

SPEAKER VISIBILITY IN SYNTAX

FARUK AKKUŞ
University of Pennsylvania

VIRGINIA HILL
University of New Brunswick-SJ

1 Introduction

In this paper, we discuss data with marked direct addresses where both the speaker and the addressee are visible and spelled out within one intonation unit, as shown in (1) for Turkish.

- (1) *Leyla-sı*, *ne* *yap-abil-ir-im* *sen-in* *için?*
Leyla-POSS.3SG what do-ABIL-AOR-1SG you-GEN for
'Leyla, what can I do for you?'//Literally: her/his Leyla, what can I do for you?

In (1), *Leyla* indicates the addressee, whereas the invariable form of the enclitic possessive pronoun (glossed as 3SG) indicates the speaker. There is no possession reading in this context, but an indication of affection from the speaker towards the addressee.

For constructions as in (1), we argue that:

- (i) the speaker can be spelled out within a regular DP (versus as a specialized projection such as VocP) and only in a local (Spec-head) relation with the addressee;
- (ii) such configuration obtains when certain discourse features (i.e., *point-of-view* and *inter-personal*), which are underspecified by default, come with marked values in the derivation (i.e., [affect] and [kin], respectively).
- (iii) when both speaker and addressee are spelled out, their mapping takes place through nominal categories (versus verbal endings or particles at C), and may involve imposter operators.

On the basis of data from Turkish, Sason Arabic, Palestinian Arabic, Bahrain Arabic and Romanian, we identify two domains for the concurrent merging of nominal items that spell out the speaker and the addressee: within the sentence structure (e.g., in the speech act field; saP in Speas and Tenny 2003), and within the vocative phrase (i.e., VocP in Espinal 2013; Hill 2014).

The concurrent spellout is triggered by certain feature values, and is subject to cross-linguistic variation: *inverse vocatives* arise within saP in the presence of an [affect] feature (in Turkish and Sason Arabic), whereas *reverse vocatives* arise within VocP in the presence of a [kin] feature (in Romanian, Palestinian, Lebanese and Bahrain Arabic). We argue that in both configurations the spellout of the speaker involves nominal items (e.g., DP, grammaticalized nouns or pronouns) and is conditioned by a Spec-head relation between speaker and addressee.

2 Data

Empirically, the observation is that a contrast arises in the way the concurrent spellout of speaker and addressee is implemented in Turkish and in Palestinian Arabic: in Turkish we see a string that contains a noun and an enclitic possessive pronoun, on the pattern in (1), and further in (2). On the other hand, in Palestinian Arabic both items are spelled out as nouns, as in (3), while pronouns are excluded if used in an invariable form, as in Turkish (1), (2).

The Turkish example in (1) shows an inverse vocative containing a proper noun; in (2), we introduce common nouns in the same context. In (2a), 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 3rd person singular at all times.¹

- (2) a. (The elder brother addresses his little female sibling)
Abi-si, ayakkabılar-ım-ı getir-ir-mi-sin? Turkish
 brother-3SG shoes-1SG-ACC fetch-AOR-Q-2SG
 ‘[Her] brother, can you fetch my shoes?’ (from *İntihar*, a novel)
- b. (A patient addresses his/her doctor)
Peki, sana ne de-meli, doktor-cuğ-u? Turkish
 well you-DAT what say-should doctor-DIM-3SG
 ‘Well, [his/her] doctor, what about you?’

The data in (2) show that the string [noun > 3SG possessive] can equally spell out the sequences speaker > addressee or addressee > speaker. The reading depends on the deictic context.

In the same geographical area, 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 (3). Furthermore, the spellout is free, in the sense that the speaker may occur without the addressee (hence the brackets around *Layla* in (3), 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.

- (3) (an uncle addresses his niece named Layla)²
ya (layla) ammo PA
 PRT Layla uncle
 ‘Layla uncle,...!’

¹ Possessives in Turkish contain a vowel subject to fronting and rounding harmony, and two consonants whose occurrence depends on the morpho-phonological environment, these together yielding the forms: *-i, -ı, -u, -ü, -si, -sı, -su, -sü, -in, -ın, -un, -ün, -sin, -sın, -sun, -sün*.

² Examples are due to Sam Al Khatib (pers. comm.).

The immediate questions arising from the data in (1) to (3) concern not only the underlying structure of the Turkish constructions but also the identification of the parametric variation cross-linguistically, beginning with the variation between Turkish and PA.

