

# The Speaker in Inverse Vocatives

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## 1. Introduction

An increasing number of studies argue for a syntactic computation of speech acts, covering the discourse participants (speaker and hearer/addressee) and their relation to the sentence (Speas & Tenny 2003; see also Hill 2007, 2014; Giorgi 2010; Haegeman 2014; Sigurðsson 2011; Heim et al 2014). Important evidence proposed in this respect comes from: (i) the morphosyntactic encoding of the allocutive agreement through verb endings (e.g., agreement with the addressee in Basque; Miyagawa 2012, 2017); (ii) dedicated sentence final particles (e.g., agreement with the speaker or the addressee in Jingpo; Zu 2013); and (iii) the behavior of injunctive/hortative particles in relation to vocatives and sentence structure (Haegeman & Hill 2013; Hill 2014).

One common factor in all these studies is that the speaker is always silent. That is, although the hearer can easily be spelled out through a vocative phrase (i.e., a DP with extended projection to a vocative phrase - VocP), there is no equivalent when it comes to the speaker (i.e., there is no DP with extended projection to a “speaker” phrase). This paper focuses on inverse vocatives in Turkish, which are marked direct addresses where both the addressee and the speaker are spelled out. These constructions contradict the generalization that the speaker is silent, such as implicitly or explicitly pointed out in current studies on the mapping of discourse participants (e.g., Giorgi 2010, Heim et al 2014, Hill 2007, 2014, Miyagawa 2012, 2017, Ross 1970, Sigurðsson 2011, Speas & Tenny 2003). The study aims to sort out the syntactic configuration that may allow for it, and to understand why the default condition for the speaker is to be silent.

First, we identify the configuration that allows the speaker to be silent, namely a Speech Act Phrase (SAP) articulated over at least two layers (for speaker and addressee, respectively), and confirm that this is crosslinguistically the default mapping of discourse participants. Then we argue that inverse vocatives arise from a collapsed SAP that entails a different bundling of the same functional features, in a way that triggers the mapping of an affective/imposter operator in the structure. This operator is responsible for the speaker spellout.

The paper is organized as follows: Section 2 presents the question and the working hypothesis for this paper. Section 3 discusses the data on inverse vocatives. Section 4 introduces the theoretical framework and the configuration in which feature checking entails a silent speaker as a side effect. Section 5 proposes an analysis of inverse vocatives by examining how the default configuration discussed in the previous section can be modified in a way that requires a different mechanism for feature checking. Section 6 concludes the investigation and points out the theoretical relevance of our analysis.

## 2. Questions and working hypothesis

We start from the observation that the spellout of discourse participants is asymmetrical: while the addressee can be identified by a name, the speaker cannot. For example, in (1), *John* may refer only to the addressee (it is analyzed as a vocative phrase) but never to the speaker (it is never analyzed as an equivalent speaker phrase); hence, the generalization that the speaker is silent (see especially Sigurðsson (2011)).

- (1) *John*, these are not our guests.

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This generalization is challenged by Turkish inverse vocatives, where both the addressee and the speaker are spelled out. For example, in (2), the noun refers to the addressee, while the possessive clitic spells out the speaker.

- (2) Leyla-**si**, ne yap-abil-ir-im sen-in için?  
 Leyla-POSS.3SG what do-ABIL-AOR-1SG you-GEN for  
 ‘Leyla, what can I do for you?//Literally: her/his Leyla, what can I do for you?’

The empirical evidence indicates that, crosslinguistically, the silent speaker is the default option, and that includes Turkish as well. Thus, inverse vocatives as in (2) are a marked option that occurs side by side with the default one. Hence, the question is two-fold: (i) why is a silent speaker preferred?; and (ii) what triggers the spellout of the speaker in inverse vocatives?

Our working hypothesis is that the spellout of discourse participants depends on the feature checking mechanism, which is implemented differently in (1) and (2). Therefore, we must identify the triggers for a default versus a marked derivation of direct addresses.

### 3. Data

The label inverse vocatives refers to the alternate association of the DP and the pronoun seen in (2) with pragmatic roles: the DP and the pronoun can take turns for spelling out either the speaker or the hearer (the roles can be inverted), and both features are checked out concurrently. This is further illustrated for Turkish in (3).

