

Tendencies in the morphological realisations of calls and addresses

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UNIVERSIDADE
DE LISBOA



LETRAS
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Overview

Calls, (non-initial) addresses and how they are realised

Parameters of variation

- Optionality

- Degree of Autonomy

- Position

- Definiteness

- Non-at-issue content

- Physical distance

- Specification of the addressee

- Syntactic host

Calling contours and grammatical tone

Analysis

- Vocatives are modifiers

- Implementation in *Type Theory with Records*

- Prosodic aspects of calls

► 1

- ▶ 1
- ▶ 2

- ▶ 1
- ▶ 2
- ▶ 3

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- ▶ 2
- ▶ 3
- ▶ 4

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Basic terminology

include Leech (1999, pp. 116–117): initial position: call, identification; final position: identification and reinforcing social relationship

Levinson (1983, p. 92): “let us note that titles of address and all vocative forms seem invariably marked for a speaker-referent relationship: there is no such thing (. . .) as socially neutral summons or addresses”

Stavrou (2013), Droste and Günthner (2021): social aspect

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1. **Calls:** designed to catch attention (only initial)
 - ▶ Conative interjection *hey* has a similar function Zwicky (1974, p. 787), Portner (2007, p. 411)
 - ▶ May involve optional lengthening of vowels that in other contexts cannot be long and other processes that enhance tune bearing properties (Ladd 1978, p. 518 and Hayes and Lahiri 1992, pp. 78, 81–83 for English, Sóskuthy and Roettger 2020, pp. 141–143)

(1) Hey lady, you dropped your piano.

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parallels: exclamatives vocatives

clausal vocatives: allocutive

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Implications

Calls as independent speech acts???

Syntactic accounts: vocatives are part of Speech Act Phrase

LOOK FOR latex notes where I discuss the difference:

interaction with intonation contour

- ▶ Vocatives can bear independent contour, intonation phrase, e.g. vocative phrase
- ▶ how can they be integrated in Speech Act Phrase
- ▶ mostly: one ι corresponds to one CP (cf. Dehé (2009))
- ▶ two ι within one SpeechActP?
- ▶ for addressess: often cliticize, e.g. Gussenhoven (2004)
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Calls, (non-initial) addresses and how they are realised

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Optionality

Degree of Autonomy

Position

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Physical distance

Specification of the addressee

Syntactic host

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Analysis

Vocatives are modifiers

Implementation in *Type Theory with Records*

Prosodic aspects of calls

Parameters that mater

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3. Position
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Parameters that matter

1. Optionality
2. Degree of Autonomy
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7. Specification of the addressee
8. Syntactic host (noun vs. utterance)

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- ▶ In some languages **mandatory in specific contexts**: vocative particle *o* as a marker of politeness in Attic Greek, particle *á* García-Fernández (2023, p. 226) with H+L*L% vocative chants in Asturian

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- ▶ Many vocative particles such as *hey* in English or *ya* in Arabic can occur as an **independent utterance** with an **independent intonation phrase** ↓

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- ▶ Other vocative markers cannot occur independent of a host: Old Bulgarian suffix *-le*, the Modern Bulgarian suffix *-be*, the Umbundu prefix *a* (cf. Hill 2007, pp. 2087–2090, 2022, pp. 2–3, 9)

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Exclamatives and vocatives

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Vocative particles in European languages

