Gender and allocutivity

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ABSTRACT

The term 'allocutivity' refers to the grammatical encoding of speech act participants, i.e. speaker and addressee of an utterance, which may also describe the social relations that they share with each other like politeness and familiarity. This paper explores allocutivity and its interaction with gender marking by identifying three types of allocutive languages: plain allocutive languages, addressee allocutive languages, and speaker allocutive languages. In order to account for the presence and absence of gender marking as part of the allocutive expression, we propose an analysis that assumes speaker and addressee to instantiate implicit syntactic arguments (Speas & Tenny, 2003), which trigger gender marking if they are in the vicinity of a gender probe, situated on the speech act head. Locality is achieved via external Merge of the speaker argument and internal Merge of the hearer argument. The latter we derive from drawing parallels to object shift phenomena.

1 Introduction

Languages differ when it comes to the expression of information related to the speaker, the addressee, and the social relations that they share with each other. Since this information is naturally available in any given utterance context, grammaticalization of such information is rare, but there are a handful of languages where it is possible to grammatically encode such information. These languages are referred to as allocutive languages. Magahi, an Indo-Aryan language, expresses allocutive-related information through a dedicated morpheme, where *-o* in (1a) indicates the speaker's intention to be polite towards the addressee, and *-au* in (1b) indicates the speaker's intention to express familiarity with an addressee (Alok, 2021).

(1) **Magahi** (Alok, 2021, 2)

    a. *Context: The speaker expresses politeness towards the hearer.*

       Haam jaait h-i-o.
       1SG go.PROG be-1-ALL.POL
       'I'm going.'

    b. *Context: The speaker expresses familiarity with the hearer.*

       Haam jaait h-i-au.
       1SG go.PROG be-1-ALL.FAM
       'I'm going.'

In (1), no gender information is encoded that refers either to the speaker or the addressee, as it can be uttered either by a male or female speaker to either a male or female addressee. Therefore, we will refer to Magahi-type languages as plain allocutive languages.

Compared to Magahi, there are languages like Basque that encode gender of the addressee as a part of an allocutive marker, though gender information is encoded only in a familiar context but not in a politeness context (Oyharçabal, 1993; Antonov, 2015; Haddican, 2018). As shown in the politeness context in (2a), the form *-zü* can be used to refer to either a male or female addressee. However, in the familiar context there is a gender distinction, where *-k* refers to a male addressee (2b) and *-n* refers to a female addressee (2c).

(2) **Basque** (Oyharçabal, 1993, 92)

    a. *Context: The speaker expresses politeness towards the hearer.*

        Pette-k   lan   egin   di-zü.
        Peter.ERG work do.PERF 3ERG-ALL.POL
        Peter worked'

    b. *Context: The speaker expresses familiarity with a male hearer.*

        Pette-k   lan   egin   di-k.
        Peter.ERG work do.PERF 3ERG-ALL.FAM.M
        Peter worked.'

    c. *Context: The speaker expresses familiarity with a female hearer.*

        Pette-k   lan   egin   di-n.
        Peter.ERG work do.PERF 3ERG-ALL.FAM.F
        Peter worked'

We will refer to Basque-type languages as addressee allocutive languages, which express gender distinction only in the familiar context.

Furthermore in our typological sample, we identify one more type of language, where the allocutive information is expressed through the gender of the speaker, across familiar/politeness contexts. As shown in the following example from Kũṛux, a Dravidian language, *-i* in (12b) is a portmanteaux of 2SG subject agreement and a male speaker. Similarly *-in* in (3b) is a portmanteu of 2SG subject agreement and a female speaker, see also Ekka (1972). These gender markings are reflected both in politeness and familiarity contexts.

(3) **Kũṛux** (*fieldwork*)

    a. *Context: The speaker talks to a male hearer.*

        ni:n bar-k-i
        2SG come-PST-2SG.ALL.M
        'You came.'

    b. *Context: The speaker talks to a female hearer.*

        ni:n bar-k-in
        2SG come-PST-2SG.ALL.F
        'You came.'

We will refer to Kũṛux-type languages as speaker allocutive languages, as they express gender of the speaker rather than addressee. Now comparing gender markings in addressee allocutive languages and speaker allocutive languages, we get the following two generalization:

(4) **Addressee generalization**[1]
If languages mark the gender of the addressee (addressee allocutivity), then gender indicates familiarity, not politeness between speaker and addressee.

(5) **Speaker generalization**
If languages mark the gender of the speaker (speaker allocutivity), then gender does not distinguish politeness from familiarity between speaker and addressee.

In order to account for these generalizations, we appeal to an analysis that models gender marking as the result of valuating a gender probe by an implicit speaker or hearer argument, where the speaker argument is merged local to the gender probe, whereas the hearer argument has to undergo movement to enter valuation. Hence, allocutive agreement with the addressee requires *hearer shift*, akin to object shift movement in other discourse related domains.

The paper is divided as follows: In section 2, we discuss cross-linguistic data that justifies the division of plain, addressee and speaker allocutive languages. In section 3, we trace the parallel between allocutivity and object shift phenomena, followed by an analysis that incorporates these insights and maps out the derivation of the three types of allocutive languages and the generalizations. Section 5 concludes the paper.

2 Types of allocutivity

In this section, we discuss three types of allocutive languages in turn to show their cross-linguistic prevalence.

2.1 Plain allocutive language

As already discussed in section 1, plain allocutive languages are those that do not exhibit gender distinction either in politeness or familiarity contexts. Apart from Magahi, there are other languages like e.g., Punjabi, Korean and Japanese, where allocutivity is expressed without any reference to gender. In (6), we present a contrast from Punjabi, where the allocutive marker encodes number of addressees, honoricity (Gurmeet Kaur, p.c.), but not gender information.

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[1] See Antonov (2015, 78) for a similar (tentative) observation: " [...] gender seems to be incompatible with the simultaneous expression of 'respect'."

