

IN THIS TALK

את אויות מוני ביניין ביניין ביניין והייניין ביניין בינייין ביניין ביניין ביניין ביניין בינייין בינייין ביניין בינייין ביניין ביניין ביניין ביניין ביניין ביניין ביניין ביניין ביניין בי

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- + Honorificity and gender
- + Encoding the addressee in the syntactic spine
- + Some insights on language change

Languages: Romance/Italian

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TWO KINDS OF HONORIFICS

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Pronominal

Latin: UOS

Spanish: usted

Italian: voi, lei

French: vous

Portuguese: você

DP-honorifics

Spanish: Vuestra Señoria

Italian: Vossignoria (o.f.), Sua

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Maestà, Sua Santità

Romanian: Excelența Voastră

French: Votre honneur

Portuguese: Vossa Excelência

FROM DP TO PRONOUN

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+ Vuestra merced > + Usted SP

SOME AGREEMENT PATTERNS

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+ Italian Voi, Lei (person, number, gender)

Voi= 2PL (now only restricted to some areas)

Lei= 3sg.F (later addition to the Italian system)

SOME AGREEMENT PATTERNS

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+ Voi

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1. Voi siete you.2PL.HON are.2PL

2. Vous etes you.2PL.HON are.2PL

bella/-o [IT] beautiful.F.SG/M.SG

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belle/beaux beautiful.F.SG/M.SG

SOME AGREEMENT PATTERNS

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1. Voi siete you.2PL.HON are.2PL

bella/-o [IT]
beautiful.F.SG/M.SG

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GENERALIZATION: THE VERB AGREES WITH VOI,
THE ADJECTIVE AGREES WITH THE REFERENT

3. #voi siete
you.2PL are.2PL
You.2PL are beautiful

(OK WITH PLURAL REFERENTS)

THE WAY THE WAY TO THE PROPERTY.

