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To cite this version:

Anton Antonov. Verbal allocutivity in a crosslinguistic perspective. Linguistic Typology, 2015, 19 (1), pp.55-85. 10.1515/lingty-2015-0002 . hal-01386464

HAL Id: hal-01386464
https://inalco.hal.science/hal-01386464v1

Submitted on 24 Oct 2016

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Verbal allocutivity in a crosslinguistic perspective

Anton Antonov (inalco–crlao)

Abstract

Allocutivity is a term coined to describe a phenomenon in Basque whereby, in certain pragmatic (and syntactic) circumstances, an addressee who is not an argument of the verb is systematically encoded in all declarative main clause conjugated verb forms. Although the term is applied exclusively to Basque, similar phenomena are found in other languages as well. Indeed, despite certain differences in the degree of grammaticalisation and usage, allocutive verb forms are attested in at least Pumé (isolate; Venezuela), Nambikwara (isolate; Brazil), Mandan (Siouan; North America) and Beja (Cushitic; NE Africa). The aim of this article is to propose a typology of verbal allocutivity in a crosslinguistic perspective, taking into consideration the locus of encoding, the manner in which it is encoded, the information concerning the addressee which is encoded and the syntactic environments in which it can appear.

Keywords: allocutivity, non-argumental addressee, gender indexicality, non-selected datives (NSD), ethical dative, grammaticalisation

1 Introduction

This paper deals with a phenomenon attested in a number of unrelated languages where it is known under different names but which can be described as the linguistic encoding (in certain socio-pragmatic and syntactic circumstances) of a non-argumental addressee in some or all main clause predicates. This phenomenon has been recognized in its own right and fully described as such only in Basque, where it has been known under the term 'allocutivity' since the 19th century. Despite individual differences in use and degree of grammaticalisation, similar phenomena in several unrelated languages appear to share common features both from the point of view of their morphology and the syntactic constraints governing their use.

The aim of this paper is to examine data from these languages in some detail and then propose a tentative typology of this type of allocutivity, which I shall call 'verbal' allocutivity. It is organized as follows: Sections 1.1 and 1.2 give a definition of what is (and isn't) allocutivity, and in particular verbal allocutivity which is at the centre of this paper. Section 1.3 offers a synthetic overview of different ways of encoding allocutivity in the world's languages. Section 2 presents relevant data from Basque, while sections 3, 4, 5 and 6 examine data illustrating similar phenomena in several unrelated languages

spoken in widely separated areas of the world. Finally, section 7 offers a tentative typology of verbal allocutivity in the world's languages with special focus on where, how and what is encoded as well as the syntactic constraints governing the use of (verbal) allocutive forms.

1.1 What is allocutivity?

Allocutivity is a term coined by Louis-Lucien Bonaparte (Bonaparte 1862:19-21). It is used to describe the following phenomenon which exists in virtually all Basque dialects: the addressee is systematically encoded in all declarative finite verb forms even when s/he is not an argument of the verb[1] if (and only if) in the given context the speaker uses the familiar second person singular pronoun *hi* when talking to the addressee, i.e. if the addressee 'is given familiar treatment'. Eastern Basque dialects show in addition to this 'familiar'-type allocutivity a second type of 'polite' allocutivity triggered by the use of the second person singular 'polite' pronoun *zu*. The corresponding forms thus express the 'respect' the speaker has for the addressee. All of these forms are accordingly called 'allocutive' (cf. Hualde and Ortiz de Urbina 2003:242).

It is important to highlight the fact that in Basque the non-argumental addressee encoded by an allocutive verb form cannot possibly be construed as a participant in the event or action described by the corresponding verb[2] or even as a possessor, contrary to most cases of non-argumental, or non-selected (traditionally called 'ethical') datives (on which see Bosse et al. 2012 and below).

Examples in (1) (Standard Basque, personal knowledge) and (2) (Souletin; Eastern Basque, after Coyos 1999:173,234ff) where an intransitive verb has a first-person singular unique argument are an illustration of the phenomenon. While (1a) and (2a) represent a neutral statement used in a situation where the speaker is not otherwise using the second person singular familiar pronoun *hi* when talking to the addressee, (1b) and (2b), (1c) and (2c) illustrate allocutive equivalents used in a situation where the addressee is a man or a woman, and is being given familiar treatment. Note that in neither case is the addressee an argument of the (synthetic[3]) verb. Example (2d) illustrates the 'polite' type of allocutivity present in some Eastern dialects.

1 (1) a. *Bilbo-ra* *n-oa*
Bilbao-ALL 1S-go
'I am going to Bilbao.'

[1]When the addressee is an argument of the verb, s/he is of course encoded in the verb form as well, but these forms are not called 'allocutive' mainly because a non-argumental addressee is not encoded in exactly the same way as an argumental one.

[2]This is true overall, but exceptions are attested with first person inclusive plural arguments (e.g. subjects), where the addressee is arguably argumental but the verb form is nevertheless allocutive, cf. section 2.

[3]Basque verbs fall into two classes according to their conjugation type: *synthetic* (no auxiliary in most forms) and *analytic* (auxiliary-based forms only). Analytic verbs make use of one of two auxiliaries in order to inflect for different TAM categories, *izan* 'be' with intransitives and **edun* 'have' with transitives, each of which normally follows the participle form of the main verb. The vast majority of Modern Basque verbs are analytic ones and so their allocutive forms are those of these two auxiliaries for the corresponding TAM category.

b. *Bilbo-ra* *n-oa-k* 1 (ALLOC:M)
Bilbao-ALL 1S-go-ALLOC:M
'I am going to Bilbao.' (male addressee)

c. *Bilbo-ra* *n-oa-n* 1 (ALLOC:F)
Bilbao-ALL 1S-go-ALLOC:F
'I am going to Bilbao.' (female addressee)

(2) a. *etʃe-a* *banu* 1
house-ALL 1S.go
'I am going to the house.'

b. *etʃe-a* *banu-k* 1 (ALLOC:M)
house-ALL 1S.go-ALLOC:M
'I am going to the house.' (male addressee)

c. *etʃe-a* *banu-n* 1 (ALLOC:F)
house-ALL 1S.go-ALLOC:F
'I am going to the house.' (female addressee)

d. *etʃe-a* *banu-sy* 1 (ALLOC:RSP)
house-ALL 1S.go-ALLOC:RSP
'I am going to the house.' (respected addressee)

Given that in Basque we are dealing with the encoding of a non-argumental addressee in the verb form, I propose to call this type of allocutivity 'verbal allocutivity' (cf. also 1.3 and Fig.1).

Although the term 'allocutivity' has been applied (almost) exclusively to Basque, the phenomenon does not seem to be limited to this language (cf. also Adaskina 2010). Indeed, Basque allocutivity is nothing more than a grammaticalised encoding on the verb of the type of relationship the speaker has vis-à-vis the addressee, specifically a 'familiar' one, or rather one of solidarity (following de Rijk 1998), and a more 'formal' or 'polite' one for the corresponding polite allocutive forms in Eastern dialects.

In this sense, it is important to stress that while in Basque allocutivity is blocked in the case of an argumental addressee, there is in fact no a priori reason why this should be the case in general. Indeed, in all the other languages surveyed in this paper, the markers indexing a non-argumental addressee can also appear with an argumental one. Other than the fact that what is really encoded is the presence of an addressee, whether argumental or not, and a certain type of speaker-addressee relationship, this is most probably due to two interconnected reasons. First, allocutive marking in Basque is by and large realized through affixes elsewhere used to index a second-person (ergative or dative) argument, whereas this is not the case in the other languages, where allocutive affixes are altogether different from second person ones. And, second, the morphological template of the Basque verb blocks the indexing of two coreferent participants,[4] which would be the case with hypothetical allocutive verb forms with second person arguments.

