

# Tendencies in the morphological realisations of calls and addresses

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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

- Orientation

### Forms of marking

- Particles

- Concatenative vocative forms

- Non-concatenative vocative forms

  - Vowel lengthening

  - Ablaut

  - Tonal inflection and Grammatical tone

Stress-shift  
Truncation  
Vocative chants  
Reduplication  
Suppletion

## Calling contours and grammatical tone

### Prosodic aspects of calls

# Structure

1. Slide Particles

2. Slide Case?? -Definition, typological preference -Counter Arguments

ADD slides with Case realisation types

-Vocative chants list

-

ADD– difficulty to use phonological evidence to decide between particle and affix

Bonus:

ADD to table: Ngardi und Wubuy

ALIGN KEY FINDINGS

Parameters

— parallels: exclamatives, imperatives vocatives, integrate into parameters

clausal vocatives: allocutive

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mention: -concatenative -case??

-non-concatenative -base modification: ablaut -base

# 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  $\iota$  corresponds to one CP (cf. Dehé (2009))
- ▶ two  $\iota$  within one SpeechActP?
- ▶ for addressess: often cliticize, e.g. Gussenhoven (2004)
- ▶ two SpeechActPs within one  $\iota$  ?
- ▶ One sentence, two intonation contours? initial vocatives e.g. Calling contour + imperative
- ▶ one contour: final vocatives, integrated??? e.g. Gussenhoven
- ▶ Is it one or two speech acts???
- ▶ 4
- ▶ 5



<https://dkaramasov.github.io/mache/presentations/25-tendencies-in-the-morphological-realisations-of-calls-and-addresses.pdf>

Special issue of Catalan Journal of Linguistics,  
on *The phonology-morphology interface in word-formation*,  
edited by Eulàlia Bonet and Claudia Pons-Moll



<https://revistes.uab.cat/catjl/issue/view/v24-n1>

- ▶ Continuum of vocative marking: complex vocative chants to affixes.
- ▶ The dimension manner matters in grammar: morphemes to encode that message is addressed at referent not ratified as speech participant overhearer.
- ▶ Goffman (1976, p. 260), Goodwin (1982, pp. 3–6): Three types of listeners.
  1. Overhearer.
  2. Ratified listener.
    - 2.1 Directly addressed.
    - 2.2 Not specifically addressed, but part of a group of discussion participants.
- ▶ Forms of realisation: The (almost) whole spectrum of concatenative and non-concatenative morphological processes described in **HaspelmathSims2010**



- ▶ Grammars and case studies for about 200 languages studied
- ▶ For 108 languages marked vocatives were mentioned
- ▶ Corpus study for European Portuguese (João Azevedo)
- ▶
- ▶

Zwicky (1974, p. 787), Leech (1999, pp. 116–117), Stavrou (2013, pp. 328–329): Phrases marked as vocatives can occur in two functions:

## 1. **Calls:**

- ▶ Only utterance initial
- ▶ Designed to catch attention
- ▶ Often/(?)always independent intonation phrase  $\iota$
- ▶ Conative interjection *hey* has a similar function Zwicky (1974, p. 787), Portner (2007, p. 411)
- ▶ May involve optional lengthening of short vowels in English (Ladd 1978, p. 518 and Hayes and Lahiri 1992, pp. 78, 81–83 for English, Sóskuthy and Roettger 2020, pp. 141–143 )
- ▶ Also observed in animal communication

(1) Hey lady, you dropped your piano.

## 2. Addresses:

- ▶ Also utterance medial (parenthetical) and utterance final
- ▶ Designed to maintain attention, reinforcing social relationship (cf. Droste and Günthner 2021, Leech 1999, pp. 116–117, Stavrou 2013, pp. 328–329)
- ▶ Conative interjection *hey* less felicitous
- ▶ Vowel lengthening appears to be less felicitous
- ▶ Often unstressed, prosodic clitics (cf. Beckman and Pierrehumbert 1986, pp. 293–298 and Gussenhoven 2004, pp. 291–294)

(2) I'm afraid, sir, that my coyote is nibbling on your leg.

# Parameters of variation

1. Optionality
2. Degree of Autonomy
3. Position
4. Definiteness
5. Non-at-issue content
6. Physical distance
7. Specification of the addressee
8. Syntactic host (noun vs. utterance)
9. Orientation

Marking of vocative nouns (phrases):

- ▶ In most languages **optional**
- ▶ In a few languages **mandatory in every context**: vocative suffixes in Czech and Greek, vocative particles in Baoulé and Umbundu (Atlantic-Congo) or Maori (Austronesian)
- ▶ 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

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

# Three positions

Leech (1999, pp. 107–108, 114–115) and Stavrou (2013, pp. 323–329) differentiate between three types of vocatives:

- ▶ **Utterance initial:** Typically separate prosodic unit (intonation phrase  $\iota$  with complete contour)
- ▶ **Utterance medial:** Often a separate prosodic unit, type of parantheticals, constraint to particular positions – much rarer (cf. Dehé 2009, pp. 570–571, 575, 610, Espinal 2013, pp. 310, 315–316, Stavrou 2013, pp. 325–326, Slocum 2016, pp. 159–196 and D’Alessandro and Oostendorp 2016, p. 69)
- ▶ **Utterance final:** most often as a prosodic clitic, integrated into boundarytone of preceeding intonation phrase (cf. Beckman and Pierrehumbert 1986, pp. 293–298 and Gussenhoven 2004, pp. 291–294)

