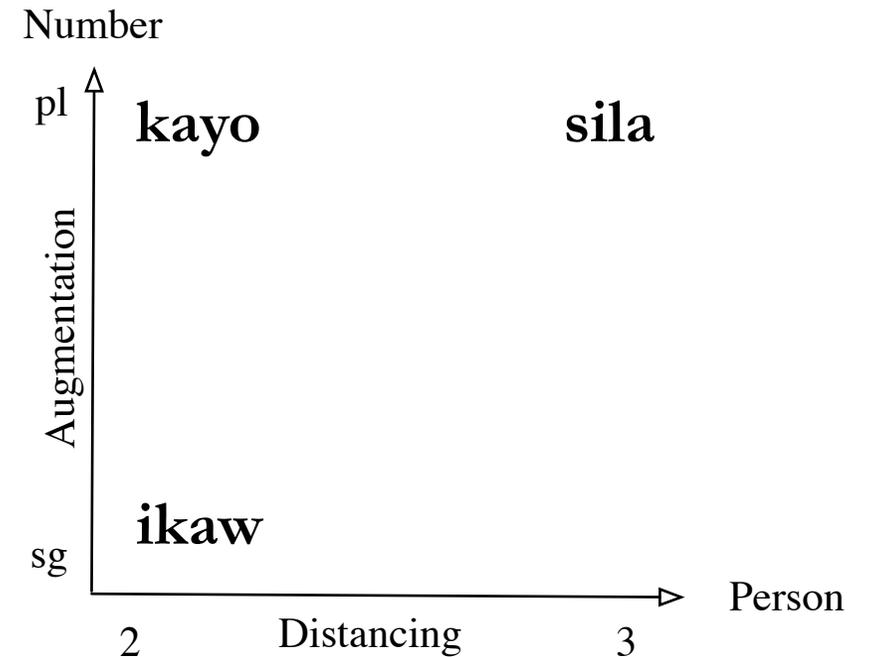
Number	[-augmented]	[+augmented]
[+local] [+adr]	tu	vous



Recycled pronouns in Tagalog

	singular	plural	formal
1	ako	tayo/kami	
2	ikaw	kayo	kayo, sila
3	siya	sila	

Number \ Person	[-augmented]	[+augmented]
[+local] [+adr]	ikaw	kayo
[-local]		sila



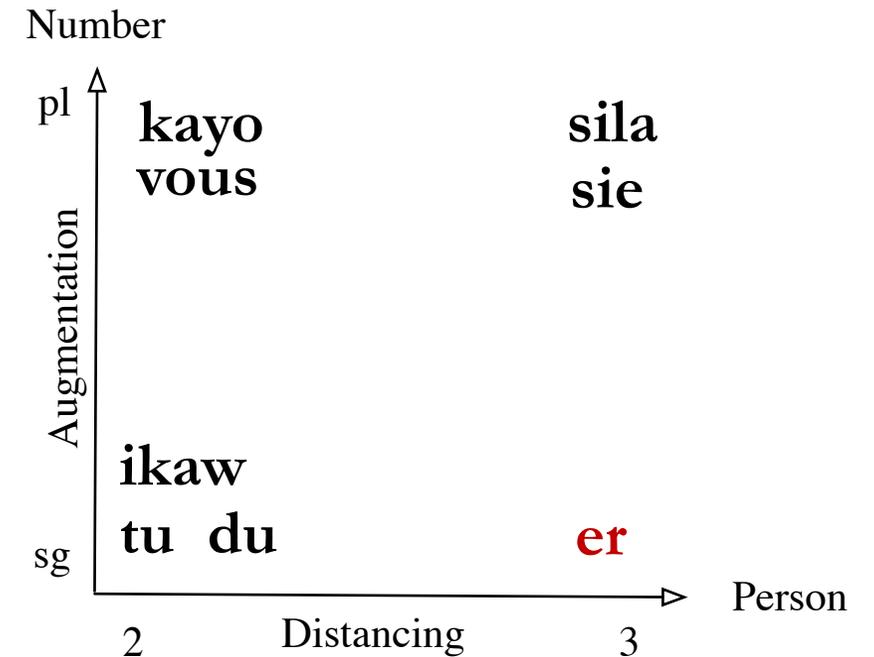
Distancing without augmentation

When a monarch speaks to a commoner, they use 3rd singular

(1) Was möchte **er**?

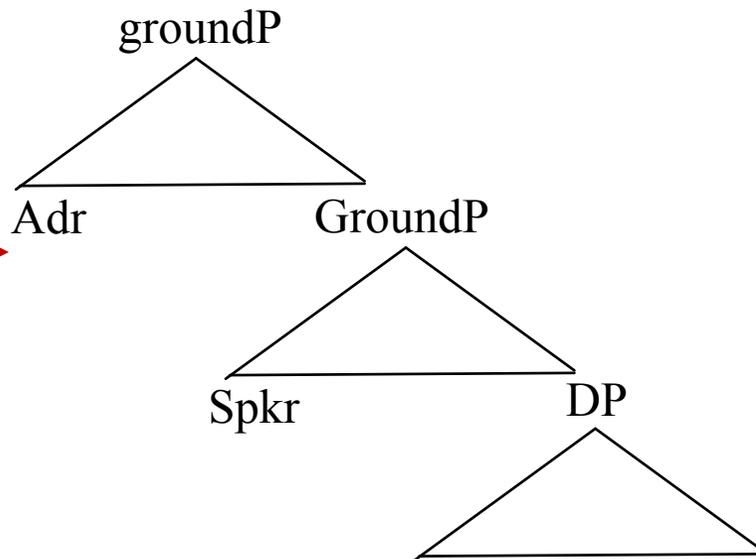
What wants he

‘What does he want?’



Type 2 formality:

ne
caney
tangsin
tayk
kutay
caki...



Korean forms for addressee

ne plain

caney plain between adults/elderly male towards male

tangsin plain between adults,
disrespectful toward a stranger

kutay poetic

caki plain and intimate between husband & wife

tayk towards a stranger, old-fashioned

- Open-ended class
- Pronouns are mostly avoided for addressee of higher status
- Different forms for different kinds of social relations (e.g., age, sex, status)

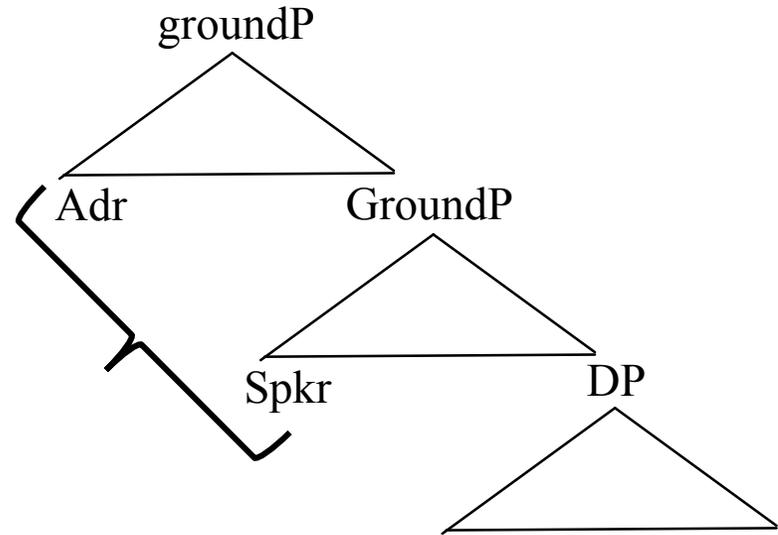
But we
were
wrong!