Thus, despite differences in the degree of grammaticalisation, morphological makeup and usage, we find that phenomena similar to Basque allocutivity

[4]This, incidentally, is one reason why there are no morphological reflexives or reciprocals in the language.

are attested in Pumé (isolate; Venezuela), Nambikwara (isolate; Brazil), Mandan (Siouan; North America) and Beja (Cushitic; NE Africa). In all of these languages the gender of the addressee is, or can be, encoded on the verb, but contrary to Basque where allocutive forms are only used in case of a non-argumental addressee who is given 'familiar treatment' by the use of the second person singular familiar pronoun, Pumé (cf. section 3), Nambikwara (cf. section 4) and Mandan (cf. section 5) main clause verbs index the gender of the addressee obligatorily, whether argumental or not, while Beja (cf. section 6) verbs only do so sporadically. To the extent that this is true then, the term 'gender indexicality', which has been introduced to account mainly for cases, where it is the gender of the speaker which is encoded (cf. Fleming 2012 on the languages of the Americas and more recently Rose 2013 and Rose submitted), could also be used in these particular cases where we would thus have different types of addressee gender indexicality.

Allocutivity, however, once the term has been stripped of the narrow definition it is given in Basque linguistics, has the advantage of being able to cover cases where it is not the gender, but some other feature of the addressee, or the speaker's attitude towards the addressee which is encoded. Indeed, we have already seen that in Basque, in the type of allocutivity attested in most dialects, the gender of the addressee is explicitly encoded alongside an attitude of solidarity obtaining between speaker and addressee. Yet, in the case of the 'polite' allocutive forms of Eastern Basque dialects, it is only the attitude of the speaker which is encoded, one of respect in this case, and it would thus be improper to speak of addressee gender indexicality in this case, although we are clearly dealing with the same phenomenon. From a typological point of view, it is thus preferable to use the term allocutivity in order to be able to account for cases where something similar to what happens in these Eastern Basque dialects is found in other languages, i.e. when we have forms encoding something other than the gender of a non-argumental addressee.

If we do this, then we can go one step further and consider addressee honorifics in languages such as Japanese (cf. Ex. (3)) and Korean as being another case of allocutivity.

(3) Japanese

1/3 a. *itta*
go.PRF
'I/(S)He went.' (neutral verb, no allocutive ending; non-addressee-honorific)

1/3 (ALLOC) b. *ik-**imas**i-ta*
go-ALLOC-PRF
'I/(S)He went.' (neutral verb, allocutive ending; addresee-honorific)

Even if they have traditionally been considered a subtype of honorifics and been treated as an integral part of complex honorific systems, they actually encode the status (rather than gender, as in the languages studied in this article) and the relation between the speaker and the (argumental or not) addressee, and could thus be considered as pertaining to allocutivity (cf. 1.2). Interestingly, Eastern Basque varieties which have 'polite' allocutive verb forms

have never been described as showing some type of honorificity no doubt because of the absence of such a system (of, say, referent honorifics) elsewhere in their grammar. The fact that Javanese, Japanese and Korean do have such complex honorific systems should therefore not prevent us from seeing that their addressee honorifics, especially those whose exponents are verbal, have a lot in common with allocutivity as it has been described for Basque, and thus should be regarded as another instance of the same phenomenon[5]. And once we do that, we would also want to consider cases where the attitude of the speaker towards the addressee is encoded on other parts of speech as well, such as adjectives (or stative verbs), nouns, adverbs, and also at the sentence-level by the use of sentence-final particles (cf. 1.3).

Farther afield, though geographically closer from the point of view of Basque, some types of 'non-selected datives' (NSDs) of the kind found in well-known European languages[6] and traditionally subsumed under the cover term 'ethical datives' could be analysed as an instance of the same phenomenon. NSDs are a quite heterogeneous category, recently analysed from a typological viewpoint by Bosse et al. (2012). Those of them in which the dative clitic pronoun has as its referent a non-argumental addressee can be termed *attitude holder* (AH as per Bosse et al. 2012) or *interested hearer* (IH as per Al-Zahre and Boneh 2010) datives and bear a certain resemblance to Basque allocutive forms in spite of the fact that they clearly have not yet grammaticalised in a similar way (and may well never do).[7] Indeed, according to some researchers, allocutive forms in Basque may go back to just such a kind of initially optional use of a non-selected dative (Alberdi 1995).

1.2 What isn't verbal allocutivity?

Verbal allocutivity does not include non-verbal encoding of (typically, respect towards) a non-argumental addressee, the expression of respect towards an addressee by means of a special verb (form) which can be used only when the addressee is argumental, as in the case of honorific systems comprising subject- and object-exalting verbs (referent honorifics), the encoding of (the gender of) the addressee in imperatives and commands, or the quite rare symmetric phenomenon of encoding on the verb of the (gender of the) speaker.

Indeed, first of all, verbal allocutivity obviously does not apply to the similar encoding of respect (or the lack thereof) towards a non-argumental addressee in non-verbal forms, i.e. in nouns, adjectives, adverbs, etc., as in the

[5]For a detailed study of verbal allocutivity in synchrony and diachrony in Japanese and Korean and its pathways of grammaticalisation cf. Antonov (2013).

[6]Similar phenomena are attested in Semitic (Al-Zahre and Boneh 2010, Camilleri and Sadler 2012), Caucasian (Molochieva 2010:245, Nichols 2011:280-83) and Indo-Aryan languages (Bickel et al. 1999), though the details and the identification of a 'dative' clitic referring to the 'affected experiencer' (Bosse et al. 2012) may differ from one language to the other.

[7]The case of (Standard) Galician is particularly interesting in this respect as it is the only European language in which this type of dative use of the second person pronouns has become part of the grammar of the standard(ized variety of the) language. As in Basque viewed as a whole, Galician so-called 'solidarity pronouns' are used exclusively in non-formal communicative situations and distinguish between an attitude of 'solidarity' and 'respect'. Contrary to Basque they are not obligatory (but are almost automatically used in the appropriate situations) and they do not encode the addressee's gender but their number. (Carballo Calero 1979:275, González 2006:XXXII, Kabatek 2004:385). What is particularly noteworthy is that these two languages have never been in contact.

case of speech level systems in a number of Malayo-Polynesian languages such as, perhaps most famously, Javanese (Poedjosoedarmo 1968, 1969, Geertz 1976, Wolff and Poedjosoedarmo 1982), Sundanese, Madurese (Stevens 1965), Balinese or even, though to a lesser extent, in Japanese and Korean. In Javanese, for instance, there are three different ways of saying 'here' according to the speech level (and thus the type of relationship between speaker and addressee): *menikô, niki, iki* (Poedjosoedarmo 1968:62).

