On some parameters of allocutive marking

Deepak Alok[1], Bill Haddican[2]

CamCoS 9.2
January 20, 2021

[1]Panlingua Language Processing LLP, [2]CUNY

1. Overview

Variation across allocutive structures

- **Allocutive Agreement:** Morphological marking of non-participant addressees (Verma, 1991; Oyharçabal, 1993) .
- An example from Magahi, an allocutive language (Verma, 1991; Alok, 2020)

(1)   a. Ham jaait   h-i-au
       I   go.PROG be-1-NHA
       'I am going.'   (said to a friend)

   b. Ham jaait   h-i-o
       I   go.PROG be-1-HA
       'I am going.'   (said to father)

   c. Ham jaait   h-i-ain
       I   go.PROG be-1-HHA
       'I am going.'   (said to a teacher)

      (Alok, 2020)

Focus:

- What relationship, if any, exists among three kinds of variation across allocutive languages: (i) root restrictions; (ii) allocutive morpheme placement; and (iii) interactions between allocutive morphemes and other C-field heads?

Variation across allocutive structures

- The first of these has attracted some attention. Some earlier accounts modeled allocutivity as strictly a root clause phenomenon (Miyagawa 2012, 2017, Portner et al. 2019).

- More recent work has described allocutive marking in embedded domains in some languages (Alok and Baker, 2018; Alok, 2020; McFadden, 2020; Yamada, 2019; Haddican and Etxeberria, 2020).

- Less well described is the fact that languages vary in terms of the position of exponence of the allocutive morpheme (Yamada, 2019).

Variation across allocutive structures

- A third way in which allocutive languages vary is in terms of the other left peripheral elements that allocutive morphemes interact with. In some languages these interact with clause type, in others evaluative perspective, and in a third class do not interact at all.

- Here, we summarize data on these three kinds of variation from recent formal work on ten allocutive varieties: Magahi, 3 Basque dialects, Galician, Japanese, Korean, Tamil, Punjabi and Thai.

- (We set aside other intriguing points of variation including the possibility of allocutive marking in self-talk (Holmberg, 2010).

Main claims

1. Allocutive varieties do indeed vary in terms of the position in which features responsible for allocutive morphology are introduced in the clausal spine, but this variation is insufficient in itself to express differences in root restrictions and the way in which allocutive morphemes interact with other left-peripheral material.

2. There is a partial correlation between the latter properties: languages in which the allocutive morpheme co-occurs with additional discourse meaning (sometimes characterized as having "optional" marking) all have the property that they may appear in at least some embedded contexts.

Main claims

3. Interactions with clause type and discourse features are best modeled in terms of licensing, i.e. the two kinds of variation are conditioned by the way allocutive hosting projections (Addr) are licensed.

   a. Force$[\text{F}_i]$ ... Addr$[\text{F}_i]$
   b. Eval$[\text{F}_i]$ ... Addr$[\text{F}_i]$

4. Variation in allocutive morpheme placement reflects (i) different positions in which a silent Addressee DP is found, and (ii) different positions in which a possibly silent bound pronoun may be introduced.

Outline

2. Embedded/root-asymmetries

Root sensitive: Korean

- Allocutive marking is available in root clauses (declarative and interrogative) but sharply out in embedded ones (Pak, 2017; Kim, 2019; Portner et al., 2019).

(2) a. Inho-ka   [choysen-ul ta ha-ess-supnita].
        Inho-NOM best-ACC   all do-PAST-DEC.FORMAL
        'Inho did his best.'

     b.*Inho-ka   sensayngnim-kkey [choysen-ul ta
        Inho-NOM teacher-to   best-ACC   all
        ha-ess-supnita-ko]   malhayss-ta.
        do-PAST-DEC.FORMAL-COMP   said-DEC.PLAIN
        'Inho told the teacher that he did his best.'

Root sensitive: Conservative Southern Basque & Zuberoan Basque

- Allocutive morphemes are person clitics, restricted to finite root contexts (Rebuschi, 1981; Oyharçabal, 1993; Laka, 1993; Albizu, 2002; Hualde, 2003; Arregi and Nevins, 2012; Haddican, 2018).