- (3) a. (The elder brother addresses his little female sibling)  
 Abi-**si**, ayakkablar-ım-ı getir-ir-mi-sin?  
 brother-3SG shoes-1SG-ACC fetch-AOR-Q-2SG  
 ‘[Her] brother, can you fetch my shoes? (from *İntihar*, a novel)
- b. (A patient addresses his/her doctor)  
 Peki, sana ne de-meli, doktor-cuğ-**u**?  
 well you-DAT what say-should doctor-DIM-3SG  
 ‘Well, [his/her] doctor, what about you?’

In (3a), the noun indicates the speaker while the enclitic possessive pronoun indicates the addressee. In (3b), the noun stands for the addressee and the possessive enclitic for the speaker. The possessive pronoun, glossed as 3sg, comes in the invariable 3rd person singular at all times. The data in (2)/(3) show that the string [noun > 3sg possessive] can equally spell out the sequences speaker > addressee or addressee > speaker. The reading depends on the context.

Speakers agree that they choose inverse vocatives over regular direct addresses (with vocatives only) when affectation is involved: the speaker conveys a high degree of endearment (or the opposite) while uttering the demand or the question. Regular vocatives have a much more neutral point of view. So, empirically, inverse vocatives come marked for affection.

### 4. Theoretical framework

The literature provides sufficient theoretical tools for tackling these data: there are studies on imposter operators, which are likely involved in the reading of the possessive clitic in (2) and (3) as either speaker or addressee; and there are detailed studies on the mapping of discourse participants to syntax. In this section, we provide a list of the concepts we borrow and indicate how they help to answer our questions.

#### 4.1. Imposters

For the interpretation of the possessive form in (2) and (3), we adopt structural mechanisms that allow pronouns to be used indexically irrespective of their person semantics. For example, in an address

like *Would her majesty need anything else?*, the pronoun *her* displays a 3rd person form but indicates the hearer, that is, 2nd person. Such deviations are known as *imposters* or *camouflage DPs* and are discussed, among others, in Kratzer (2009), Collins & Postal (2012), Collins (2014); Podobryaev (2014), Akkuş (2017).

More precisely, an imposter means that a notionally *X* person DP which is grammatically *Y* person,  $X \neq Y$ , e.g. *the present authors, the undersigned* (Collins & Postal, 2012:5). On the other hand, a camouflage DP stands for a DP where the relevant denotation is signaled by the pronoun: 1st person for speakers; 2nd person for addressees; e.g. *your highness*.

Podobryaev (2014) provides an account of DP interpretation under which imposters are semantic binders, and phi-features are semantically interpreted. Imposters can be syntactically ordinary 3rd person DPs that refer to the speaker or the addressee because they license silent assignment-function manipulating operators in syntax. These operators make uninterpretable/undefined 1st or 2nd person features, which are part of referential indices interpreted by an assignment function. 1st/2nd person pronouns are impossible in the scope of such operators, or operators are not introduced in the case of 1st/2nd person pronouns.

Akkuş & Frank (2016) and Akkuş (2017) point out that the picture is more complex, and argue that Podobryaev's analysis must be extended to camouflage DP, since the possessor pronoun inside turns out to be subject to the requirement of the imposter operator. Evidence comes from agreement contrasts as in (4).

- (4) a. Zatialiniz çok yorgun-Ø/-sunuz.  
       your highness very tired-3/-2  
       ‘Your highness is very tired’  
    b. Zatialleri çok yorgun-Ø/\*-sunuz.  
       his highness very tired-3/\*-2  
       ‘His highness is very tired.’