Furthermore, verbal allocutivity as defined here does not include those forms which only encode an argumental addressee. It is therefore important to distinguish this phenomenon from other kinds of phenomena in which verb forms encode the addressee in one way or another only when s/he is argumental. This is, for instance, the case of subject- and object-exalting verb forms in referent honorific systems found in the previously mentioned (South) East Asian languages, as well as in Korean (Sohn 1999:407ff) and Tibetan (Tournadre and Dorje 1998:439-43). Indeed, in these cases the addressee is typically encoded in the (subject- or object-honorific) verb form by means of a special suffix and/or a suppletive form, either because s/he is the subject, the possessor of the subject or the object (direct or indirect) of the action described by the verb (cf. Ex. (4) from Japanese).[8]

(4) Japanese

3 (ALLOC)

a. *sensei=ga* *ki-masi-ta*
teacher=NOM go-ALLOC:RSP-PRF
'The teacher came.' (neutral verb, addressee-honorific: respect towards the addressee, but not towards the subject)

b. *sensei=ga* ***irassha**-imasi-ta*
teacher=NOM **go/come:HON**-ALLOC:RSP-PRF
'The teacher came.' (subject-honorific verb, addressee-honorific: respect towards both the addressee and the subject)

1>3 (ALLOC)

c. *sensei=wo* *mattei-mas-u*
teacher=ACC wait.PROG-ALLOC-IMPRF
'I am waiting for the teacher.' (neutral verb, addressee-honorific: respect towards the addressee but not towards the object)

d. *sensei=wo* ***o-mati**-sitei-mas-u*
teacher=ACC **PREF:HON-wait.NMLZ**-do.PROG-ALLOC-IMPRF
'I am waiting for the teacher.' (object-honorific verb, addressee-honorific: respect towards both the addressee and the object)

This kind of system is not restricted to Asia, as shown by the existence of honorific speech in Ponapean (Rehg and Sohl 1981:359ff). This latter system also has a set of special honorific vs. humiliative classifiers which are thus neither an instance of verbal nor of non-verbal allocutivity.

In the third place, verbal allocutivity does not cover cases where the gender of the addressee is encoded in imperatives (Aikhenvald 2010). Indeed,

[8]Although not exemplified for reasons of space, the subject- and object-honorific verbs do not by any means have to co-occur with the allocutive suffix *-(i)mas-* even if in actual use they frequently do due to the fact that when addressing close friends there is a tendency in Contemporary Colloquial Japanese (but not in Korean) not to use the subject- or object-honorific verb (or construction).

even if not overtly present, the subject of imperatives in a narrow definition (i.e. excluding optatives and hortatives) is always the addressee, and so although in some languages imperatives may encode gender, we do not have a case of verbal allocutivity here either, because the addressee whose gender can be encoded in the imperative is always an argument of the verb in question. Indeed, Basque also encodes the gender of the addressee in familiar second-person imperatives of transitive verbs but this is done in the same way as when the addressee is encoded as the agent of a transitive verb with a third-person patient. The following is an illustration with a synthetic verb:

(5) Basque

a. *Zer da-gi-k/n*?
what ASP:3SG-do-2SG:M/F:A

'What are you doing?'

b. *Egi-k/n (heu-k)*!
do.IMP-2SG:M/F:A 2SG:EMPH-ERG

'Do it (yourself)!'

Finally, verbal allocutivity does not include what appears to be a phenomenon which is the mirror-image of allocutivity, and which we may tentatively call *anti-allocutivity*. There are languages which encode the speaker, either optionally or obligatorily, most often giving us information on his or her gender. This is clearest in the case of Lakhota (Trechter 1995, Mithun 1999), where it is only the gender (real or assumed) of the speaker, whether or not an argument of the verb, which is encoded in all utterances by means of sentence-final particles. For instance, the particle *ye*, which marks the mild assertion of a generally recognized fact, has two variant forms based upon the gender of the speaker: *yeló* (men) and *yelé* (obsolescent, women). Other particles only have two gender-based forms and no default one: *kšt* (men), *kištó* (women) are comparable to, but slightly stronger than, *ye(ló)*; *wą* (men) and *ma* (women) mark a mild opinion and *yewą́* and *yemá* are stronger.

In other languages—Burmese (Wheatley 2003:202) and Thai (Diller 2008:47), for instance—the gender of the speaker is optionally (but frequently) encoded by sentence-final particles (SFPs) such as the Burmese 'polite tags' *kʰìmbjá* ခင်ဗျား (male speaker) and *ʃìɴ* ရှင် (female speaker), also used as second-person pronouns. Their primary function is to convey 'politeness', which, as we have seen, is a kind of allocutivity, albeit not a verbal one in this case. Inasmuch as it is always the gender of the speaker which is encoded it is possible to consider the term gender indexicality appropriate here (as does Fleming 2012), although it is worth noting that this term implies a binary opposition between male and female speaker, and has nothing to say about the speaker's attitude towards the addressee construed outside of any gender-based analysis. It thus seems preferable to maintain the (mirror) relationship visible with allocutivity by using the term anti-allocutivity, although, as one reviewer suggested, the term 'interlocutive/interlocutivity' might be a better one for cases where what we have is information both on the speaker (such as their gender, but not exclusively) and their relation to the addressee.

1.3 Encoding allocutivity

This paper deals with word-level allocutivity, and more precisely with affixal verbal allocutivity in the world's languages.

Indeed, allocutivity—whether encoding an attitude of 'familiarity' or 'respect' towards a non-argumental addressee—while obviously a phenomenon which operates on the pragmatic level, can be subcategorized into various types according to the level and the manner in which it is encoded (Fig.1.3.1 and 1.3.2). We can further distinguish different types of information about the addressee which are encoded (1.3.3).

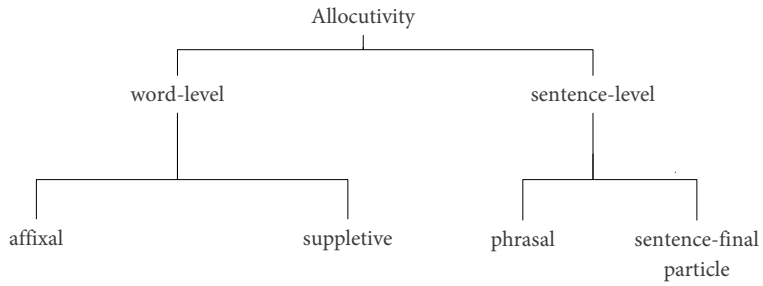

Figure 1: Types of allocutivity

1.3.1 Locus of encoding

Judging from the data surveyed, we can distinguish between word-level allocutivity and sentence-level allocutivity. In the former, allocutivity is conveyed by individual lexemes (such as verbs, adjectives, nouns, adverbs, etc.), whereas in the latter it is the utterance as a whole which carries an allocutive marker.

1.3.2 Manner of encoding

Word-level allocutivity can be affixal (and thus pertain to morphology) as in Basque, Pumé, Nambikwara, Mandan, Beja, Japanese and Korean productive verbal and nominal allocutive forms, and/or suppletive (and thus more properly lexical) as in Japanese primary allocutive verbs (which also carry obligatorily the productive allocutive affix but are not productively derived in the modern language, cf. Table 1) or Javanese speech-register specific allocutive noun forms encoding different levels of respect for a non-argumental addressee (cf. 1.2).

Sentence-level allocutivity, on the other hand, can be expressed by a noun or a verb phrase, as in familiar European languages where it is clearly optional, has a distinct emotional connotation and is clearly far from being on its way to being grammaticalised in any way[9], but is still an instance of what may have

[9]The former, i.e. the noun phrase type sentence-level allocutivity, can be illustrated by the use of *man* in American English. As for the latter, the verb phrase type sentence-level allocutivity, the use of *tu sais* [tse] (='you know') in Parisian Colloquial French (PCF) seems to be a case in

Table 1: Primary allocutive verbs in Standard Japanese

-(de) goza-imas-	be; exist
-(de) or-imas-	be; exist
moos-imas-	say
itas-imas-	do
mair-imas-	come; go

given birth to the other type of sentence-level allocutivity which is realized through the use of sentence-final particles (SFPs) as in Burmese (Wheatley 2003:202), Thai (Diller 2008:47) and Vietnamese (Thompson 1987:260, Panfilov 1993:264-287)[10].

1.3.3 Information encoded

Based upon the data surveyed, allocutivity can encode one or more of the following pieces of information about the addressee: their gender, their number and the attitude (familiar or respectful) of the speaker towards them.