- (3) [voc Ty n'ivɣ-a] t'a ykyn-dox  
this man-VOC NEG elder.brother-DAT/ADD  
t'axta-ja.<sup>1</sup>  
be.angry-IMP  
'This man, don't be angry at [your] elder brother.' NIVKH
- (4) [voc Nya jìdó!] Ge mi-ya:m-ay-ng-yó?<sup>2</sup>  
my mother.VOC.DIST how 2-go-FUT-2-Q.VOC.DIST  
'My mother! (I can't see you, but I know you are somewhere  
out there) Where are you going?' HUALAPAI

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<sup>1</sup>As cited in Gruzdeva (1998, p. 20)= ex. (19).

<sup>2</sup>As quoted in Watahomigie, Bender, and Yamamoto (1982, pp. 74–75) = ex. (63).



- (5)      ħKo ħaro'a    'ana    e    koe, e                      Hana ē?<sup>3</sup>  
PRF perceive CONT AG 2S.S VOCPRT Hana VOCPRT  
'Did you hear that, Hana?' [R485.016]                      RAPA NUI
- (6)      Ciamar a    tha    thu, [VOC a                      Mhórag]<sup>4</sup>.  
how      PRT be.2S 2S.S                      VOCPRT VOC.Morag  
'How are you, Morag?' MacKinnon (1971, pp. 171–174) SC.  
GAELIC

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<sup>3</sup>As quoted in Kieviet (2017, pp. 440–441) = ex. (225).

<sup>4</sup>As quoted in MacKinnon (1971, p. 171).

# Medial vocatives

- (7) a. Thelo            na    se            do,    [voc Maria],  
want.PRS.1S SBJV 2S.ACC see.1S            Maria.VOC  
avrio.<sup>5</sup>  
tomorrow  
'Mary, I want to see you tomorrow'
- b. \* Thelo            na,    [voc Maria],    se            do  
want.PRS.1S SBJV            Maria.VOC 2S.ACC see.1S  
avrio.<sup>6</sup>  
tomorrow
- c. \* Thelo            na    se,            [voc Maria],    do  
want.PRS.1S SBJV 2S.ACC            Maria.VOC see.1S  
avrio.<sup>7</sup>  
tomorrow

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<sup>5</sup>As quoted in Stavrou (2013, p. 325) = ex. (45b).

<sup>6</sup>As quoted in Stavrou (2013, p. 325) = ex. (45a).

<sup>7</sup>As quoted in Stavrou (2013, p. 325) = ex. (45a).

# Medial vocatives and parantheticals

- ▶ Espinal (1991, pp. 741–744), Dehé (2009, p. 325), Stavrou (2013, p. 325): medial vocatives behave like parentheticals
- ▶ Stavrou (2013, p. 325) medial vocatives in Greek
  - ▶ Possible
    - ▶ After preverbal TOP
    - ▶ After preverbal SUBJ
    - ▶ After V before OBJ
  - ▶ Impossible
    - ▶ After subjunctive complementizer *na*
    - ▶ After object clitics e.g. *se* ‘ACC.3s’
    - ▶ After complementizer *oti* ‘that’
- ▶ ??Vocatives cannot serve as host for prosodic clitics that occur in the clause

Two main functions of vocative nouns (cf. Schegloff 1968, pp. 1080–1081, Zwicky 1974, pp. 787–788, Levinson 1983, pp. 70–73, Leech 1999, pp. 108–109, 116–117, Sonnenhauser and Noel Aziz Hanna 2013, pp. 14–15, d’Avis and Meibauer 2013, pp. 191–197, Stavrou 2013, pp. 305–306, 327–329 and Slocum 2016, pp. 3–5, 10–12):

1. **Calls (Summonses):** To attract attention of an overhearer, always utterance initial.
2. **Addresses:** Maintain attention, can be utterance medial (parenthetical), or utterance final
  - ▶ Leech (1999, pp. 116–117): Addresses more used to establish and perform social relations.
  - ▶ Levinson (1983, pp. 70–73): No term of address is neutral with respect to social hierarchies.

# Global preferences?

- ▶ Most grammars only have examples of utterance initial vocatives
- ▶ Stavrou (2013, pp. 324, 327–328): Initial position most common and typical in Modern Greek Greek
- ▶ Leech (1999, pp. 114–115): Corpus of 400 vocatives of British and American English: 45 stand alone: initial 46; 37 medial; 272 final.
- ▶ Strong preference for final position in Tzotzil (Mayan, cf. Cowan 1969, p. 22) and Wandala (Afroasiatic, Chadic cf. Frajzyngier 2012, pp. 538–540)

# No determiners I

Vocative nouns are not compatible with determiners, noun-class affixes and related markers required in argument position. In many spoken varieties of Hungarian, proper names are preceded by the definite determiner *a*:

- (8) a. Jön a Péter.<sup>8</sup>  
comes DET Péter  
'(The) Péter comes' HUNGARIAN
- b. \*A Péter, gyere.<sup>9</sup>  
DET Péter come-IMP.2S  
Intended meaning '(The) Peter come!' HUNGARIAN
- c. Péter, gyere.<sup>10</sup>  
Péter.VOC come-IMP.2S  
'Péter come!' HUNGARIAN