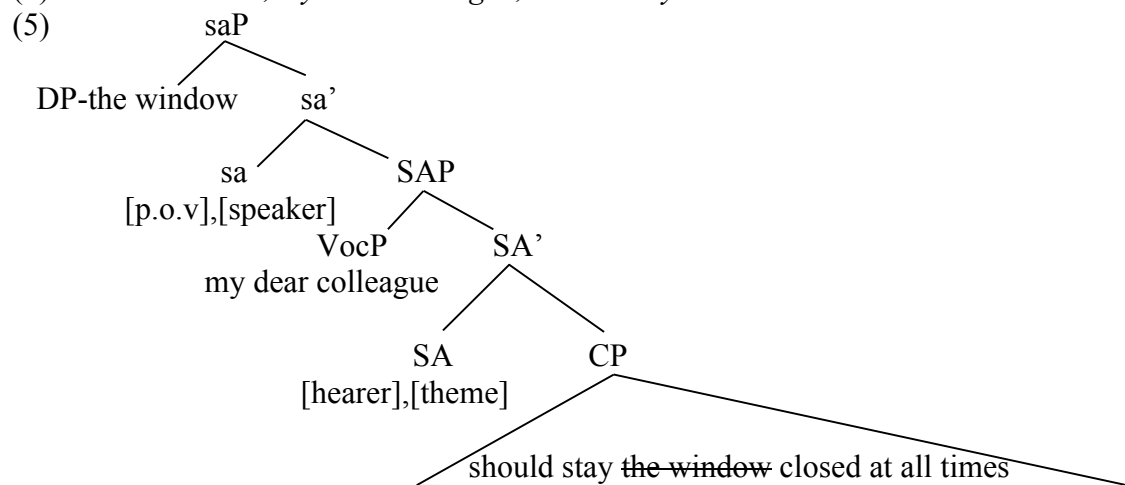
3 Theoretical Framework

3.1 Speech Acts

The framework we adopt for the mapping of speech acts to syntax is the cartographic representation proposed initially in Speas and Tenny 2003 and further refined in Hill 2007 and 2014 and Haegeman 2014. For arguments towards a grammaticization of speech acts we refer the reader to studies such as Ross 1970; Moro 2003; Speas 2004; Miyagawa 2012, a.o., in addition to the works already cited.

According to this literature, the structure of a clause that contains a direct address, as in (4), has the hierarchy in (5), where saP is the speaker phrase, whereas SAP is the addressee phrase. In (4), the DP ‘window’ is probed by [p.o.v], as being the topic for the speaker’s request.

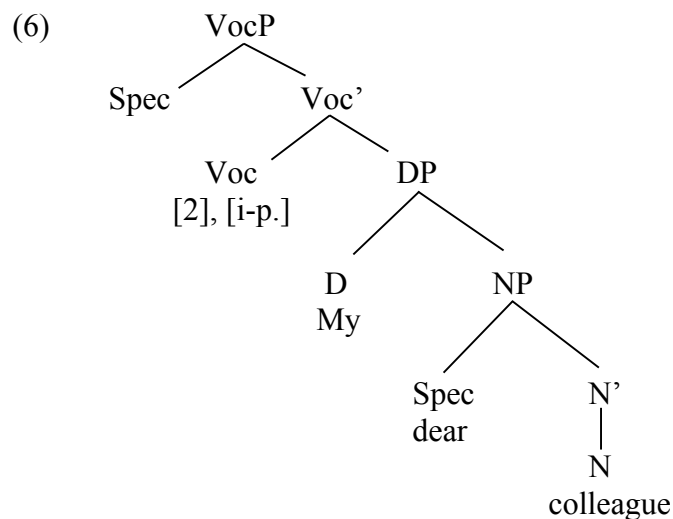
(4) *The window, my dear colleague, should stay closed at all times.*



In (5), sa projects a mixed A/A'-position that allows the moved constituent to check the [p.o.v] and [speaker]. The vocative phrase checks [hearer] in an A-position, while the CP checks [theme]. This is only an example. Intra- and cross-linguistic variations arise in the implementation of feature checking. More precisely, (5) shows that, in English, the features associated with speech act heads are checked by constituents in Spec positions, rather than by dedicated particles directly merged in these heads. Also, while the [hearer] is checked by a VocP in an A-position, the [speaker] is checked through free-riding, bundled with [p.o.v]. However, the studies cited above show important cross-linguistic variation in this respect, since the theory allows us to predict that languages vary in the bundling and spellout of the features of saP/SAP. For example, Haegeman (2014) argues for the mapping of each feature to a separate functional head, which amounts to four saP/SAP fields in West Flemish. Along the same lines, one may infer that the extreme opposite option should also be possible, namely, the bundling of all

saP/SAP features on a single, collapsed head s/SA. In this paper, we argue that Turkish fulfills that prediction, and the task is to see what that implies for the syntactic derivation.

For the internal structure of the VocP merged in (5), we adopt the representation in (6), along the lines in Espinal 2013, Hill 2013, Stavrou 2014 a.o.



Voc head is associated with a 2nd person feature [2] and an inter-personal relation feature [i-p], the latter indicating degrees of formality that reflect the social status of the discourse participants. The VocP field is detected through the peculiar form of nouns (e.g., *Waiter!* versus **The waiter!*) indicating N-to-Voc (see Longobardi 1994 and Moro 2003 for Italian; Szabolcsi 1994 for Hungarian; Espinal 2013 for Catalan, a.o.) and/or dedicated Voc particles (e.g., most Balkan languages; Stavrou 2014). In (8), Voc is responsible for the 2nd person reading on *colleague*, which, elsewhere, has a 3rd person feature by default (Bernstein 2008).

3.2 Imposters

In order to understand the interpretation of the possessive form in (1) and (2), we adopt structural mechanisms that allow pronouns to be used indexically irrespective of their person semantics. For example, in an address like *Would her majesty need anything else?*, the pronoun *her* displays a 3rd person form but indicates the hearer, that is, 2nd person. Such deviations are discussed, among others, in Kratzer (2009), and are known as *imposters* or *camouflage DPs* (Collins & Postal 2012, Podobryaev 2014a).

Collins & Postal (2012: 5) define imposters as “a notionally *X* person DP which is grammatically *Y* person, $X \neq Y$ ”; e.g. *the present authors*, *the undersigned*, *Madam*. On the other hand, with camouflage DPs, the relevant denotation is signaled by the pronoun: 1st person pronouns denote speakers, whereas 2nd person pronouns denote addressees. By contrast, imposters do not manifest this correspondence; for instance, *my lady* is an imposter, not a camouflage DP, because the reference of the DP is the addressee, not the speaker, although the possessive is in 1st person (Collins 2014: 6).