Indeed, as we have seen, allocutivity in Basque encodes the speaker's attitude of 'familiarity' or 'respect' towards the addressee: Either one can be encoded in Eastern varieties, whereas only the former is encoded in Western ones. In the case of familiar type allocutivity, the addressee's gender is also encoded. Furthermore, there can only be one addressee in each type of allocutive forms and it can thus be argued that regardless of whether we are dealing with the 'familiar' or the 'polite' type of allocutivity, allocutive markers in all Basque varieties which have them also encode the number (always singular) of the addressee (but see end of section 2). In the other languages surveyed in this paper, allocutive verb forms or markers cliticized on the verb seem to encode exclusively the addressee's gender, whereas languages such as Javanese, Japanese or Korean (cf. 1.2 and 1.3.2) encode only the respectful attitude of the speaker very much like Eastern Basque varieties.

On the other hand, although they have not been included in the present paper, it is important to note that NSDs can encode the addressee's number in addition to one of these two types of speaker attitude, as exemplified by the Galician so-called 'solidarity pronouns' (cf. 1.1).

2 Allocutivity in Basque

Allocutivity is attested since the first texts dating back to the 16th century. Its origin is subject to some debate (cf. Alberdi 1995) but it is present in virtually all varieties of Basque, even though its vitality varies from one dialect to another, mainly because of different sociolinguistic rules for its use (cf. Alberdi 1996 and Amorrotu 2003) and the complexity of the forms themselves. The

point, although in this case the phonetic reduction and accompanying vowel quality change plus the complete semantic bleaching would suggest a possible ongoing grammaticalisation in the speech of at least some speakers.

[10]Cf. also the use of *yo* in American English. Interestingly, in (urban) substandard varieties of French there is also a verb phrase *vas-y* [vazi] ('come on') which seems to be developing as a marker aiming at either asserting one's solidarity with the addressee or else one's strong disagreement with them, which is sentence-initial (and which also has the syllable-switched slang form [ziva]).

bottomline of the use of the so-called *hika* (lit. 'using of *hi*') forms is that both the speaker and the addressee must share a significant common background, and is thus very different from 'familiar' treatment in European languages. It is virtually impossible for any two people who have not grown up together, or have never spent a considerable part of their (work) lives together to use *hika*. The syntactic rules for its use also show some variation, which some attribute to influence from Spanish given the prevailing bilingualism of modern Basque speakers (cf. Adaskina and Grashchenkov 2009), but the issue is far from clear (cf. 7.4).

As previously noted, allocutive forms are obligatorily used on all main clause declarative predicates which do not have the addressee as one of their arguments whenever the speaker uses the second person singular familiar pronoun when talking to the addressee. Allocutive forms are not allowed in dependent clauses, or in interrogative and exclamative sentences (but see de Rijk 2008, Adaskina and Grashchenkov 2009).

Table 2 gives an overview of present tense affixes for synthetic verbs, which constitute a closed class of (at most) some ten verbs in Modern Basque, but which illustrate the phenomenon better than analytic verbs.[11]

Synthetic verbs can index up to three arguments and one non-argument in their allocutive forms. Here are some more examples[12] of allocutive forms in synthetic verbs in Standard Basque illustrating different person combinations, excluding those where the addressee is an actual argument of the verb and is thus automatically cross-referenced on the verb. In (6) we have an intransitive verb.

3 (6) a. *Bilbo-tik* *da-tor*
Bilbao-ABL ASP:3S-come
'S/He is coming from Bilbao.'

3 (ALLOC:M) b. *Bilbo-tik* *za-torr-ek*
Bilbao-ABL ASP:3S-come-ALLOC:M
'S/He is coming from Bilbao.' (said to a man)

3 (ALLOC:F) c. *Bilbo-tik* *za-torr-en*
Bilbao-ABL ASP:3S-come-ALLOC:F
'S/He is coming from Bilbao.' (said to a woman)

We notice that the allocutive suffixes have the same shape as the corresponding suffixes which encode a second person singular (familiar) agent, except for the fact that in Standard Basque they obligatorily prefix *e*—contrary to the latter— if the verb stem ends in a consonant (compare example 7). At

[11]Indeed, as stated previously, analytic verbs use one of two auxiliaries which in the case of an allocutive form is the locus of its encoding. This, however, is done in a slightly counter-intuitive way, where intransitive verbs which use the intransitive auxiliary *izan* 'to be' have it replaced by the transitive auxiliary **edun* 'to have' with a second person singular familiar agent and the original subject as patient, and transitive verbs which use the transitive auxiliary **edun* have it replaced by this same auxiliary's ditransitive forms with a second person singular familiar recipient while keeping intact the original agent. Ditransitives, finally, resemble synthetic verbs in that they receive the allocutive suffix immediately before any agent suffix and furthermore undergo obligatory assibilation, most probably due to ancient palatalization.

[12]Unless stated otherwise, all Basque examples are from personal knowledge.

	singular			plural		
	S/P	RECIP	A	S/P	RECIP	A
1	*n(a)-Σ*	*-Σ-ki-t/Σ-ki-da-*	*-Σ-t*	*g(a)-Σ-z*	*-Σ-ki-gu(-)*	*-Σ-gu*
2 fam	*h(a)-Σ*	*-Σ-ki-k/Σ-ki-a-|Σ-ki-n/Σ-ki-na-*	*-Σ-k/-n*			
2	*z(a)-Σ-(t)z(a)*	*-Σ-ki-zu(-)*	*-Σ-zu*	*z(a)-Σ-(t)z(a)te*	*-Σ-ki-zue(-)*	*-Σ-zue*
3	*d(a)-Σ*	*-Σ-ki-o(-)*	*-Σ-∅*	*d(a)-Σ-(t)z(a)*	*-Σ-ki-e(-)*	*-Σ-te*

Table 2: Basque present tense synthetic verb affixes

the same time, assibilation (in case of a third-person S/O, palatalization elsewhere) of the initial consonant of the verb form is quite common (cf. also examples 8 and 9), even if not mandatory (cf. examples in section 1.1 and example 7).

In (7), (9) and (8) the verb is transitive[13].

(7) a. *Bilbo-ra* *n-arama-∅* 3>1
Bilbao-ALL 1P-take-3A
'S/He is taking me to Bilbao.'

b. *Bilbo-ra* *n-arama-∅-k* 3>1 (ALLOC:M)
Bilbao-ALL 1P-take-3A-ALLOC:M
'S/He is taking me to Bilbao.' (said to a man)

c. *Bilbo-ra* *n-arama-∅-n* 3>1 (ALLOC:F)
Bilbao-ALL 1P-take-3A-ALLOC:F
'S/He is taking me to Bilbao.' (said to a woman)

(8) a. *Euskara* *da-rabil-∅* 3>3
basque_language ASP:3P-use-3A
'S/He is using Basque.'

b. *Euskara* *za-rabil-∅-ek* 3>3 (ALLOC:M)
basque_language ASP:3P-use-3A-ALLOC:M
'S/He is using Basque.' (said to a man)

c. *Euskara* *za-rabil-∅-en* 3>3 (ALLOC:F)
basque_language ASP:3P-use-3A-ALLOC:F
'S/He is using Basque.' (said to a woman)

Example 9 with a first person agent shows that whenever the agent has an overt marking it occupies the final slot with the allocutive suffix preceding. This suffix in turn reveals its underlying shape, which is *-ga-* (the velar gets elided in intervocalic position) for a male addressee and *-na-* for a female one.

(9) a. *Diru-a* *da-kar-t* 1>3
money-DET ASP:3P-bring-1A
'I am bringing the money.'

b. *Diru-a* *za-karr-ea-t* 1>3 (ALLOC:M)
money-DET ASP:3P-bring-ALLOC:M-1A
'I am bringing the money.' (said to a man)

c. *Diru-a* *za-karr-ena-t* 1>3 (ALLOC:F)
money-DET ASP:3P-bring-ALLOC:F-1A

[13]Ditransitives have been excluded for ease of presentation.