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<sup>8</sup>As quoted in Szabolcsi (1994, p. 215) = ex. (84)

<sup>9</sup>As quoted in Szabolcsi (1994, p. 215) = ex. (86)

<sup>10</sup>As quoted in Szabolcsi (1994, p. 215) = ex. (86)

# No determiners I

Similar incompatibilities attested with many unrelated languages:

- ▶ Italian (cf. Longobardi 1994, 626–627 Fn.20)
- ▶ Hungarian (Szabolcsi 1994, pp. 215–216)
- ▶ German (cf. Schaden 2010, p. 179, Göksel and Pöchtrager 2013, p. 89, Stavrou 2013, p. 329)
- ▶ Catalan (cf. Espinal 2013, pp. 110, 112, 117, 123, Borràs-Comes, Sichel-Bazin, and Prieto 2015, p. 70),
- ▶ English (cf. Leech 1999, p. 107)
- ▶ Modern Greek (cf. Stavrou 2013, pp. 304, 319, 329–337)
- ▶ East Bantu (cf. Ndayiragije, Nikiema, and Bhatt 2012, pp. 116–117, Hill 2014, pp. 126–128)
- ▶ Mossi (Gur, Atlantic-Congo) (cf. Rennison 2013, p. 80)

- ▶ Ngandi (cf. Heath 1978, pp. 35–37, 48, 52) and Wubuy (cf. Heath 1984, p. 217) (both Gunwinyguan)
- ▶ Tzotzil (Mayan, cf. Cowan 1969, pp. 70–71)
- ▶ Chuckchi (cf. Dunn 1999, p. 318).
- ▶ Kilivali (Austronesian, Oceanic, cf. Senft 1986, pp. 43–44)



The cross-linguistically attested incompatibility of vocatives with determiner as feature clash:

- ▶ Fink (1972, pp. 65–67): **vocative nouns** as exponent of 2<sup>nd</sup> PERSON.
- ▶ Bernstein (2008, pp. 1251, 1257–1262) and Hill (2022, pp. 4–5): **determiner** as exponents of 3<sup>rd</sup> PERSON.
- ▶ Bobaljik (2008, pp. 206–207):
  - ▶ 2<sup>nd</sup> PERSON as [–SPKR,+ADDR]
  - ▶ 3<sup>rd</sup> PERSON as [–SPKR,–ADDR].

Zwicky (1974, pp. 796–797), Dascălu (1985, p. 317), Serbat (1996, pp. 101–102) Implicit statements about:

- ▶ Physical distance
- ▶ Social distance
- ▶ Reference to shared expectations
  - ▶ European (L+)H\*!H-% vocative chant: routine/shared expectations fulfilled, no new commitment, beneficial outcome (cf. Ladd 1978, pp. 520–524, Jeong and Condoravdi 2017)
  - ▶ Asturian H+L\*L% vocative chant: speaker expectations violated (cf. García-Fernández 2023, p. 219)
- ▶ Many languages have other types of calls and addresses with more specific nai meaning

In some languages, vocative markers indicate a specific physical distance between speaker and addressee:

- ▶ Distal vocatives:
  - ▶ European (L+)H\*H!-% vocative chant
  - ▶ Central Alaskan Yupik: vowel lengthening (cf. Miyaoka 2012, pp. 859–863)
  - ▶ Gwa (Atlantic-Congo, Kwa, Nyo) particle *xùúúù* (cf. Painter 1975, pp. 19–20)
- ▶ Proximal vocatives:
  - ▶ European Portuguese *ó* (underspecified)
  - ▶ Central Alaskan Yupik: truncation (cf. Miyaoka 2012, pp. 859–863)
  - ▶ Gwa (Atlantic-Congo, Kwa, Nyo) particle *yèééè* (cf. Painter 1975, pp. 19–20)

# Specification of the addressee

- ▶ NUMBER-marking: post-nominal vocative particles *-ee* ‘-VOC.S’ and *-ke* ‘-VOC.P’ in Dinka (Nilotic), (cf. Nebel (1948, p. 102)) and Hualapai (cf. Watahomigie, Bender, and Yamamoto 1982, pp. 71–75)
- ▶ GENDER-marking: e.g. M *bǎ(i)* and F *fǎ(i)* (cf. Hill 2007, p. 2080, 2022, p. 8).
- ▶ Relationship:
  - ▶ Honorific/formal Attic Greek *ō* (cf. Schwyzer 1950, pp. 60–61)
  - ▶ Familiarity/informal Portuguese, *ó*, and in Modern Greek, *vre* (cf. Schwyzer 1950, pp. 60–61)
  - ▶ Children, the Korean particle *(y)a* (cf. Sohn (1999, pp. 341–343))
  - ▶ Gods deceased lovers, the Korean particle *i(si)e* (cf. Sohn 1999, pp. 341–343)

- ▶ Evident, for most languages: nouns phrases
- ▶ Some language allow application of identical markers to more complex utterances: Vocative chants in many Indo-European languages.
- ▶ Allocutive markers in Basque, only to verbs (cf. Antonov 2015)