(3) a. Jon   etorri-ko
       Jon-ERG come-IRREAL
       du-k.
       AUX-2SG.FAM
       'Jon will come.'

   b.*Jon-ek   esa-n   di-k
       Jon-ERG say-PERF AUX-2SG.FAM
       [etorri-ko   du-k-ela].
       come-IRREAL AUX-2SG.FAM-C
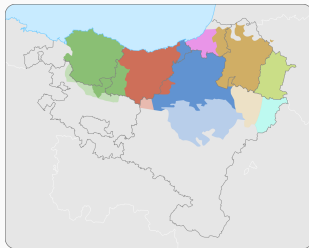   'Jon has said that he will come.'

Figure 1: Basque dialects

Root sensitive: Punjabi

- Kaur and Yamada (2019) show that embedded allocutivity is restricted to the complement clauses of speech predicates such as 'tell', 'say', 'speak', 'ask'.

(4) a. karan-ne   keyaa [ki   miiraa kal   aayegii
       Karan-ERG said   that Mira   tomorrow come.FUT
       je]
       ALLOC.PL
       'Karan said that Mira will come tomorrow.'

    b.*karan-ne   soceyaa [ki   miraa kal   aayegii
       Karan-ERG thought   that Mira   tomorrow come.FUT
       je]
       ALLOC.PL
       'Karan thought that Mira will come tomorrow.'

Root sensitive: Punjabi

- Outside verbal complements, the allocutive marker may occur in temporal/location-clauses but not in purpose and reason-clauses.

(5) a. maiN tadd jaavaaNgii [jaddoN karan vii jaayegaa
   I   then go.FUT   when   Karan also go.FUT
   je]
   ALLOC.PL
   'I will go when Karan does too.'

   b. *karan bajaar gayaa [kyoNkii o-nuu   ikk kuRii-ne
   Karan market go.PRF because 3.SG-DOM a   girl-ERG
   bulaayaa je]
   call.PRF ALLOC.PL
   'Karan went to the market because a girl called him.'

12

Root insensitive: Magahi

- Magahi optionally allows allocutive marking on any finite clause including embedded clauses (Alok, 2020; Alok and Baker, 2018).

(6) a. Laikaa [je   khaRaa h-au]   hamar bhaai   h-au.
        Boy   REL stand   be-NHA my   brother be-NHA
        'The boy who is standing there is my brother.' (said to a friend)

     b. Aphawaah [ki   Ram inaam jitl-au]   sahii h-au.
        rumor   COMP Ram prize won-NHA true be-NHA
        'The rumor that Santee won the prize is true' (said to a friend)

Root insensitive: Galician

- Allocutive clitics (isomorphic with DAT addressee clitics) optionally appear in all root and embedding types and obey clitic-second rules. (Álvarez Blanco, 1980, 1994, 1997; Campos, 1989; Carbón Riobóo, 1995; Uriagereka, 1995; Haddican, 2019).

(7) Creo [que *viu-cha   / cha   viu.]
     think that saw.-2SG.3SG.FEM / 2SG.3SG.FEM saw]
     'I think he/she/it saw her.'

(8) Esquecin [que vos   está tolo.]
     forgot   that 2PL.FAM.DAT COP crazy
     'I forgot that he his crazy.'

Root insensitive: Innovative Southern Basque

- Some (often younger) speakers of Southern Basque dialects allow for allocutive clitics in in all finite embedding types. (Azkue, 1923; Azkue Ibarbia, 1998; Hualde et al., 2003; Haddican and Etxeberria, 2020).

(9) Jon-ek esa-n   di-k   [etorri-ko   du-k-ela].
    Jon-ERG say-PERF AUX-2SG come-IRREAL AUX-2SG-C
    'Jon has said that he will come.'

(10) [Jon z-etorre-k-en-ean]   ikusi-ko di-a-t.
     Jon EXPL-come-2SG-C.Q-in see-FUT AUX-2SG-1SG
     'When John comes, I will see him.'

- Innovative Southern Basque dialects are identical in pragmatic behavior and morpheme order to Conserv. S. Basque

Root insensitive: Japanese

- Unlike Miyagawa (2012, 2017), Yamada (2019) reports that allocutive marker *-mas-* can be optionally embedded under complementizer *-koto* (detail below after a few slides).