(6) **Punjabi** (Kaur, 2020, 8)

    a. *Context: The speaker expresses politeness towards the hearer(s).*

       aman   kitaab paRh reyaa   je
       Aman.NOM book   read   PROG.M.SG ALL.PL
       'Aman is reading a book.'

    b. *Context: The speaker expresses familiarity with the hearer.*

       kiran   kitaab paRh rayii   aa
       Kiran.NOM book   read   PROG.F.SG ALL.SG
       'Kiran is reading a book.'

Korean, which is argued to involve six different speech style particles, exhibits gender distinction in none of them (Martin 1992; Sohn 1999; Pak 2015, a.o.), shown in (7).

(7) **Korean** (Pak, 2015, 138)

    a. *Context: The speaker expresses a formal relation to the hearer.*

       ecey-ka   nay sayngil-i-ess-supnita
       yesterday-NOM my birthday-CPL-PST-DECL-ALL.FORMAL
       'Yesterday was my birthday'

    b. *Context: The speaker expresses politeness towards the hearer.*

       ecey-ka   nay sayngil-i-ess-eyo
       yesterday-NOM my birthday-CPL-PST-DECL-ALL.POL
       'Yesterday was my birthday'

    c. *Context: The speaker expresses a semi-formal relation to the hearer.*

       ecey-ka   nay sayngil-i-ess-so
       yesterday-NOM my birthday-CPL-PST-DECL-ALL.SMFORMAL
       'Yesterday was my birthday'

    d. *Context: The speaker expresses bluntness towards the hearer.*

       ecey-ka   nay sayngil-i-ess-ney
       yesterday-NOM my birthday-CPL-PST-DECL-ALL.BLUNT
       'Yesterday was my birthday'

    e. *Context: The speaker expresses an intimate relation to the hearer.*

       ecey-ka   nay sayngil-i-ess-e
       yesterday-NOM my birthday-CPL-PST-DECL-ALL.INTIMATE
       'Yesterday was my birthday'

    f. *Context: The speaker expresses no particular relation to the hearer.*

       ecey-ka   nay sayngil-i-ess-ta
       yesterday-NOM my birthday-CPL-PST-DECL-ALL.PLAIN
       'Yesterday was my birthday'

Similarly, for Japanese, there is no gender distinction both in politeness and familiarity contexts, see (8).

(8) **Japanese** (Miyagawa, 2012, 86)

    a. *Context: The speaker expresses politeness towards the hearer.*

        Peter-wa   hataraki-mas-i-ta.
        Peter-TOP   work-ALL.POL-PST
        'Peter worked.'

    b. *Context: The speaker expresses familiarity with the hearer.*

        Peter-wa   hataraki-∅-i-ta.
        Peter-TOP   work-ALL.FAM-PST
        'Peter worked.'

In this section, we have provided data from four languages from two different language families that, although marking allocutivity, display gender distinctions neither in politeness nor in familiarity contexts.

2.2 Addressee allocutivity

Addressee allocutive languages are different from plain allocutive languages, as they mark the gender of the addressee in familiar contexts. We have already seen an example from Basque in (2), in which the gender of the addressee was marked in a familiar context. The same observations can be made for Tamil, a Dravidian language, which also encodes allocutivity (Amritavalli, 1991; McFadden, 2020). As shown in (9a), politeness is expressed with *-unge* independent of the addressee's gender. Familiarity, on the other hand, expresses a gender contrast by different morphemes: *-da* encodes a male addressee (9b) and *-di* encodes a female addressee (9c).

(9) **Tamil** *(fieldwork)*

    a. *Context: The speaker expresses politeness towards the hearer.*

        Mani va-nt-aan-unge
        Mani come-PST-3SGM-ALL.POL
        'Mani came.'

    b. *Context: The speaker expresses familiarity with a male hearer.*

        Mani va-nt-aan-da
        Mani come-PST-3SGM-ALL.FAM.M
        'Mani came.'

    c. *Context: The speaker expresses familiarity with a female hearer.*

        Mani va-nt-aan-di
        Mani come-PST-3SGM-ALL.FAM.F
        'Mani came.'

There are a number of languages reported in Antonov (2015) which display gender distinctions in their allocutive markers cross-referencing the addressee, but there is no information as to whether the distinction is made in familiarity and/or politeness contexts. We present two examples here, one is Nambikwara (10), an Isolate spoken in West Central Brazil,

and the other is Beja (11), a Cushitic language (segmentation and glosses adopted from Antonov 2015).

(10) **Nambikwara**[2] (Kroeker, 2001, 66)

    a.   *Context: The speaker talks to a male hearer.*

        yxau^2-na^3-la^2
        stay-EQUAT-PERF.ALL.M
        'He is here.'

    b.   *Context: The speaker talks to a female hearer.*

        yxau^2-na^2-na^2
        stay-EQUAT-PERF.ALL.F
        'He is here.'

(11) **Beja** (Appleyard, 2007, 467)

    a.   *Context: The speaker talks to a male hearer.*

        rihja=he:b=a
        see.PST.3SG=1SG.ACC=ALL.M
        'He saw me.'

    b.   *Context: The speaker talks to a female hearer.*

        rihja=he:b=i
        see.PST.3SG=1SG.ACC=ALL.F
        'He saw me.'

As for Beja, Antonov (2015, 76) concludes that it is not unreasonable to assume that the sociopragmatic circumstances are very similar to the well-known pattern from Basque. Since our fieldwork revealed a parallel configuration in Tamil, we are optimistic that future research will reveal similar patterns in languages like Beja and Nambikwara, which will corroborate the addressee generalization proposed in (4).

2.3 Speaker allocutivity

As was introduced in section 1, speaker allocutive languages like Kũrux encode the gender information of the speaker. Furthermore, the gender information is expressed irrespective of whether the utterance is made in a politeness or familiarity context. For instance, Burmese, a Sino-Tibetan language, uses *kinbyar* for a male speaker and *shin* for a female speaker as final sentence particles to express politeness towards the addressee.