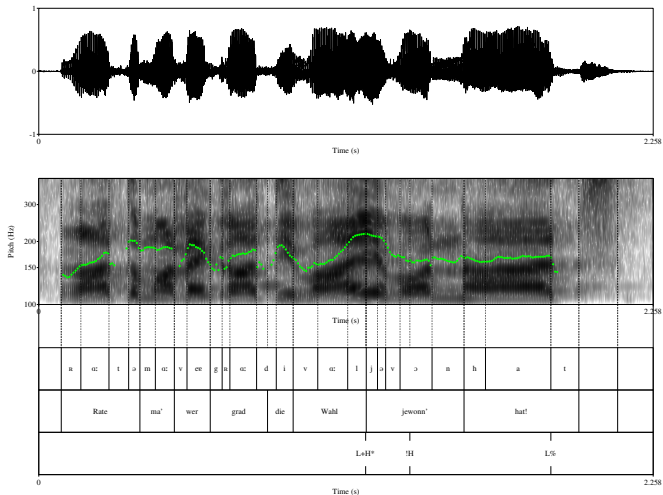
# Vocative chants with complex utterances

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; Jeong and Condoravdi 2017, 2018) and Hungarian (cf. Varga 2008, pp. 480–481, 492–494):

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

- ▶ 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??

# Vocative chants with clauses



# Sentential calls – across languages I

Some grammars explicitly mention (vocative or related) markers applicable to exclamatives, imperatives and other more complex utterances, **directed at overhearers/addressees out of sight**:

- ▶ Hualapai (Yuman–Cochimí, Southern California): suffix -ó with VOC, other utterances including Q (cf. example Watahomigie, Bender, and Yamamoto 1982, pp. 74–75).
- ▶ Kobon (Nuclear Trans New Guinea): particle o with VOC and other utterances including (cf. Davies 1981, pp. 6, 123–124)
- ▶ Amele (Nuclear Trans New Guinea): e/o with VOC and other utterances including (cf. Roberts 1987, p. 272).
- ▶ Tzotzil (Mayan): e with VOC and sentential utterances (cf. Cowan 1969, pp. 21–22)
- ▶ Yorùbá (Western-Benue): ocative chant which manifests as a register raise, also with IMP <sup>h</sup>wá ‘come.DIST’ (cf. Oláwalé 2022, pp. 4–5, Manfredi 2003)



# Sentential calls – across languages II

- ▶ Ngardi (Pama-Nyungan): clitic =*wu* predominantly with IMP and HORT, with (cf. Ennever 2021, pp. 104–105, 627)
- ▶ Warlpiri (Pama-Nyungan): ‘exclamation’/‘intensifyer’ suffix =*wu*, with stress-shift to penultimate syllable EXCL, (cf. Jagst 1975, p. 44)
- ▶ Wubuy (Gunwinyguan): vocative chant lengthening of final syllable + high pitch + marker *u*, found with VOC, EXCL, IMP (cf. Heath 1984, p. 86)
- ▶ Morphologically marked alarm calls in Ancient Greek *Io Bacchus!* ‘PRT Bacchus.NOM’, Middle High German *fiur=â* ‘fire=PRT’ and Early New High German *Feind=io* ‘enemy=PRT’ (cf. J. L. C. Grimm 1850, p. 112)

- ▶ Morphologically marked alarm calls in Ancient Greek *Io Bacchus!* ‘PRT Bacchus.NOM’, Middle High German *fiur=â* ‘fire=PRT’ and Early New High German *Feind=io* ‘enemy=PRT’ (cf. J. L. C. Grimm 1850, p. 112)

# Sentential calls – across languages IV

Grammars in which vocative markers are observed to occur with IMP or EXCL, without explicitly claiming that they are addressed at listeners out of sight:

- ▶ Chukchi: vowel lengthening with VOC, IMP, EXCL (cf. Dunn 1999, pp. 54–55, 87, 90)
- ▶ Makah, Nitinat and Nuu-chah-nulth: Ablaut with VOC, IMP (cf. Jacobsen 1994, pp. 28, 29, 31, 34)
- ▶ Sardinian, Catalan: Truncation with VOC, IMP (cf. Floricic and Molinu 2012, 2018, pp. 272, 276)
- ▶ Nivkh: Same suffix + stress shift with VOC, IMP (cf. Gruzdeva 1998, p. 12)
- ▶ Yorùbá (Atlantic-Congo): Particle ò with VOC, DECL, IMP (cf. Brown 2010, pp. 10–12)
- ▶ Gyele (Bantu): suffix o with VOC, IMP (cf. N. Grimm 2021, p. 249)

# Sentential calls – across languages V

- (9) Nya jìdó!                      Ge mi-ya:m-ay-ng-yó?<sup>11</sup>  
my mother.VOC.DIST how 2-go-FUT-2-Q.VOC.DIST  
'My mother! (I can't see you, but I know you are somewhere  
out there) Where are you going?'                      HUALAPAI
- (10) mùdì              kí      tàtò      wúó<sup>12</sup>  
CL1-person NEG scream there-VOC-DIST  
'Nobody scream over there!'                      GYELE

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<sup>11</sup>As quoted in Watahomigie, Bender, and Yamamoto (1982, pp. 74–75) = ex. (63).

<sup>12</sup>As quoted in N. Grimm 2021, p. 249 = ex. (13).