Podobryaev (2014a, b) provides an account of DP interpretation under which imposters are semantic binders, and phi-features are semantically interpreted. Imposters can be syntactically ordinary 3rd person DPs that refer to the speaker or the addressee because they license silent assignment-function-manipulating *operators* in syntax. These operators make

uninterpretable/undefined 1st or 2nd person features, which are part of referential indices interpreted by an assignment function. 1st/2nd person pronouns are impossible in the scope of such operators, or operators are not introduced in the case of 1st/2nd person pronouns. Podobryaev's imposter operators are not concerned with the pronoun inside the imposter phrase. However, Akkuş & Frank (to appear) and Akkuş (2017) point out a more complex picture, and argue that Podobryaev's analysis must be extended to camouflage DPs, since Turkish data show that the possessor pronoun inside turns out to be subject to the requirement of the imposter operator.

In light of these previous studies, we shall argue that the possessive clitic in inverse vocatives as in (1) and (2) qualifies as an imposter, whereas reverse vocatives as in (5) do not need imposter operators.

4 Regular Vocatives

An important clarification before starting the inquiry into the constructions in (1) to (3) is that Turkish (also the other languages mentioned) allows for the use of vocatives without the spellout of the speaker, as in (7) and (8). We refer to such constructions as *regular vocatives*.

- (7) *Ben-im güzel kız-ım, ne yap-abil-ir-im*
 I-GEN beautiful daughter-1POSS what do-ABIL-AOR-1SG
sen-in için? Turkish
 you.SG-GEN for
 'My beautiful daughter, what can I do for you?'
- (8) *Ben-im güzel kız-lar-ım ne yap-abil-ir-im*
 I-GEN beautiful daughter- PL-1POSS what do-ABIL-AOR-1SG
siz-in için? Turkish
 you.PL-GEN for
 'My beautiful daughters, what can I do for you?'

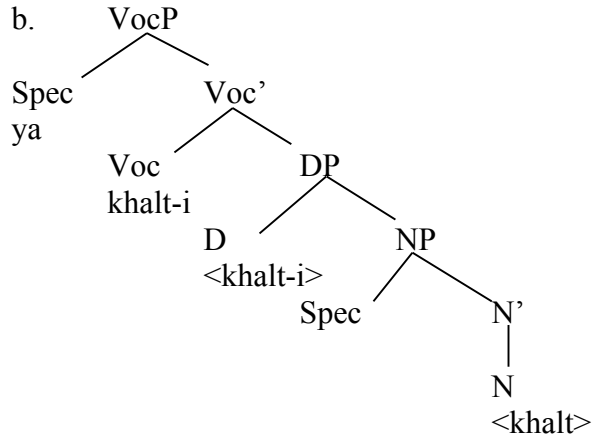
The underlying structure of the vocatives in (7) and (8) is identical to the one in (6): Voc is non-lexical, *ben-im* signals a DP domain, whereas *güzel kız-ım* spells out NP, with the noun in-situ and AP in Spec, NP.³ The important properties of this structure are:

- (i) agreement on the possessive pronoun with the possessor;
- (ii) variability in number value, which is singular in (7) but plural in (8);
- (iii) an obligatory addressee reading on the noun (*kız-ım* 'daughter').

The structure in (6) also captures the internal structure of VocP in PA, as shown in (9b) for the regular vocative in (9a). Cross-linguistic variation arises only from the presence of an obligatory vocative particle and the presence of N-to-Voc in PA (versus Turkish).

- (9) a. *ya khalt-i,...* PA
 VOC aunt-my
 'my aunt,...

³ See Yüksek (2003), Arslan-Kechriotis (2009:143), a.o. for the argument that NPs remain in their merge position.



In out-of-the-blue contexts, regular vocatives as in (7) – (9) do not convey details on the inter-personal relation, so the [i-p] feature is underspecified, its reading arising from the pragmatic context. However, reverse and inverse vocatives display specific values for [i-p] or [p.o.v], respectively, as discussed in the remainder of this paper.

5 Inverse Vocatives

The label *inverse vocatives* refers to the alternate association of the DP and the pronoun in (1)/(2) with p-roles: the DP and the pronoun can take turns for checking either [speaker] or [hearer], and both features are checked out concurrently.

The word order alternation for speaker and addressee in (2a, b) occurs in free variation for some Turkish speakers, as long as affection is involved. For other speakers, the order speaker > addressee also conveys the social authority of the speaker over the addressee, whereas the order addressee > speaker conveys only the endearment. All speakers agree, however, that (2) is marked for the emotional relation between speaker and addressee, whereas (7/8) is neutral.

The noun within the inverse vocative in (2) has phrasal status. Consider (10).

- (10) a. %*güzel doktor-u, bak ban-a!*
 beautiful doctor-his/her look me-DAT
 ‘his/her beautiful doctor, look at me!’
- b. *dayı ve amca-sı*
 maternal uncle and paternal uncle-3SG
 ‘her/his maternal and paternal uncles’
- c. ?*doktor ve hemşire-si*
 doctor and nurse-3SG
 ‘his/her doctor and nurse’

The adjective in (10a) indicates that the full-fledged noun projects a phrasal structure. Furthermore, when this noun denotes the addressee, it must count as a VocP, which means a phrasal construct. In (10b-c), the nouns are merged in a coordinated phrase, let’s say CoordP. When these nouns denote the addressees, they are necessarily VocPs. Hence, (10b, c) are CoordPs with two VocPs. In these configurations, the possessive encliticizes on CoordP, not on each noun involved, which should have been the case if the clitic were inside the VocP.

Therefore, the possessive enclitic is not merged in its default position, within a DP/VocP, which must account for the lack of agreement inflection.

This analysis must be extended to the readings where the clitics is the addressee, while the noun is the speaker. Although in such cases the noun does not project to VocP, but presumably to DP, the restrictions on the clitic merge remain, so it is still outside the DP.