(11) Kare$_i$-mo [kare$_i$-no musuko-ga kabin-o   kowasi-te
      he-also   he-GEN son-NOM   vase-ACC break-CV
      simai-masi-ta   koto]-o wabi-te   ori-mas-u.
      MAL-HON-PST C-ACC apologizing-CV PRG.HON-HON-PRS
      'He$_i$ is also apologizing for his$_i$ son having broken the vase.'
      (Yamada, 2019)

Root insensitive: Tamil

- McFadden (2020) notes that the allocutive morpheme can appear in root contexts (declarative as well as interrogatives).

(12) a. Naan dʒaangiri vaang-in-een-ŋgæ.
    I   Jangri buy-PST-1SG.SBJ-ALLOC
    'I bought Jangri.'

b. evɭavŭ   aag-um-ŋgæ?
   how.much become-FUT-ALLOC
   'How much will it come to?' (i.e. 'How much does it cost?')

Root insensitive: Tamil

- Moreover, it can easily appear in the complement clause of attitude predicates. The evidence of true embedding is that there is indexical shift.

(13) Maya$_i$ [taan$_{i,j}$ pooʈʈ-læ dʒejkkæ-poo-r-een-ŋgæ-nnŭ]
     Maya ANAPH contest-loc win-go-PRS-1SG-ALLOC-COMP]
     so-nn-aa
     say-PST-3SG.F
     'Maya$_i$ said that she$_i$ would win the contest.'

- In addition to complement clauses, it can also available in other types of embedding such as temporal adjuncts, hanging topics.

Root insensitive: Thai

- Most natural root clause-finally (McCready, 2014, 2019).
  However, it does not appear strictly in all root clauses (Iwasaki and Ingkaphirom Horie, 2000).

- But may possible in some embeddings with a topic marker,

(14) [phrɔ́ʔ mān pēn dūankàrákàdāakhōm à   khráp] mān
     because it COP July   TOP HON   it
     lə́əj rɔ́ɔn
     then hot
     'Because it is July, it is hot.'
     (K. Chaiphet, p.c.)

- Sensitive to main point of utterance.

3. Interactions in C

Clause type and perspective

- A second way that allocutive morphemes appear to vary is in terms of the other C-field elements they interact with.
- In particular, allocutive languages broadly fall into one of three classes:
    i. No interactions in C: appears in all specified finite contexts.
    ii. Alloc. morphemes interacts with force: appears in contexts of specified clause type.
    iii. Interacts with perspectival properties: appears in contexts of specified evaluative and/or discourse features.

Interactions with clause type

- We focus on two kinds of interaction in C-field.
- In a first kind of languages, allocutive marking interacts with clause type.
- In Zuberoan Basque (Oyharçabal, 1993), allocutive marking is only possible in root declaratives (cf. 2) and not in root interrogatives.

(15) Lan egiten   dui-a/*di-n-a   hire lagunak?
     work do-IMPERF AUX-Q/AUX-ALLOC-Q your friend
     'Does your friend work?'

Interactions with clause type

- In Japanese, allocutive marker *-mas-* is possible to embed under complementizer *-koto*, but not under *-to* (Yamada, 2019).

(16) a. Karei-mo [karei-no musuko-ga kabin-o kowasi-te
he-also he-GEN son-NOM vase-ACC break-CV
simai-masi-ta koto]-o wabi-te ori-mas-u.
MAL-HON-PST C-ACC apologizing-cv PRG-ALLOC-PRS
'He_i is also apologizing for his_i son's having broken the vase.'

b. [Isogasiku sugosi-te irassyai-(*mas)-u]-to
busily spend-CV PRG.HON-ALLOC-PRS-C
zonzi-mas-u.
think.HON-ALLOC-PRS
'I think that (he) is busy.'

- A different kind of interaction is seen in Korean (Portner
  et al., 2019), where allocutive marking and the clause-typing
  morpheme are spelled out as a single morpheme.

(17) a. Inho-ka   choysen-ul ta ha-ess-supnita.
          Inho-NOM best-ACC all do-PST-DECL.FORM
          'Inho did his best.'
      b. Inho-ka   choysen-ul ta ha-ess-e.
          Inho-NOM best-ACC all do-PST-DECL.INTIM
          'Inho did his best.'