# Sentential calls – across languages VI

- (11) riga::u!<sup>13</sup>  
mother.VOCPRT  
'(my) mother!' WUBUY
- (12) n<sup>9</sup>ura::u!<sup>14</sup>  
fire.VOCPRT  
'Fire!' WUBUY
- (13) wuɿ=ri-n<sup>y</sup>      jiɿ-na::u!<sup>15</sup>  
???.VOCPRT  
'They are fighting' WUBUY

# Sentential calls – across languages VII

- (14) a. A: Ban a g-an o. Ban a  
who QUOT do-PST.2S VOC-DIST who QUOT  
g-an o. Ban a g-an  
do-PST.2S VOC-DIST who QUOT do-PST.2S  
o.<sup>16</sup>  
VOC-DIST
- b. B: Augi o. Augi o. Augi o.<sup>17</sup>  
Augi VOC-DIST Augi VOC-DIST Augi VOC-DIST  
A: 'Who did you say [has died]?'  
B: Augi.

KOBON

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<sup>17</sup>As quoted in Davies 1981, p. 6 = ex. (11c).

The parallel behaviour of vocatives and imperatives:

- ▶ Both have a close connection to the 2<sup>nd</sup> PERSON, (cf. Stavrou 2013, p. 323)

Moro (2003, pp. 248–249), Stavrou (2013, pp. 216–219):

- **intradeictic**: VOC corresponds argument:

(15)      Petro<sub>i</sub>,      \_\_\_<sub>i</sub> ela      [na  
             Petros.VOC      come-IMP.2S SBJV  
             fas].  
             eat.SBJV.AOR.3S  
             ‘Petros come to eat!’

M. GREEK

- **extradeictic**: VOC not co-referrent with any arg

(16)      Petro<sub>i</sub>,      I      Maria<sub>j</sub>      prepei [na  
             Petros.VOC DET.F Maria.NOM must    SBJV  
             fiji].  
             leave.SBJV.AOR.3S  
             ‘Petros, Maria must leave!’

M. GREEK



# Interplay of phonology and morphology

Evident, for most languages: nouns phrases, for some also more complex utterances

1. Particles
2. Concatenative extra slide on case
3. Non-concatenative forms
  - 3.1 base modification: vowel lengthening
  - 3.2 base modification: ablaut
  - 3.3 base modification: stress shift
  - 3.4 base modification: tonal inflection extra slide: on grammatical tone, tonal inflection
  - 3.5 reduplication
  - 3.6
4. Suppletion

- ▶ 1
- ▶ 2
- ▶ 3
- ▶ 4
- ▶ 5

- ▶ 1
- ▶ 2
- ▶ 3
- ▶ 4
- ▶ 5

# Vocative as case?

- ▶ Ancient grammars
- ▶ New approaches: case assigned by speech act projection (cf. Hill 2007)
- ▶ Dryer (2005, pp. 210–211) and Spencer (2009, pp. 185–186): 431 out of 480 languages with case employ suffixes, only 35 with prefixes
- ▶ 4
- ▶ 5

# Case-like suffix or derivational suffix?

Motivation to classify VOC-markers as case:

1. If a language has case paradigm, VOC-marker automatically considered as one of the cases (cf. van Driem 1987, pp. 33–52, Fähnrich 1987, pp. 47–62, 150 or Hewitt 1995, pp. 33–41)
2. Languages with case paradigm can have VOC-marker that are not part of the case paradigm (cf. Nikolaeva and Tolskaya 2001, pp. 106, 340–341, 470, Gruzdeva 1998, pp. 18–22, Nedjalkov and Otaina 2013, p. 55, Fortescue 1984, pp. 205–209, 225, Dench 1994, pp. 59–60, 63–94, 100–103, 107–112, Merlan 1989, pp. 56–57, Crazzolara 1960, pp. 20–24, 140)

# Arguments against VOC as case

1. Lots of languages with rich case paradigm lack parallel vocative marking (Uralic, Turkic, various languages from Australia and Siberia, Central Alas)
2. Case-less languages with VOC markers Bulgarian, many Atlantic-Congo languages
3. In many languages VOC involves morphological irregularities not found with case inflection.
4. VOC markers often convey not-at-issue meaning
5. VOC not dependent from any overt syntactic head (But see Hill 2007 on particle *hai* in Romanian)
6. VOC affixes often additionally involve non-concatenative processess

- ▶ Most frequent type non-concatenative process in the formation of vocatives
- ▶ Often result of grammaticalisation through assimilation of a post nominal VOC-particle

Rare but found in Wakashan branch (cf. Jacobsen 1994) with ablaut from *a* > *e* and *u* > *o* among others:

- (17)       $\text{ʔuʃax} \cdot \text{uda} \rightarrow \text{ʔuʃax} \cdot \text{ude}^{18}$   
         child.NOM      child.VOC  
         ‘Child.’

MAKAH

- (18)       $\text{ʔa} \cdot \text{si} \cdot \text{qsu} \rightarrow \text{ʔa} \cdot \text{si} \cdot \text{qso}^{19}$   
         niece.NOM      niece.VOC  
         ‘Niece.’

NUU-CHAH-NULTH

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<sup>18</sup>As quoted in Jacobsen (1994, p. 27) =ex. (28).

<sup>19</sup>As quoted in Jacobsen (1994, p. 29) =ex. (53).