language	item	optionality	autonomy	position	address	call	distance	social relation
Portuguese	<i>ó</i>	✓	—	pre-N	(✓)	✓		intimate
Asturian	<i>á</i>	✓/—	—	pre-N	—	✓	?	?
Catalan	<i>eh</i>	✓	✓	pre-N	?	✓	?	?
	<i>ey</i>	✓	✓	pre-N	?	✓	?	?
Sardinian	<i>ɔ</i>	✓	—	pre-N	—	✓		?intimate
Scots Gaelic	<i>a</i>	?	?	pre-N	✓	✓	?	? formal
Irish	<i>a</i>	?	?	pre-N	✓	✓	?	?
English	<i>hey</i>	✓	✓	pre-N	—	✓		informal
Viennese German	<i>heast</i>	✓	✓	pre-N	—	✓		intimate
	<i>heans</i>	✓	✓	pre-N	—	✓		informal
	<i>ge</i>	✓	✓	pre-N	—	✓		informal
Albanian	<i>o</i>	?	?	flexible	?	?	?	?
Old Bulgarian	<i>-le/le</i>	✓	—	post-N	?	✓	?	?
Bulgarian	<i>be</i>	✓	—	post-N	?	✓	?	?
Romanian	<i>bre</i>	✓	✓	pre-N	?	✓	?	informal
	<i>măi</i>	✓	✓	pre-N	✓	✓	?	informal
	<i>bă(i)</i>	✓	✓	pre-N	?	✓	?	inf. M.
	<i>fă(i)</i>	✓	✓	pre-N	?	✓	?	inf. F.
Greek, Attic	<i>ō</i>	—	?	pre-N	✓	✓	?	formal
Modern Greek	<i>vre</i>	✓	✓	pre-N	✓	✓	?	informal
	<i>o</i>	✓	✓	pre-N	✓	✓	?	?
	<i>e</i>	✓	—	pre-N	—	✓	?	?
Persian	<i>ey</i>	✓	?	pre-N	✓	—	?	archaic

Table: Vocative particles in European languages

Vocative particles in Asian, Oceanic and American languages

language	item	optionality	autonomy	position	address	call	distance	social relation
Mari	-j	✓	—	post-N	?	✓	?	intimate
Lezgian	<i>ja</i>	✓	?	pre-N	✓	✓	?	?
Arabic	<i>ya:</i>	✓	✓	flexible	✓	✓	?	?
Nivkh AD/ESD	-a/-aj	?	?	post-N	?	✓	?	?
Nivkh AD	-ol- <i>gó</i>	?	?	post-N	?	✓	?	?
Mandarin	<i>a</i>	✓	?	post-N	?	✓	?	formal
Korean	(y)a	?	?	flexible	?	✓	?	children
	i/0	?	?	flexible	?	✓	?	adolescent
Karbi	<i>ó</i>	?	?	pre-N	?	✓	?	?
Dumi	<i>e:</i>	?	?	pre-N	?	✓	?	?
Lao	?e:j	?	?	post-N	?	✓	?	?
Indonesian	<i>nah</i>	✓	?	pre-N	?	✓	?	?
	<i>hai</i>	✓	?	pre-N	?	✓	?	?
Maori	<i>e</i>	—	?	pre-N	?	✓	?	?
	<i>wa:</i>	✓	?	flexible	✓	✓	?	?
Rapa Nui	<i>e</i>	?	?	pre-N	?	✓	?	?
	<i>e...ē</i>	?	?	post-N	✓	(✓)	?	?
Amele	<i>o</i>	✓	?	flexible	?	✓	?	?
Kobon	<i>o</i>	✓	?	post-N	?	✓	distal	?
	<i>e/melrō</i>	✓	?	post-N	✓	✓	?	?
Coastal Marind	<i>ay</i>	?	✓	post-N	?	✓	?	?
	<i>aw</i>	?	✓	pre-N	?	✓	?	?
Hualapalai	<i>é</i>	?	?	post-N		✓	prox	?
	(y)é	?	?	post-N	?	✓	prox	?
	(w)ó	?	?	post-N	—	✓	dist	?
Cl. Nahuatl	-é	?	?	post-N	?	✓	?	M. SPKR
Aymara	-ya	✓	?	post-N	?	✓	?	(intimate)