beautiful. M.PL

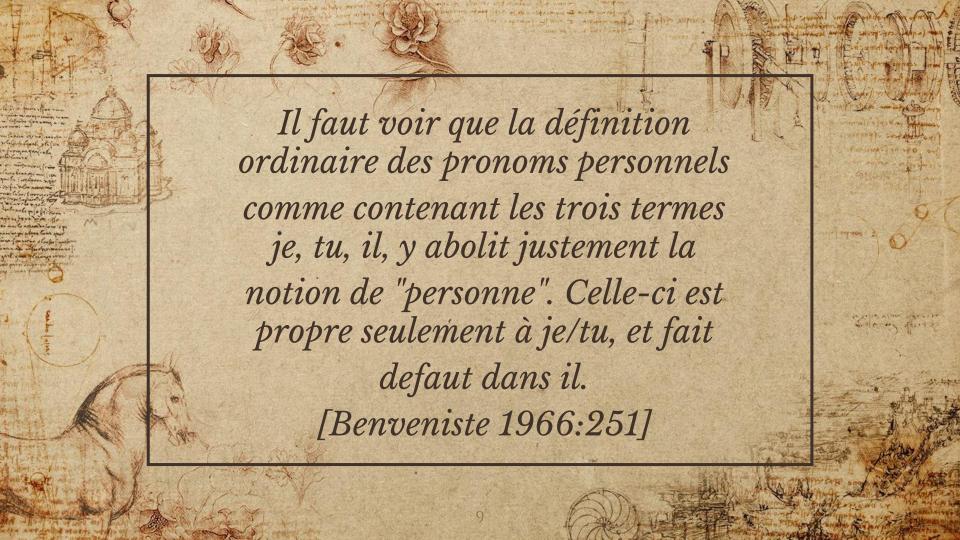
BENVENISTE

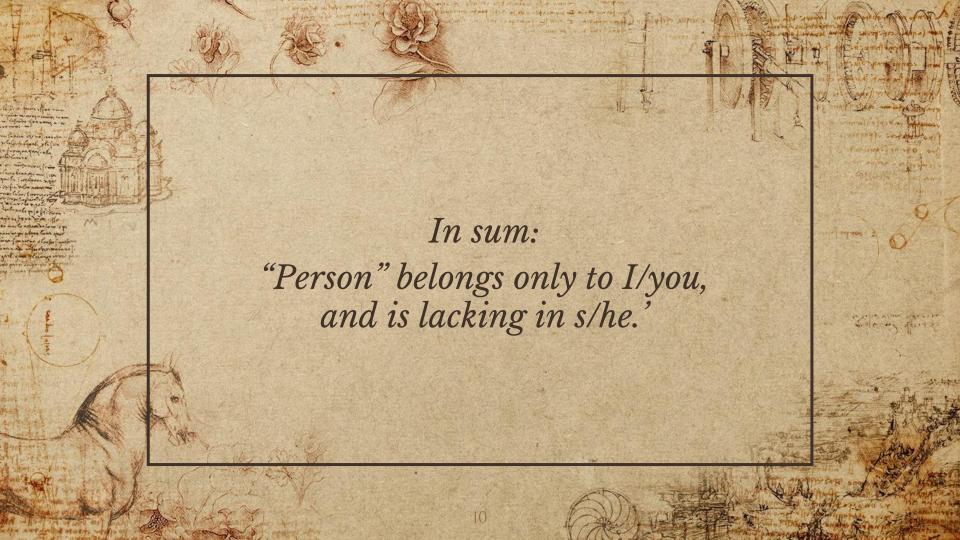
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+ Pronouns do not constitute a unitary class but are of different types depending on the mode of language of which they are the signs. Some belong to the syntax of a language, others are characteristics of what we shall call "instances of discourse", that is, the discreet and always unique acts by which the language is actualized in speech by a speaker (Benveniste 1971:217





THERE IS MORE

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+ It is thus necessary to stress this point: I can only be identified by the instance of discourse that contains it and by that alone. [...] the form of I has no linguistic existence except in the act of speaking in which it is uttered. There is thus a combined double instance in this process: the instance of *I* as referent and the instance of discourse containing I as a referee"

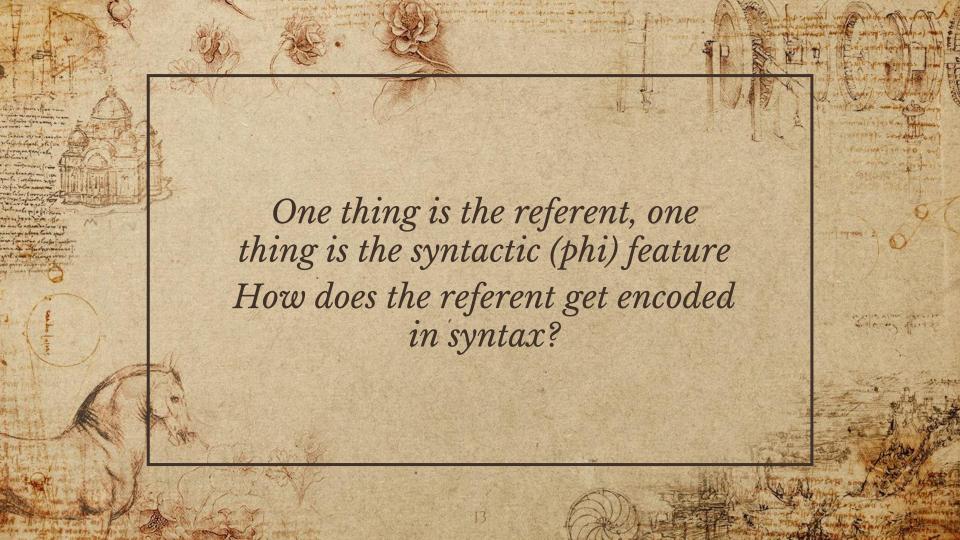
+ (Benveniste 1971:218)

THERE IS MORE

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The definition can now be stated precisely as: *I* is the individual who utters the present instance of discourse containing the linguistic instance *I*" (Benveniste 1971: 218)



OLD QUESTION

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STATE OF THE PROPERTY AND THE PROPERTY.