'I am bringing the money.' (said to a woman)

The allocutive suffixes in Standard Basque can thus be presented as having the underlying shape *-(e)g(a-)* (male addressee) versus *-(e)n(a-)* (female addressee). What distinguishes them from a second person singular familiar agent form is the fact that they are usually accompanied by assibilation of the verb form initial consonant and preceded by a linking vowel whenever the stem ends in a consonant.

Eastern Basque varieties apply basically the same principle in creating their 'polite' allocutive forms, except that in this case, there is no gender distinction possible and except for some idiolectal plural forms of this marker (see below), no number distinction either. Furthermore, the allocutive marker coincides with the polite second person singular pronoun (in the absolutive), which is also used to encode a (respected) second person singular agent or goal (with the dative flag present) on a verb form. Ex. (2d) is repeated here for convenience.

1 (ALLOC:RSP)

(10) *etʃe-a* *banu-sy*
house-ALL go:1S-ALLOC:RSP
'I am going to the house.' (respected addressee)

Generally, allocutive forms are singular, i.e., they can only index the gender of a singular addressee in the familiar type of allocutivity in Western Basque, or the respectful attitude of the speaker in the case of the polite type of allocutivity in Eastern Basque, but never the number (if more than one) of the addressee (cf. section 1.3.3). Exceptions are nevertheless attested in this latter case with Coyos 1999:234 reporting that the polite allocutive plural forms produced by some speakers could be a possible retention from an earlier more fully developed system.[14]

It is important to note that even if allocutive forms in Basque are by and large banned when the addressee is an argument of the verb form, this rule has some known exceptions in cases where the verb form indexes an argumental first person (inclusive) plural, which automatically makes the addressee argumental, and yet an allocutive form is used, as in the following folk song (see also Adaskina 2010):

(11) *Arotz-a-k* *erran* *dio* *bere*
blacksmith-DET-ERG say:PTCP AUX:PRS:3SG:A>3SG:RECIP REFL
andre-a-ri: *Urtu* *behar* ***dinagu***,
woman-DET-DAT melt:PTCP need **AUX:PRS:1PL:A>3SG:P:ALLOC:F**
ekarran *santu hori! Gizon-a* *nora*
bring:IMP:2:FAM:F:A>3SG:P saint DIST man-DET where:ALL
zoaz? *Bekatu da* *hori! Ez*
go:PRS:2:RSP sin AUX:PRS:3 DIST NEG
zionagu *erran-en* *sekulan inor-i.*
AUX:PRS:1PL:A>3SG:RECIP:ALLOC:F say-PTCP:FUT never no_one-DAT
'The blacksmith told his wife: 'Bring me that saint, we have to melt him!' [wife] 'Hey! Where are you going? It's a sin.' [blacksmith] "We'll never tell anyone!"' (folk song)

[14] It is certainly more plausible that we are dealing with analogical extension here.

3 Allocutivity in Pumé

Pumé, previously called Yaruro, is an isolate spoken in Venezuela. The non-argumental addressee is encoded in all finite verb forms. As in Basque, the Pumé verb can index up to three participants plus a non-argumental addressee (Mosonyi 1966 and Mosonyi and García 2000). The forms are not synchronically transparent and their diachronic analysis has not yet been carried out (Françoise Rose, p. c.).

(12) a. *(kɔdɛ́) bagura=rekodé* — 1s (ALLOC:M)
1SG run.PRS=1SG:ALLOC:M
'I am running.'

b. *(kɔdɛ́) bagura=kɛ́* — 1s (ALLOC:F)
1SG run.PRS=1SG:ALLOC:F
'I am running.'

(13) a. *chjákjiáñí=nɛ̃́ ñĩnɛ̃́ iãĩ̃rɛ̃́* — 3s (ALLOC:M)
beautiful-COP:ALLOC:M this woman
'This woman is beautiful.'

b. *chjákjiáñí-ní ñĩnɛ̃́ iãĩ̃rɛ̃́* — 3s (ALLOC:F)
beautiful-COP:ALLOC:F this woman
'This woman is beautiful.'

(14) a. *ɔá ɔãĩ̃ã́ dá-dɛ́-rɛ́kɔ̃nɛ̃́* — 1>3 (ALLOC:M)
that.OBL man.OBL see-NEG-1>3ALLOC:M
'I don't know that man.'

b. *ɔá ɔãĩ̃ã́ dá-dɛ́-kũní* — 1>3 (ALLOC:F)
that.OBL man.OBL see-NEG-1>3ALLOC:F
'I don't know that man.'

The following example illustrates the existence of something presented as equivalent to the *dativus ethicus* (Mosonyi 1966:50-56). This is all the more interesting since Basque, traditionally considered as the paragon of allocutivity, as well as the other languages presented here, do not have anything similar. These forms always have a first-person 'affected experiencer' and a third-person object.

(15) *chɛrɛ́ kjɔdɛã́-nĩjĩ́-koé ĩnɛ̃́ iãĩ̃rɛ̃́* — 3A>3P>1RECIP(ALLOC:F)
money ask.PST-3A>3P:ALLOC:F-1SG:RECIP this woman
'This woman asked him for money (and this affected me, as I am his friend).'

4 Allocutivity in Nambikwara

In Nambikwara, an isolate spoken in West Central Brazil (Kroeker 2001:1), while verb participants do not trigger gender marking, the gender of the addressee is obligatorily indicated by the consonant of the aspect marker suffix which appears on the main verb. The imperfective/perfective markers have

two allomorphs each according to the gender of the addressee: *-wa*^{2}/*-la*^{2} for a male addressee and *-ʔa*^{2}/*-na*^{2} for a female addressee (Kroeker 2001:65-66).[15]

1s (ALLOC:M) (16) a. *ʔwã*^{3}*-na*^{1}*-tu*^{1}*-wa*^{2}
come-1SG:EVID-FUT-IMPRF:ALLOC:M
'I will come.'

1s (ALLOC:F) b. *ʔwã*^{3}*-na*^{1}*-tu*^{1}*-ʔa*^{2}
come-1SG:EVID-FUT-IMPRF:ALLOC:F
'I will come.'

3s (ALLOC:M) (17) a. *ʔyau*^{2}*-na*^{3}*-la*^{2}
stay-EQUAT-PRF:ALLOC:M
'He is here.'

3s (ALLOC:F) b. *ʔyau*^{2}*-na*^{3}*-na*^{2}
stay-EQUAT-PRF:ALLOC:F
'He is here.'

1>3 (ALLOC:M) (18) *ka*^{3}*tʔa*^{2} *tau*^{3}*ka*^{2}*sa*^{2}*tã*^{3}*n̥ʔa*^{3}*ti*^{3}*-na*^{1}*-hẽ*^{3}*-la*^{2}
tree cut down-1SG-T/E.IO.P-PRF:ALLOC:M
'I cut down the tree.'

5 Allocutivity in Mandan

Mandan is a moribund Siouan language. It has a fully grammaticalised marking of the gender of the addressee on all main clause predicates as well as in the imperative, optative and interrogative.

In all tenses of the indicative mode, the final element of the morpheme is *-(o)ʔš̆* (=[-(o)ʔʃ]) in speech addressed to men, and *-(o)ʔre* in speech addressed to women. The masculine forms are used in addressing men, male animals, mixed groups, tobacco plants, rocks and the Deity, whereas the feminine forms are used in addressing women, female animals and all plants except tobacco (Kennard 1936:16, Hollow 1970:456ff). Table 5 gives an overview of the forms.

	male addressee	female addressee
declarative	*Σ-(o)ʔš̆*	*Σ-(o)ʔre*
interrogative	*Σ-(o)ʔša*	*Σ-(o)ʔra*
imperative	*Σ-ta*	*Σ-rą*

Table 3: Mandan allocutive suffixes according to sentence type

The following are some original examples culled from published spontaneous Mandan narratives which illustrate the use of the allocutive suffixes in that language.