Type 2 Formality

pragmatic
pronouns



R&W 2018



Korean forms for addressee

- ne** plain
- caney** plain between adults/elderly male towards male
- tangsin** plain between adults, disrespectful toward a stranger
- kutay** poetic
- caki** plain and intimate between husband & wife
- tayk** towards a stranger, old-fashioned

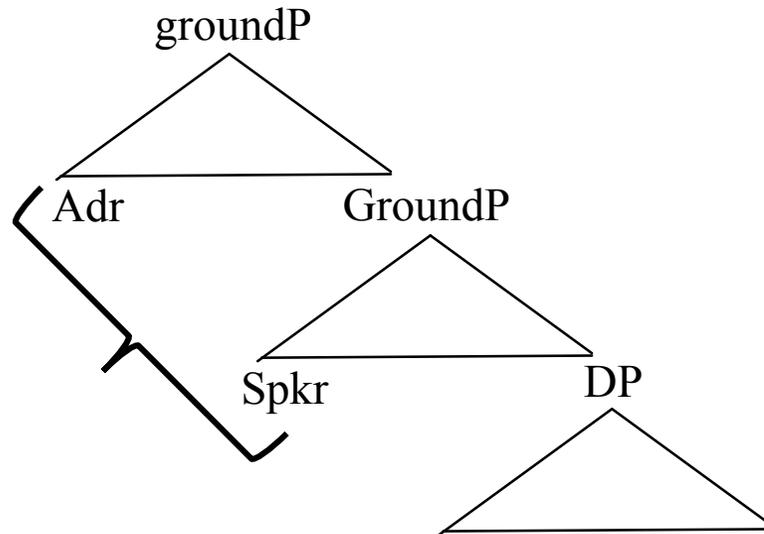
- Open-ended class
- Pronouns are mostly avoided for addressee of higher status
- Different forms for different kinds of social relations (e.g., age, sex, status)

Type 2 Formality

They are neither
pronouns nor
nouns

pragmatic
pronouns

R&W 2018

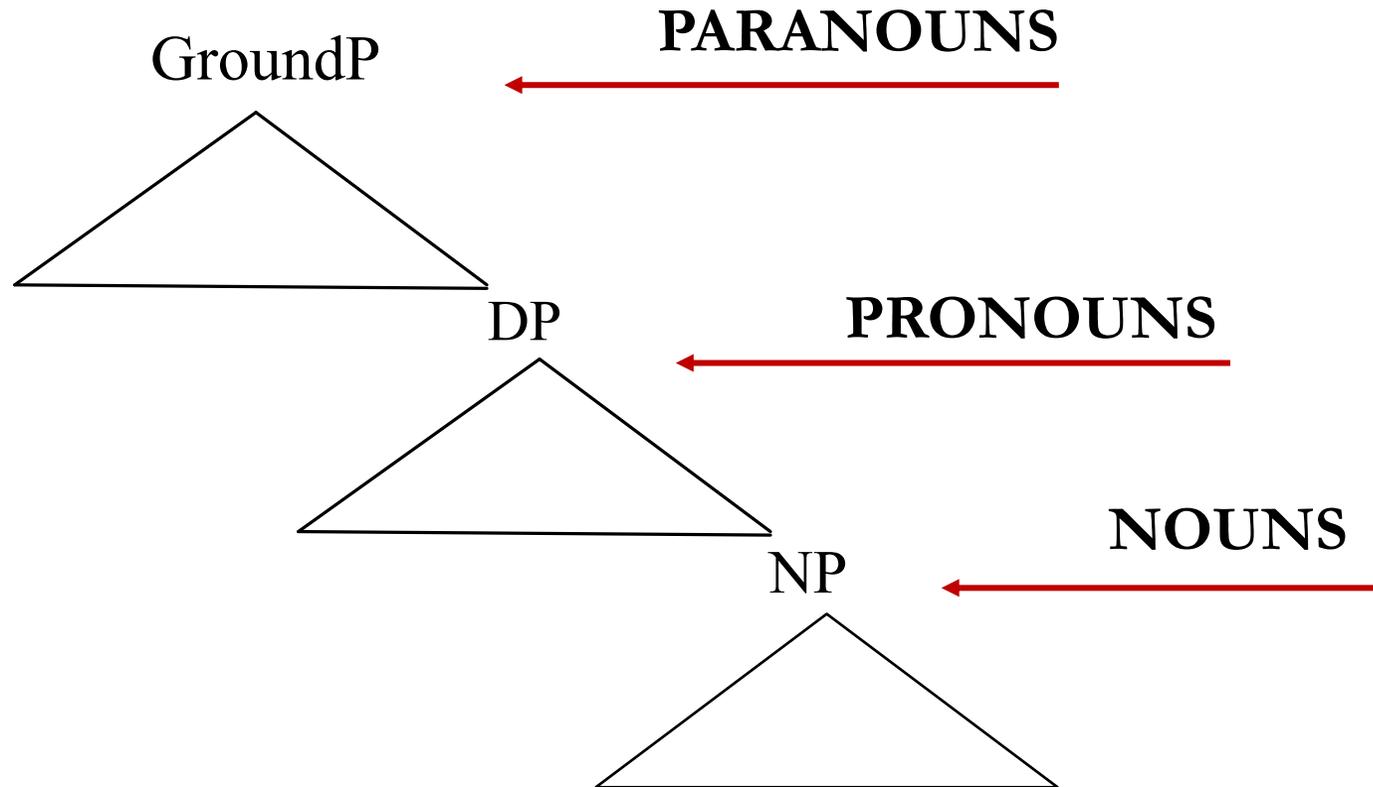


Japanese “personal pronouns are distinguished from nouns both morphologically and syntactically”

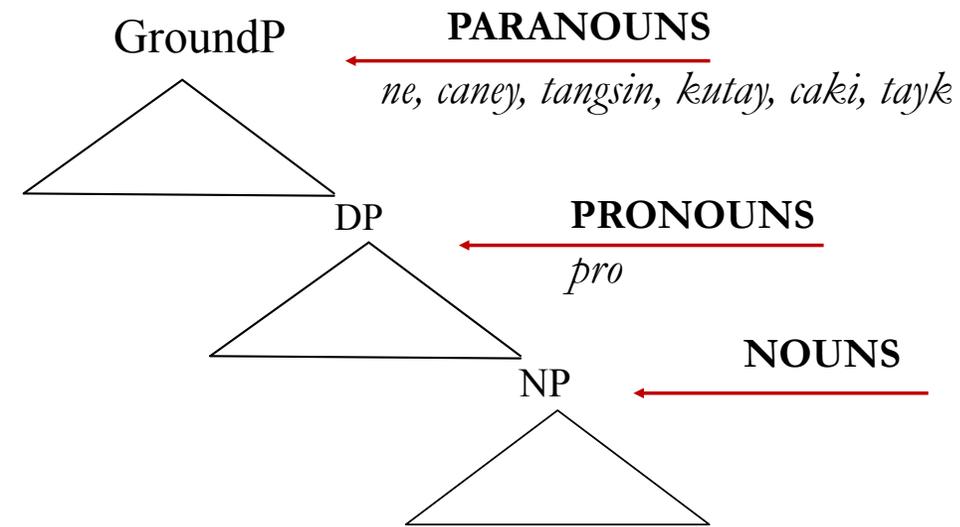
But “the overall distribution of Japanese personal pronouns and, say, English personal pronouns is markedly distinct.”

Hinds (1971: 154)

Type 2 Formality: Introducing PARANOUNS



Type 2 Formality: Introducing PARANOUNS



- Used in languages which avoid overt pronouns
 - Grammatical pronouns are silent (*pro*)
 - Unlike pronouns, they are pragmatically marked
- Paranouns don't form paradigms or trigger agreement
 - Because they are not composed of contrastive phi-features
 - They have substantive (not grammatical) content

Paranouns are not restricted to Addressee

Korean paranouns for speakers:

na (plain)

ce (humble)

cim (only used by a king, archaic)

...