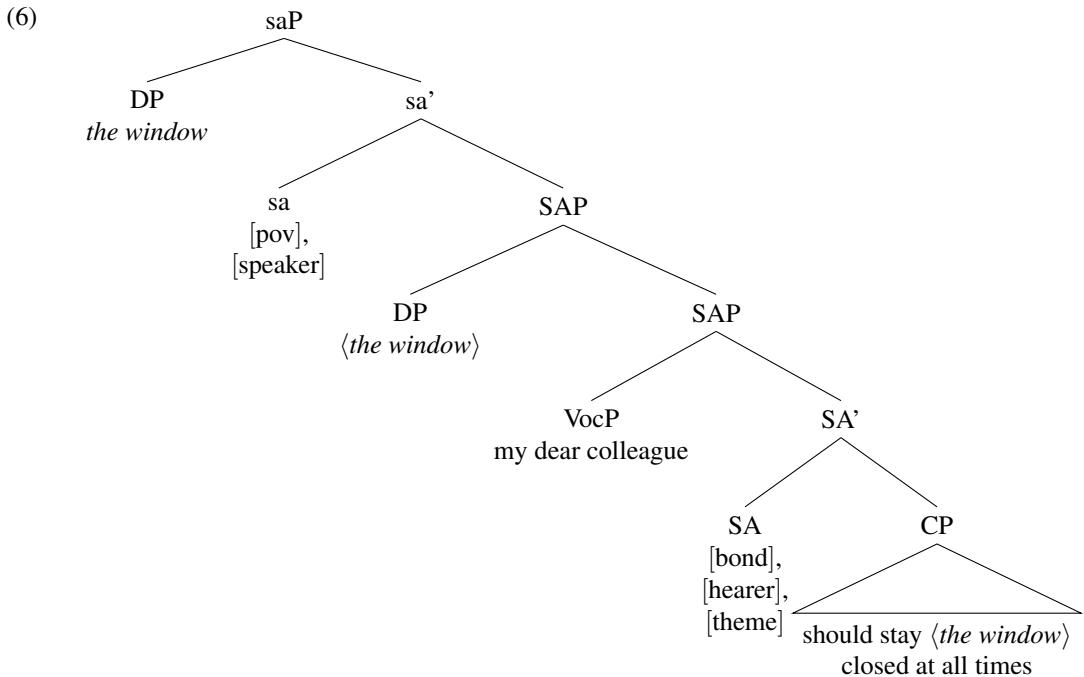
In (4a), agreement on the predicate ‘tired’ may vary between 3rd and 2nd person when the possessor inside the camouflage DP is 2nd person. The same is, however, not possible in (4b), where the pronoun is in 3rd person.

We argue that the possessive clitic in inverse vocatives as in (2) and (3) qualifies as an imposter (not a camouflage DP). While this appears empirically uncontroversial, the task is to understand why an imposter operator occurs with inverse but not with regular vocatives.

#### 4.2. *Speech acts*

The framework we adopt for the mapping of speech acts to syntax is the cartographic representation discussed in Speas & Tenny (2003) and further refined in Hill (2007, 2014), Haegeman & Hill (2013). An illustration is provided in (6) for the example in (5).

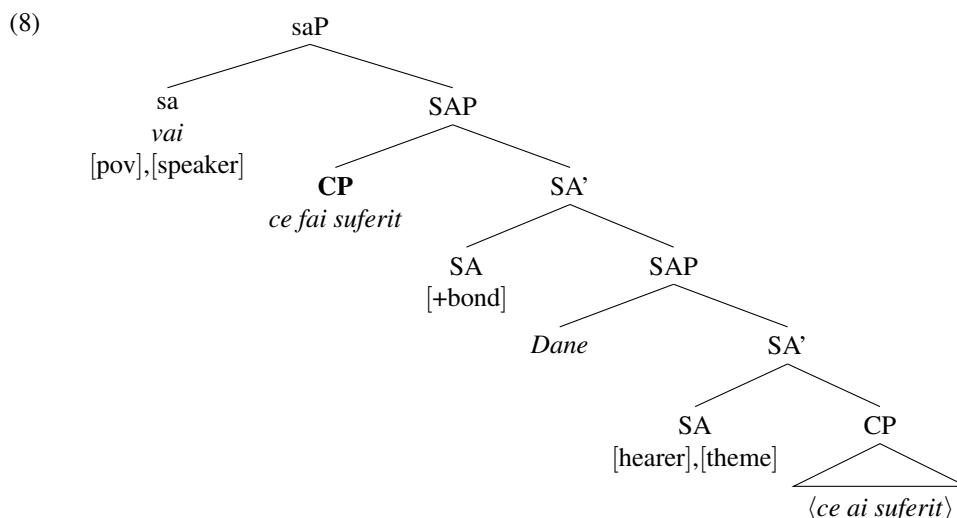
- (5) The window, my dear colleague, should stay closed at all times.