The data in (1)/(2) and (10) allow us to draw two conclusions: (i) inverse vocatives arise when an [affect] feature is mapped in the syntax of the address (otherwise, the direct address converges to a regular vocative); and (ii) the invariable possessive enclitic that is obligatory with inverse vocatives merges outside the phrasal/phasal structure projected by the co-occurring noun.

5.1 SAP Versus VocP

The next step is to identify the location at which [affect] is mapped in the structure, as well as the merge site for the possessive enclitic. In particular, we must determine whether this feature is a property of saP/SAP in (5), or of VocP in (6). In the previous section, we indicated that the possessive is generated outside VocP, so it must be in saP, together with the [affect] feature that triggers its merge. This inference is further verified in this section.

First, semantically, [affect] spells out the speaker's point of view concerning his/her feelings towards the addressee, irrespective of the social or kinship status of the latter. As such, inverse vocatives display [p.o.v] valued for affectivity.⁴ Therefore, [p.o.v/affect] is associated with the sa head. In other words, inverse vocatives merge within saP, not within VocP.

Second, the properties of VocP or DP clash with the restrictions noticed with respect to the invariable possessive. In particular, if inverse vocatives were derived within VocP or within a DP, the sequence noun>possessive should have displayed agreement relations between possessor and possessee. This is not the case in inverse vocatives, where the possessive:

- (i) does not indicate possession or social belonging (as in 'my daughter' in regular DPs and VocPs), but only a discourse participant;
- (ii) does not agree in [person] with the possessor, as in neutral DPs and in VocPs;
- (iii) is invariable for number values as well, unlike its behavior within neutral DPs and VocPs.

Therefore, inverse vocatives do not show properties that are obligatory for the internal structure of VocPs/DPs, which indicates that they are generated in some other domain that maps discourse participants – which, in the framework adopted in this paper, means saP/SAP.

5.2 The Structure of Inverse Vocatives

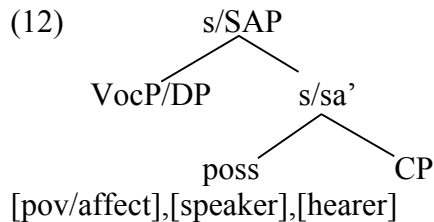
In this section, we propose a s/SAP configuration for generating inverse vocatives.

The obligatory adjacency between noun and the enclitic possessive indicates a local configuration (Spec-head). The exchange in discourse roles indicates that either the noun or the pronoun may check either the speaker or the addressee p-role in this local configuration. That is, the feature checking task is divided between VocP/DP and the enclitic, so one item cannot check both features. Crucially, in (2) and further in (11), either lexical item can check either p-role feature, so the same possessive enclitic counts as the speaker (feminine) in (11a), but as the addressee (masculine) in (11b).

⁴ Affectivity does not necessarily entail genuine feelings but a social convention.

- (11) a. (A girl addresses her boyfriend)
Tatlı-sı, *nerede kal-dı-n?*
 sweet-3SG where remain-PAST-2SG
 ‘[His] sweet, where have you been?’
- b. *Arkadaş-ı bak-ar mı-sın?*
 friend-3SG look-AOR-Q-2SG
 ‘[Her/his] friend, excuse me!’

These properties indicate that, when the reading is that of affectivity, the p-role features are bundled in one set associated with one single head. In other words, when [p.o.v] is valued as [affect], it triggers the collapsing of s/SAP hierarchy, as in (12).⁵



In (5), we saw the bundling of the underspecified [p.o.v] and [speaker] p-role features, which is very common cross-linguistically. However, when [p.o.v] is valued as [affect], this feature is bundled with both [speaker] and [hearer] p-roles within the same phrasal structure, as shown under (12), which is unusual. Thus, while Spec, saP in (5) is a mixed A'/A position, in (12), Spec, s/SAP must count as an argumental position, since the noun spells out a p-role feature (either [speaker] or [hearer]). Predictably, the [affect] feature triggers an A'-Spec in (12), together with some feature checking operation that is not yet obvious from the data at this point (but is identified as the imposter operator binding in the next section).

We will further refine the configuration in (15) in the next section, but as it stands now, (12) already explains why the noun and the possessive do not agree: they are separate items merged separately in the clause structure to check different features. This accounts for the fact that the pronoun can be invariable (and semantically bleached) in this structure, whereas in regular DPs the pronoun has a possessive reading and occurs in a local relation with the noun head, which triggers agreement in number and person. Here, the DP merges in the Spec as a closed domain, so D/N is inaccessible to the clitic in the head s/SA for phi-feature agreement.

Independent confirmation for this analysis comes from Sason Arabic⁶, where inverse vocatives are also present, as shown in (13) and (14). The variation is that, unlike Turkish, Sason Arabic displays gender inflection on possessive pronouns in inverse vocatives. Crucially, the gender inflection reflects the biological gender of the discourse participants (allocutive agreement), not of the DP in the local Spec. The pronoun is semantically bleached, on a par with the Turkish equivalent. Hence, again, these pronouns are speech act markers, not possessive adjectives within DPs.

⁵ The [theme] p-role also belongs to this bundle and it is checked by CP, but this is irrelevant for our discussion.

⁶ Sason Arabic is a peripheral Arabic variety spoken in eastern Turkey by an estimated 2,000 people (Akkuş & Benmamoun 2016).