Table: Vocative particles in Asian, Oceanic and American languages

Vocative particles in African languages

language	item	optionality	autonomy	position	address	call	distance	social relation
Kissi	wéi	✓	?	post-N	?	✓	?	children
Kissi	é	✓		pre-N	?	✓	?	?
Mani	-yò, -yè	✓	?	post-N	?	✓	?	?
Koromfe	é	✓		pre-N	?	✓	?	?
Baoulé	-à	—	?	post-N	?	✓	?	?
Ewe	ée	✓	?	post-N	?	✓	dist	?
Gwa	yée	?	?	?	?	?	prox	?
	yèééé	?	?	?	?	?	dist	?
	xúúúú	?	?	?	?	?	dist	?
Yorùbá	ò	✓	✓	post-N		✓	?	?
Ijò	-àa	✓	?	post-N	?	✓	?	?
Eton	á	✓	?	pre-N	?	✓	?	?
Gyele	-ò	✓	?	post-N	?	✓	prox	?
	-ó	✓	?	post-N	?	✓	dist	?
ɓaka	-ó	?	?	post-N	?	✓	?	?
Umbundu	á-/´	—	—	pre-N	✓	✓	?	?
Rufumbira	yee (we)	?	?	pre-N	✓	✓	?	?
Tswana	-a	?	?	post-N	✓	✓	?	intimate
Zulu	e	✓	?	pre-N		✓	prox	intimate
	we	✓	?	pre-N	?	✓	dist	?
	au	✓	?	pre-N	?	✓	?	solemn
Naro	-è	?	?	post-N	?	✓	?	?
Lugbara	la/là	✓	?	post-N	?	✓	?	?
Dinka	-ee	✓	—	post-N	?	✓	dist	singular
	-ke	✓	—	post-N	?	✓	dist	plural
Tarifiyt Berber	a-	?	?	pre-N	?	✓	?	?
Tashlhiyt Berber	wa-	?	?	pre-N	?	✓	?	?
	taba	✓	?	pre-N	?	✓	?	senior.F
	(da)dda	?	?	pre-N	?	✓	?	senior.M
Somali	-èey/-àay/-òoy	✓	—	post-N	?	✓	dist	hon. F.
	-òw	✓	—	post-N	?	✓	?	hon. M.
	-yahay	✓	—	post-N	?	✓	?	inf. F.
	-yohow	✓	—	post-N	?	✓	?	inf. M.

Table: Vocative particles in African languages

Vocative suffixes

language	item	optionality	position	address	call	distance	social relation
Czech		—	stemfinal	✓	✓		
Polish		✓	stemfinal	✓	✓	?	formal
Croatian		✓	stemfinal	✓	✓	?	?
Romanian	-e	✓	stemfinal	✓	✓	?	informal
Bulgarian	-o	✓	stemfinal	✓	✓	?	intimate
	-e	✓	stemfinal	✓	✓	?	intimate
Modern Greek		—	stemfinal	✓	✓	?	?
Lithuanian		?	stemfinal	✓	✓	?	?
Urdu		?/✓	stemfinal	✓	✓	?	?
Hindi		?	stemfinal	✓	✓	?	?
Georgian	-o	✓—	stemfinal	✓	✓		
Limbu	-e	?/✓	stemfinal	✓	✓	?	?
Ket	-á/-ó	✓	stemfinal	?	✓	prox	?
	-á/-ó	✓	stemfinal	?	✓	distal	?
Udihe	-i	✓	stemfinal	✓	✓	?	intimate
	-e	✓	stemfinal	✓	✓	distal	?
Itelmen	-e/-a	✓	stemfinal	✓	✓		?
Martuthunira	-yi	?	stemfinal	?	✓	?	?
Mangarrayi	-y	✓	stemfinal	?	✓	?distal	?
Nez Perce	-e	?	stemfinal	?	✓	?	intimate-jun
	-e?	?	stemfinal	?	✓	?	intimate-sen
Central Alaskan Yupik	-mi	?	stemfinal	?	✓	?	formal