1A(ALLOC:M) (19) *nuṃąk máx*^{a}*ną ókapąte* *í-wa-ror-ox*^{e}*re-ʔš̆*
man one 3POSS.origin PV-1A-talk-INCHO-DECL:ALLOC:M

[15] The superscript numbers indicate tones.

'I'm going to tell [you] about the origin of Lone Man.' (*The Creation* in Hollow (2010:vol. 3, p. 7, l. 1))

(20) *ráh-nq, ó<ka>ptik-nq mį́ʔšak mᵃnq wá-kawek*
go-IMP:F <by_striking>fall_off-IMP:F myself wood 1A-gather
mq-mą́ke-ʔre 1P(ALLOC:F)
1P-stay-DECL:ALLOC:F
'Go on! Knock it off! As for me, I'll gather wood and I'll stay here.' (*Old Woman's Grandson* in Hollow (2010:vol. 3, p. 67, l. 5-6))

(21) *wa-píh-tiki mą́nq-tere wa-rupa-nį í-ʔaki-ta*
1A-fart-CVB tree-big 1A-hold-CVB PV-top-LOC
o-wá-ru-ska-nį á-wa-reh-t-oʔš 1>3 (ALLOC:M)
PV-1A-by_hand-pull-CVB TR-1A-go-POT-DECL:ALLOC:M
'When I farted, I held on to a big tree, and I pulled it out and took it upward.' (*Old Man Coyote and the Wild Potato* in Carter (1991:p. 39, l. 71))

(22) *mį-ną́se mį-nį́-kinq-s-oʔš* 1>3>2 (ALLOC:M)
1POSS-name 1A-2P-tell-PST-DECL:ALLOC:M
'I told you my name.' (*Old Man Coyote and the Wild Potato* in Carter (1991:p. 39, l. 67))

(23) *warúte-xta-nį sí-mį(r)-omʔąk-oʔš* 3 (ALLOC:M)
be_hungry-very-CVB travel-PROG-PST-DECL:ALLOC:M
'He was very hungry, so he was travelling.' (*Old Man Coyote and the Wild Potato* in Carter (1991:p. 29))

(24) *kánį ó<wa>ptik-tiki mą́-kamįʔš-ka-š* 3>1 (ALLOC:M)
when <1A>fall_off-CVB 1P-hurt-IMPRF-DECL:ALLOC:M
'And when I fell back down, it (the tree) hurt me.' (*Old Man Coyote and the Wild Potato* in Carter (1991:p. 39, l. 72))

6 Allocutivity in Beja

Beja is a Cushitic language (possibly the earliest off-shoot of the family according to Appleyard 2004:192) spoken on the southern coast of the Red Sea by less than two million people in parts of Sudan (1,1 million), Eritrea (several thousand) and practically none in Egypt (Martine Vanhove, p. c.).

Beja is presented as having a distinction at first glance quite similar to the one found in Basque between two allocutive 'clitics' signalling the gender of the addressee (Reinisch 1893:103, Roper 1928:29, Appleyard 2004:185, Appleyard 2007:459). According to these, the suffixal first person (singular and plural) object pronouns, as well as the second person singular ones, may optionally ('often' according to Roper) appear with an extra *-a* or *-i*, which indicate the sex of the addressee. Now, Beja has gender both in its nouns and its independent pronouns, but not in its dependent ones, and so this creates a gender disctinction in the second person when it is the object of a transitive verb. This is also the case when the second person is in subject function since

these clitics can also be added to a second person singular verb form whenever there is no object pronoun suffixed (Appleyard 2004:185, Martine Vanhove [p. c.]). From the point of view of allocutivity of course only the first case (i.e. the use of these clitics with a first person object pronoun) is interesting, as only then is the addressee not a participant of the verb.

Here are the examples cited in the above references.[16] Examples (25) and (26) show the use of these clitics following a second person singular object pronoun, and examples (27) and (28) after a second person singular verb form with no object pronoun suffix attached (thus either an intransitively used transitive verb or a transitive verb with a third person singular object which is not indexed on the verb).

1>2M

(25) *rih-án = ho:k = a*
see-PST:1SG-2SG:ACC-2SG:M
'I saw you.' (said to a man) (Appleyard 2007:459)

1>2F

(26) *rih-án = ho:k = i*
see-PST:1SG-2SG:ACC-2SG:F
'I saw you.' (said to a woman) (Appleyard 2007:459)

2M>3

(27) *tam-t-a: = a*
eat-2SG-PST-2SG:M
'You ate.' (the agent is a man) (Appleyard 2004:185)

2F>3

(28) *tam-t-a: = i*
eat-2SG-PST-2SG:F
'You ate.' (the agent is a woman) (Appleyard 2004:185)

Examples (29) through (32) are instances of the 'allocutive' use of these two clitic elements, i.e. serving to encode the gender of the addressee who is not an argument of the verb.

3>1 (ALLOC:M)

(29) *rihja = he:b = a*
see:PST:3SG-1SG:ACC-ALLOC:2SG:M
'He saw me.' (said to a man)

3>1 (ALLOC:F)

(30) *rihja = he:b = i*
see:PST:3SG-1SG:ACC-ALLOC:2SG:F
'He saw me.' (said to a woman)

3>1 (ALLOC:M)

(31) *ʔu:-ja:s tami = he:b = a*
DET-dog bite:PST:1SG-1SG:ACC-ALLOC:2SG:M
'The dog bit me.' (said by a woman to a man) (Roper 1928:29)

3>1 (ALLOC:F)

(32) *ʔu:-ja:s tamì = he:b = i*
DET-dog bite:PST:1SG-1SG:ACC-ALLOC:2SG:F
'The dog bit me.' (said by a man to a woman) (Roper 1928:29)

[16] The transcription has been unified using the IPA as in Vanhove 2012.

A search in Martine Vanhove's Beja corpus (Vanhove 2012, encompassing eight years of fieldwork on different dialects) turned up only three instances (out of a total of around 700) of the first person object pronoun followed by one of the allocutive clitics. Examples (33) and (34) are taken from a story in which a jinn is talking to his sister who has just become the wife of his best friend who in turn does not know their true identity. The first one illustrates the non-allocutive use with a second person singular object pronoun, while the second one is an instance of the allocutive use with a first person object pronoun.

(33) *umbatu:k ʤantaj=it=u u:n u:=tak*
2SG.F.NOM jinn=F=COP.3SG PROX.SG.M.NOM DEF.SG.M.NOM=man
bi=i-ka:n=ho:k-i 3>2 (F)
NEG.OPT=3SG.M-know.OPT=2SG.ACC-ALLOC:F
'This man doesn't know that you are a jinn.' (the jinn to his sister) (*The Beja and the jinn*)

(34) *ʤanta:j=i:b a-kati=je:t too=na*
jinn=LOC.SG 1SG-be.PRF=REL.F DEF.SG.F.ACC=thing
ki=i-kan=he:b-i 3>1 (ALLOC:F)
NEG.IMPRF=3SG.M-know.PRF=1SG.ACC-ALLOC:F
'He doesn't know me as a jinn.' (the jinn to his sister) (*The Beja and the jinn*)

Examples (35) and (36) are the other two instances of the use of the allocutive clitics, although in this case the verb form is an imperative one, and so the addressee is naturally an argument.