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[2]The numerical superscripts in Nambikwara indicate tones, where 2 refers to rising and 3 refers to low level tone.

(12) **Burmese** *(fieldwork)*

    a. *Context: A male speaker expresses politeness towards the hearer.*

        thu   dimar ma-shyi hpu kinbyar
        3SG here   NEG-BE NEG ALL.M
        'He/she is not here.'

    b. *Context: A female speaker expresses politeness towards the hearer.*

        thu   dimar ma-shyi hpu shin
        3SG here   NEG-BE NEG ALL.F
        'He/she is not here.'

These particles can also have 2SG pronominal use, in which case they indicate familiarity rather than politeness.

(13) **Burmese** *(fieldwork)*

    a. *Context: A male speaker expresses familiarity with the hearer.*

        thu   kinbyar   ko   thi   te
        3SG 2SG.ALL.FAM.M OBJ know DECL
        'He knows you'

    b. *Context: A female speaker expresses familiarity with the hearer.*

        thu   shin   ko   thi   te
        3SG 2SG.ALL.FAM.F OBJ know DECL
        'He knows you'

If we compare the Burmese data with the Kũṛux data in (3), we find that both languages tie the gender of the speaker to the simultaneous presence of a 2nd person argument in the clause. In Kũṛux, this fusion appears as a form of agreement, while in Burmese the grammatical features are fused on the pronominal.[3] The co-presence of a 2nd person argument is, however, not a necessary condition for speaker allocutive marking to take place. In Kokama-Kokamilla, a Tupian language spoken in South America, the gender of the speaker interacts with the clausal arguments throughout the person paradigm except for 2nd person. In Table 1, we illustrate the interplay of person and gender features (Vallejos, 2010, 42). While the gender distinction in 1st person may not be a good example of allocutivity because the 1st person referentially relates to the speaker, the gender distinction in the 3rd person indicates allocutivity, as 3rd person arguments do not refer to the speaker.[4]

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    [3]Interestingly, Basque disallows allocutive marking whenever the addressee is an argument of the verb (Oyharçabal, 1993). On the other hand, Punjabi imperatives allows the allocutive marking to obligatorily replace the imperative specific ending (Kaur, 2020).

    [4]There are a few other South American languages reported in literature that denote the gender of the speaker in the pronominals (Fleming, 2015; Rose, 2015).

	Female speaker	Male speaker
1SG	tsa, etse	ta
1EXCL	penu	tana
3SG (M/F)	ay	uri
3PL (M/F)	inu	rana

Table 1: Allocutive pronouns in Kokama-Kokamilla

Another interesting aspect of the Kokama-Kokamilla pattern is that allocutive markers seem to spread to several constituents in the sentence, including demonstratives, possessors and some connectives; examples are shown in (14). Given the discussion in Vallejos (2010), it appears that the allocutive markers are obligatory, and thus present across familiarity and politeness contexts.

(14) **Kokama-Kokamilla** (Vallejos, 2010, 42)

    a. *Context: A male speaker talks to the hearer.*

        uri   tsenu ikian   yawara=kana=uy   tana   ku=kuara
        3SG.ALL.M hear DEM.ALL.M dogs=PL.ALL.M=PST 1PL.ALL.M farm=in
        'She heard the dogs in our farm.'

    b. *Context: A female speaker talks to the hearer.*

        ay   tsenu ajan   yawara=nu=uy   penu   ku=kuara
        3SG.ALL.F hear DEM.ALL.F dogs=PL.ALL.F=PST 1PL.ALL.F farm=in
        'She heard the dogs in our farm.'

Another language which displays speaker allocutivity in the form of allocutive clitics attaching to the verb and other constituents is Chiquitano (a language isolate from Santa Cruz, Bolivia). From her Pierric Sans field notes, Rose (2015) demonstrates that the presence of the clitic *ti* indicates a male speaker and the absence of the clitic indicates a female speaker. Moreover, the clitic *ti* attaches to the argument marked for masculine in the clause, compare (15a) to (15b). Again, the presentation in Rose (2015) suggests that the speaker allocutive markers are obligatory across contexts.

(15) **Chiquitano** (Rose, 2015, 422)

    a. *Context: A male speaker talks to the hearer.*

        ba-páche-ro=ti   n-i-kisé-s
        3-look-TAM=3SG.ALL.M N-3-knife-DET
        'He looks for her knife'

    b. *Context: A male speaker talks to the hearer.*

        ba-páche-ro n-i-kisé-s=ti
        3-look-TAM N-3-knife-DET=3SG.ALL.M
        'She looks for his knife'

c. *Context: A female speaker talks to the hearer.*

ba-páche-r   n-i-kisé-s
3-look-TAM N-3-knife-DET
'He/she looks for her/his knife'

Iatê (Macro-Jê) is like Kũṛux, in that it indicates speaker allocutivity by encoding the gender of the speaker in the form of an agreement suffix in the verbal complex (Costa & Silva, 2005). As shown in the following example, the presence of *-ne* indicates a female speaker and the absence of *-ne* indicates a male speaker.

(16) **Iatê** (Costa & Silva, 2005, 25)

a. *Context: A female speaker talks to the hearer.*

ta   samake-hlẽ-ne
3sg marry-PF-IND.ALL.F
'She/He got married'

b. *Context: A male speaker talks to the hearer.*

ta   samake-hle-∅
3SG marry-PF-IND.ALL.M
'She/He got married'

The final language in our sample is Yanyuwa, a Pama–Nyungan language spoken in Australia, that encodes speaker allocutivity as an effect on noun classes, which results in a number of grammatical differences that are described as obligatory across contexts. Kirton (1988) argues that female speakers distinguish six noun classes, including one for male and one for masculine. Male speakers, however, conflate the male and the masculine noun class. We exemplify this effect with subject and object markers in (17). Whereas the subject prefix varies from *ilu-* (17a) to *inju-* (17b) according to the noun class, the subject prefix in (17c) is ambiguous.