In (6), the illocutionary speech act is mapped to syntax by following the template of a verb, that is, the pragmatic roles are functional features associated with the positions of an argument structure. The pragmatic (p) role features are: speaker p-role; hearer p-role; and theme p-role, distributed similarly to th-roles within vP/VP. Furthermore, there are discourse related features, namely [pov] and [bond]. [Pov] captures the speakers perspective on the content of the utterance. [Bond] captures the speakers manipulation of the hearer: an inactive [bond] yields an identification reading concerning the role of an entity as a discourse participant; on the other hand, an active [bond] yields a reading where the speaker tries to obtain the consent of an entity that has been previously established as the discourse participant. The p-role features trigger the projection of A Specifiers, whereas the discourse features trigger the projection of A' Specifiers. Basically, (6) shows that the hearer p-role is checked by a vocative in an A-type Spec, separately from [bond], whereas the speaker p-role is bundled with the [pov]. The bundle is checked by a constituent from inside CP which is A' moved cyclically to a discourse position (non-quantificational, topic type chain), thus also checking [bond]. Therefore, we do not have a separate A Spec for the speaker, in the way we see the A Spec for the hearer (with vocatives).

English may be confusing in the sense that one cannot tell whether the moved constituent lands in A' Spec, saP or in A' Spec, SAP, above the vocative. However, other languages that have dedicated particles for sa and SA heads can clearly indicate the bundling of [pov] and [speaker]. For example, in Romanian the speaker particle *vai* in sa delimits the extent of constituent movement in relation to the vocative phrase in Spec, SAP, as in (7). In (8) we provide the underlying structure for (7a). The structure for (7b) is equivalent to (6), with the proviso that the entire CP moves to Spec, saP in (7b), versus to Spec,SAP in (8).

- (7) a. Vai ce-ai suferit Dane!  
PRT.1 what-have.2SG suffered Dan.VOC  
'How much you have suffered, Dan!
- b. Ce-ai suferit, vai Dane!  
what-have.2SG suffered PRT Dan.VOC  
'How much you have suffered, Dan!'



There are differences in intonation and interpretation between (7a) and (7b), the former highlighting the speaker's distress, whereas the latter highlights the intensity of the related event/state. In both utterances, the speaker intends to bond to Dan, whose role as a discourse participant has already been established. For the analysis proposed in this paper, we adopt the structure of saP/SAP in (6), where the [speaker] feature free-rides on [pov] for checking. This feature bundling explains why the speaker is silent, since only [pov] is spelled out. Note that a similar bundling applies in (8), the difference being that the relevant features are both checked by a performative particle merged as a head, instead of constituent movement to Spec,sap. In both cases, the speaker remains unnamed, which is not the case in inverse vocative constructions.

## 5. Analysis

In this section, we argue that inverse vocatives follow a different derivational pattern than Turkish direct addresses with regular vocatives: while the latter have the underlying configuration in (6), with a split saP/SAP, the former display a collapsed s/SAP field. The functional features bundle differently in this structure and yield different reading effects.

### 5.1. Regular vocatives in Turkish

Turkish, like English, allows for direct addresses with optional vocatives but systematically silent speaker, as in (9) and (10). We refer to such constructions as *regular vocatives*.

- (9) Ben-im güzel kız-ım, ne yap-abil-ir-im sen-in için?  
 I-GEN beautiful daughter-1POSS what do-ABIL-AOR-1SG you.SG-GEN for  
 'My beautiful daughter, what can I do for you?'

- (10) Ben-im güzel kız-lar-ım, ne yap-abil-ir-im siz-in için?  
 I-GEN beautiful daughter-PL-1POSS what do-ABIL-AOR-1SG you.PL-GEN for  
 'My beautiful daughters, what can I do for you?'