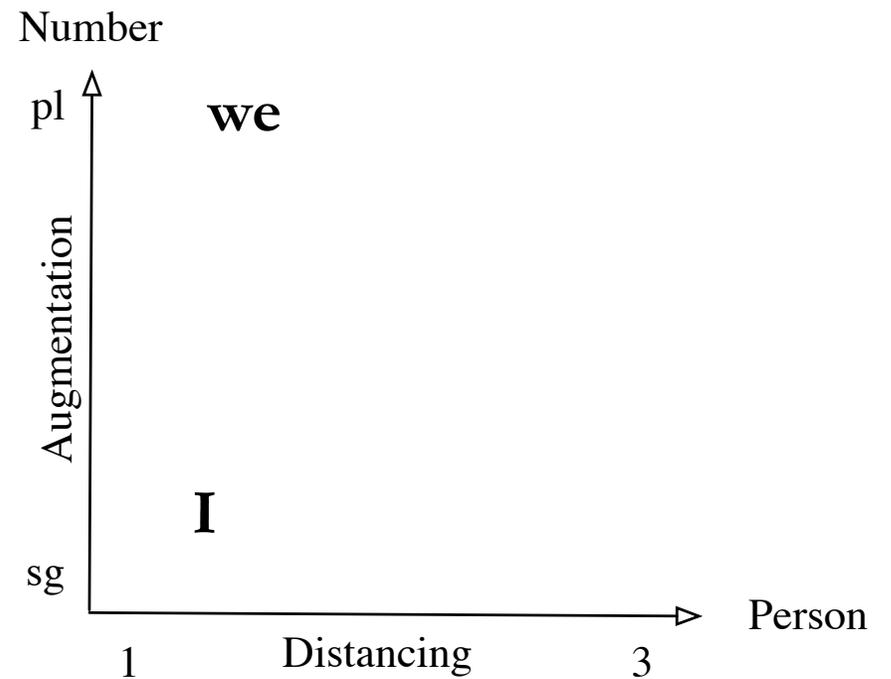
Japanese paranouns for speakers:

male: watakushi > kochira > watashi > boku > ore > washi

female: watakushi > kochira > watashi > atashi > uchi

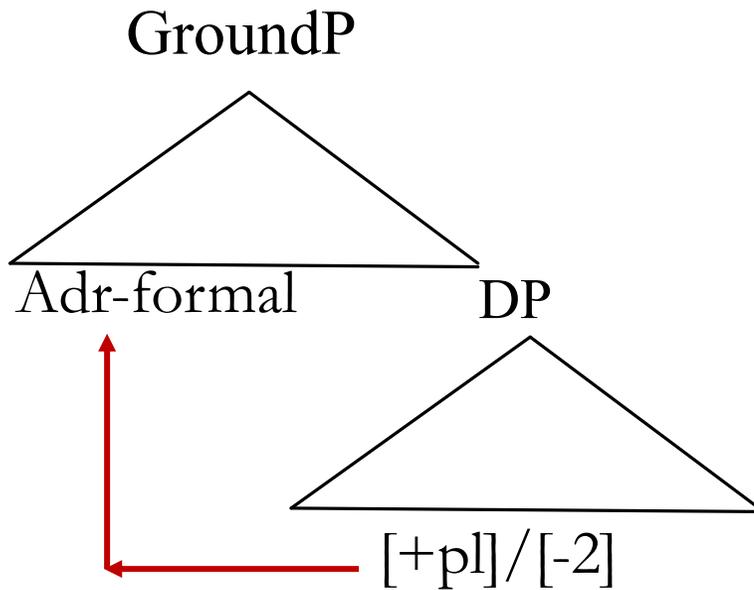
Is recycling restricted to 2nd person referents?

“We are not amused.”