Table: Vocative suffixes

Non-concatenative vocative realisations I

language	type	optionality	address	call	distance	social relation
Karo Batak	vowel length.	?	?	✓	?	?
Chuchki	vowel length.	?	?	✓	?	?
Central Alaskan Yupik	vowel length.	?	?	✓	dist	intimate
Chipewyan	vowel length.	?	?	✓	?	?
Sierra Miwok	vowel length.	?	?	✓	?	?
Mohawk	vowel length.	?	?	✓	?	?
Hidatsa	vowel length.	?	?	✓	?	?
Wakashan	ablaut u>o, i>e	?	?	✓	?	?
Turkana	tonal infl.	?	?	✓	?	?
Shilluk	tonal infl. H	?	?	✓	?	?
Ngiti	tonal infl. H	?	?	✓	?	?
Somali	tonal infl.	?	?	✓	?	?
Karbi	tonal infl. M	?	✓	✓	?	?
Indo-European, Hungarian, Turkish	L+H*!H%	✓	—	✓	dist	intimate
German	L*+H L-H%	✓	—	✓		intimate
Yorùbá	register rise	✓	—	✓	dist	
Thai	leveling of H,M,L	✓	—	✓		
Mandarin	final L%	✓	—	✓		
Wolof	final sustained H%	?	?	✓		
Mani	final sustained H%	?	?	✓		
Daakaka	vocative chant	?	?	✓	?	intimate

Table: Non-concatenative vocative forms I

Non-concatenative vocative realisations II

language	type	optionality	address	call	distance	social relation
Persian	stress-shift	?	?	✓	?	?
Turkish	stress-shift	?	?	✓	?	?
Uzbek	stress-shift	?	?	✓	?	?
Nivkh	stress-shift	?	?	✓	?	?
Nahuatl	stress-shift	?	?	✓	?	?
Sardinian	truncation	?	✓	✓	?	?
Central Alaskan Yupik	truncation		?	✓	?prox	intimate
Seediq	truncation	?	?	✓	?	intimate
Kilivila	truncation	✓	✓	✓	?	?
Yapese	truncation	?	?	✓	?	?
Indonesian	truncation	?	?	✓	?	?

Table: Non-concatenative vocative forms II

Different forms of vocatives

Daniel and Spencer (2009, pp. 628–631) and Sóskuthy and Roettger (2020, pp. 141–144):

(6) OMA: [friː. də. 'riː.
L+ H*

kə]
!H-%

FRIEDERIKE: [jɑː.
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(7) MAFALDA: ó Marina
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MARINA: sim^{H-%}
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- ▶ They introduce QUD 'are you ready to cooperate with respect to the content of the directive?'

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2. Long tradition of phonologists who consider pitch accents and edge tones as abstract morphemes (Bolinger 1957, 1989; Liberman 1975, p. 133, Gussenhoven 1984; Pierrehumbert and Hirschberg 1990; Bartels 1999, pp. 72–77; Truckenbrodt 2012, pp. 2043, 2051)

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Haspelmath and Sims (2010, pp. 34–38) non-concatenative morphemes are quite common to convey grammatical information or functions. Tone is a means to code grammatical information in the Atlantic-Congo phyla (grammatical tone).

Vocatives as case?

Languages which make use of onymic articles such as Central Catalan (cf. Borràs-Comes, Sichel-Bazin, and Prieto 2015, p. 70), German (cf. Schaden 2010, p. 179) and Portuguese, systematically ban them from vocatives

- (9) a. * La Maria, menja una mandarina!
- b. * Die Mimi, pass bitte auf
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- ▶ ?But Czech vocative suffix in *Barbaro* seems to re-syllabification, indicating no phonological boundary
- ▶ Very different phenomenon than canonical case (cf. Daniel and Spencer 2009, 626, ??), but nevertheless tight relation between N + vocative

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Calls, (non-initial) addresses and how they are realised

Parameters of variation

- Optionality

- Degree of Autonomy

- Position

- Definiteness

- Non-at-issue content

- Physical distance

- Specification of the addressee

- Syntactic host

Calling contours and grammatical tone

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- Vocatives are modifiers

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Grammatical tone: Verbs in Èdóid

Verbs in (West Benue/Atlantic-Congo): PRESENT and PAST tense with distinct tones, similar applies to the formation of imperative forms (cf. Melzian 1942, pp. 59–77, 77–79

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Òtà write.PRS books

‘Òtà writes books (every day)’