# Grammatical tone and tonal inflection

Some language families have been observed to make use of pitch to mark grammatical functions, referred to as *grammatical tone* by people working on African languages Rolle 2018, pp. 3–6, 19, 53–54.

- ▶ 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-Manguan, 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)
- ▶ Also with case marking in Ripuarian (cf. Gussenhoven and Peters 2004, pp. 255–256) and Limburgian Dutch attributive adjectives (cf. Van Oostendorp 2005, p. 108).

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*

Found in many language families

- ▶ Turkic Turkish Göksel and Kerslake (2005, p. 27), Uzbek Noel Aziz Hanna and Sonnenhauser 2013, p. 284
- ▶ Nivkh Gruzdeva (1998, p. 12) and Nedjalkov and Otaina (2013, p. 55)
- ▶ Some Australian languages

Another fairly wide spread strategy

- ▶ Aleghrese Catalan in North West Sardinia (Cf. Vanrell and Cabré 2011, D'Alessandro and Oostendorp 2016, pp. 63–65, 72–78, Floricic and Molinu 2018, pp. 272–278)
- ▶
- ▶ Central Alaskan Yupik
- ▶ Övdelian
- ▶ Yapese (Austronesian, Oceanic), Indonesian (Austronesian, Malayo-Chamic)

Combination of several non-concatenative processes



▶ 2

▶ 3

▶ 4

▶ 5

- ▶ 1
- ▶ 2
- ▶ 3
- ▶ 4
- ▶ 5

- ▶ 1
- ▶ 2
- ▶ 3
- ▶ 4
- ▶ 5

# Vocative particles in European languages

language	item	optionality	autonomy	position	address	call	distance	social relation	host
Portuguese	<i>ó</i>	✓	—	pre-N	(✓)	✓		intimate	n
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	n+cl
	<i>heans</i>	✓	✓	pre-N	—	✓		informal	n+cl
	<i>ge</i>	✓	✓	pre-N	—	✓		informal	n+cl
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	host
Mari	-j	✓	—	post-N	?	✓	?	intimate	?
Lezgian	ja	✓	?	pre-N	✓	✓	?	?	?
Arabic	ya:	✓	✓	flexible	✓	✓	?	?	n+imp
Nivkh AD/ESD	-a/-aj	?	?	post-N	?	✓	?	?	?
Nivkh AD	-o/-go	?	?	post-N	?	✓	?	?	?
Mandarin	a	✓	?	post-N	?	✓	?	formal	?
Korean	(y)a	?	?	flexible	?	✓	?	children	?
	i/0	?	?	flexible	?	✓	?	adolescent	?
Karbi	ó	?	?	pre-N	?	✓	?	?	?
Dumi	e:	?	?	pre-N	?	✓	?	?	?
Lao	?e:j	?	?	post-N	?	✓	?	?	?
Indonesian	nah	✓	?	pre-N	?	✓	?	?	?
	hai	✓	?	pre-N	?	✓	?	?	?
Maori	e	—	?	pre-N	?	✓	?	?	?
	wa:	✓	?	flexible	✓	✓	?	?	?
Rapa Nui	e	?	?	pre-N	?	✓	?	?	?
	e...ē	?	?	post-N	✓	(✓)	?	?	?
Amele	o	✓	?	flexible	?	✓	?	?	n+cl
Kobon	o	✓	?	post-N	?	✓	distal	?	n+cl
	e/melrō	✓	?	post-N	✓	✓	?	?	?
Coastal Marind	ay	?	✓	post-N	?	✓	?	?	?
	aw	?	✓	pre-N	?	✓	?	?	?
Hualapalai	é	?	?	post-N	?	✓	prox	?	?
	(y)é	?	?	post-N	?	✓	prox	?	?
	(w)ó	?	?	post-N	—	✓	dist	?	n+cl
Tzotzil	e	✓	?	post-N	✓	(✓)	dist	?	n+cl
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	host
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	?	?
	yèèèè	?	?	?	?	?	dist	?	?
	xúúúú	?	?	?	?	?	dist	?	?
Yorùbá	ò	✓	✓	post-N		✓	?	?	n+imp
Ijò	-àa	✓	?	post-N	?	✓	?	?	?
Eton	á	✓	?	pre-N	?	✓	?	?	?
Gyele	-ò	✓	?	post-N	?	✓	prox	?	?
	-ó	✓	?	post-N	?	✓	dist	?	n+cl
ɓaka	-ó	?	?	post-N	?	✓	?	?	?
Umbundu	á-l'	—	—	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	?	✓	?	?	?
Tashhiyt 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	host
Czech		—	stemfinal	✓	✓			n
Polish		✓	stemfinal	✓	✓	?	formal	n
Croatian		✓	stemfinal	✓	✓	?	?	n
Romanian	-e	✓	stemfinal	✓	✓	?	informal	n
Bulgarian	-o	✓	stemfinal	✓	✓	?	intimate	n
	-e	✓	stemfinal	✓	✓	?	intimate	
Modern Greek		—	stemfinal	✓	✓	?	?	n
Lithuanian		?	stemfinal	✓	✓	?	?	
Urdu		?/✓	stemfinal	✓	✓	?	?	n
Hindi		?	stemfinal	✓	✓	?	?	
Georgian	-o	✓—	stemfinal	✓	✓			n
Limbu	-e	?/✓	stemfinal	✓	✓	?	?	n
Ket	-á/-ó	✓	stemfinal	?	✓	prox	?	n
	-á/-ó	✓	stemfinal	?	✓	distal	?	n
Udihe	-i	✓	stemfinal	✓	✓	?	intimate	
	-e	✓	stemfinal	✓	✓	distal	?	
Itelmen	-e/-a	✓	stemfinal	✓	✓		?	n
Martuthunira	-yi	?	stemfinal	?	✓	?	?	
Mangarrayi	-y	✓	stemfinal	?	✓	?distal	?	n
Nez Perce	-e	?	stemfinal	?	✓	?	intimate-jun	n
	-e?	?	stemfinal	?	✓	?	intimate-sen	n
Central Alaskan Yupik	-mi	?	stemfinal	?	✓	?	formal	n
Basque	-n	✓	post-v	✓	—	?	ADDR.F	decl
	-k	✓	post-v	✓	—	ADDR.M	archaic	decl
	-sy	✓	post-v	✓	—	formal	archaic	decl