(35) *o:n o:=kta:b aneb*
PROX.SG.M.ACC DEF.SG.M.ACC=book 1SG.ACC
he:=he:b-a 3>1 (ALLOC:M)
give:IMP.SG.M=1SG.ACC-ALLOC:M
'Give me this book!' (said to a man) (*Ten camels for a book*)

(36) *umbaru:k am=he:b-a* 3>1 (ALLOC:M)
1SG.ACC mount:IMP.SG.M=1SG.ACC-ALLOC:M
'Mount me!' (said to a man) (*The coalman whose wife was stolen by the king*)

In summary, the use of these allocutive clitics is not well-documented and might be restricted to spontaneous conversations of the kind not usually represented in collected corpora of the language (Martine Vanhove, p. c.).[17] Consequently, the exact socio-pragmatic circumstances in which they are used are difficult to ascertain, and the precise syntactic restrictions governing their use remain unclear. They may nevertheless be similar to the ones found in the case of allocutivity in Basque or the use of the so-called 'ethical dative' in Indo-European languages. It is important to keep in mind the fact

[17]The non-occurrence in written or narrative corpora is also a feature of 'ethical' or attitude holder NSDs.

that the use of Basque allocutives is governed by intricate and dialectally differing sociolinguistic rules and thus the use of the Beja allocutive clitics may be restricted in similar ways. As far as the origin of these clitics is concerned, just as in the case of allocutivity in Basque, their origin is subject to debate (Appleyard 2004:192 and references therein).

7 Typology of allocutive systems

I will now summarize the data presented in this paper and offer a tentative typology of verbal allocutivity in a crosslinguistic perspective from a synchronic point of view. The data come from only five languages in which verbal allocutivity has been found, and while this is hardly enough to make crosslinguistic generalizations, the fact that the languages are spoken in widely separated geographical areas and do not belong to the same language families makes the sample less biased. Indeed, three out of these five are isolates (Basque, Pumé and Nambikwara), Mandan is the only Siouan language in which allocutivity takes the form of addressee gender indexicality (other Siouan languages have speaker gender indexicality), and Beja is considered to be an outlier in Cushitic.

In order to give a more comprehensive overview of the phenomenon of verbal allocutivity and its charateristic crosslinguistic features, the data from Japanese and Korean (for which see Antonov 2013) have also been added in the following tables.

Section 7.1 will offer a summary of the morphological makeup of verbal allocutivity in these five languages (plus Japanese and Korean) while section 7.2 considers what information about the non-argumental addressee it conveys. Section 7.3 will then present the compatibility of allocutivity and grammatical person, whereas section 7.4 will discuss the syntactic constraints on its use in the languages under study.[18]

7.1 Morphology of allocutivity encoding

This section gives an overview of the morphological makeup of the coding for verbal allocutivity found in the languages I have studied. Table 4 summarizes the type of affix used to encode it.

	Basque	**Pumé**	**Nambikwara**	**Mandan**	**Beja**	**Japanese**	**Korean**
prefixal	*no*	*no*	*no*	*no*	*no*	*no*	*no*
suffixal	*yes*	*yes*	*yes*	*yes*	*yes*	*yes*	*yes*
circumfixal	*yes?*	*no*	*no*	*no*	*no*	*no*	*no*

Table 4: Type of allocutive affixation

As we can see from table 4, verbal allocutivity is predominantly if not exclusively encoded by means of a suffix appearing on the verb. While no prefixal encoding has been found, synthetic verbs in Basque (as opposed to

[18]The sociolinguistic side of their use, while certainly a very interesting and complex matter, will not be dealt with in any depth here, on the one hand for lack of sufficient data on most languages and, on the other, since I think it is a topic worthy of separate consideration.

analytic ones) could tentatively be analysed as having a kind of 'circumfixal' marking, inasmuch as the allocutive suffix which follows the verb stem (or the verb stem followed by the recipient encoding if there is one) is accompanied by assibilation (or palatalization) of the initial consonant of the verb form.

As for the analysability of the makeup of allocutive markers, it seems they are completely opaque from a synchronic point of view in all of the languages presented here. For a diachronic account, see Antonov (2013).

7.2 Information encoded

Table 5 is a summary of the type of information about the addressee conveyed by verbal allocutive markers in the languages studied.

	W Basque	E Basque	Pumé	Nambikwara	Mandan	Beja	Japanese	Korean
gender	*yes*	*yes* (familiar)	*yes*	*yes*	*yes*	*yes*	*no*	*no*
number (SG vs PL)	*yes* (SG)	*yes* (SG/PL?)	*no*	*no*	*no*	*no*	*no*	*no*
solidarity	*yes*	*yes*	*no*	*no*	*no*	*no*	*no*	*yes*
respect	*no*	*yes* (polite)	*no*	*no*	*no*	*no*	*yes*	*yes*

Table 5: Information encoded

No language from those I have examined indicates explicitly via its allocutive marking on the verb a number distinction between SG vs PL allocutive forms corresponding to the presence of one vs multiple addressees (except, as mentioned previously at the end of section 2, in some Basque idiolects as reported in Coyos 1999:234), unlike what can be observed in the case of the Galician 'solidarity pronoun' (cf. section 1.1). Furthermore, gender seems to be incompatible with the simultaneous expression of 'respect', as shown by Eastern Basque varieties with 'polite' second person singular allocutivity but no gender distinction, as well as by Korean[19] and Japanese.[20]

7.3 Allocutivity and grammatical person

Table 6 on the following page presents the compatibility between allocutive markers and grammatical person in the case of an intransitive and transitive verb.

Substantial data is lacking only in the case of Beja which makes it impossible to reach any firm conclusions concerning its use, apart from the hypothesis that either the corpus available does not cover situations in which allocutive clitics are normally used (such as spontaneous conversations), or else its use has declined in the dialects represented in this corpus. From the data available it would seem that the allocutive 'clitics' in Beja are used to encode a non-argumental addressee only in the case of a transitive verb with a third person agent and a first person patient. Their other (and by far more common) use is after either a second person singular subject or object suffix.

[19]It is noteworthy that in Korean, contrary to Japanese, different speech registers allow the speaker to index different types of solidarity with the addressee as well.

[20]Of course, this may also be a case of chance coincidence in view of the size of the sample under study.

	Basque	Pumé	Nambikwara	Mandan	Beja	Japanese	Korean
1	*yes*	*yes*	*yes*	*yes*	*no?*	*yes*	*yes*
2	*no*	*yes*	*yes*	*yes*	*yes*	*yes*	*yes*
3	*yes*	*yes*	*yes*	*yes*	*no?*	*yes*	*yes*
1>2	*no*	*yes*	*yes*	*yes*	*yes*	*yes*	*yes*
2>1	*no*	*yes*	*yes*	*yes*	*no?*	*yes*	*yes*
1>3	*yes*	*yes*	*yes*	*yes*	*no?*	*yes*	*yes*
3>1	*yes*	*yes*	*yes*	*yes*	*yes*	*yes*	*yes*
2>3	*no*	*yes*	*yes*	*yes*	*yes*	*yes*	*yes*
3>2	*no*	*yes*	*yes*	*yes*	*yes?*	*yes*	*yes*
3>3	*yes*	*yes*	*yes*	*yes*	*?*	*yes*	*yes*

Table 6: Co-occurrence of allocutive forms with different grammatical persons

As already mentioned, it is noteworthy that Basque is the only language which does not allow allocutive marking of argumental addressees (see section 1.1 for the reasons why). All other languages allow allocutive markers to appear also in cases where the addressee is a participant in the event or action described by the verb.

7.4 Allocutivity and clause type

Table 7 on the next page presents the compatibility between allocutive markers and different clause types. While it suffers from lack of data on some of the languages surveyed, allocutive forms seem either to be confined to main declarative clauses as in traditional (and now normative) Basque usage, or else appear in almost all types of independent clauses.