- (13) a. *Layla zəll-u əbən-na amma-ye?* Sason Arabic
 Layla GEN-POSS.3MASC son-our where-cop.3
 ‘His Leyla, where is our son?’
 (husband addresses his wife Leyla; agreement with speaker)
- b. *Layla zəll-a laa tənse ina axt-ki kəttu.*
 Layla GEN-POSS.3FEM not forget.2f I sister-2f.poss be.1sg
 ‘Her Leyla, don’t forget, I am your sister’
 (older sister addresses younger sister Leyla; agreement with speaker)
- (14) a. *?Layla zəll-u nəsit əçax cawwəj-na?*⁷
 Layla GEN-POSS.3MASC forgot.2m when married-1PL
 ‘His Leyla, did you forget when we got married?’
 (Leyla addresses her husband; agreement with addressee)
- b. *?Layla zəll-a ənte en baş le əmmad kətte.*
 Layla GEN-POSS.3FEM you.f most good of mothers be.2f.sg
 ‘Her Leyla, you are the best mother!’
 (Leyla addresses her mother; agreement with addressee)

Allocutive agreement is a concept first proposed for Basque (see Miyagawa 2012 and references within). Crucially, in Basque the allocutive agreement is marked as an ending on verbs, while the inverse vocatives we discuss here show that nominal items may also serve for encoding this feature at the high left periphery. Semantically bleached pronouns seem to be good candidates, as long as they become underspecified for person features and free of semantic content (i.e., no possessive semantics).

This brings us to the next issue: what is the status of the bleached possessive and how does it obtain the indexicality?

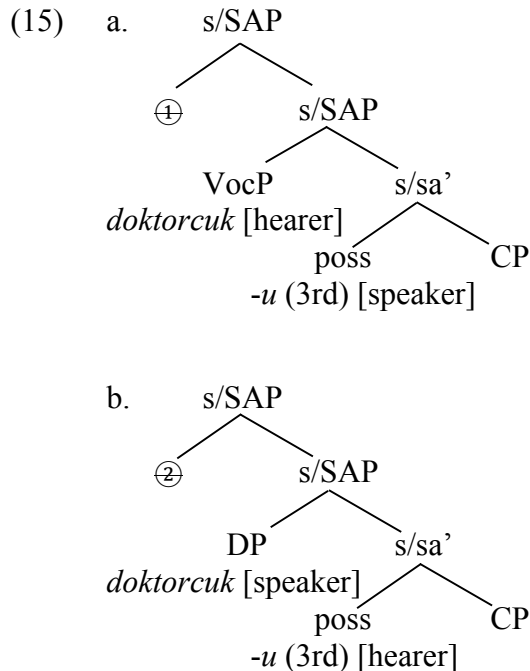
5.3 Speech Act Imposters

In this section, we provide an analysis for the person valuation of the invariable possessive merged in Turkish inverse vocatives. The hypothesis is that invariable (3rd person form) pronouns can come to denote speakers or addressees in the presence of semantic imposters, which license silent assignment-function-manipulating *operators* in syntax.

The analysis takes into consideration the feature composition associated with speech act heads (i.e., [p.o.v], [speaker], [hearer]) and the factor that decides on the option for a regular versus an inverse vocative in Turkish: that is, when [p.o.v] remains underspecified, the output is a regular vocative; however, if [p.o.v] is valued as [affect], the output is an inverse vocative. The encoding of [affect] is directly related to the presence of a possessive pronoun which is, somehow, valued for 1st and 2nd person interpretation (i.e., either speaker or addressee), although it displays a 3rd person invariable form.

We suggest that the switch in reference arises from the presence of an imposter operator, in a configuration as in (15), which is a refinement of (12).

⁷ The question mark at the beginning of the sentence indicates variability in grammatical judgments: For some, using proper names when referring to the speaker yields marginal structures, when compared to having the proper name referring to the hearer. However, the degree of marginality differs from one person to another.



As mentioned for (12), an A'-Spec, saP is predictable on grounds of having the discourse feature [affect] associated with the sa head. In (15), this feature is mapped as an imposter operator that binds the pronoun and assigns it speaker or addressee reference. The VocP/DP is not an intervener since it checks a p-role and thus, it occupies an A (versus A') position.

The configuration in (15) has bona fide imposters, not camouflage DP. That is, the possessive is external to the DP, not internal, as it would be in camouflage DP, and it is the only item bound by the operator. This possessive maintains a 3rd person form, its switch in reference (between speaker and addressee) being read off the syntactic configuration. Hence, how is the option for 1st or 2nd person valuation determined on this bleached 3rd person possessive form?

In light of the current analyses of vocatives (see (6) above), the straightforward explanation is that the noun that merges in Spec may come in two forms: as a VocP or as a DP. If it is a VocP, then it automatically checks the hearer p-role, since Voc has an inherent 2nd person feature. By default, the possessive is valued for 1st person under the imposter operator, and checks the speaker p-role. On the other hand, if a regular DP merges in Spec, s/SAP, it cannot check the hearer p-role (because D is inherently 3rd person). Instead, the possessive gets valued for 2nd person and fulfills this task. The DP receives the speaker reference by default because it is in a Spec-head relation with the hearer, in a configuration with two discourse participants. The Spec-head relation is crucial for the reference assignment because it ensures equidistance from the p-roles, and because, semantically, [affect] entails the spellout of both parties involved in this relation. Thus, we cannot see the possessive without the accompanying DP or vice-versa.

The analysis in (15) capitalizes on the fact that [p.o.v] introduces an operator when it is valued as [affect] but not when it remains unvalued. The underspecified option allows for the bundling of [p.o.v] with [speaker] in regular vocatives (be it in Turkish or English) and triggers the projection of a speaker's field distinct from the addressee field. On the other hand, the marked option amounts to a collapsed structure that allows equidistance and optionality in the imposter operator's values. Importantly, the speaker is spelled as a regular DP (versus an extended D projection with a 1st person head, of the type of Voc with 2nd person in (6)) and only

when it is in a local relation with the addressee. If the speaker field is projected separately within sAP/SAP, the speaker is a silent category, as shown in (5).