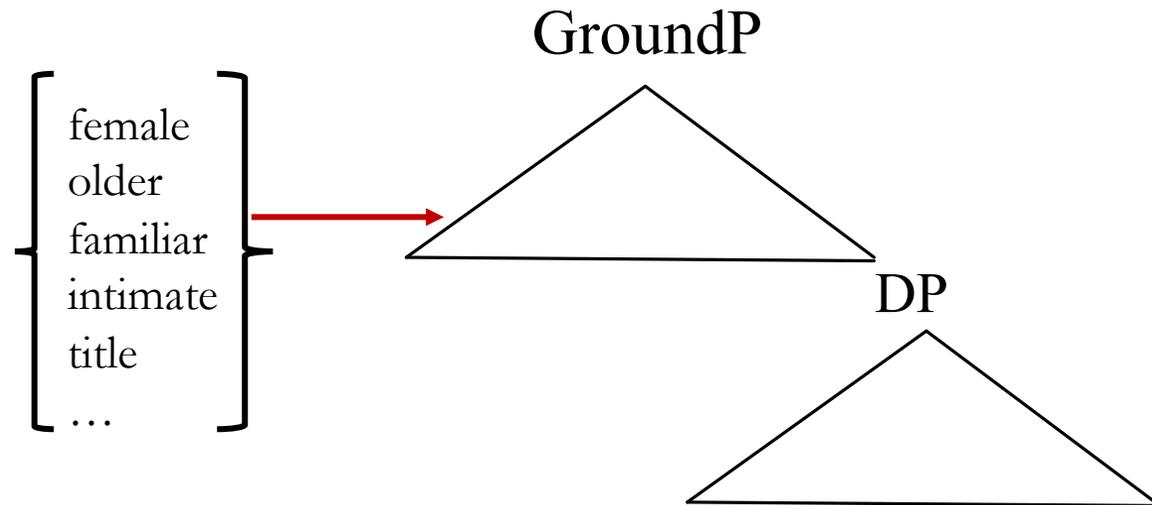
2 types of formality

Type 1 formality



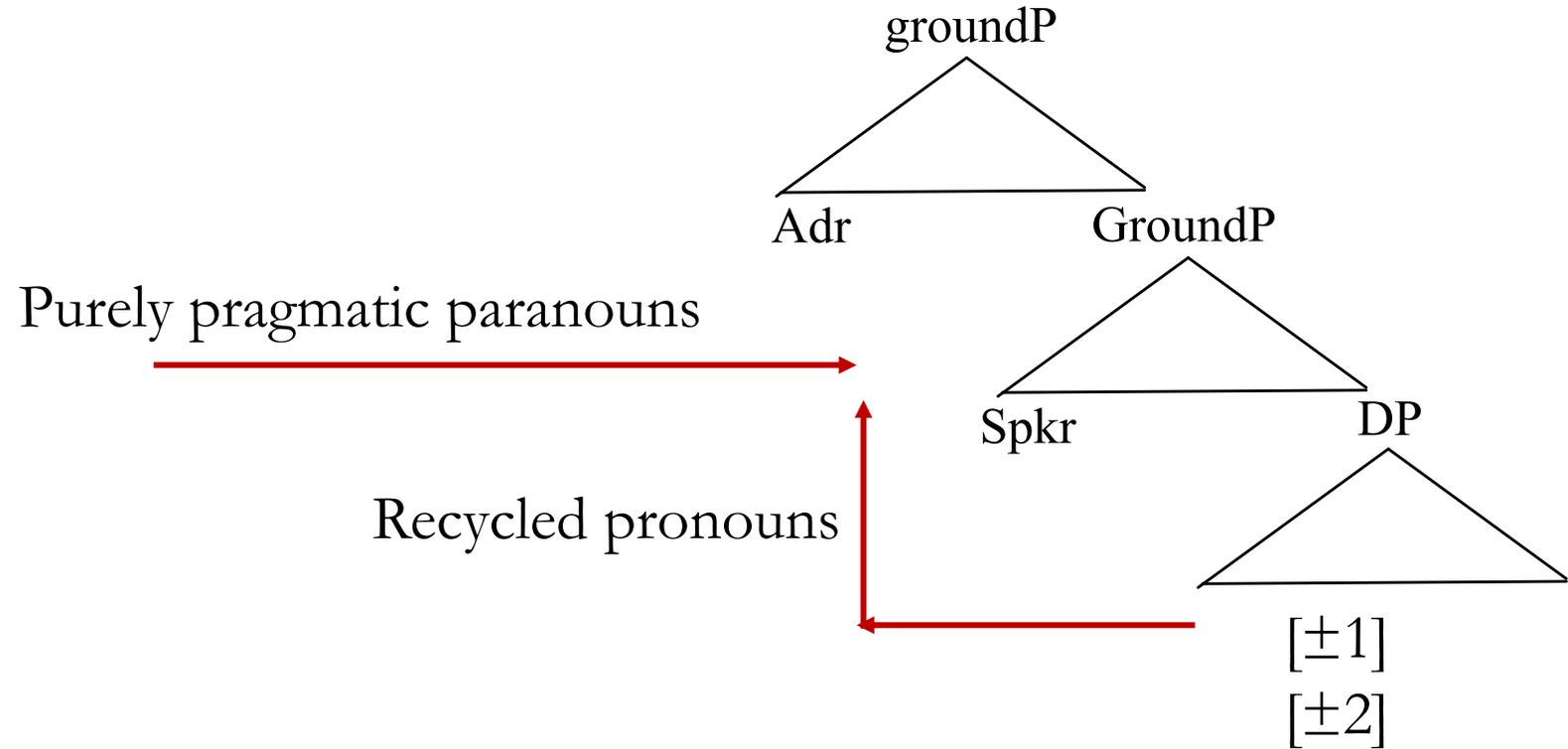
Recycled grammatical forms

Type 2 formality



Purely pragmatic forms

Two sources of formality

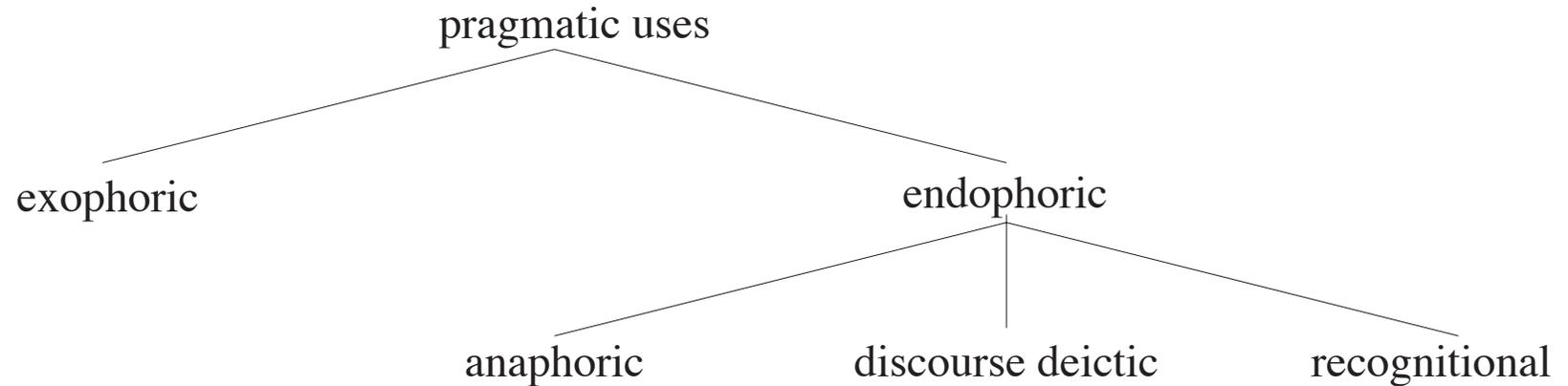


Formality is derived by the syntactic operations
MERGE and MOVE

Two types of demonstratives

Colasanti & Wiltschko 2019

Demonstratives



Halliday & Hasan 1976: 57-76

Diessel 1999: 6

Exophoric: reference to entities in the surrounding situation

Endophoric: (elsewhere)

- Anaphoric: co-referential with NP in previous discourse
- Discourse deictic: reference to propositions/illocutions

Recognitional:

- not co-referent to NP/proposition in preceding discourse
- used to activate specific shared knowledge

Two types of deixis

Spatial deixis (= exophoric)

Proximal

this book (right here)



Distal

that book (over there)



Discourse deixis (=recognitional)

Novel

this book (that I read...)

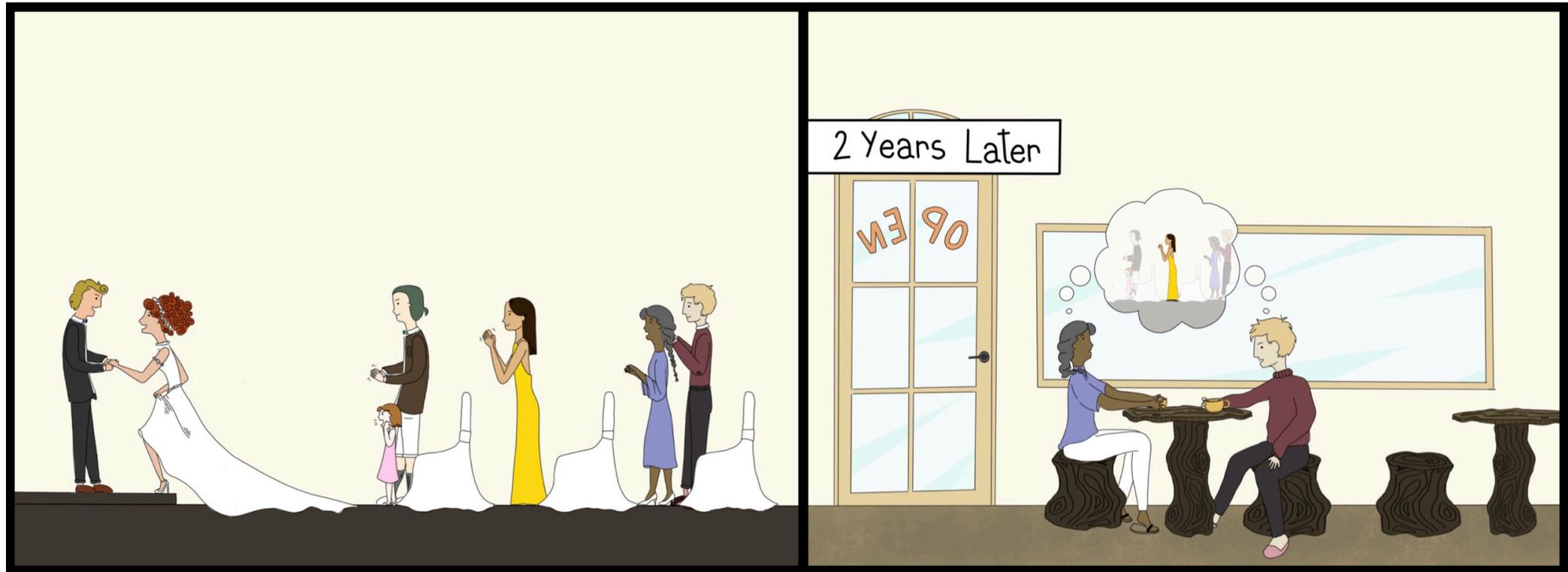
Familiar

that book (we talked about)

What is the relation between spatial deixis and discourse deixis?

- Are there empirical generalizations cross-linguistically?
- If so, how can we account for them?

The puzzle



Do you remember **that**/***this** woman in the yellow dress? She was so beautiful!

The puzzle



I went to this festival in San Francisco and there was **this**/***that** hippie... his name was Woodstock.

This seems surprising!

Initial generalization

	Proximal	Novel	Distal	Familiar
English	this		that	



Is this a coincidence?