Table: Vocative suffixes

# Non-concatenative vocative realisations I

language	type	optionality	address	call	distance	social relation	host
Karo Batak	vowel length.	?	?	✓	?	?	?
Chuchki	vowel length.	?	?	✓	?	?	n+imp+excl
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	?	?	✓	?	?	n+imp
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	n+cl
German	L*+H L-H%	✓	—	✓		intimate	n
Yorùbá	register rise	✓	—	✓	dist		n+cl
Thai	leveling of H,M,L	✓	—	✓	?	?	?
Mandarin	final L%	✓	—	✓	?	?	?
Wolof	final sustained H%	?	?	✓	?	?	?
Mani	final sustained H%	?	?	✓	?	?	?
Daakaka	vocative chant	?	?	✓	?	intimate	?
Wubuy	vocative chant + =u	?	?	✓	?		cli
Ngardi	vocative chant + =wu	?	?	✓	?		(n+)cl

Table: Non-concatenative vocative forms I

# Non-concatenative vocative realisations II

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

**Table:** Non-concatenative vocative forms II

# Exclamatives and vocatives

- ▶ Identical marking in many languages: Svennung (1958) and Hill (2007, pp. 2078, 2080–2082, 2086–2090, 2092–2098) for Romanian, Abreu de Carvalho (2013, p. 53) for European Portuguese, Stavrou (2013, pp. 311–315) for Modern Greek, Akinlabí and Liberman (2000, pp. 43–44) and Oḷáwalé (2022, p. 2) for Yorùbá, Dunn (1999, pp. 87, 90) for Chukchi and Miyaoka (2012, pp. 794–798)
- ▶ 2
- ▶ 3
- ▶ On the other hand, both vocatives and exclamatives reference a salient expectation within the shared belief space of the speaker and the addressee. This is a well-know property of exclamatives (cf. Michaelis and Lambrecht 1996, pp. 220, 238–244 and Zanuttini and Portner 2003, pp. 49–56), but it is relevant for certain uses of vocatives as well, including the (L+)H\*!H-% vocative chant in most European languages (cf. Ladd 1978).

@@@add Haddican 2018, Hualde and Ortiz de Urbina (2003, pp. 242–246) Basque allocutive clitics that attach to clauses/verbs, coding the sex of the addressee!! CAN THEY ACT AS VOCATIVES

German (cf. Gibbon 1976, pp. 274–287), English (cf. Ladd 1978, pp. 520–525; Jeong and Condoravdi 2017, 2018) and Hungarian (cf. Varga 2008, p. 480); the lengthening of the final vowel, which is also found with exclamatives and imperatives in Chukchi (cf. Dunn 1999, pp. 54–55, 87, 90), the identical ablaut pattern affecting the (first or) last vowel in imperative verb when called out in Makah, Nitinat and Nuu-chah-nulth (cf. Jacobsen 1994, pp. 28, 29, 31, 34). Other examples include truncation, which also applies to imperatives in Sardinian and Catalan (cf. Floricic and Molinu 2012, 2018, pp. 272, 276); phonologically similar suffixes for vocatives and imperatives that cause stress shift in Nivkh (cf. Gruzdeva 1998, p. 12); and the use of particles such as Yorùbá ò frequently found with declarative clauses and imperatives (cf. Brown 2010, pp. 10–12) and, as

# Five key findings

1. The marking of calls and addressess is particularly prone to atypical morphological strategies (cf. Spencer 2009, p. 186 and Floricic and Molinu 2018, pp. 273–278)
2. Systematic parallels exist between vocatives and exclamatives
  - 2.1 Reference to salient expectations in shared belief space
  - 2.2 Identical forms of marking e.g. Yorùbá, Chuckchi, Central Alaskan Yupik
3. Calls (?and addressess) can function as independent speech acts or sentence types (cf. Levinson (1983, pp. 71, 281, 308–312), following Schegloff (1972, pp. 357–359); Asher and Kumari (2013, p. 186) and Borràs-Comes, Sichel-Bazin, and Prieto (2015, p. 70))
4. In many languages vocative markers can apply to more complex syntactic hosts and utterances
5. Vocative nouns are systematically incompatible with determiners holds in most language  
% unless languages may use 3rd person as form of distant