(17) **Yanyuwa** (Kirton, 1988, 121)

a. *Context: A female speaker talks to the hearer.*

k-any-ilu-ma
IND-him-he-cut
'He cut him.'

b. *Context: A female speaker talks to the hearer.*

k-any-inju-ma
IND-him-it-cut
'It cut him.'

c. *Context: A male speaker talks to the hearer.*

k-ilu-ma
IND-him/it:he/it-cut
'He/it cut him/it.'

2.4 Interim summary

Table 2 summarizes the data we have seen so far. Our small survey reveals that speaker allocutive languages express gender information irrespective of socio-pragmatic context. In contrast, addressee allocutive languages seem to distinguish gender only in familiarity contexts, not in politeness contexts.

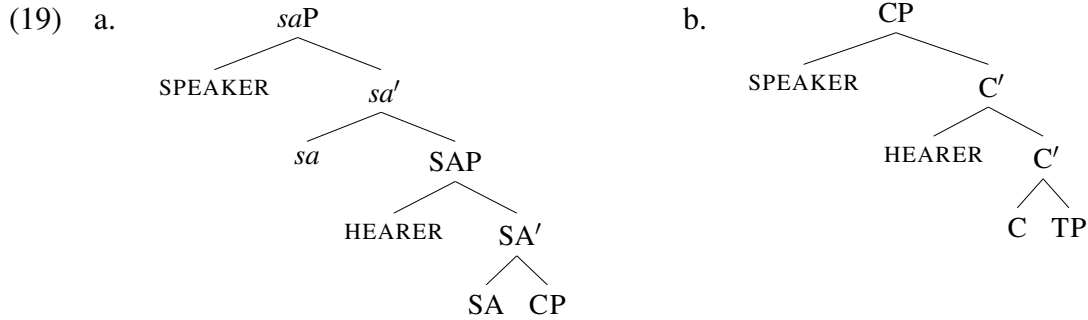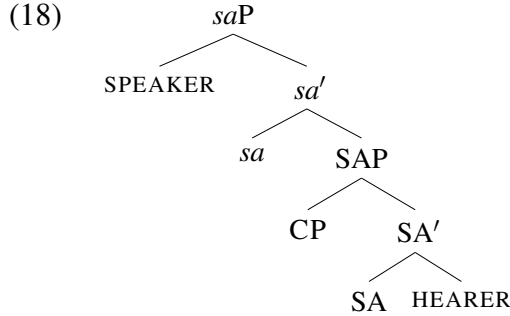| Language | GENDER DISTINCTION | | | | Sources |
	SPEAKER	HEARER	POLITE	FAMILIAR	
Punjabi	✗	✗	✗	✗	Kaur (2020)
Magahi	✗	✗	✗	✗	Alok (2021)
Korean	✗	✗	✗	✗	Pak (2015)
Japanese	✗	✗	✗	✗	Miyagawa (2012)
Basque	✗	✓	✗	✓	Oyharçabal (1993)
Tamil	✗	✓	✗	✓	fieldwork
Nambikwara	✗	✓	?	?	Kroeker (2001)
Beja	✗	✓	?	?	Appleyard (2007)
Kokama-Kokamilla	✓	✗	✓	✓	Vallejos (2010)
Kũṛux	✓	✗	✓	✓	fieldwork
Burmese	✓	✗	✓	✓	fieldwork
Chiquitano	✓	✗	✓	✓	Rose (2015)
Iatê	✓	✗	?	?	Costa & Silva (2005)
Yanyuwa	✓	✗	✓	✓	Kirton (1988)

Table 2: Gender distinctions across allocutive languages

For the remainder of the paper, we will focus on the distinction between addressee and speaker allocutive languages and propose an account that explains why there is sensitivity for context only in the former but not in the latter.

3 Proposal

We propose that the discourse participants SPEAKER and HEARER are syntactically introduced by a speech act phrase, as is commonly assumed to account for phenomena like allocutive agreement. The original proposal comes from Speas & Tenny (2003) and is sketched in (18). They argue that argumental relations can also be found in the speech act domain, where SPEAKER is the agent of the speech act, HEARER the goal, and the utterance content (CP) the theme. Interestingly, most recent accounts of allocutive agreement follow revised versions of the original account, where either HEARER is introduced in the specifier of SAP (Hill, 2007; Haegeman & Hill, 2013; Haddican, 2018; Zu, 2018; Akkuş & Hill, 2020; Kaur, 2020; McFadden, 2020) as in (19a), or both SPEAKER and HEARER are specifiers of the same functional head (Baker, 2008; Portner et al., 2019; Alok, 2021; Jou,

2022) as in (19b). The choice of adopting a version of (19) over (18) is for some theories not crucial, while for others it is motivated by the fact that the allocutive agreement probe is situated on C/T, thus needs access to the HEARER argument via c-command (Miyagawa, 2017; Portner et al., 2019; McFadden, 2020; Alok, 2021; McFadden & Sundaresan, 2021).

(18)

```
                saP
              /     \
        SPEAKER      sa′
                   /    \
                 sa      SAP
                       /     \
                     CP       SA′
                            /     \
                          SA      HEARER
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(19) a.