It is interesting to note that dependent clauses seem to be generally unable to carry such an overt allocutive marker on their predicate, especially when such markers are highly grammaticalised as in Basque, Mandan, Japanese or Korean, unlike non-selected (or ethical) datives, which do not seem to show such a constraint on their usage.

Now this is not an exceptionless rule, as the Guipuzcoan and Biscayan dialects of Basque seem to allow allocutive marking not only in main declarative clauses, but also in interrogative ones (cf. de Rijk 1998:810) and even in dependent ones (especially in Guipuzcoan, cf. de Rijk 1998:810, Adaskina and Grashchenkov 2009). This may be due to influence from Spanish, as all (Southern) Basque speakers are nowadays bilingual and fluent in that language, but in view of the data presented by de Rijk (1998:810) and the map on allocutive forms in dependent and interrogative clauses in Alberdi (1996), the extent to which this is the only factor and Spanish the only contact language responsible for this 'extended' use of allocutive forms remains unclear.

In this context, it is interesting to note that Contemporary Japanese exceptionally allows polite allocutives in adnominal (i.e. relative) and even complement clauses in a somewhat exaggeratedly (from a mainstream point of view) 'polite' style of speech, but usually when the addressee is felt to be a participant in the event described by the predicate.

	Basque	Pumé	Nambikwara	Mandan	Beja	Korean	Japanese
declarative	*yes*	*yes*	*yes*	*yes*	*yes*	*yes*	*yes*
interrogative	*no*	*yes*	*yes*	*yes*	*no?*	*yes*	*yes*
exclamative	*no*	*?*	*?*	*yes*	*no?*	*yes*	*yes*
imperative	*no*	*yes*	*yes?*	*yes*	*no?*	*yes*	*no*
dependent	*(no)*	*no*	*no*	*no*	*no?*	*no*	*(yes)*

Table 7: Occurrence of allocutive forms in different clause types

8 Discussion and concluding remarks

I have tried to make a case for treating several core or peripheral verbal affixes in different and unrelated languages, variously described as used to convey politeness or familiarity towards the addressee, as instances of the same morphosyntactic process. I propose to call it '(verbal) allocutivity', a term used up to now to describe the allocutive conjugation found in Basque. It seems to me that there is more to gain in grouping them all together under the heading 'allocutivity' and then placing them on a continuum from less grammaticalised to more grammaticalised than in treating them separately and insisting upon their differences.

Concerning the first point, there are at least two reasons for which I find the study of allocutive forms in a crosslinguistic perspective useful. First, introducing the term allocutivity to cover all instances of the phenomenon of the encoding of a non-argumental addressee allows us to take a broader morphologically and syntactically defined (and not purely sociolinguistic) perspective on such phenomena in the world's languages. From the study presented in this paper, the phenomenon of encoding a non-argumental addressee on the verb form (and a concomitant speaker attitude towards them) appears clearly not to be limited to Basque even if this is the only language for which we have a detailed description of the facts. Even so, the extension of this phenomenon seems to be rather limited (and mostly present in isolates).[21] Nevertheless, it does not qualify as a 'rarum' (in the sense of Cysouw and Wohlgemuth 2010) unless we are keen on finding exactly the same constraints as in Basque in all of the other languages which show similar phenomena. From a typological viewpoint, this would not make a lot of sense but certainly does bring to mind the debate on the existence of 'inverse' in languages other than the Algonquian ones (cf. Jacques and Antonov 2014). At the same time, this example constitutes a warning against the opposite extreme as well, which would consist in positing the existence of allocutivity in all languages (as some researchers have done in the case of 'inverse'). The true 'rarum' then is Basque allocutivity as it is the only language where allocutive marking is blocked in the case of an argumental addressee.

Second, once we adopt the term and a definition of allocutivity which allows for allocutive marking to be present also in cases where the addressee is a participant of the verb (and in fact such cases exist also in Basque, as discussed in section 2), as long as it can index non-argumental addressees, it becomes possible to systematically report the presence or absence of such markers in

[21] This of course may be due to its non-inclusion in extant language-specific descriptions.

the grammar of any given language, helping us develop a unified account of such phenomena and avoid the often encountered confusion between allocutivity and (referent) honorifics. This in turn will allow us to enrich the description of the world's languages, both those hitherto undescribed as well as the poorly or even (relatively) well-described ones. It will furthermore enable us to research the diachrony of these phenomena and propose possible paths of grammaticalisation for such markers.

On the second point (pertaining to their degree of grammaticalisation in individual languages), since grammaticalised items are expected to be overall more general than less grammaticalised ones, i.e. less optional and more obligatory (Heine and Kuteva 2002), a case could be made for treating allocutive markers in languages such as Mandan, Japanese and Korean as being more grammaticalised than their Basque counterparts. This is due to the fact that contrary to these languages (in some or all of the following features), allocutive forms in Basque are (generally) blocked in cases where the second person is argumental, as well as in interrogative, exclamative and even subordinate clauses, which may be interpreted as indicating a lower degree of grammaticalisation in that language.

Finally, the fact that the grammaticalisation of this phenomenon seems to be crosslinguistically rare even if its sources are quite various (cf. Antonov 2013) could be accounted for at least in part by hypothesizing on the one hand the necessity of a closely-knit society with minimal dialectal diversity and no outside influence leading to generalized bilingualism, and on the other, the intricate sociolinguistic circumstances to which allocutivity seems to be subject and its consequent non-appearance in corpora which do not include spontaneous conversations. Indeed, the fact that allocutivity has been declining in Basque is certainly not unrelated to bilingualism with either Spanish, French or both, as well as to the complex conditions which trigger it in most dialects that still have it.

Needless to say, there are differences both in the way the allocutive markers surveyed here are used in each language, and the precise import they have. These are certainly a by-product of the different origins which these markers have in each of the languages under study, a topic which falls outside of the scope of the present article (but see Antonov 2013).

The similarities on the other hand are more numerous and I hope I have been able to show that they are worthy of further study.

Correspondence address: INALCO-CRLAO, 2 rue de Lille, 75007 Paris (France); e-mail: anton.antonov@inalco.fr

Acknowledgements: I am grateful to Gilles Authier, Balthasar Bickel, Walter Bisang, Hilary Chappell, Denis Creissels, Guillaume Jacques, Enrique Palancar, Thomas Pellard, Françoise Rose and Dan Trott, as well as the audiences at Sedyl (Paris), ALT 10 (Leipzig) and the members of the Surrey Morphology Group (University of Surrey), for useful comments and corrections on previous versions of this paper. I would also like to thank Frans Plank and three anonymous reviewers who have greatly contributed to improving it. All remaining errors are my own.

Abbreviations: A agent; ABL ablative; ABS absolutive; ACC accusative; ALLAT allative; ALLOC allocutive; ASP aspectual marker; AUX auxiliary; DECL declarative; CVB converb; COND conditional; COP copula; DAT dative; DECL declarative; DEF definite; DET determiner; DIST distal; EMPH emphatic; EQUAT equative; ERG ergative; EVID evidential; F feminine; FAM familiar; FOC focus; FUT future; GEN genitive; HON honorific; IMP imperative; IMPRF imperfective; INCHO inchoative; INTER

interrogative; LOC locative; M masculine; NEG negative; NMLZ nominalizer; NOM nominative; OPT optative; P patient; PL plural; POSS possessive; POT potential; PREF prefix; PREV preverb; PRF perfect; PROG progressive; PROX proximate; PRS present; PRT particle; PRF perfective; PST past; QUOT quotative; RECIP recipient; REFL reflexive; REL relator; RSP respect; SEQ sequential; SG singular; TOP topic; TR transitivizer, S intransitive subject.

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