Initial generalization

	Proximal	Novel	Distal	Familiar
English	this		that	



Overview

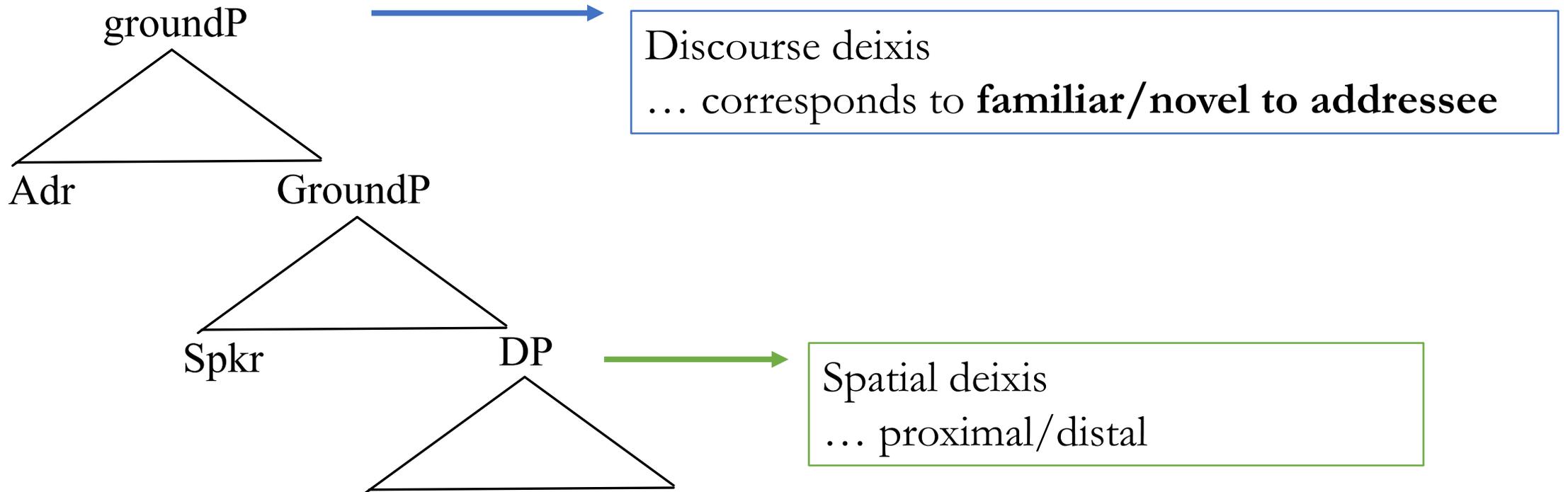
This is not surprising

- If we assume that
 - there is a speech act layer above the DP
 - discourse deixis is grammatically recycled from spatial deixis

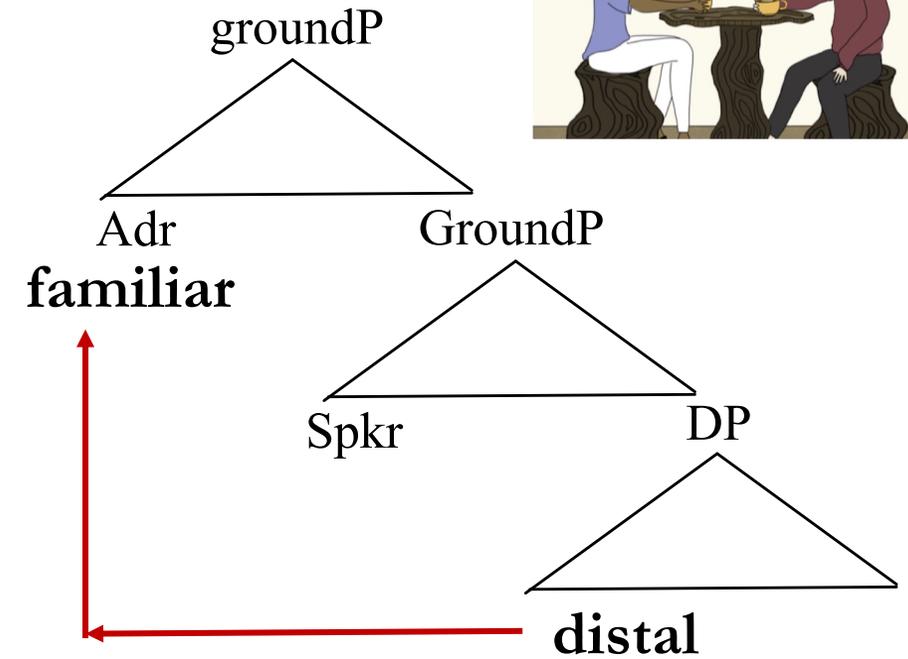
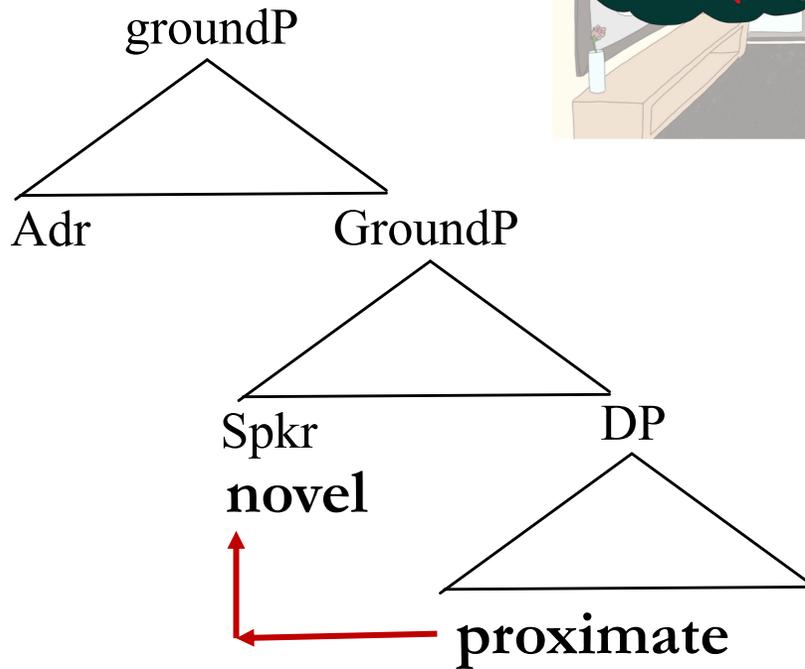
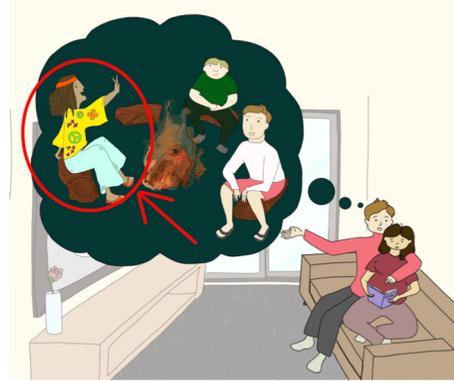
This is not a coincidence

- Evidence from several different language families
 - Including: 1-, 2-, 3- way distinctions in demonstratives

Two sources for deixis



Discourse deixis is recycled spatial deixis



Methodology: storyboard elicitation

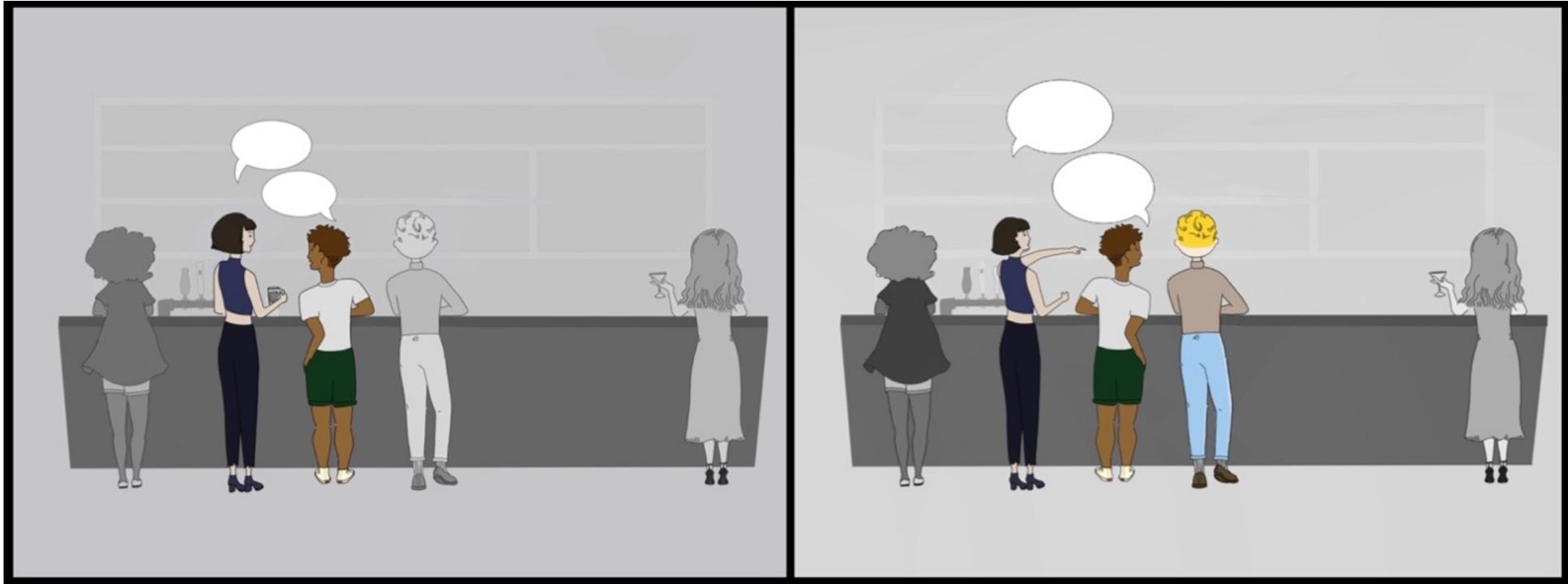
- Storyboard elicitation technique (Burton & Matthewson 2015)
- Investigation of different language families:
 - Spatial deixis (6 storyboards/contexts)
 - Animate referent
 - Inanimate referent
 - Discourse deixis (4 storyboards/contexts)

Spatial deixis: speaker proximal



This/***That** is Marica (red-haired lady).