5.4 Section Summary

In this section, we established that:

- Inverse vocatives arise from a derivation that collapses s/SAP fields, and it contrasts with opposite tendencies in other languages where speech act features do not bundle.
- The option for a collapsed structure is marked and arises when [p.o.v] is valued.
- The value of [p.o.v] concerns psychological states (here, affection/endearment)
- Collapsed s/SAP structures involve two nominal categories (versus particles and/or verb endings), in a Spec-head relation.
- Although the pronoun has the form of a possessive adjective, it does not modify the noun on which it encliticizes. This possessive underwent grammaticalization/pragmaticization by being reanalyzed outside the DP, and as a spellout for s/SA head.
- The [affect] valuation of [p.o.v] maps to an imposter operator.
- The data show that imposter operators are generated high at the left periphery of clauses (versus within the clause, as so far implied).
- The option for inverse vocatives in a language depends not only on the need to map [affect] but also on the presence of clitics reanalyzed as the spellout of the s/SA head.

6 Reverse Vocatives

There is another type of construction in which both speaker and addressee are concurrently spelled out, labelled in literature as *reverse vocative* (Rieschild 1998 for Lebanese Arabic); this was shown in (3) repeated as (16).

- (16) (an uncle addresses his niece named Layla) PA
- | | | | | |
|--|-----------|----------------|-------------|--|
| | <i>ya</i> | <i>(layla)</i> | <i>ammo</i> | |
| | VOC.PRT | Layla | uncle | |
- ‘Layla uncle,...!’

The construction occurs in various unrelated languages: Arabic dialects (Lebanese, Palestinian, Bahrain), Romanian, Georgian, South Italian dialects, Thessalian Greek (Joseph 2010).

The interpretation of (16) differs from (11) insofar as the idea conveyed concerns the kinship hierarchy, which the speaker exploits in order to manipulate the addressee: the speaker signals that the contents of the utterance should be treated with the respect or the trust due to an elder or a peer kin member. There could be some degree of affectivity as well involved in these addresses, but that is not the point of the address; respect and obedience is. In certain cultures, kinship names are used for non-blood relations, as a means of convincing the addressee to act as if he/she were family; see (17) from Bahrain Arabic (BA), where an elder addresses the waiter in a coffee shop.

- (17) Older man: *s^əaT-ni* *finja:l* *gahwa* *ya-bu:-k* BA
- | | | | | | |
|--|---------|-----|--------|----------------|--|
| | give-me | cup | coffee | PRT-father-2SG | |
|--|---------|-----|--------|----------------|--|
- ‘Give me a cup of coffee oh your father!’ (*your/2SG* = speaker)

Younger man: *laHZa yubba*
 minute PRT.dad
 ‘Just a minute, dad!’ (from Holes 1986: 11)

The morphosyntax of (16)/(17) is significantly different from the inverse vocatives in (11): Reverse vocatives do not involve an invariable grammaticalized pronoun, but two nouns in a sequence in (16) or a full-fledged possessive adjective in (17). Furthermore, the vocative particle *ya* is present in both examples. This particle merges inside VocP (Hill 2014: 76), which means that we have an internal VocP variation in (16).

So far, the properties of reverse vocatives have been formally and briefly investigated for (16), on the basis of equivalent Romanian data (Hill 2014: 108). The salient properties of Romanian reverse vocatives are listed below, and they also hold for PA (tests checked with Sam Al Khatib, p.c.):

- (i) The word order is strict within the same prosodic unit, with the addressee higher than the speaker. Note that the address particle is inseparable from the vocative noun, but it is optional in Romanian (*măi*) versus obligatory in PA/BA (*ya*; a noun is not treated as a vocative in the absence of this particle).

(18) a. *Măi Dane mamă, unde te duci?* Romanian
 PRT Dan.VOC mother where REFL.2SG go.2SG
 ‘Dan (mother), where do you go?’

b. **Mamă măi Dane, ...*
 mother PRT Dan.VOC

(19) a. *ya layla ammo, shoo baʔdar a-ʕmal-lek?* PA
 PRT Layla uncle what can-imp I-do-for.you
 ‘Layla (uncle), what can I do for you?’

b. **layla ya ammo*
 Layla PRT uncle

- (ii) The noun spelling out the speaker is invariable and cannot be modified – in fact, it is a non-inflected frozen noun stem:

(20) **Măi Dane mama/ mame, ...* Romanian
 PRT Dan.VOC mother.the/ mother.PL

(21) **ya layla al-am(mo)* PA
 PRT Layla the.uncle

- (iii) This frozen noun cannot be replaced by a pronoun, so it is not a regular DP/NP;

(22) **Măi Dane eu/ mine* Romanian
 PRT Dan.VOC I/ me

(23) **ya layla ana* PA
 PRT Layla I

- (iv) The addressee may not be spelled out in (18), however the reading remains. Outside the context, the vocative in (24) and (25) is ambiguous between a reading where ‘mother’ is the speaker or the addressee – only deixis can solve the ambiguity.