In (9) and (10) we see a vocative phrase in singular and plural, respectively, showing that the noun is inflected, and so is the enclitic possessive pronoun, for person values. Vocative phrases (VocP) are considered extensions of regular DP/NP structure due to the mapping of 2nd person and inter-personal features at the left periphery of nominal projections (Moro 2003, Espinal 2013, Hill 2014). Here, we are not concerned with the internal structure of VocP but only with the general properties that allow us to recognize whether a constituent qualifies as a VocP. These are:

- (i) agreement on the possessive pronoun with the possessor (here, the speaker);
- (ii) variability in number value, which is singular in (9) but plural in (10);
- (iii) an obligatory addressee reading on the noun (*kız-ım* ‘daughter’).
- (iv) the inter-personal feature is underspecified, its reading arising from the pragmatic context (e.g., (in)formality, kinship relation, social hierarchy etc.)

In the derivation of the pragmatic field, VocP merges as the indirect object of SA in order to check the [hearer] p-role, as in (6). The speakers point of view is kept neutral, since the CP is left in situ, together with all its contents.

## 5.2. Two constituents in inverse vocatives

In this section, we argue that the inverse vocative is not a single VocP constituent, but involves two items merged separately in the derivation. This explains why the clitic is invariable.

First, we check on the phrasal status of the noun that occurs in inverse vocatives. The test in (11) indicates that this noun projects a phrasal structure of the type NP/DP, since it can be modified by an adjective. Furthermore, since this noun can denote the addressee, it also follows that it can project up to VocP.

- (11) %güzel doktor-u, bak ban-a!  
 beautiful doctor-his/her look me-DAT  
 ‘his/her beautiful doctor, look at me!’

Second, coordination tests indicate that the possessive enclitic does not belong to the DP/VocP: in (12), the enclitic attaches to the entire coordination phrase, not to each DP/VocP, so it is external to these phrases.

- (12) a. dayı ve amca-sı  
 maternal uncle and paternal uncle-3SG  
 ‘her/his maternal and paternal uncles  
 b. ?doktor ve hemire-si  
 doctor and nurse-3SG  
 ‘his/her doctor and nurse’

Finally, the enclitic is invariable, which contrasts with its use within DPs or VocPs, where it inflects for person – see its use in regular vocatives in (11) and (12). Moreover, the enclitic is obligatory with inverse vocatives, while it is optional with regular vocatives. Also, the reading on the enclitic is not that of possession but of referencing a discourse participant.

From these data, we conclude that the possessive enclitic has been stripped of the possessive feature and was reanalyzed as a pragmatic marker for discourse participants. As such, it merges in the derivation outside the nominal phrase/phase.

Further evidence for the analysis of the enclitic as a pragmatic marker versus a possessive pronoun comes from its behavior in inverse vocatives in Sason Arabic. The variation is that, unlike Turkish, Sason Arabic displays gender inflection on possessive pronouns in inverse vocatives. Crucially, the gender inflection reflects the biological gender of the discourse participants (allocutive agreement), not of the noun it is attached to. The pronoun is semantically bleached, on a par with the Turkish equivalent. Hence, again, these pronouns are pragmatic markers, not possessive adjectives within DPs.

- (13) a. Layla zəll-u əbən-na amma-ye?  
 Layla GEN-POSS.3M son-our where-COP.3  
 ‘His Leyla, where is our son?’  
 (husband addresses his wife Leyla; agreement with speaker)

- b. Layla zəll-**a**            laa tənse        ina axt-ki            kəttu  
 Layla GEN-POSS.3F not forget.2F I    sister-2F.POSS be.1SG  
 ‘Her Leyla, dont forget, I am your sister’  
 (older sister addresses younger sister Leyla; agreement with speaker)
- (14) a. ?Layla zəll-**u**            nəsit        əçax cawwəj-na?  
 Layla GEN-POSS.3M forget.2M when married-1PL  
 ‘His Leyla, did you forget when we got married?’  
 (Leyla addresses her husband; agreement with addressee)
- b. ?Layla zəll-**a**            ənte en        ba le əmmad kətte  
 Layla GEN-POSS.3F you.F most good of mothers be.2F.SG  
 ‘Her Leyla, you are the best mother!’  
 (Leyla addresses her mother; agreement with addressee)

Allocutive agreement is a concept first proposed for Basque (see Miyagawa 2012 and references within). Crucially, in Basque the allocutive agreement is marked as an ending on verbs, while the inverse vocatives show that nominal items may also serve for encoding this feature at the high left periphery.