Interactions with speaker/hearer perspective

- In a second class of languages, the allocutive marking does not interact with clause type as described above, but rather co-occurs with additional pragmatic information about the speaker or hearer's perspective on the proposition.

- In Galician and Magahi, the presence of allocutive marking involve the listener in facts being related to the event described or ask for solidarity/complicity in the events described.

- In Japanese, Yamada (2019) reports that allocutive marking has additional meaning that the speaker shares the subject's modal commitment to the proposition.

Interactions with speaker/hearer perspective

- Galician allocutive clitics tend to fall in clause with main point of utterance interpretation (Simons, 2007).

(18) Q: Que cree Xoan?
      what thinks Xoan
      'What does Xoan think?'

  A: Xoan cree-(?che)   que (che)   vai   chover.
     Xoan thinks-2SG.FAM that 2SG.FAM it.goes rain
     'Xoan thinks that it will rain.'

(19) E-(??che)   que (che)   está tolo.
      it.is-2SG.DAT.FAM that 2SG.DAT.FAM he.is crazy.
      'It's that he's crazy.'

4. First merged position

First-merged positions

- Portner et al. (2019) take the first-merged position of the allocutive morpheme to be quite high—TP-external and above the morpheme encoding Force. (See also Alok (2020).)

- Importantly, in several varieties, there is evidence that the allocutive morpheme sits in a lower position than what Portner et al. propose for Korean.

- In Innovative S. Basque and Magahi, the allocutive clitic sits inside the position of the clause-typing complementizer, as in (9), repeated here.

(20) Jon-ek   esa-n   dik   [etorri-ko   [du-k]-ela].
     Jon-ERG say-PERF AUX come-IRREAL AUX-2SG-C
     'Jon has said that he will come.'

Japanese

- Similarly, in Japanese, *-mas* appears below the position of the complementizer and tense markers, as in (11), repeated here.

(21) Kare$_i$-mo [kare$_i$-no musuko-ga kabin-o   kowasi-te
     he-also   he-GEN   son-NOM   vase-ACC break-CV
     simai-masi-ta   koto]-o wabi-te   ori-mas-u.
     MAL-HON-PST C-ACC apologizing-cv PRG.HON-HON-PRS
     'He$_i$ is also apologizing for his$_i$ son having broken the vase.'
     (Yamada, 2019)

Galician

- Allocutives appear in infinitives lacking independent tense values from the finite verb. If this reflects a truncated functional structure, without CP and TP layers, then these are additional cases of TP-internal allocutive morphemes.

(22) Einstein tivo   que estudar-che   moito.
Einstein have.3SG.PST that study.INFIN-2SG much
'Einstein had to study a lot.'

(23) %Maria quere chegar-che pronto.
Maria wants arrive-2SG soon
'Maria wants to arrive soon.'

Tamil

- Additional evidence for multiple first merged positions comes from Tamil where the allocutive marker can appear below or above the Q-particle, or in both positions simultaneously.

(24) a. niiŋgæ saap-ṭ-aaččʰ-aa-**ŋgæ**?
   you.PL eat-ASP-RES-Q-ALLOC
   'Have you eaten?'

   b. niigæ saap-ṭ-aaččŭ-**ŋgæ**ḷ-aa?
   you.PL eat-ASP-RES-ALLOC-Q
   'Have you eaten?'

   c. niigæ saapṭ-aaččŭ-**ŋgæ**ḷ-aa-**ŋgæ**?
   you.PL eat-RES-ALLOC-Q-ALLOC
   'Have you eaten?'

   (McFadden, 2020)

Interim summary

Variety	Root effects	Interactions in C	Position
Korean	Root clauses	Clause type	Alloc>T
Zuberoan	Root clauses	Clause type	C>Alloc>T
Cons. S. Basque	Root clauses	None	C>Alloc>T
Punjabi	Root clauses	None	Alloc>T
Magahi	All finite contexts	Perspective	C>Alloc>T
Galician	All finite contexts	Perspective	T>Alloc
Innov. S. Basque	All finite contexts	None	C>Alloc>T
Tamil	Most finite contexts	None	Alloc>C>Alloc
Japanese	All *-koto* contexts	Perspective	T>Alloc
Thai	≥ Some embeddings	Perspective	Alloc >T