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- ▶ Dogon languages (cf. Heath and McPherson 2013, McPherson and Heath 2015 Heath 2015): verb derivation processes, purposive clause formation and possessor NPs are marked by a distinguished tonal pattern
- ▶ Chalcatongo Mixtec (Oto-Manguen Central Mexico) adjectives derivation can be derived from nouns by the application of a non-concatenative derivational morpheme replacing all the tones of the noun stem with high tones (cf. Macaulay 1996, pp. 64–65)

Definition grammatical tone by Rolle (2018, p. 19):

Grammatical tone (GT): a tonological operation which is not general across the phonological grammar, and is restricted to the context of a specific morpheme or construction, or a natural class of morphemes or constructions (i.e. grammatically conditioned tone addition, deletion, replacement, shifting, assimilation, dissimilation, etc.)

Replacive-dominant grammatical tone Rolle (2018, pp. 4–6, 53–57):

Replacive-dominant: the automatic replacement of the underlying tone of the target, revalued with a grammatical tune

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4. Conversational rules to license CCs and their responses
 - ▶ QUD_{call} and QUD_{message} into QUD-list
 - ▶ QUD_{call} can be explicitly and implicitly downdated

Relation between the vocative and the noun

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5. Share crucial properties with affixes that are considered as modifiers, e.g. German *un-*, *erz-*, *miss-*

Vocatives and illocutionary force

In many languages, calling contours are compatible with different speech acts/sentence types, such as German (cf. Gibbon 1976, pp. 274–287), English (cf. Ladd 1978, pp. 520–525; **SunwooCondoravdi2017**

SunwooCondoravdi2017, **SunwooCondoravdi2018**) and Hungarian (cf. Varga 2008, pp. 480–481, 492–494):

speech act	default	calling contour	
GREETINGS	<i>Hallo</i> ^{H*L-L%}	<i>Hallo</i> ^{L+H*!H-%}	'hello'
ADDRESS	<i>Susi</i> ^{H*L-L%}	<i>Susi</i> ^{L+H*!H-%}	
wh-Q	<i>Wo bist Du?</i> ^{H*L-L%}	<i>Wo bist Du?</i> ^{L+H*!H-%}	'Where are you?'
POLAR Q	<i>Kannst Du mich hören</i> ^{L*H-~H%}	<i>Kannst Du mich hören</i> ^{L+H*!H-%}	'Can you hear me?'
ASSERTION	<i>Das Essen ist fertig</i> ^{H*L-L%}	<i>Das Essen ist fertig</i> ^{L+H*!H-%}	'The food is ready'.
DIRECTIVE	<i>Komm nach Hause</i> ^{H*L-L%}	<i>Komm nach Hause</i> ^{L+H*!H-%}	'Come home!'

Vocatives and illocutionary force

In many languages, calling contours are compatible with different speech acts/sentence types, such as German (cf. Gibbon 1976, pp. 274–287), English (cf. Ladd 1978,

pp. 520–525; **SunwooCondoravdi2017**

SunwooCondoravdi2017, **SunwooCondoravdi2018**) and Hungarian (cf. Varga 2008, pp. 480–481, 492–494):

speech act	default	calling contour	
GREETINGS	<i>Hallo</i> ^{H*L-L%}	<i>Hallo</i> ^{L+H*!H-%}	'hello'
ADDRESS	<i>Susi</i> ^{H*L-L%}	<i>Susi</i> ^{L+H*!H-%}	
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- ▶ No strict selectional restrictions
- ▶ Basic illocutionary force remains intact (cf. Ladd 1978, pp. 525–526, 535 for similar observations)
- ▶ Puzzle: how to build same utterance with diverging intonations? Is the default intonation overridden? constituent with underspecified intonation??

Interaction of intonation and particles

Sequence of vocative particle and intonation contour, cf. also Borràs-Comes, Sichel-Bazin, and Prieto (2015, pp. 71–75) for similar observation on ‘insistent nature’ of CCs:

(12) OLD LADY: ó Junior!⁷
 VOC Junior

 ‘Barbora!’ CZECH

DOG: [*ignoring the old lady*]

 ‘Barbora!’ CZECH

OLD LADY: Junior^{L+H*} !H-%
 junior

 ‘Barbora!’ CZECH

Coincidence of vocative particle and intonation contour:

(13) FEMALE VOICE: ó João!^{L+H*} !H-%⁸
 João

 ‘Barbora!’ CZECH

⁷Interaction heard in the streets of Amadora in April 2023.