# five key findings

- ▶ 1
- ▶ 2
- ▶ 3
- ▶ 4
- ▶ 5

# summary tendencies

In addition, several tendencies regarding the formation of vocatives have been observed in the sample of languages investigated here: (i) The vast majority of examples in the grammars reviewed here feature vocatives that appear at the beginning of an utterance, rather than in mid-utterance or utterance-final positions. Stavrou (2013, pp. 324, 327–328) However, Cowan (1969, p. 22) explicitly stresses that vocatives in Tzotzil have a strong preference to occur clause finally — this could be a side effect of the rather rare verb-object-subject order in main clauses. Likewise, vocatives in Wandala (Afroasiatic, Chadic) are more common in utterance final position (cf. Frajzyngier 2012, pp. 538–540). In a similar manner, Leech (1999, pp. 114–115) found that utterance final vocatives account for 272 out of 400 vocatives attested in his corpora of British and American English.

(iii) (iv) Particles are more commonly used to convey the social superiority of the speaker rather than that of the addressee.

However, contrary to Hill's (2022, pp. 4, 12) generalisation, this

- ▶ 1
- ▶ 2
- ▶ 3
- ▶ 4
- ▶ 5

# Different forms of vocatives

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

(22) OMA: [fri:̃. də. 'ri:̃.  
L+ H\*

kə]  
!H-%

FRIEDERIKE: [jɑ:̃.  
L+H\*

ɑ:]  
!H-%

(23) MAFALDA: ó  
VOC

Marina  
Marina

MARINA: sim<sup>H-%</sup>  
yes

(24) TOMAS: Barboro.  
Barbora.VOC

BARBORA: jo<sup>H-%</sup>/ ano<sup>H-%</sup>  
yes yes

# ???Varieties of vocatives

Essential properties of calling contours: distance, stereotypized situation and familiarity

- ▶ SPKR not sure whether they have the ADDR's attention
- ▶ SPKR has some expectation  $p_{\text{exp}}$  about the outcome (reference to routine/stereotypized situation/expectable outcome/familiarity, cf. Ladd 1978, pp. 520–524)
- ▶ SPKR expresses that there is some social proximity between the them and the ADDRESSEE  $c_{\text{fam}}$
- ▶ SPKR assumes that  $p_{\text{exp}}$  is known to addressee too, hence part of common ground
- ▶ They introduce QUD 'are you ready to cooperate with respect to the content of the directive?'

Broad consensus: vocative particles and affixes are morphemes. But what about intonation contours? Two perspectives:

1. Sóskuthy and Roettger (2020, pp. 141–143, 150–153): intonation contour and prosodic shape of vocatives itself are not a morpheme yet
  - ▶ If the intonation contour is not a shape, what kind of form function pair is it then?
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)

# Concatenative vs. Non-concatenative realisations of the vocative

Claim here: vocatives can be realised in several ways.

1. As a concatenative morpheme (cf. regular PAST tense *stay* vs. *stay-ed*)
  - ▶ Case-like affix: e.g. Czech, Georgian
  - ▶ Particle: e.g. Arab, Portuguese
2. As a non-concatenative morpheme (cf. irregular PAST tense *go* vs. *went*)
  - ▶ intonation contour

**HaspelmathSims2010** 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

- (25) a. \* La Maria, menja una mandarina!  
b. \* Die Mimi, pass bitte auf  
c. \* Ó a Maria, anda cá.

- ▶ Nouns to which vocatives attach are not canonical NPs
- ▶ They appear to be embedded in layers of other types of phrases turning the into addresses
- ▶ ?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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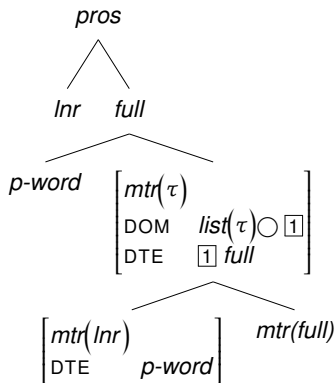
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# Type hierarchy for prosodic constituents

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

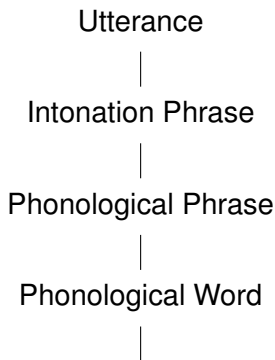


## Intonation contours at the level of pwords?

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

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

Friederike: [jaɪ. aɪ]  
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)

- ▶ Strategy I: pitch accents and boundary tones at the level of phonological words (cf. Bildhauer 2007, pp. 139–142)
- ▶ Strategy II: pitch accents and boundary tones at the level of intonation phrase (cf. Klein 2000, p. 173, Nespor and Vogel 2007, p. 187), which can be characterised as:
  1. having attribute for PITCH-ACCENT
  2. having attribute for BOUNDARY-TONE
  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

1. Summons (always initial, may have quasi)
  - 1.1 Terms of address: *John?*, *Dr.*, *Mr. Jones?*, *waiter*
  - 1.2 Courtesy phrases: *Pardon me*
  - 1.3 Physical devices: a tap on the shoulder, waves of a hand, raising of a hand by an audience member
2. Answers
  - 2.1 *Yes?*
  - 2.2 *What?*
  - 2.3 *Uh uh?*

(27) A: John?

B: Yes?