Table 1: Embedding restrictions, interactions in C, and first-merged position of allocutive morpheme for 10 allocutive varieties.
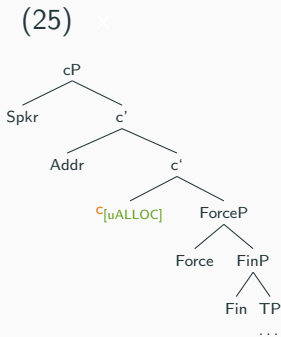
5. Licensing allocutive hosts

Licensing allocutive hosts

- Four guiding observations:
    i. There is variation across languages in the position of the allocutive morpheme.
    ii. Languages in which allocutive morphemes interact with discourse features all have the property that allocutivity is permitted in some non-root contexts. (But this relationship is not biconditional.)
    iii. The position of the allocutive morpheme does not correlate with sensitivity to (i.) root-clauses; (ii.) clause type; or (iii.) discourse properties.
    iv. Languages vary in terms of the form the allocutive morpheme takes, i.e. as a clitic or agreeing head.
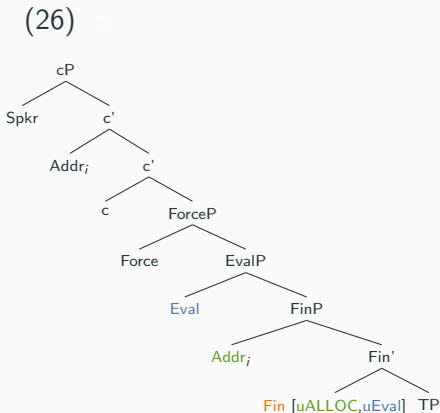
Licensing allocutive hosts

- Variation in allocutive morpheme placement reflects (i) different positions in which a silent Addressee DP may be introduced, and (ii) different positions in which a possibly silent bound pronoun may be introduced.

- The allocutive marker is either the bound pronoun itself (Basque, Galician) or exponed agreement with the addressee DP or bound pronoun (Korean, Magahi, Japanese, Punjabi, Thai).

Korean & Punjabi

- We adopt Portner et al.'s (2019) model of Korean (adjusting labels slightly). The allocutive morpheme is exponence of c, merged, universally, only in root contexts.

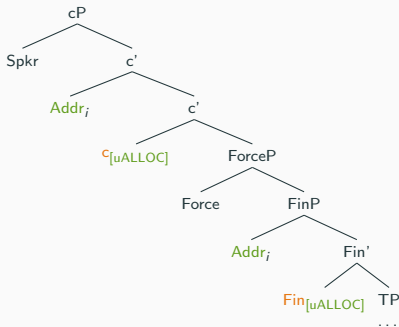- In Punjabi, these will include speech predicates and some adjunct clauses.

(25)

```
              cP
           /      \
        Spkr       c'
                /     \
             Addr      c'
                    /      \
            c[uALLOC]     ForceP
                        /      \
                    Force      FinP
                            /     \
                          Fin     TP
                                  ...
```

- The locus of allocutive agreement is lower in the clause, FinP, available in all embeddings.

- The Fin head is also licensed by an evaluative feature, which we take to be the source of the empathy meaning.

- Thai will be similar, with the allocutive morpheme realized in Fin.

(26)

cP
  Spkr   c'
        Addr$_i$ c'
               c   ForceP
                    Force   EvalP
                            Eval   FinP
                                  Addr$_i$ Fin'
                                          Fin [uALLOC,uEval]   TP

- Both cP and FinP are loci of allocutivity (McFadden, 2020).

- Thus, the marker is found both above and below the complementizer, which is in Force.

- Embedding is also possible.

(27)

cP
- Spkr
- c'
  - Addr$_i$
  - c'
    - c$_{[uALLOC]}$
    - ForceP
      - Force
      - FinP
        - Addr$_i$
        - Fin'
          - Fin$_{[uALLOC]}$
          - TP
            ...

- In Galician, allocutive clitics, which are identical in exponence to thematic datives, are introduced in an applicative head licensed by an evaluative feature—the source of the empathy meaning.