Overview

Calls, (non-initial) addresses and how they are realised

Parameters of variation

Optionality

Degree of Autonomy

Position

Definiteness

Non-at-issue content

Physical distance

Specification of the addressee

Syntactic host

Calling contours and grammatical tone

Analysis

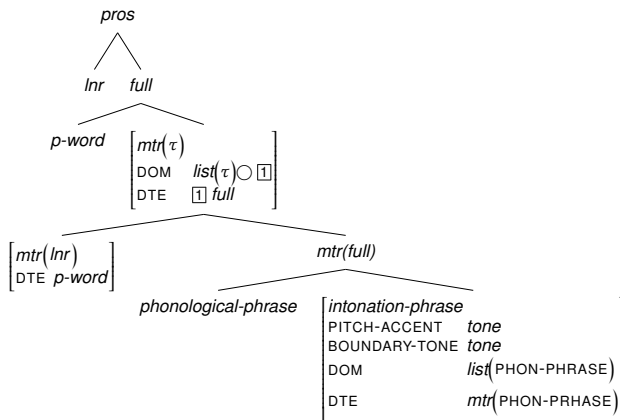
Vocatives are modifiers

Implementation in *Type Theory with Records*

Prosodic aspects of calls

Type hierarchy for prosodic constituents with contours

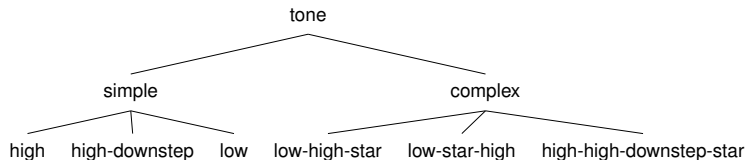
Inspired by Klein (2000, p. 190):



- ▶ DOM: domain corresponds to the present prosodic constituent and its subparts as a list

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- ▶ DTE: designated terminal element – most prominent subpart of the present constituent/nuclear accent (Klein (2000, p. 175))

Type hierarchy for tone



Assuming that only intonation phrases bear tones combining the type hierarchy suggested by Bildhauer (2007, p. 139) and the inventory of German tones composed by Grice, Baumann, and Benz Müller (2005, pp. 65–69)

Lexicon entry of the vocative morpheme (calling contour)

phon= \langle	pitch-accent=low-high-star : <i>Tone</i>		\rangle : <i>PhonPhrase</i>
	phrase-tone=downstep-high : <i>Tone</i>		
dgb-params:	spkr	: <i>Ind</i>	
	addr	: <i>Ind</i>	
	m	: <i>AbstSemObj</i>	
	p _{exp}	: <i>Prop</i>	
	c _{att}	: $\neg\text{know}(\text{spkr},\text{have}(\text{spkr},\text{attention}))$	
	c _{exp}	: $\text{expect}(\text{spkr},\text{p}_{\text{exp}})$	
	c _{fam}	: $\text{familiar}(\text{spkr},\text{addr})$	
	Facts	: $\text{Set}(\text{Prop}) \cup \text{c}_{\text{exp}} \cup \text{c}_{\text{fam}}$	
	Moves= $\langle \rangle$: <i>IllocProp</i>	
	QUD= $\{ \}$: <i>Poset(Question)</i>	
cont=cooperate!(addr,spkr,m): <i>Outcome</i>			

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- ▶ Therefore also empty QUD-list