```
                saP
              /     \
        SPEAKER      sa′
                   /    \
                 sa      SAP
                       /     \
                   HEARER     SA′
                            /     \
                          SA      CP
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b.

```
                CP
              /     \
        SPEAKER      C′
                   /    \
               HEARER    C′
                       /    \
                     C      TP
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We believe that the gender agreement facts presented in this paper constitute an argument for the structure in (18). Our analysis, to be developed in the next sections, relates the context sensitivity of addressee allocutive marking to the presence of a movement operation of HEARER to the specificer of the *sa* head. This movement operation can be readily implemented with the structure in (18), but is incompatible with the structure in (19b), while also potentially violating *anti-locality* (Erlewine, 2016) in (19a).

3.1 Hearer shift

In West Germanic and Skandinavian languages, movement falling into the category of scrambling or object shift is often accompanied by specificity/definiteness effects (Holmberg, 1986; Diesing, 1992, 1996; Thráinsson, 2001). Definite pronouns, for instance, must undergo object movement; shown for Icelandic and German in (20).

(20) a. Hann las   þær   ekki (*þær).   **Icelandic**
          he   read them not   them
          'He didn't read them.'

      b. ... weil ich sie nicht (*sie) gestreichelt habe.   **German**
          since I   her not   her   petted   have
   '... since I have not petted her.'   (Diesing & Jelinek, 1995)

Such movement is not always visible. Specificity/definiteness can also interact with case marking in some languages, also known as differential object marking (DOM). This is shown in (21) for Hindi, where case marking is obligatory for definite and specific objects. Importantly, a number of DOM accounts model the interaction of discourse prominence and case marking via object shift (Bhatt & Anagnostopoulou, 1996; Kelepir, 2001; López, 2012), as objects (vacuously) move to a case assignment position, which is ultimately only possible if they are of the type that is discourse prominent.

(21) **Hindi** (Butt, 1993; Bhatt, 2007)

    a. Zainab-ne   us*(-ko)   dek-aa.
        Zainab-ERG 3SG-ACC see-PFV.M.SG
        'Zainab saw him.'

    b. Mina ek bacce(-ko) uṭhhaa rahii   hai.
        Mina a   child-ACC lift   PROG.F be.PRS.3SG
        'Mina is picking up a (particular) child.'

We propose that prominence levels are not only active in the clausal argument domain, but can exist also on the speech act level. As objects are more prominent/salient on the propositional level, if they are specific or definite, HEARER is more prominent/salient on the speech act level, if they are familiar to the speaker. Given that discourse prominence is commonly associated with object shift, we suggest the analoguous operation *hearer shift* targeting *sa*P, which is shown in (22). Movement is encoded by feature strength: the strong [uFAM*] feature triggers movement; the weak [uPOL] feature does not.[5] Each feature encodes the respective presupposition that *speaker and hearer are in a familiar/polite relation*.

(22)   HEARER shift due to [uFAM*]
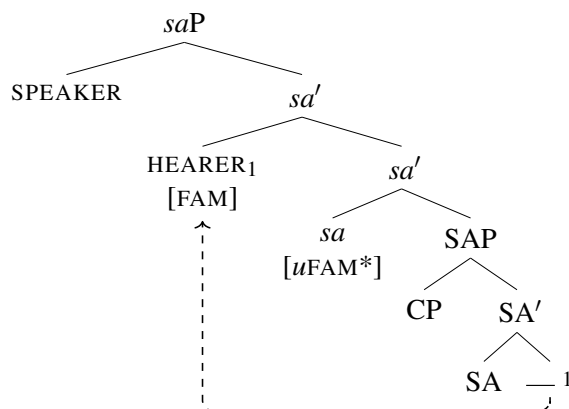
In order to derive gender allocutive agreement, we assume that the *sa* head additionally comes with the gender probe [$u\gamma$:__], which undergoes spec-head Agree. Finally, Merge of SPEAKER is the result of an external Merge feature [uD] on *sa*. Thus, the *sa* head comes with a number of features to be spelled out in the post-syntactic component, in particular