(28)

Japanese
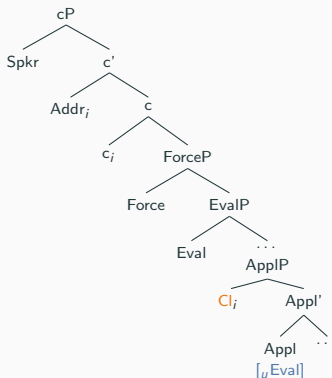
- Assume, following Yamada (2019), that the allocutive head is merged below T (in *-koto* contexts).

- We recast Yamada's suggestion of agreement with a clausemate high-Addr head with operator variable binding. The allocutive morpheme reflects agreement with a silent pronoun.

- Yamada's observed commitment effect for embedded contexts reflects in part licensing by Eval.
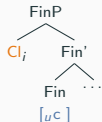
(29)
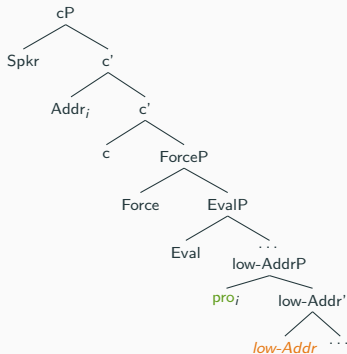
Basque

- The allocutive morpheme is a clitic (Oyharçabal, 1993; Arregi and Nevins, 2012; Haddican, 2018).

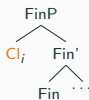- The Fin head introducing this clitic is licensed by Force and in the local domain of c in some dialects.

(30) **Zuberoan**
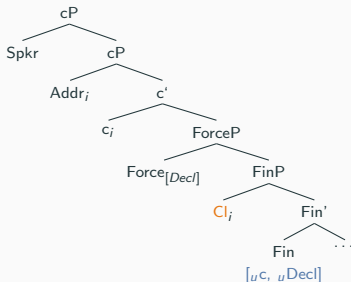
(31) **Cons. S. Basque**

(32) **Innov. S. Basque**

6. Conclusion

Main claims

1. Variation in allocutive morpheme placement reflects (i) different positions in which a silent Addressee DP may be introduced, and (ii) different positions in which a possibly silent bound pronoun may be introduced.

2. This variation is only partially correlated with two other kind of variation in the behavior of allocutive morphemes:
   i. Whether these are available in embedded contexts.
   ii. Whether these morphemes are sensitive to clause type and/or other discourse properties.

3. These latter two kinds of variation are partially correlated: languages in which the allocutive morpheme interacts with discourse properties all have the property that they may appear in embedded contexts.

4. Interactions with clause type and evaluative perspective are best modeled in terms of licensing. That is, the two kinds of variation are conditioned by the way allocutive hosting projections are licensed.
   a. Force[F_i] ... Addr[F_i]
   b. Eval[F_i] ... Addr[F_i]

Thanks to:

- **Anders Holmberg** for his enormous contributions to our field through years of mentorship and creative research.
- Mark Baker, Khanin Chaiphet, Urtzi Etxeberria, Miok Pak, Paul Portner, Raffaella Zanuttini.

References

Albizu, P., 2002. Basque verbal morphology: Redefining cases. In: Artiagoitia, X., Goenaga, P., Lakarra, J. A. (Eds.), Erramu Boneta: Festschrift for Rudolf P.G. de Rijk. Euskal Herriko Unibertsitatea, pp. 1–19.

Alok, D., 2020. Speaker and Addressee in Natural Language: Honorificity, Indexicality and their Interaction in Magahi. Ph.D. thesis, Rutgers.

Alok, D., Baker, M., 2018. On the mechanics (syntax) of indexical shift: Evidence from allocutive agreement in Magahi, MS. Rutgers.

Álvarez Blanco, R., 1980. O pronome persoal en galego. Ph.D. thesis, Universidade de Santiago de Compostela.

Álvarez Blanco, R., 1994. Secuencias de pronomes átonos en galego moderno. In: Lorenzo, R. (Ed.), Actas do XIX Congreso Internacional de Lingüística e Filoloxía Románicas, Santiago de Compostela 1989, vol. VI. Fundación Pedro Barrié de la Maza, Conde de Fenosa, A Coruña, pp. 247–265.

Álvarez Blanco, R., 1997. O complemento de solidariedade: a complicidade entre os interlocutores. In: Fernaández Salgado, B. (Ed.), Actas do IV Congreso Internacional de Estudios Galegos. Centre for Galician Studies, pp. 37–53.