Phrasal scheme for RCC with more complex utterances (head-modifier analysis)

$$\begin{array}{l}
 \text{phon} = \left(\begin{array}{l} \text{p-a=low-high-star} : \text{Tone} \\ \text{p-t=downstep-high} : \text{Tone} \\ \text{dom} : \text{list}(\text{hd.phon}) \\ \text{dte} : \text{hd.phon.dte} \end{array} \right) : \text{IntPhrase} \\
 \text{cat} = \text{hd.cont} : \text{PoS} \\
 \text{dgb-params} = \left(\begin{array}{l} \text{spkr} : \text{Ind} \\ \text{addr} : \text{Ind} \\ \text{m} : \text{AbstSemObj} \\ \text{p}_{\text{exp}} : \text{Prop} \\ \text{c}_{\text{att}} : \neg\text{know}(\text{spkr}, \text{have}(\text{spkr}, \text{attention})) \\ \text{c}_{\text{exp}} : \text{expect}(\text{spkr}, \text{p}_{\text{exp}}) \\ \text{c}_{\text{fam}} : \text{familiar}(\text{spkr}, \text{addr}) \\ \text{Facts} : \text{Set}(\text{Prop}) \cup \text{c}_{\text{exp}} \cup \text{c}_{\text{fam}} \\ \text{c}_{\text{perf}} : \text{perform}(\text{spkr}, \text{addr}, \text{m}) \\ \text{Moves} = \langle \rangle : \text{IllocProp} \\ \text{QUD} = \{ \} : \text{Poset}(\text{Question}) \end{array} \right) \\
 \text{cont} = \text{mod.cont} : \text{Outcome}
 \end{array}$$

$$\begin{array}{l}
 \text{hd} \quad \text{phon} = \left(\begin{array}{l} \text{dom} : \text{list}(\dots, \text{dte}) \\ \text{dte} : \text{mtr}(\tau) \end{array} \right) : \text{PhonPhrase} \\
 \text{cat} : \text{head} = \text{V}[\text{fin}+] : \text{PoS} \\
 \text{dgb-params} = \left(\begin{array}{l} \text{spkr} : \text{Ind} \\ \text{addr} : \text{Ind} \\ \text{m} : \text{AbstSemObj} \\ \text{c}_{\text{perf}} : \text{perform}(\text{spkr}, \text{addr}, \text{m}) \end{array} \right) \\
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 \text{mod} \quad \text{phon} = \left(\begin{array}{l} \text{pitch-accent=low-high-star} : \text{Tone} \\ \text{phrase-tone=downstep-high} : \text{Tone} \end{array} \right) : \text{PhonPhrase} \\
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- ▶ RCCs convey propositional content is reflected by the *cont*-field

Conversational rule for licensing calls

MakeInitialSententialAddress =_{def}

pre	:	$\left[\begin{array}{ll} \text{spkr} & : \text{Ind} \\ \text{addr} & : \text{Ind} \\ \text{f} & : \neg \text{know}(\text{spkr}, ?\text{attentive}(\text{addr}, \text{spkr})) \\ \text{m} & : \text{AbstSemObj} \\ \text{moves}=\langle \rangle & : \text{IllocProp} \\ \text{qud}=\langle \rangle & : \text{poset}(\text{Question}) \\ \text{Facts} & : \text{Set}(\text{Prop}) \cup f \end{array} \right]$
	:	$\left[\begin{array}{ll} \text{LatestMove}=\text{init-addr}(\text{spkr}, \text{addr}, \text{m}) & : \text{IllocProp} \\ \text{ca}=\text{cooperate}!(\text{pre.addr}, \text{pre.spkr}, \text{pre.m}) & : \text{Outcome} \\ \text{qud}=\langle \text{ia}, \text{pre.m} \rangle & : \text{poset}(\text{Question}) \end{array} \right]$

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- Rule adds QUD_{call} and $\text{QUD}_{\text{message}}$ to QUD-list

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- ▶ QUD-list contains disjunction of content of call and content of message to ensure both can be at issue