To conclude, inverse vocatives contain two items: a DP/VocP and a pragmatic marker with a nominal feature (it has to be nominal since it indicates an entity, not an event). Hence, inverse vocatives are not vocatives per se, in the sense that they do not arise within a VocP. These are different structures that involve the derivation of the saP/SAP field. The reading of inverse vocatives supports this inference since it involves an obligatory performative affectation that does not apply to regular vocatives: these marked constructions are meant to make someone behave in a certain way in the name of explicitly proffered endearment. Performativity is a speech act feature (Searle, 1969).

### 5.3. *The structure of inverse vocatives*

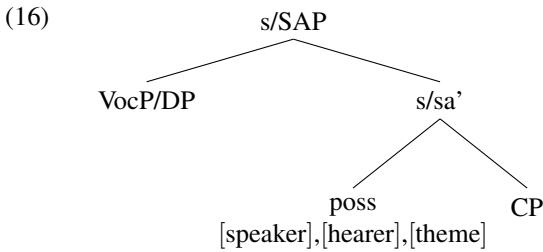
The first argument is that inverse vocatives arise from a Spec-head configuration within saP. There are two pieces of evidence in this respect:

(i) The obligatory adjacency between the noun and the enclitic marker indicates a configuration where the DP/VocP is in the Spec of the head with the enclitic marker.

(ii) There is free alternation between noun and enclitic for checking the speaker and hearer p-roles. This indicates that these features are bundled on the same head, and furthermore, that the noun and the enclitic are equidistant to that head. Further illustration of this alternation is provided in (15), where the different biological gender for discourse participants makes no difference for the p-role alternation or for the enclitic form.

- (15) a. (A girl addresses her boyfriend)  
 Tatlı-sı,        neredə kal-dı-n?  
 sweet-3SG where remain-PAST-2SG  
 ‘[His] sweet, where have you been?’
- b. Arkadaş-ı bak-ar-mı-sın?  
 friend-3SG look-AOR-Q-2SG  
 ‘[Her/his] friend, excuse me!’

If this analysis is on the right track, then we cannot have a split articulation of the saP/SAP field, as in (6), but a collapsed one, which is the only way [speaker] and [hearer] features can have interchangeable checking items. This is shown in (16).



The second argument concerns the status of discourse features, which were shown in (6) to be distributed over two layers of saP/SAP. If the field is collapsed, as in (16), it follows that the discourse features, i.e., [pov] and [bond], are also bundled with the p-role features on the same head. P-role features trigger the projection of an A-Spec, while discourse features trigger the projection of A'-Specs, which need to be added to (16). The next section focuses on the status of discourse features in the collapsed configuration.

#### 5.4. *Speech act imposters*

In (6), the discourse features associated with saP/SAP are [pov] and [bond]. However, an utterance arising from (6) contrasts with an inverse vocative insofar as [pov] is underspecified in the former while it is obligatorily valued for affectation in the latter. In other words, the exact interpretation of the point of view depends on the context in (6), while in inverse vocatives, the point of view is unambiguous.

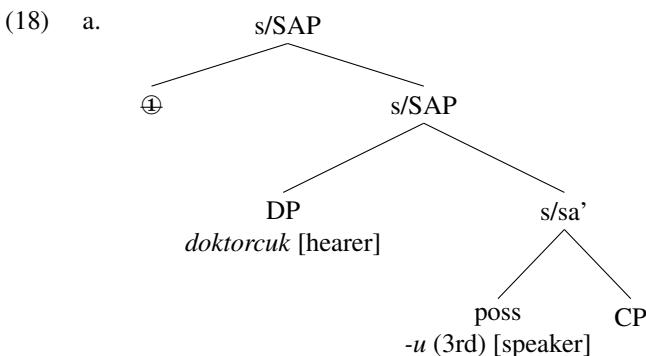
Accordingly, we suggest that the [pov] feature, which is underspecified in (6), comes in the derivation with a fixed [affect] value in inverse vocatives. When that takes place, both discourse participants involved in the affective relation must be spelled out.