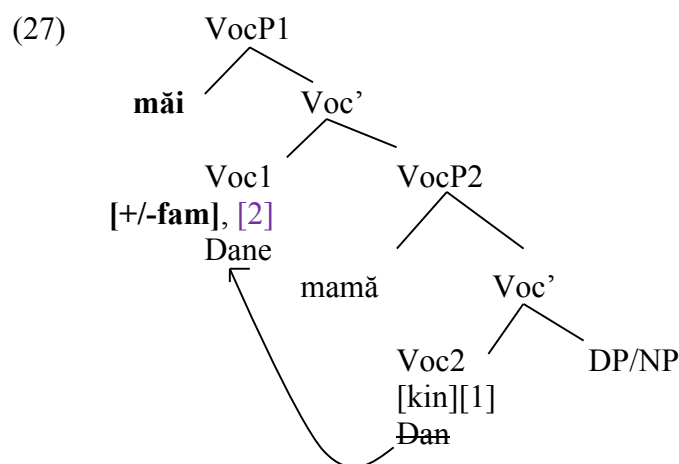
- (24) *Mamă, unde te duci?*
 mother where REFL.2SG go.2SG
 ‘Mother, where do you go?’ (*mother* = either speaker or addressee)
- (25) *ya ammo, shoo baʔdar a-ʔmal-lek?*
 PRT uncle what can-imp I-do-for.you
 ‘Uncle, what can I do for you?’ (*uncle* = either speaker or addressee)

Syntactically, reverse vocatives do not concern the derivation of saP/SAP because:

- The main triggering feature here is kinship, not affectivity;
- Two lexical items are needed in saP/SAP to check two p-role features, whereas reverse vocatives may display only one item, as in (24/25).
- Alternative spell out for sa/SA can cooccur with reverse vocatives in the same prosodic unit, such as the evaluative *hai* in (26), which is a free morpheme. This indicates that the vocative nouns are located elsewhere, not in the SA head (see Hill 2014 for the SA analysis of particles of direct address):

- (26) *Măi Dane mamă hai că m-ai zăpăcit.*
 PRT Dan.VOC mother PRT that me-have.2SG confused
 ‘Dan (mother), you really confused me.’

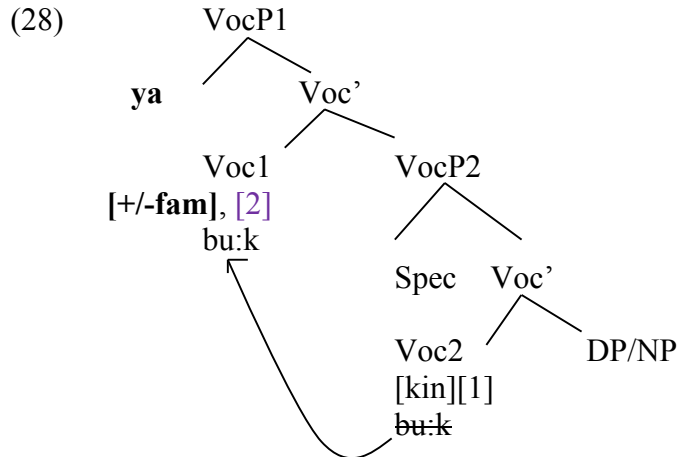
A more fruitful approach is to treat reverse vocatives as derivational variations within VocP. We follow the analysis in (6) and assume that Voc carries [i-p] and [2p] features, where [i-p] stands for degrees of (un)familiarity. When a new inter-personal value is introduced, namely [kin], Voc splits in order to map the extra-feature. This split is necessary since [kin] is intrinsically marked for 1st person [1] (that is, the kin person who intends to exert authority as a speaker) while Voc has a 2nd person feature. The result is shown in (27).



In (27), the kin noun checks the [kin][1] features, the vocative particle *măi* checks the familiarity feature, whereas the 2nd person feature is checked through the head-to-head movement of the noun that spells out the addressee (alternatively, the noun checks both features of Voc1 in the absence of a vocative particle). The entitlement reading entailed in the kinship relation between

‘mother’ and ‘Dan’ arises when the two nouns find themselves in a Spec-head relation within VocP2, so structural agreement applies.

The Bahrain Arabic example in (17) can be derived in the same way. In BA, pronouns are enclitic heads, so the noun carries the clitic from D to Voc, as in (28).



The crosslinguistic variation between (27) and (28) is that [kin][1] are checked by a possessive pronoun merged with the noun head, instead of a noun with some phrasal properties. This is not possible in Romanian, where possessive adjectives are DP (versus D) clitics. Peculiar to this example is the feature mismatch on the pronoun: it is spelled out for 2nd person, although it indicates the kin speaker. We assume that this follows from the incorporation of the pronoun within the head, that is, it takes up the inflection of the head when it reaches Voc1.

Crucially, the assignment of speaker reference to a nominal item occurs only in the local domain with the addressee, a constraint that we also pointed out for inverse vocatives. From this perspective, if a reverse vocative does not display the addressee noun, but only the speaker (a possibility signalled in (16)), we must count with a *pro* addressee in Voc2/Voc1.

If this analysis is on the right track, the strict addressee > speaker word order noticed for reverse vocatives stems from the checking of [kin]: If [kin] were generated above Voc/[2], the derivation would crash as the address reading cannot obtain. This is a constraint in our framework, where the merging of a nominal constituent in Spec, SAP depends on the 2nd person value being visible to the hearer p-role probe at the edge of VocP. In other words, the constituent has to be a VocP, and if that is the case, the item in Spec, VocP must have a 2nd person feature – which is ensured, for example, by the vocative particles in (37) and (38).

Section conclusion: Crosslinguistic variation arises in the concurrent spellout of speaker and addressee with respect to the mapping site according to the type of marked feature involved. When the marked feature is [i-p] (i.e., as [kin]), languages generate reverse vocatives. The prediction is that this option arises in languages that have both N-to-(D)-to-Voc (that ensures local relation with the speaker kin noun) and a vocative particle in Spec, VocP (which ensures compatibility with Spec, SAP). This correctly excludes languages without vocative particles, like English (although N-to-Voc applies; e.g., *Waiter!*), or languages without N-to-Voc, like standard Greek (although vocative particles are available in this language; Hill 2014).