Conversational rule for Explicit Response to Sentential Call

Explicit Response to Sentential Call = *def*

pre	:	spkr	:	<i>Ind</i>
	:	addr	:	<i>Ind</i>
	:	ia=cooperate!(pre.addr,pre.spkr,pre.m)	:	<i>Prop/Outcome</i>
	:	m	:	<i>AbstSemObj</i>
	:	moves=< init-addr(spkr,addr,m) >	:	<i>IllocProp</i>
effects	:	qud=< ia,m >	:	<i>poset(Question)</i>
	:	spkr=pre.addr	:	<i>IND</i>
	:	addr=pre.spkr	:	<i>IND</i>
	:	LatestMove=call-response(spkr,addr)	:	<i>IllocProp</i>
	:	qud=< m >	:	<i>poset(Question)</i>

- Explicit response: QUD_{call} is down dated
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effects	:	qud=< ia,m >	:	<i>poset(Question)</i>
	:	spkr=pre.addr	:	<i>IND</i>
	:	addr=pre.spkr	:	<i>IND</i>
	:	LatestMove=call-response(spkr,addr)	:	<i>IllocProp</i>
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- ▶ Vocatives modify speech acts rather than nouns, insofar very different from case (cf. Daniel and Spencer 2009, 626, ??)
- ▶ Same same speech act with different intonation contours
 - ▶ Head of the entire speech act will determine prosodic and intonational properties of its subparts via selectional restrictions
 - ▶ Assertion with calling contour selects constituents with phrase tone !H-



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Overview

Calls, (non-initial) addresses and how they are realised

Parameters of variation

Optionality

Degree of Autonomy

Position

Definiteness

Non-at-issue content

Physical distance

Specification of the addressee

Syntactic host

Calling contours and grammatical tone

Analysis

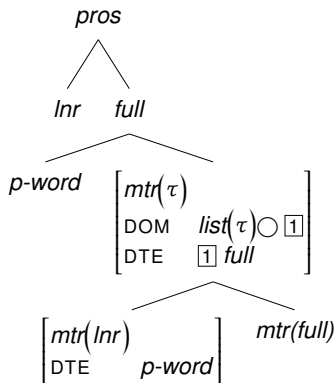
Vocatives are modifiers

Implementation in *Type Theory with Records*

Prosodic aspects of calls

Type hierarchy for prosodic constituents

Klein (2000, p. 190): HPSG type hierarchy including phonological words and metrical trees.

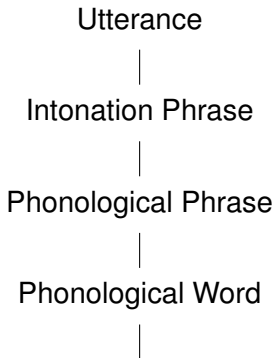


Intonation contours at the level of pwords?

Evidence for pwords with intonation: Non-clausal utterances consisting of a single pword can carry intonation:

(14) Mother: [friː. də. 'riː. kə]
L+H* !H-%

Friederike: [jaʔ. aʔ]
L+H* !H-%



Intonation contours at the level of pwords? II

Standard assumption (cf. Nespor and Vogel 2007, Pierrehumbert, Selkirk); ? : prosodic constituents

Utterance



Intonation Phrase



Phonological Phrase



Phonological Word



[fɹi:dəɹi:kə]

Intonation comes it at IP

How to represent intonation contours?

Varga (2008)

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 1. having attribute for PITCH-ACCENT
 2. having attribute for BOUNDARY-TONE
 3. selecting constituents of type *phonological phrase*

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 3. selecting constituents of type *phonological phrase*
- ▶ Challenge: Pierrehumbert and Hirschberg (1990, pp. 276–278), Truckenbrodt (2013, pp. 586–587): some English and German varieties have pitch accents at intermediate phrase level/phonological phrase level

Conversational rule for Adjacency Pair Summons/Answers

Already suggested by Schegloff (1972, pp. 357–358):
Summons (Initial Addresses) come in Adjacency Pairs

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 - 1.1 Terms of address: *John?*, *Dr.*, *Mr. Jones?*, *waiter*
 - 1.2 Courtesy phrases: *Pardon me*
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 - 2.1 *Yes?*
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 - 2.3 *Uh uh?*

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 - 2.3 *Uh uh?*

- (15) A: John?
B: Yes?