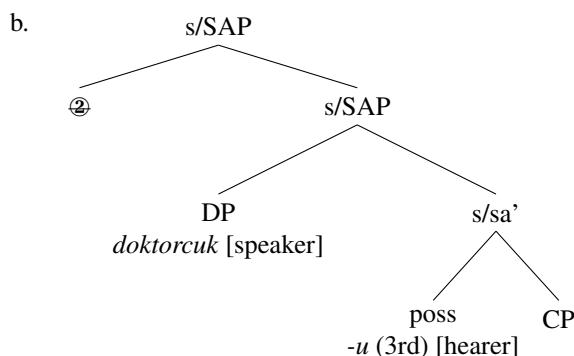
In these configurations, the reference for the enclitic raises further questions. Since the enclitic displays an invariable 3rd person form, how can it denote a speaker or an addressee? We suggest that invariable (3rd person form) pronouns can come to denote speakers or addressees in the presence of semantic imposters, which license silent assignment-function-manipulating *operators* in syntax. In this respect, we follow Podobryaev (2014) imposter-operator analysis, and its implementations in Akkuş & Frank (2016) and Akkuş (2017). Technically, Akkuş & Frank (2016) establish a requirement on the *Operator-Imposter Locality*, which imposes a locality constraint on the relation between the imposter and its associated operator, as illustrated in (17):

- (17) **Operator-Imposter Locality (OIL):** An imposter and its associated operator must stand in a c-command relation, and no head or phrase can intervene between them.

**Intervention:** X intervenes between A and B if (i) A asymmetrically c-commands X and X asymmetrically c-commands B, or (ii) B asymmetrically c-commands X and X asymmetrically c-commands A.

The inference is based on the general observation that affective readings arise from the presence of syntactic operators (e.g., Bosse et al (2012) for other contexts), and on the literature on imposters, pointing out that direct addresses are breeding grounds for such categories (Collins & Postal, 2012). Thus, the configuration in (16) is further refined, as in (18).





In (18), both p-role and discourse feature sets are bundled on the only speech act head. The [affect] feature triggers the mapping of an imposter operator, which does not come with a certain value. The actual value is read off the syntactic configuration, depending, mainly, on the type of constituent merged in the A-Spec. That is, if that constituent is a VocP, as in (18a), it forces an addressee reading for the noun, so the enclitic gets a speaker reading by default. On the other hand, if a DP merges as argument, it forces a non-addressee reading on the noun, which is by default the speaker, whereas the enclitic refers to the addressee.

To conclude, inverse vocatives arise from a variation in the distribution of features within the speech act field. In particular, instead of having the p-role features distributed over two layers of structure, we see them all bundled on the same head. The trigger for this modified distribution is the [affect] specification for the speakers point of view. The [affect] feature further triggers the mapping of an imposter operator. Note that these constructions do not qualify for a camouflage DP analysis because the possessive is not internal to the DP (and it is not a possessive any longer).

## 6. Conclusion

This paper looked at Turkish inverse vocatives, where the speaker is spelled out instead of remaining silent. The theoretical framework we adopted allowed us to derive this peculiarity from feature markedness: Direct addresses where the [pov] feature is underspecified display an articulation of the speech act field where [pov] bundles with [speaker], and one constituent, relevant to [pov], can check both features, so the speaker is silent. On the other hand, direct addresses where the speakers point of view comes in the derivation with an [affect] value do not allow for the same feature bundling, since [affect] triggers the mapping of an imposter operator. In such configurations, [speaker] needs independent checking, and this is obtained by a different distribution, where [speaker] bundles with [hearer]. The result is a collapsed versus layered speech act field.

There are two main points of theoretical relevance in this paper: One concerns the imposter operator, which is shown here to merge at the highest level of the left periphery instead of inside the TP, as in Podobryaev (2014). The other concerns the crosslinguistic variation in the mapping of speech act features: while the inventory of features remains constant, variation may arise in their distribution within saP/SAP. This explains crosslinguistic differences in the number of saP layers proposed in the literature, which varies between four layers in West Flemish (i.e., for Haegeman (2014) each feature is mapped to a separate head), to two layers in English and to one layer in Turkish inverse vocatives.

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# Proceedings of the 35th West Coast Conference on Formal Linguistics

edited by Wm. G. Bennett, Lindsay Hracs,  
and Dennis Ryan Storoshenko

Cascadilla Proceedings Project    Somerville, MA    2018

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ISBN 978-1-57473-472-0 library binding

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