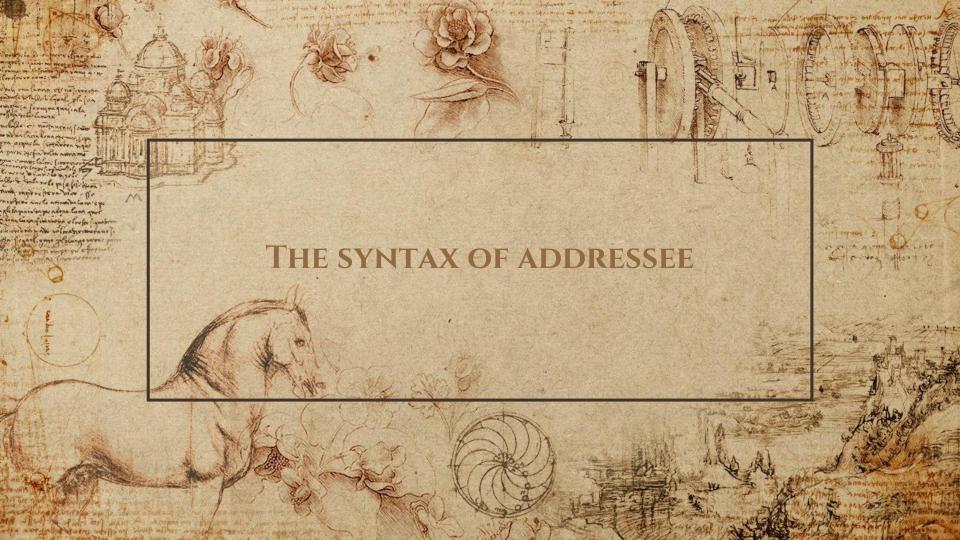
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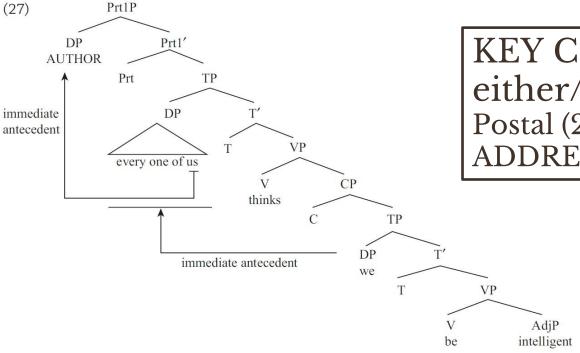
We see overt agreement – in a simple Y-model, where the "semantics" is inserted post-syntactically and compositionally, when do we insert the relevant phi-features?

+ ALREADY PRESENT > not so fast



IMPOSTERS: MULTIPLE ANTECEDENTS

(26) [Every one of us], thinks we,/they, are intelligent.

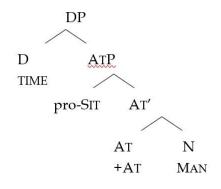


KEY CONCEPT: either/or, Collins & Postal (2012): ADDRESSEE head

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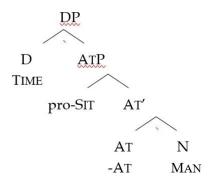
INDEXICAL PRONOUNS

a. First person pronoun



b. Second person pronoun

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WHERE:

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• D is the determiner head, encoding TIME

springs with your manipulation with quite po effects corners to

- pro-SIT is a pronominal situation variable (valued deictically, in the absence of an antecedent)
- AT is a relational head, which maps its complement to its specifier (it states whether its complement is at the location of its specifier –at the utterance location)
- MAN is more or less [+human]

HOW TO READ THIS:

- 1st person denotes a human being who is at the UTTERANCE LOCATION (i.e. at the location OF THE SPEAKER)
- 2nd person: a human being who is not at the UTTERANCE LOCATION (i.e. not at the location of the speaker).

Gruber 2013 (building on Wiltschko): indexical component in pronouns

PERSON HEADS IN THE LEFT PERIPHERY

FP

F FP $\pm participant$ F πP $\pm author$ $\pi \sqrt{\phi}$

person

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lst person [+auth, -part]
2nd person [-auth, +part]
3rd person [-auth, -part]

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Deixis is directly encoded in person pronouns

Terenghi (2023:93)



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bella/-o IT beautiful.F.SG/M.SG

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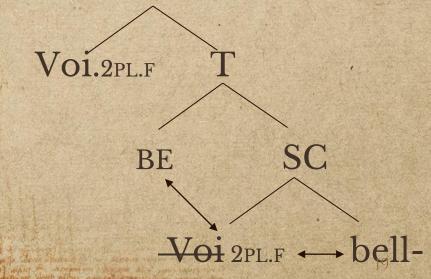
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PP AGREEMENT WITH VOI