7 Conclusions

This paper aimed to explain how the speaker is mapped to syntax. The general picture is that the [speaker] does not need to be spelled out because it bundles with [p.o.v] and is checked by free-riding on the XP probed by this feature. This is the most spread and economical configuration as long the [p.o.v] is underspecified and is valued only pragmatically.

On the other hand, if [p.o.v] is marked for a specific value, both discourse participants involved are spelled out, and that requires a Spec-head configuration. That was shown to arise through a collapsed s/SAP structure, where the [affect] values triggers imposter operators.

The mechanism is replicated within VocP, when the [i.p.] feature (which indicates degrees of familiarity) comes with an inherent [kin] value: both discourse participants need to be spelled out and to be in a Spec-head configuration at a certain point (so that the kin noun is interpreted as a relation of the addressee).

Incidentally, this paper also pointed out that the encoding of the speaker and the addressee may involve the nominal domain only, instead of verb endings or dedicated particles. That is, both inverse and reverse vocatives draw on DPs and D clitics without affecting the verbal inflection and without recourse to speech act (performative) particles.

Finally, our analysis of inverse vocatives pointed out that the analysis of imposter operators needs revisiting when it comes to the location of the operator and the type of category it binds. That is, we found that imposter operators merge high in the structure (i.e., Spec, s/SAP) and bind pronouns that are external to the DP.

References

- Akkuş, Faruk. 2017. Agreement and Anaphora in the context of Imposters. In *Proceedings of the 34th West Coast Conference on Formal Linguistics*, ed. by Aaron Kaplan, Abby Kaplan, Miranda K. McCarvel, and Edward J. Rubin, 24-31. Somerville, MA: Cascadilla Proceedings Project.
- Akkuş, Faruk, and Elabbas Benmamoun. 2016. Clause Structure in Contact Contexts: the Case of Sason Arabic. In *Perspectives on Arabic Linguistics XXVIII*, ed. by Youssef Haddad and Eric Potsdam, 153-172. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Akkuş, Faruk, and Robert Frank. To appear. Agreeing with imposters: Evidence for a local vs. non-local person contrast. *Proceedings of Penn Linguistic Conference 40*.
- Arslan-Kechriotis, Z. Ceyda. 2009. *Determiner phrase and case in Turkish: A minimalist account*. Saarbrücken: Verlag Dr. Müller.
- Bernstein, J. 2008. Reformulating the Determiner Phrase Analysis. *Language and Linguistics Compass* 2(6): 1246-1270.
- Collins, Chris (ed). 2014. *Cross-Linguistic Studies of Imposters and Pronominal Agreement*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Collins, Chris, and Paul Postal. 2012. *Imposters: A Study of Pronominal Agreement*. MIT Press.
- Espinal, M. T. 2013. On the structure of vocatives. In *Vocatives!*, ed. by Sonnenhauser, B. & P. Noel Aziz Hanna, 109-132. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Haegeman, Liliane. 2014. West Flemish verb-based discourse markers and the articulation of the Speech Act layer. *Studia Linguistica* 68(1): 116-139.
- Hill, V. 2007. Vocatives and the pragmatics-syntax interface. *Lingua* 117: 2077-2105.
- Hill, V. 2014. *Vocatives: How syntax meets with pragmatics*. Leiden: Brill.

- Joseph, B. 2010. Revisiting the origin of the Albanian 2nd plural verbal ending *-ni*. In *Ex Anatiolia Lux*, ed. by R. Kim; N. Oettinger; E. Rieken, 180-183. New York: Beech Stave Press.
- Kratzer, Angelika. 2009. Making a Pronoun: Fake Indexicals as Windows into the Properties of Pronouns. *Linguistic Inquiry* 40:187-237.
- Longobardi, G., 1994. Reference and proper names: a theory of N-movement in syntax and logical form. *Linguistic Inquiry* 25(4): 609–665.
- Miyagawa, S. 2012. Agreements that occur mainly in the main clause. In *Main Clause Phenomena: New Horizons*, ed. by L. Aelbrecht and L. Haegeman; R. Nye, 79-112. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Moro, A. 2003. Notes on Vocative Case: a case study in clause structure. In *Romance Languages and Linguistic Theory 2001*, ed. by J. Quer, J. Schrotten, M. Scorretti, P. Sleeman and E. Verheugd, 247-261. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Podobryaev, Alexander. 2014a. *Persons, Imposters, and Monsters*. PhD Dissertation, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, MA: Cambridge.
- Podobryaev, Alexander. 2014b. Imposurous Domains. *Proceedings of NELS 44*. 91-104.
- Rieschild, V.R. 1998. Lebanese Arabic reverse role vocatives. *Anthropological Linguistics* 40(4): 617-641.
- Ross, J. R. 1970. On declarative sentences. In *Readings in English Transformational Grammar*, ed. by R. A. Jacobs & P. S. Rosenbaum, 222-272. Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press.
- Speas, M. & C. Tenny. 2003. Configurational properties of point of view roles. In *Asymmetry in grammar*, ed. by A-M. Di Sciullo, 315-344. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Stavrou, M. 2013. About the Vocative Phrase. In *NP/DP*, ed. by U. Etxeberria, A. Giannakidou, P. Kosta, and L. Shuerks. Oxford: Springer
- Szabolcsi, A. 1994. The Noun Phrase. The syntactic structure of Hungarian. In *Syntax and Semantics 27*, ed. by C. Kiefer, and K. Kiss, 179-275. New York: Academic Press.
- Yükseker, H. 2003. Bir ‘One’. In *Studies in Turkish Linguistics: Proceedings of the Tenth International Conference in Turkish Linguistics*, ed. by A. S. Özsoy, et al. Istanbul: Bogaziçi University Press.