Spatial deixis: addressee proximal



This/That is Marco (blond guy).

Spatial deixis: distal



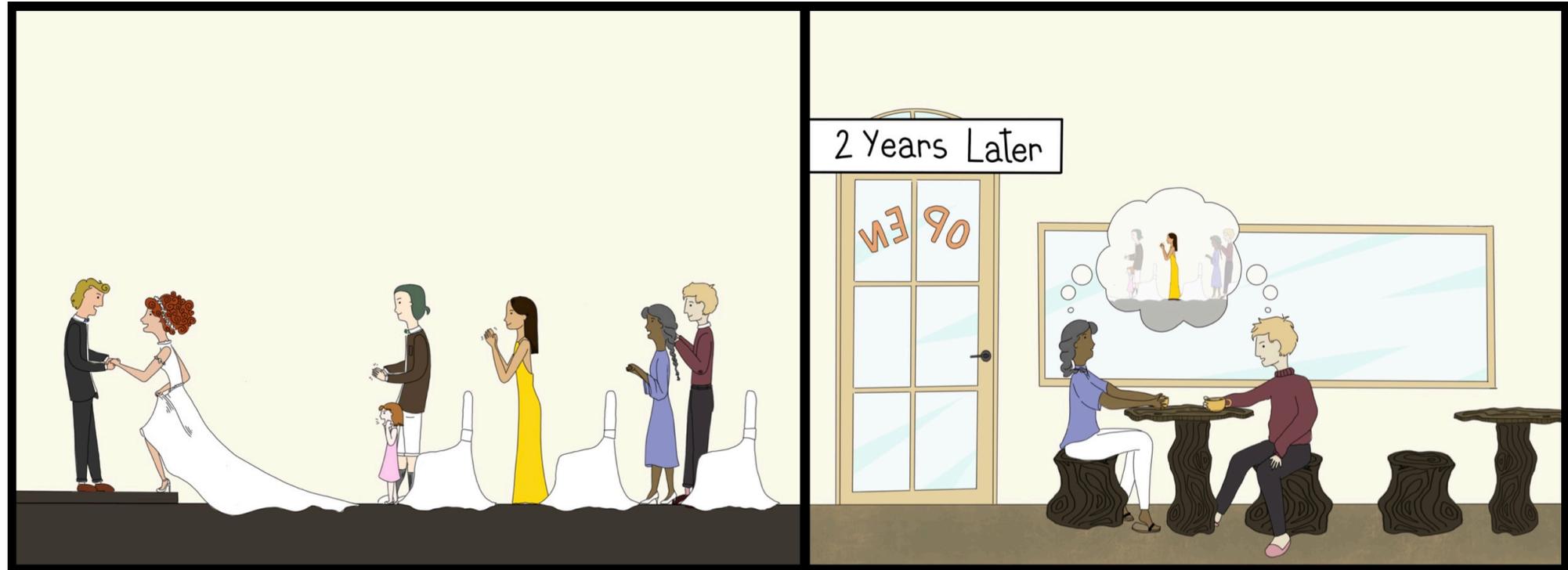
That/*This is Lucia (woman with the violet long dress).

Summary

Some surprising facts about the elicitations of spatial deixis

- Spatial deixis is not so straightforward as it seems!
 - Complex phenomenon:
 - Visual vs. non-visual perspective
 - Engagement vs not-engagement
 - Gestural component

Discourse deixis: familiar



Do you remember **that**/***this** woman in the yellow dress? She was so beautiful!

Discourse deixis: novel



I went to this festival in San Francisco and there was **this/*that** hippie... his name was Woodstock.

An (initial) typology

- On the basis of the languages investigated so far we have different types of demonstrative systems:
 - 2-way
 - 3-way
 - 1-way
 - > 3-way
- Three formal recycling strategies:
 - Full recycling
 - Partial recycling
 - No recycling

2-way systems

Strategy	Language	Proximal	Novel	Distal	Familiar
Strategy 1	English	this		that	
	German	dieser		jene	
	Dutch	dit		dat	
	Catalan	aquest		aquel	
	Romanian	ăsta		ăla	
Strategy 2	Mandarin	zhe	☐	na	

3-way systems

Strategies	Languages	Proximal to Speaker	Novel	Proximal to Addressee	??	Distal	Familiar
Strategy 1	Castilian	este		ese		aquel	
	Tuscan	questo		codesto		quello	
	Barese	kèss		kùss		kèdd	
	Verbicarese	quistə		quissə		quiddə	
	Cepranese	kiftə		kissə		kigliə	
	Mussomelese	chistu		chissu		chiddru	
Strategy 2	Tagalog	ito	∃	yan		yun	
	Korean	i	∃	ku		ce	
	Japanese	ko	∃	so		a	