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FEMALE REFERENT

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4. Vi hanno you.2PL.HON have.3PL

vist-a/-o seen-F.SG/M.SG

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MALE REFERENT

5. Vi hanno you.2PL.HON have.3PL

vist-o/(*-a)
seen-M.SG

PP AGREEMENT WITH 2P

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Syntactic agreement/like for *tu*, not linked to HON –but also SEM

com (aquali construir office source come

FEMALE REFERENT

4. Vi hanno you.2PL.HON.F have.3PL

vist-a/o

seen-F.SG/M.SG

6. Ti you.2sg.F

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hanno have.3PL

vist-a/o seen-F.SG/M.SG PP+ADJ

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+ Vi ho trovat-a/-o simpatic-a/-o you.2PL I.have found. F.SG/M.SG nice-F.SG/M.SG

pp-F	adj-F
рр-м	adj-M
рр-м	adj-F
pp-F	adj-M

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THE PHI FEATURES OF HON VOI

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CAN WE SAY THAT VOI IS 2PL.F/M?

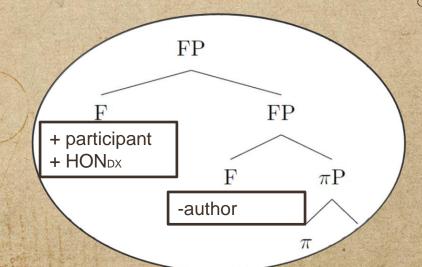
- + Agreement with aux ✓ > plural agreement
- → Agreement with adjective

 ☐ gender concord with referent
- ♣ Agreement with participle ⊗ it is singular, Voi behaves like tu

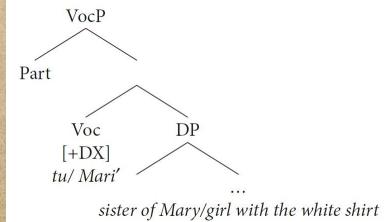
So: is *Voi* singular or plural? If it is singular, where does the aux take plural from?

HONORIFIC LIKE VOCATIVE

+ Voi.HON (refined)



Deix



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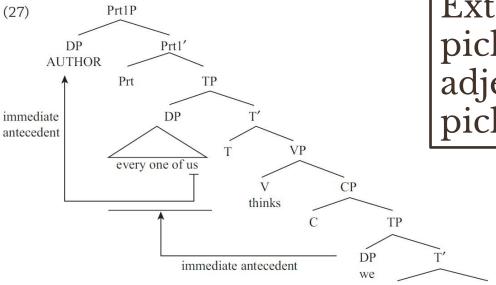
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CAN WE USE IMPOSTERS?

(26) [Every one of us], thinks we,/they, are intelligent.



Extend the idea: T picks closest, adjective & pp picks referent

AdjP intelligent

At least adj and pp have the same behavior

com (aquels conficiels offerent beautiful personal

as what shap we spent authory

EITHER OR/BOTH

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- Not one "antecedent" or the other, but each category targets a different antecedent
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LEI

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Lei.3sg.F

7. Lei è you.3sg.Hon is.3sg

Like Voi?

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bella/-o [IT] beautiful.**F.SG/M.SG**

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LEI/PP AGREEMENT

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Lei.3SG.F FEMALE REFERENT

8. La trovo you.3sg.HON find.1sg 'I find you changed'

MALE REFERENT

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9. La trovo you.3sg.HON find.1sg

cambiat-a/(*-o) changed.F.SG/M.SG

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cambiat-o/-a
changed-M.SG/F.SG

THE PHI FEATURES OF HON LEI

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LEI LIKE VOI

- + Agreement with aux ☑ like Voi
- → Agreement with adjective
 ☐ like voi
- + Agreement with participle? ⊗ NOT like voi

PP AND ADJECTIVAL AGREEMENT

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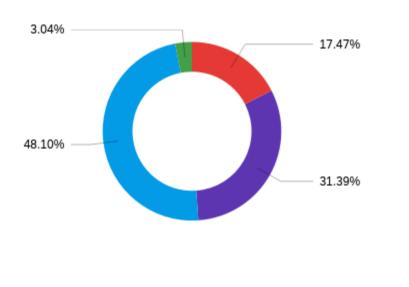
You meet your old (male) boss. He says: I had a very adventurous life after we parted. You reply: "Yes, ..."

and were the and offerment the admit histories they been the the sections of the section

10 L'ho trovat-a/(*-o) cambiat-a/-o

- you.3sg.hon=I.have found.sg.f changed-sg.f/sg.m
- 'I find you changed'
- 11. *L'ho trovato cambiata
- 12. *Vi ho trovata cambiata (for a man)