Arregi, K., Nevins, A., 2012. Morphotactics: Basque auxiliaries and the structure of spellout, vol. 86. Springer, Dordrecht.

Azkue, M. R., 1923. Morfología vasca (gramática básica dialectal del euskera). tomo i: Los afijos vascos; tomo ii: Categorías gramaticales.

Azkue Ibarbia, X., 1998. Hitanoa Zumaian. Zumaiako Udala.

Campos, H., 1989. Clitic position in modern Gallegan. Lingua 77, 13–36.

Carbón Riobóo, M. d. l. S., 1995. Ethical datives and solidarity clitics in Galician. MA Thesis, University of Kansas.

Haddican, B., 2018. The syntax of Basque allocutive clitics. Glossa 3, 1.

Haddican, B., 2019. Toward a unified syntax of addressee in c: Evidence from Galician solidarity datives.

Haddican, B., Etxeberria, U., 2020. Embedded allocutivity in basque, ms. cuny & iker.

Holmberg, A., 2010. How to refer to yourself when talking to yourself. Newcastle Working Papers in Linguistics , 57.

Hualde, J. I., 2003. Finite forms. In: Hualde, J. I., Ortiz de Urbina, J. (Eds.), A grammar of Basque. Walter de Gruyter, Berlin, pp. 211–252.

Hualde, J. I., Oyharçabal, B., Ortiz de Urbina, J., 2003. Verbs. In: Hualde, J. I., Ortiz de Urbina, J. (Eds.), A grammar of Basque. Walter de Gruyter, Berlin, pp. 201–323.

Iwasaki, S., Ingkaphirom Horie, P., 2000. Creating speech register in thai conversation. Language in Society 29, 519–554.

Kim, S., 2019. Allocutive agreement in korean under cyclic agree. Proceedings of the Linguistic Society of America 4, 56–1.

Laka, I., 1993. The structure of inflection: A case study in X^0 syntax. In: Hualde, J. I., de Urbina, J. O. (Eds.), Generative studies in Basque linguistics. John Benjamins, Amsterdam/Philadelphia, pp. 21–70.

McCready, E., 2014. A semantics for honorifics with reference to thai. In: Proceedings of the 28th Pacific Asia Conference on Language, Information and Computing.

McCready, E., 2019. The Semantics and Pragmatics of Honorification: Register and Social Meaning, vol. 11. Oxford University Press, USA.

McFadden, T., 2020. The morphosyntax of allocutive agreement in Tamil. In: Smith, P. W., Mursell, J., Hartmann, K. (Eds.), Agree to Agree: Agreement in the Minimalist Programme. Language Science Press, Berlin.

Miyagawa, S., 2012. Agreements that occur mainly in the main clause. In: Aelbrecht, L., Haegeman, L., Nye, R. (Eds.), Main clause phenomena: New horizons. Benjamins, Amsterdam, pp. 79–112.

Miyagawa, S., 2017. Agreement beyond phi. MIT Press.

Oyharçabal, B., 1993. Verb agreement with non arguments: On allocutive agreement. In: Hualde, J. I., Ortiz de Urbina, J. (Eds.), Generative Studies in Basque Linguistics. John Benjamins, Philadelphia/Amsterdam, pp. 89–89.

Pak, M. D., 2017. Towards understanding the syntactic representation of honorifics in Korean. Korean Linguistics 17, 132–166.

Portner, P., Pak, M., Zanuttini, R., 2019. The addressee at the syntax-semantics interface: Evidence from politeness and speech style. vol. 95. Language.

Rebuschi, G., 1981. Autour des formes allocutives du Basque. In: Euskalarien nazioarteko jardunaldiak. Euskaltzaindia.

Simons, M., 2007. Observations on embedding verbs, evidentiality, and presupposition. Lingua 117, 1034–1056.

Uriagereka, J., 1995. Aspects of the syntax of clitic placement in Western Romance. Linguistic Inquiry 26, 79–123.

Verma, M. K., 1991. Exploring the parameters of agreement: the case of Magahi. Language Sciences 13, 125–143.

Yamada, A., 2019. The syntax, semantics and pragmatics of Japanese addressee-honorific markers. Ph.D. thesis, Georgetown University.