1-way systems

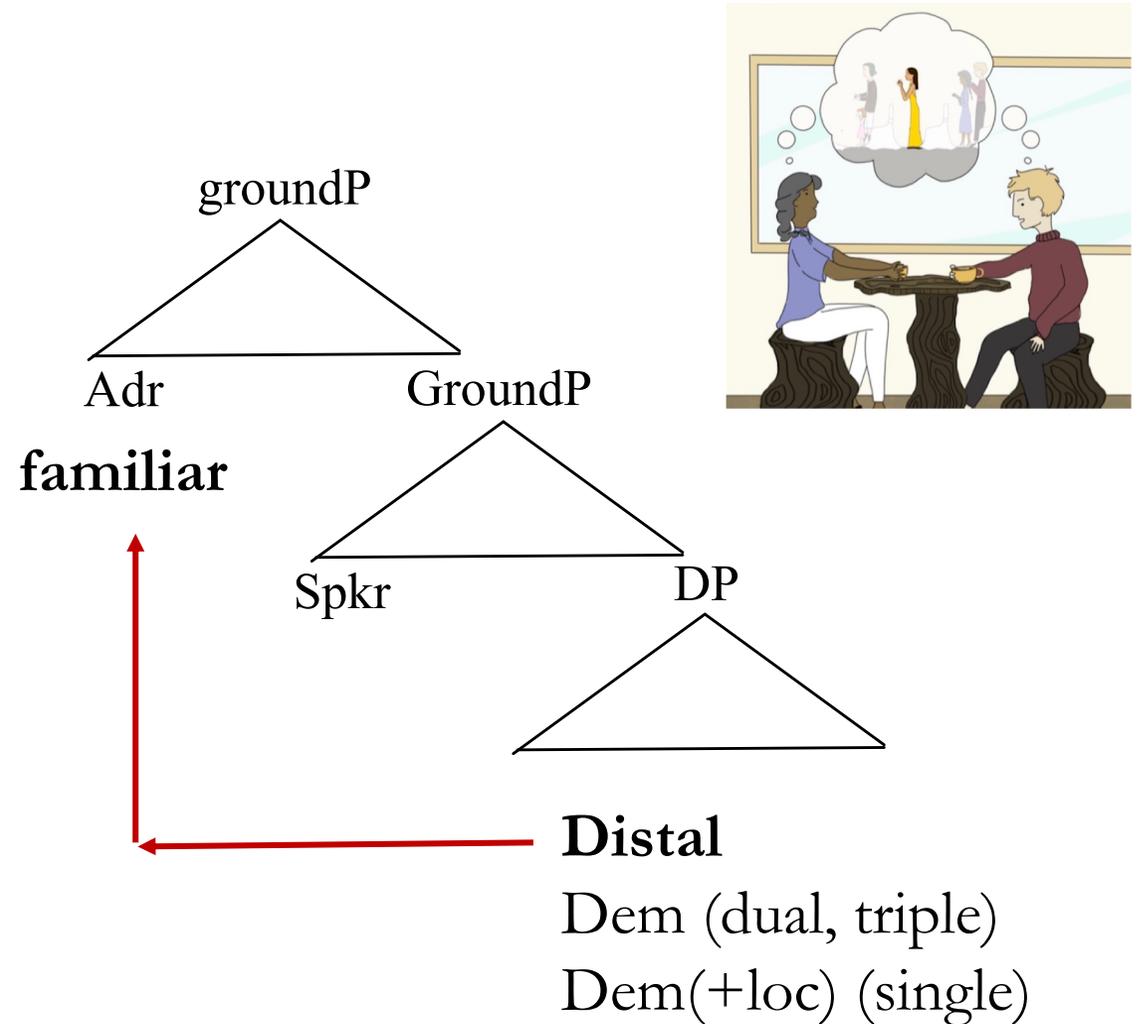
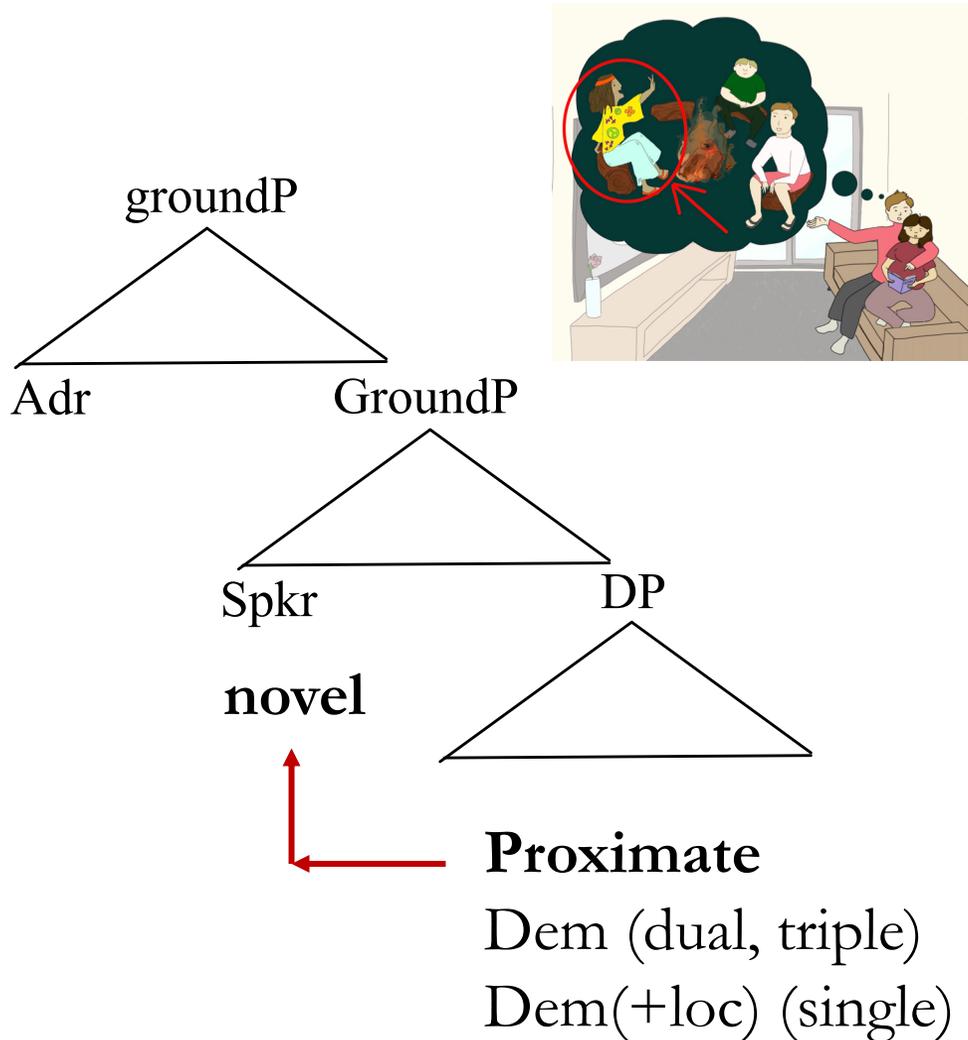
Strategy	Language	Proximal	Novel	Distal	Familiar
Strategy 1	French	ce+loc	ce	ce+loc	ce
Strategy 2	Swabian	det+loc	∃	det+loc	det

> 3-way systems: Ktunaxa

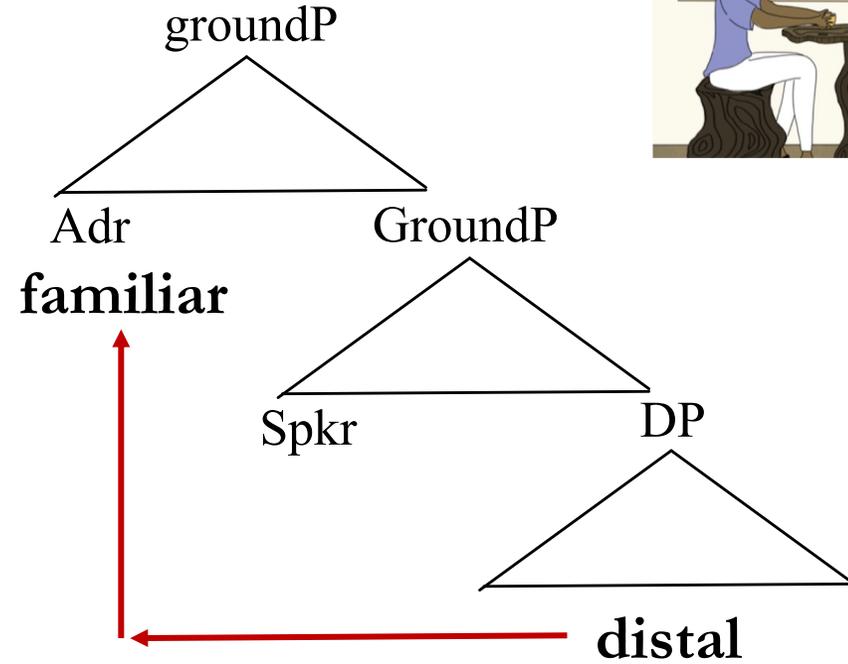
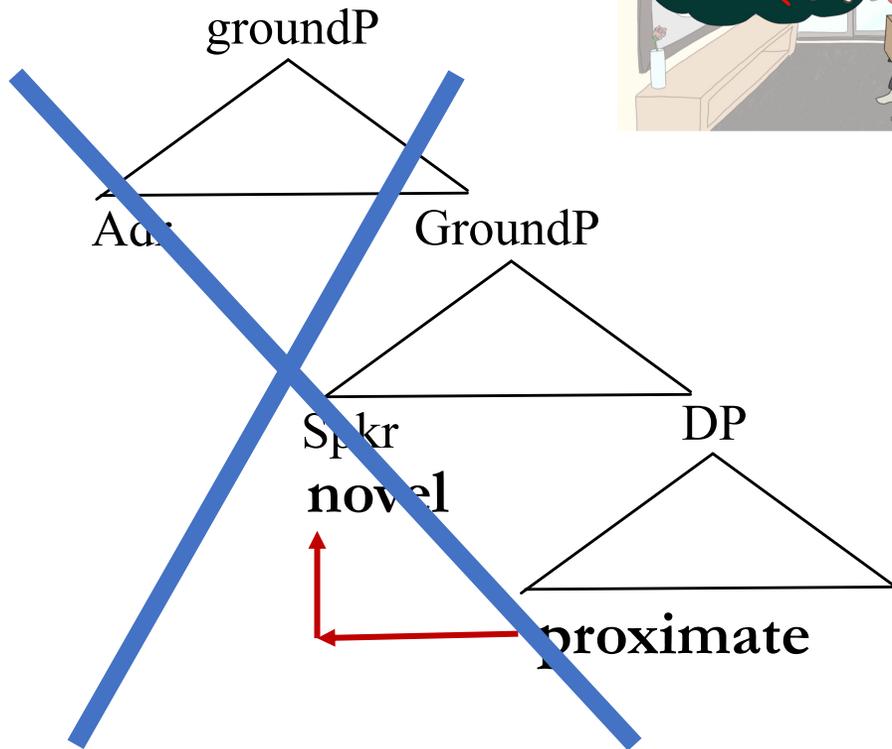
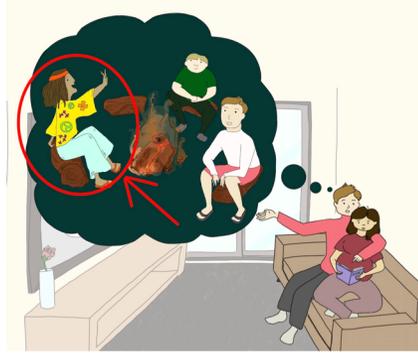
Language	Proximal to Speaker	Novel	Proximal to Addressee	Distal	Familiar
Ktunaxa	naʔ	ɛ	ʔin	qu	niʔ (not visible)