ONLINE QUESTIONNAIRE



In effetti sì, l'ho trovata cambiata

📕 In effetti sì, l'ho trovato cambiata

In effetti sì, l'ho trovato cambiato

In effetti sì, l'ho trovata cambiato

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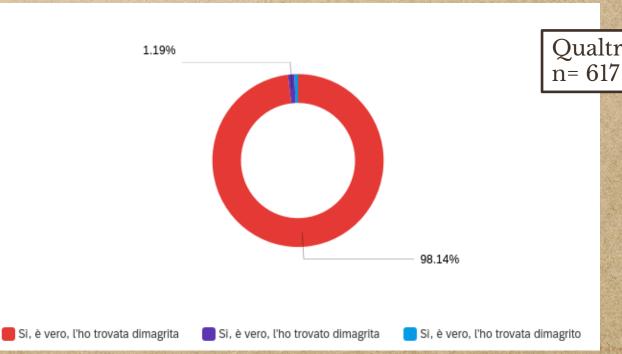
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ONLINE QUESTIONNAIRE



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THE PHI FEATURES OF HON LEI

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LEI LIKE VOI?

- + Agreement with aux ☑ like Voi
- + Agreement with adjective ☑ like Voi (referent)
- + Agreement with participle? ⊗
 - * Either syntactic or semantic (but gender-reversed)

PP AND ADJECTIVAL AGREEMENT

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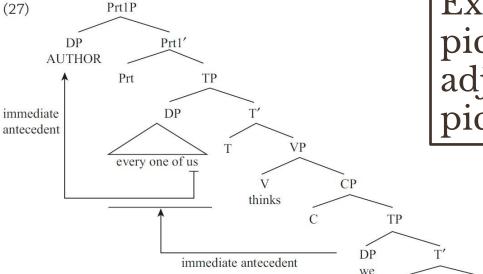
+ L'ho trovat-a simpatic-a/-o you.3sg.HON=I.HAVE found.1sg nice-F.sg/M.sg

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found [sc you ARE nice] ⊗ nice.F you.F but no M agreement on pp found > ECM

RECALL VOI

(26) [Every one of us], thinks we,/they, are intelligent.



Extend the idea: T picks closest, adjective & pp picks referent

AdjP intelligent

At least adj and pp have the same behavior

com (aquali coprificial office descriptions sections)

as what shap we spent authory

THE SYNTAX OF PP-ADJ

+La.F.SG.ACC

рр-г	adj-F
pp-F	adj-M
рр-м	adj-M
рр-м	adj-F

*I found (that) [you (ARE) nice] ECM

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I [found you.F nice.F] >
I you.F=found.F nice.F CL
CLIMBING

COMPARE:

Lei.3sg.F.

рр-г	adj-F
рр-г	adj-M
рр-м	adj-M
рр-М	adj-F

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consumer from some manufaction + Voi.2PL

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рр-г	adj-F
рр-м	adj-M
рр-м	adj-F
pp-F	adj-M

SYNTACTIC AND SEMANTIC AGREEMENT

בשר (ה קומולו ביניין דיינון שולן מה ליניהרים בוניין ביניין ביניין

war for the Voi

Aux: syntactic

Adjective: semantic with referent (deictic)

Pp: syntactic (tu) or semantic (HON) > SHIFT

+ Lei

Aux: syntactic

Adjective: syntactic with lei or semantic with referent

Pp: always syntactic

THE FEATURES OF VOI AND LEI

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+ VOipron [-auth; +part; PL]

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- + Voihon [-auth; +part; +HONDX [F/F] or [M/M]]
- + leipron [-auth; -part; SG; F]
- + Leihon [-auth; -part; +SG; F; + HONDX[F/M];]

SYNTACTIC AND DEICTIC AGREEMENT

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+ Voi

Aux: [P,N] = 2.PL

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Adjective:[+HONDX]

Pp: [+HONDX] or F/M

+ Lei

Aux: [P,N]=3SG

Adjective:[+HONDX] or F

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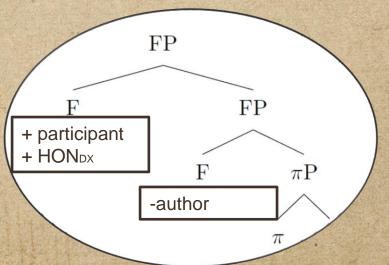
Pp: F