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[5]See Öztürk (2005) using feature strength for Turkish DOM.

a potentially valued gender probe (either by SPEAKER or by HEARER) together with either [*u*FAM*] or [*u*POL]. Allocutive languages are special in that they provide exponents for these feature combinations. In the next section, we will extend our analysis to model the cross-linguistic variation between allocutive languages.
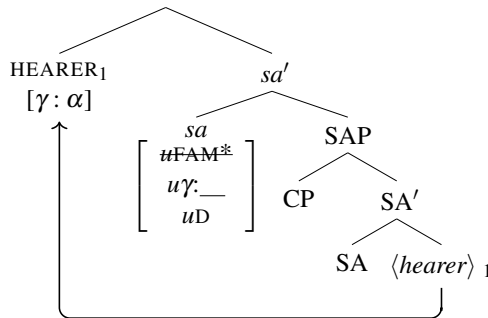
3.2 Typology

We model the three types of allocutivity – plain, speaker, and addressee allocutivity – via the order of features on the speech act head. This entails that the features are stacked (Stabler, 1997; Müller, 2009), that is they apply in an order. Only the highest feature on the stack is accessible, thus it has to be deactiveated before the next feature can become available. The presence of three features predicts 6 possible orders. We provide an overview in (23), where each order relates to an allocutivity type we have discussed in this paper.[6]

(23) a. uFAM*/POL $\prec$ $u\gamma$:__ $\prec$ uD   *hearer allocutivity in familiar contexts*

    b. uD $\prec$ uFAM*/POL $\prec$ $u\gamma$:__   *speaker allocutivity*

    c. uD $\prec$ $u\gamma$:__ $\prec$ uFAM*/POL   *speaker allocutivity*

    d. $u\gamma$:__ $\prec$ uFAM*/POL $\prec$ uD   *allocutivity (no gender)*

    e. $u\gamma$:__ $\prec$ uD $\prec$ uFAM*/POL   *allocutivity (no gender)*

    f. uFAM*/POL $\prec$ uD $\prec$ $u\gamma$:__   *speaker/hearer allocutivity*

In this section, we will go through each order and show how they derive the patterns. We will start with (23a): a hearer allocutive language, where gender of the hearer is marked in familiar contexts, but not politeness contexts. Let us first discuss utterances where the hearer is familiar to the speaker. In such scenarios, *sa* will come with a strong [*u*FAM*] feature. Since the discourse feature is the first on the stack, HEARER moves to the Spec,*sa*P first (24), putting HEARER in the right position to value the gender probe (25).

(24) *Step 1: Hearer shift*   (25) *Step 2: Agree for gender*

---
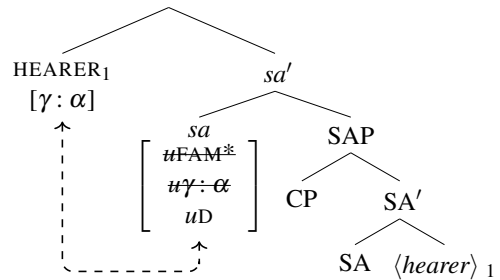
[6]The exception is (23f), for which we have not found a language yet. The order of features predicts a pattern where gender of the hearer is marked in familiar contexts and gender of the speaker is marked in politeness contexts. We leave this exploration to future work.
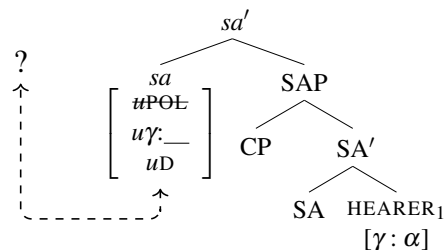
The last feature on the stack is the external Merge feature through which SPEAKER enters the derivation (26). Merge of SPEAKER comes too late to value the gender probe, as it has been deactivated in a previous step. Hence allocutive markers spell out features that are sensitive to the gender of the hearer, e.g. *-da/-di* in Tamil.

(26) *Step 3: Merge of speaker*
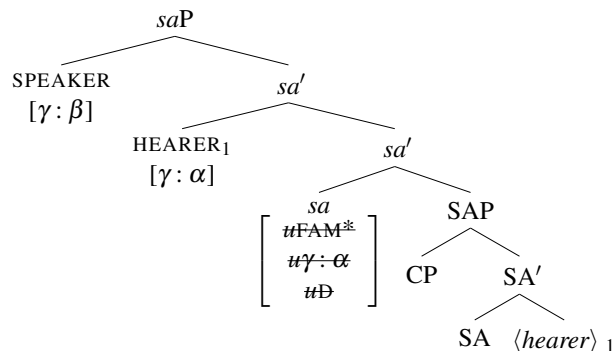
There is no hearer shift in politeness contexts since [uPOL] does not trigger movement. Given the order of features in (23a), this leads to the situation that the gender probe cannot be valued (27), as the external Merge feature for SPEAKER is only activated in the last step (28). Hence, allocutive markers like *-unge* in Tamil express politeness but not gender.
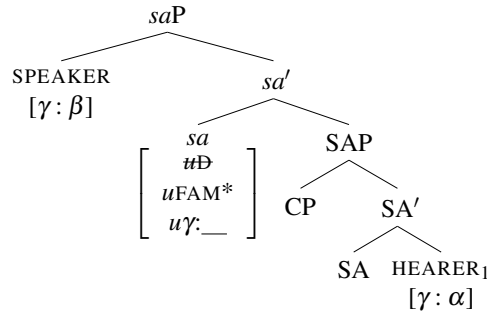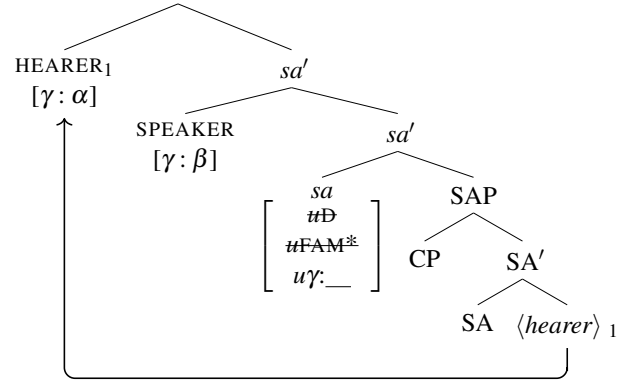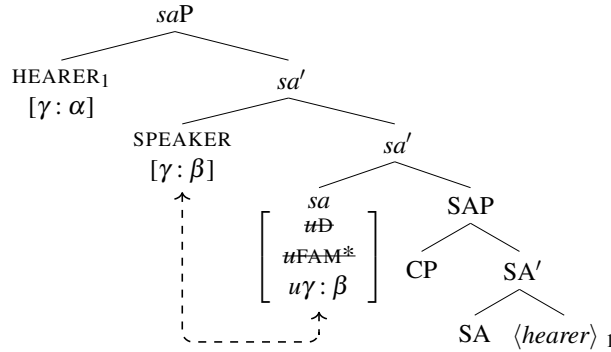
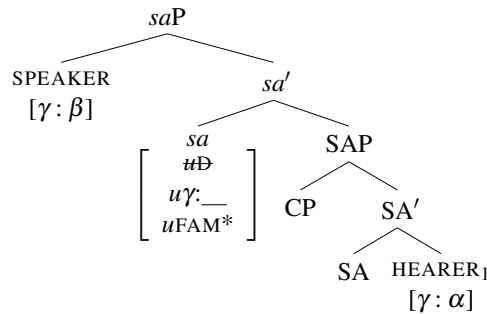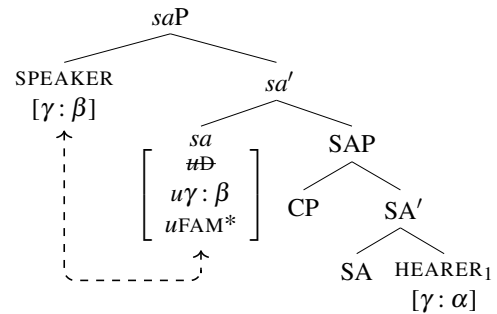(27) *Step 1: Agree for gender*   (28) *Step 2: Merge of speaker*
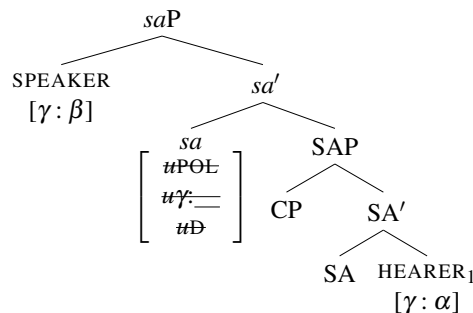