See also Huijsmans & Birdstone (2019)

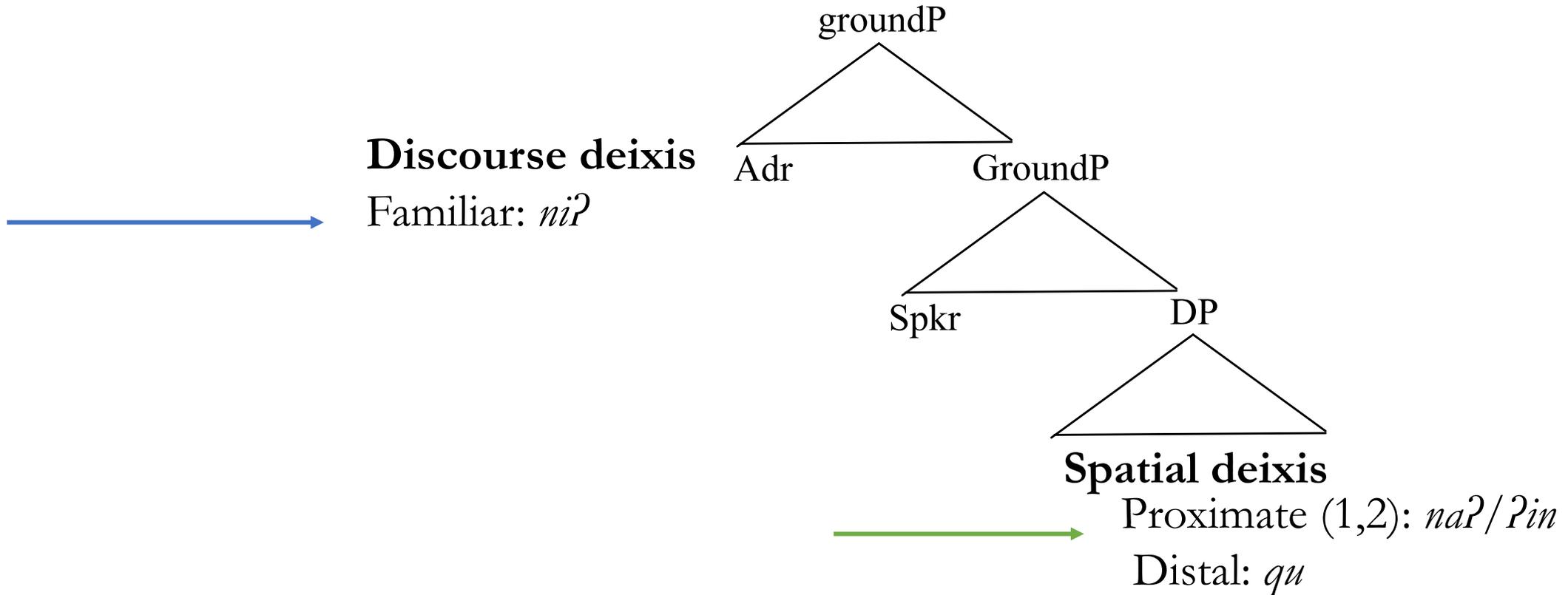
Strategy 1: full recycling



Strategy 2: partial recycling



> 3-way systems: no recycling



Overview

Problem: What are vocatives?

Background: The interactional spine hypothesis

Proposal: The Nominal interactional spine

Analysis: The structure of vocatives on the interactional spine

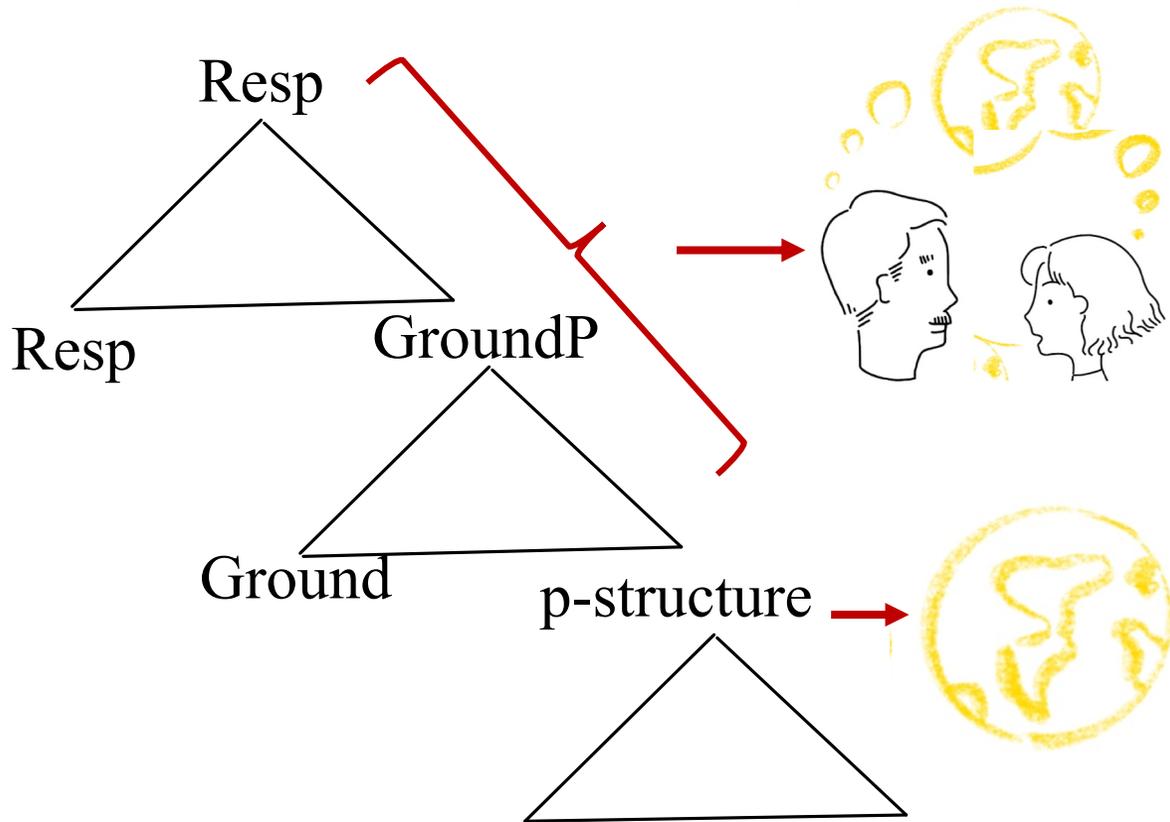
Other Case-studies:

Two types of “Pronouns” (introducing *paranouns*)

Two types of Formality

Two uses of Demonstratives

The syntax of interactional language



Interactional structure is about **mental worlds**:
Beliefs, attitudes, evaluations, discourse status,...)

Propositional structure is about the **world**:
propositions, individuals, eventualities,...

Parallels between nominal and clausal structure