HONORIFICS LIKE VOCATIVES

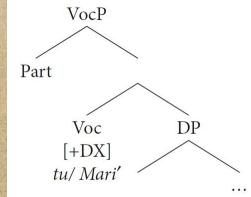
+ Voi.HON

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the life that print money



Deix



sister of Mary/girl with the white shirt

surveyed some rate of ordered and appropriate on a substrate

the principle of circles to terminal sta

A wings not probles goons lapare the man every printer excluse ordered

purple (the horse he me & planter quel from the שמחת וכמוקום מרחוני בועור ביונים כקנו ביוני ב ביונים ב

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+ (true) vocatives: pronominal, and on a vocative head with +dx feature (D'Alessandro & Van Oostendorp (2014), Espinal (2012)

 Dx is one of the features related to discourse/deixis → like focus, topics, etc

DX

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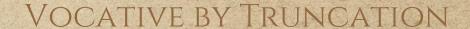
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- + "left peripheral" / discourse features are directly accessible at the interface by prosody
- + Evidence: prosodic phenomena targeting dx vocatives (but not 'predicative' vocatives)



- a. A Mariacarmela Dell'Arcipre', vi' qqua part Mariacarmela Dell'Arciprete come here
- b. Tu, Mariacarmela Dell'Arcipre', vi' qqual you, Mariacarmela Dell'Arciprete come here
- c. Tu, surellə də Marijə, vi' qqua! you, sister of Mary come here
- d. A **Bia'**part Bianca
 'Bianca!'-voc

are any party of war with of west are and and about opposit after

e. Tu nghə la majetta b**biangh**ə! you with the white t-shirt! 'You girl with the white t-shirt'!- voc

[Abruzzese]

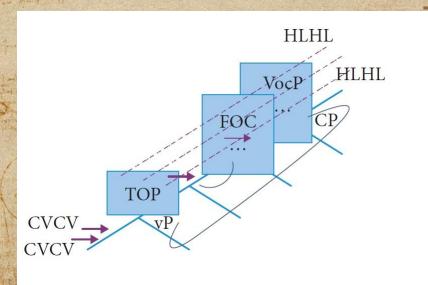
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THE TREE



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+ Interface phenomena are more prone to 'random' change and optionality

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- + Core arguments aren't
- + Pronominal systems are stable, but NOT if the pronouns are honorifics

Change (Terenghi 2023, D'Alessandro, Putnam & Terenghi 2023, D'Alessandro 2023)

CHANGE

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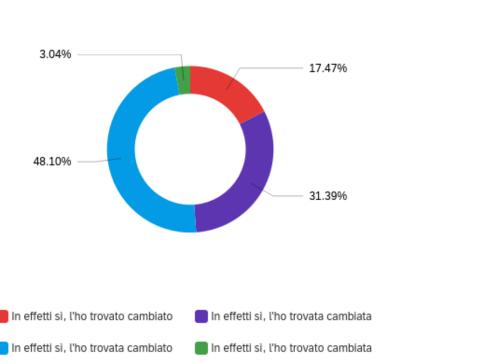
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- * Pure phi features
- * Interaction with discourse
- * Pure phi: change is predictable, no change in pronominal systems or change according to monotonicity
- * Discourse: more random

SOME VARIATION



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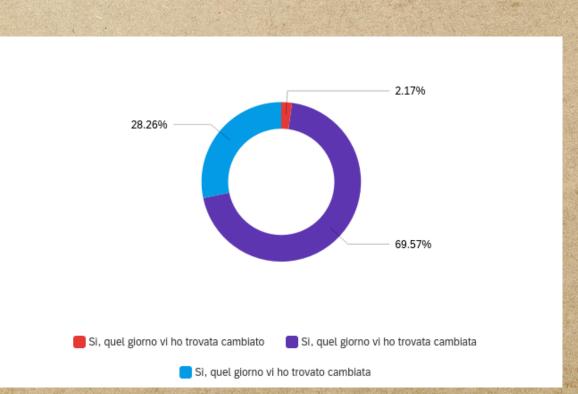
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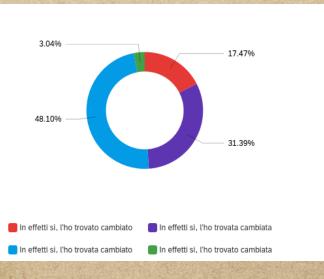