Speaker allocutive languages are derived by the orders (23b) and (23c). Common to both orders is that the external Merge feature is the highest feature on the stack, resulting in a structure where SPEAKER is the closest goal to the gender probe on *sa*. The steps in (29)-(31) illustrate the order (23b) in a familiar context. Merge of SPEAKER is followed by hearer shift, which in turn is followed by the valuation of the gender probe. Crucially, it is the SPEAKER's gender feature which serve as the goal, as it was merged earlier and thus is closer to the *sa* head than HEARER.

(29) *Step 1: Merge of speaker*

saP
  SPEAKER [γ : β]
  sa′
    sa
    [uD / uFAM* / uγ:__]
    SAP
      CP
      SA′
        SA
        HEARER₁ [γ : α]

(30) *Step 2: Hearer shift*

HEARER₁ [γ : α]
  sa′
    SPEAKER [γ : β]
    sa′
      sa
      [uD / uFAM* / uγ:__]
      SAP
        CP
        SA′
          SA
          ⟨hearer⟩₁

(31) *Step 3: Agree for gender*

saP
  HEARER₁ [γ : α]
  sa′
    SPEAKER [γ : β]
    sa′
      sa
      [uD / uFAM* / uγ : β]
      SAP
        CP
        SA′
          SA
          ⟨hearer⟩₁

The steps in (32)-(34) display the order (23c) in a familiar context. As with the previous derivation, SPEAKER is merged first. Agreement with the gender probe is taking place in a second step, while hearer shift is the last operation. Again, it is the SPEAKER's gender features that value the probe. Consequently, both orders derive speaker allocutive languages, where the gender that is being marked belongs to the speaker.

(32) *Step 1: Merge of speaker*

saP
  SPEAKER [γ : β]
  sa′
    sa
    [uD / uγ:__ / uFAM*]
    SAP
      CP
      SA′
        SA
        HEARER₁ [γ : α]

(33) *Step 2: Agree for gender*

saP
  SPEAKER [γ : β]
  sa′
    sa
    [uD / uγ : β / uFAM*]
    SAP
      CP
      SA′
        SA
        HEARER₁ [γ : α]

15

(34)   *Step 3: Hearer shift*

saP
HEARER$_1$ [$\gamma : \alpha$]
  sa'
  SPEAKER [$\gamma : \beta$]
    sa'
    sa $\left[\begin{array}{l} u\text{D} \\ u\gamma : \beta \\ u\text{FAM*} \end{array}\right]$
    SAP
      CP
      SA'
        SA   ⟨*hearer*⟩$_1$
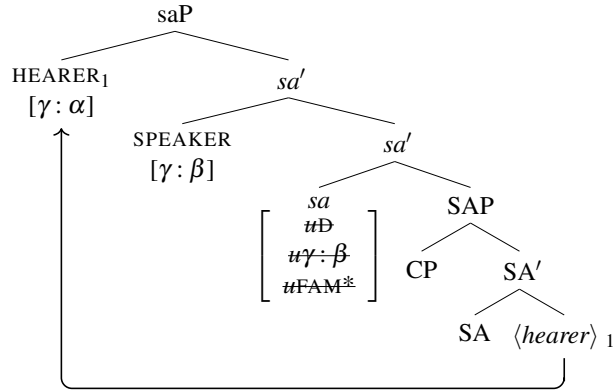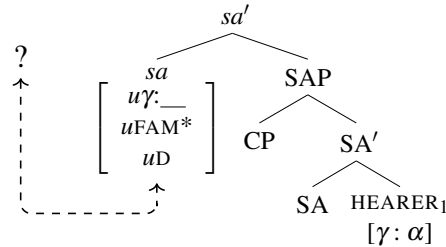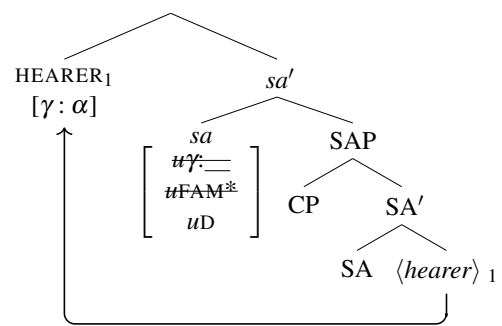
Although we have only shown familiarity contexts, it is easy to see why politeness contexts have the same outcome. Given that hearer shift has no influence on the valuation of the gender probe in either orders, its absence will not matter. Gender of the speaker will be marked across politeness and familiarity contexts.

Let us now turn to plain allocutive languages. Again, two orders derive such a pattern. Order (23d) is shown in (35)-(37) for familiar contexts. Since the gender probe is ordered first on the stack before hearer shift and Merge of SPEAKER can take place, there is no goal for the probe to Agree with. Thus, the probe will remain unvalued.
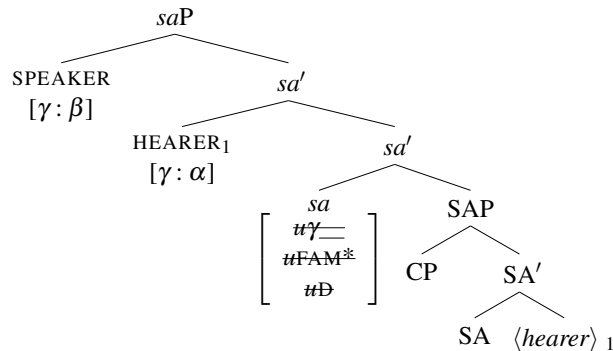
(35)   *Step 1: Agree for gender*

?
sa'
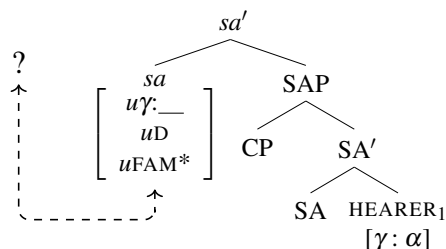 sa $\left[\begin{array}{l} u\gamma:\_\_ \\ u\text{FAM*} \\ u\text{D} \end{array}\right]$
  SAP
    CP
    SA'
      SA   HEARER$_1$ [$\gamma : \alpha$]

(36)   *Step 2: Hearer shift*

HEARER$_1$ [$\gamma : \alpha$]
  sa'
  sa $\left[\begin{array}{l} u\gamma:\_\_ \\ u\text{FAM*} \\ u\text{D} \end{array}\right]$
  SAP
    CP
    SA'
      SA   ⟨*hearer*⟩$_1$

(37)   *Step 3: Merge of speaker*

saP
SPEAKER [$\gamma : \beta$]
  sa'
  HEARER$_1$ [$\gamma : \alpha$]
    sa'
    sa $\left[\begin{array}{l} u\gamma\_\_ \\ u\text{FAM*} \\ u\text{D} \end{array}\right]$
    SAP
      CP
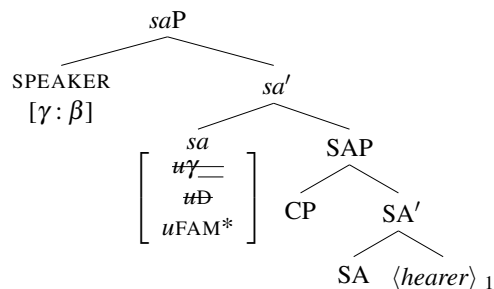   SA'
        SA   ⟨*hearer*⟩$_1$

16