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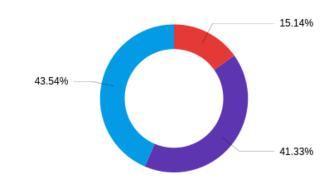
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- Sua Santità, deve mangiare di più. L'ho trovato molto dimagrito stavolta
- 🌉 Sua Santità, deve mangiare di più. L'ho trovata molto dimagrita stavolta
- 🔁 Sua Santità, deve mangiare di più. L'ho trovata molto dimagrito stavolta



RECALL: SPLITTING THE PRONOUN

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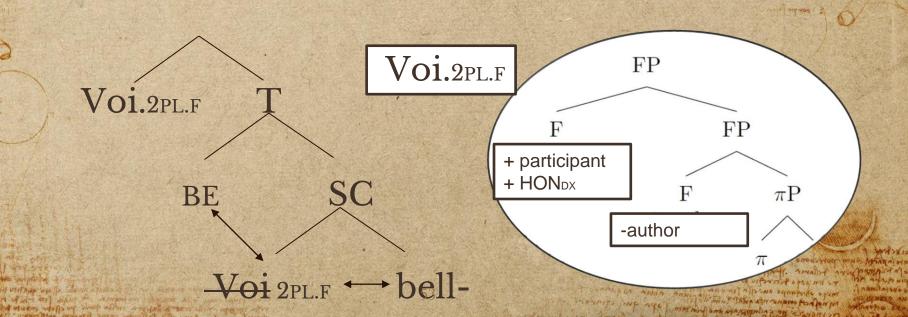
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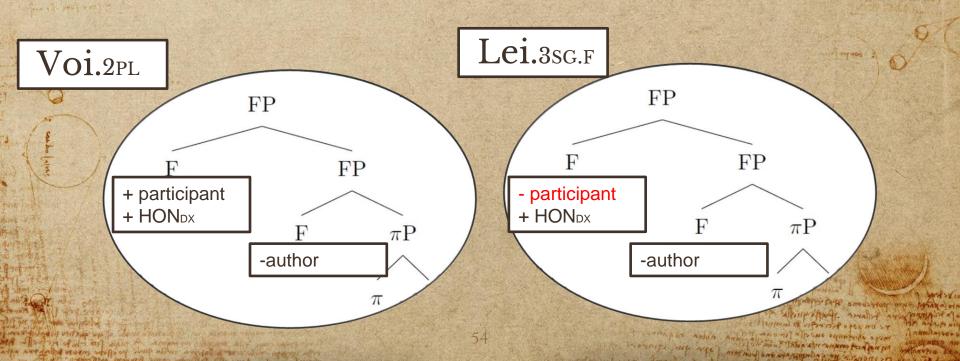
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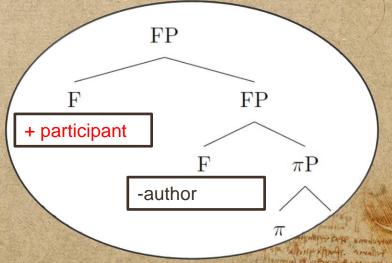
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ARE PARTICIPANT AND DEICTIC THE SAME?

+ Can't we assume the following structure for Lei?



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DEICTIC 3P PRONOUNS

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13. Custù, cussù, cullù [Abruzzese]

3P.M.+AUTH. -PART 3P.M.-AUTH.+PART 3P.M. -AUTH. - PART

'He (next to me), he (next to you), he (far from both)'

14. Chistè, chissè, chillè

3P.F.+AUTH-PART 3P.F.-AUTH+PART 3P.F.-AUTH.-PART

'She (next to me), she (next to you), she (far from both)'

15. Queste/quesse/quelle

TO CONCLUDE

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- + The HON feature is a separate feature
- + It impacts the agreement patterns
- + It is related to gender (in Romance)
- + It is not a purely deictic feature

arranged actions manufally adapted and man-its about a well or adapted

ming seen with most defend mind the assemptions of med the state of most approximate and all the record

- + Dx is where change penetrates the otherwise stable pronominal system
- + Benveniste had got it all right!

THANKS questions and references: r.dalessandro@uu.nl

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Thanks to: Diego Pescarini, Chris Collins, Dalina Kallulli



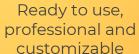
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