Order (23e) is shown in (38)-(40). Again, the gender probe is ordered first, leaving the subsequent operations no chance to provide a goal for agreement. This, again, results in an unvalued gender probe. The same outcome is predicted in politeness contexts, for both orders (23d) and (23e), since the operation hearer shift always counterfeeds the valuation of the gender probe.
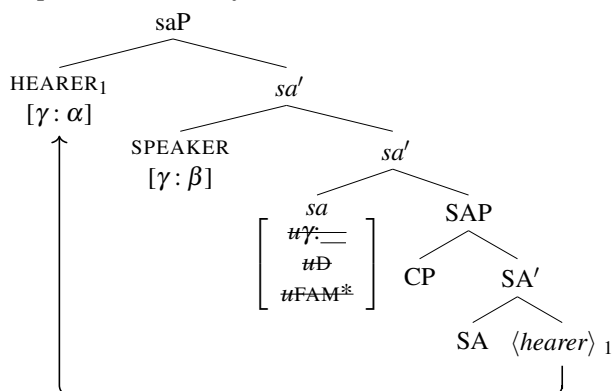
(38)   *Step 1: Agree for gender*

$$
\begin{array}{l}
sa' \\
\quad sa \begin{bmatrix} u\gamma: \_\_ \\ u\text{D} \\ u\text{FAM*} \end{bmatrix} \quad \text{SAP} \\
\qquad\qquad \text{CP} \quad \text{SA}' \\
\qquad\qquad\qquad \text{SA} \quad \text{HEARER}_1 \\
\qquad\qquad\qquad\qquad\qquad [\gamma:\alpha]
\end{array}
$$

(39)   *Step 2: Merge of speaker*

$$
\begin{array}{l}
sa\text{P} \\
\quad \text{SPEAKER} \quad sa' \\
\quad [\gamma:\beta] \\
\qquad\qquad sa \begin{bmatrix} u\gamma: \_\_ \\ u\text{D} \\ u\text{FAM*} \end{bmatrix} \quad \text{SAP} \\
\qquad\qquad\qquad\qquad \text{CP} \quad \text{SA}' \\
\qquad\qquad\qquad\qquad\qquad \text{SA} \quad \langle hearer \rangle_1
\end{array}
$$

(40)   *Step 3: Hearer shift*

$$
\begin{array}{l}
sa\text{P} \\
\quad \text{HEARER}_1 \quad sa' \\
\quad [\gamma:\alpha] \\
\qquad\qquad \text{SPEAKER} \quad sa' \\
\qquad\qquad [\gamma:\beta] \\
\qquad\qquad\qquad\qquad sa \begin{bmatrix} u\gamma: \_\_ \\ u\text{D} \\ u\text{FAM*} \end{bmatrix} \quad \text{SAP} \\
\qquad\qquad\qquad\qquad\qquad\qquad \text{CP} \quad \text{SA}' \\
\qquad\qquad\qquad\qquad\qquad\qquad\qquad \text{SA} \quad \langle hearer \rangle_1
\end{array}
$$

Hence, plain allocutive languages do not mark the gender of the discourse participants. They do, however, mark the difference between different social relations since spell out can be sensitive to whether the *sa* head comes with a [*u*FAM*] or [*u*POL] feature.

4   Outlook

This paper discusses three types of allocutive languages and derives the typology by the order of features on the little speech act head. Two generalizations are explored and derived by the current system, the addressee and the speaker generalization. The addressee generalization results from hearer shift – a movement operation triggered by a prominence requirement, in parallel to object shift phenomena. The speaker generalization falls out from the fact that SPEAKER is already first merged in a position local to the gender probe, independent of prominence relations. The account presented here provides an argument for the original representation of SPEAKER and HEARER, as envisioned by Speas & Tenny (2003), where HEARER is merged as the complement of the big speech act head.

Several aspects of the typology are not accounted for. We have not discussed languages, where gender information encoded in allocutive markers relates to the speaker as well as the hearer, either simultaneously or separately across contexts (recall also footnote 6). Another point of variation relates to the fact that, especially when it comes to speaker allocutive languages, allocutive morphology does not always emerge as a final sentence particle. Languages like Kokama-Kokamilla and Chiquitano make clear that even though allocutivity realizes information associated with discourse information, it does not necessarily always appear in the left periphery, and at times seems to interact with the gender features of clausal arguments. Finally, more empirical works needs to be done on hearer allocutive languages, in particular the social relations that trigger gender marking of the addressee, so that the addressee generalization can be robustly verified.

Acknowledgements

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