

# On person and mood

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# Outline

Introduction

Imperatives

Intentionality & non-visual evidence

Interrogatives, visual evidence & inferential evidence

Conclusions

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# Speech acts & predicates

- ▶ Structure of an utterance

(1) [SpeechAct Speaker Addressee ... [Predicate Subject ...]]

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(1) [SpeechAct Speaker Addressee ... [Predicate Subject ...]]

- ▶ Prediction: cross-reference between speech act and predicate  
→ interesting things happen

(2) [SpeechAct Speaker<sub>*i*</sub> Addressee ... [Predicate Subject<sub>*i*</sub> ...]]

(First person subject)

(3) [SpeechAct Speaker Addressee<sub>*j*</sub> ... [Predicate Subject<sub>*j*</sub> ...]]

(Second person subject)

(4) [SpeechAct Speaker<sub>*i*</sub> Addressee<sub>*j*</sub> ... [Predicate Subject<sub>*i+j*</sub> ...]]

(Inclusive subject)

- ▶ Matrix imperative + dependent clause with 1SBJ  
→ same subject marking

(5) [liwsha *së* yupa=*ja*] limeye *të-yupa-cha-p*  
ahead 1SG go.in=*SS* behind 1SG-go.in-IMP-2PL  
'When I go in first, you guys must follow me inside'

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'When I go in first, you guys must follow me inside'

- ▶ Imperative makes Speaker more important than subject.

(6) \*<sub>[SpeechAct<sub>decl</sub> Speaker<sub>i</sub> Addressee [Predicate Subject SS<sub>i</sub>]]</sub>

(7) <sub>[SpeechAct<sub>imp</sub> Speaker<sub>i</sub> Addressee [Predicate Subject SS<sub>i</sub>]]</sub>

# Japanese

▶ Negative questions as invitations

→ marked with 1, unmarked with 2 as beneficiary

(8) ?*boku no nimotsu ga omoi kara, mota-nai ka?*

I LINK baggage SBJ heavy since hold-NEG Q

'Since my baggage is heavy, won't you bring it?'

(9) *ashita paatii ga aru kara, ko-nai ka?*

tomorrow party SBJ have since come-NEG Q

'Since we're having a party tomorrow, won't you come?'



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► Hidden beneficiary in predicate?

(10) ?[SpeechAct<sub>invit</sub> Speaker<sub>i</sub> Addressee [Predicate Beneficiary<sub>i</sub>]]

(11) [SpeechAct<sub>invit</sub> Speaker Addressee<sub>j</sub> [Predicate Beneficiary<sub>j</sub>]]

# Silverstein hierarchy

- ▶ Silverstein hierarchy:

$$(12) \quad Incl > 1, 2 > 3 > \dots$$

- ▶  $1 > 2$  extremely frequent  
→ probabilistic Silverstein hierarchy:

$$(13) \quad Incl > 1 > 2 > 3 > \dots$$

- ▶ Based on prominence  
→ should account for all person phenomena  
→ “Silverstein-across-the-board”

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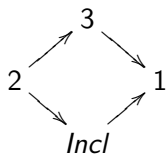
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# Imperative hierarchy

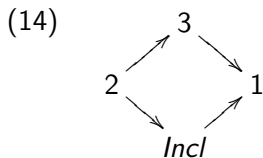
- ▶ Imperatives semantic map  
(Van der Auwera, Dobrushina & Goussev 2004):

(14)



# Imperative hierarchy

- ▶ Imperatives semantic map  
(Van der Auwera, Dobrushina & Goussev 2004):



- ▶ Imperatives hierarchy:  
(15)  $2 > Incl, 3 > 1$

- ▶ Imperative hierarchy incompatible with Silverstein hierarchy

## “How about”: Georgian

- ▶ special ‘how about’-construction  
needs 2 as matrix subject and 2/Incl as embedded subject

(16) *rogora xar imaze, rom yvino momiṭano?*  
how 2.are it.on that wine 2.bring.me.it.CONJ  
‘How about bringing me some wine!’

## “How about”: Georgian

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how 2.are it.on that wine 2.bring.me.it.CONJ  
‘How about bringing me some wine!?’

- ▶ Construction suggests hierarchy for embedded clause:

(17) 2, *Incl* > 1, 3

- ▶ Same as in English:

(18) How about seeing a doctor? 2SBJ

(19) How about seeing a movie? InclSBJ

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## Intentionality: Yurakaré

- ▶ *ni* + 1/Incl → intentional

(20) *at=chi mala-ni*  
DEM=DIR go.SG-NI(1SG)  
'I am about to go there now'

- ▶ *ni* + 2/3 → away

(21) *li-wjwa-ni-∅=w*  
DEL-look-NI-3=PL  
'They went (to another place) to look'

- ▶ *ni* + *ni* + 1/Incl → away + intentional

(22) *ma-bëbë-ni-ni ta-tiba-ni=w*  
3PL-search-NI-NI(1SG) 1PL-pet-NI=PL  
'I am about to go (to another place) and look for our pets-to-be'

- ▶ Intentionality unmarked for 1/InclSBJ

## Non-visual evidence: Tariana

- ▶ IMPERS + feeling/desire + NONVIS → 'we (inclusive)'

(23) *yaseni-ku-ne-mia-na*                      *pa-sape-hyuna*  
Tucano-DER-INST-ONLY-PA.VIS IMPERS-talk-CUST  
*kapemani-mhana*              *pha*  
feel.shame-PA.NONVIS IMPERS  
'We spoke only Tucano, we felt shame'

- ▶ IMPERS + feeling/desire + VIS → 'one (generic)'

(24) *hiku-naka*              *pa-ɥri*              *tʃãri*  
thus-PRES.VIS IMPERS-feel man  
'This is how a man feels'

- ▶ Special link inclusive and non-visual evidence

## Non-visual evidence: Tariana

- ▶ 2/3SBJ + NONVIS → empathy with topic

(25) *pa-kamia-nipe*                    *Juvi-nuku inuna*  
IMPERS-illness-NMLZ Jovino-TOP weakened  
*di-ni-mahka*  
3-do-PA.NONVIS  
'Illness has weakened Jovino'

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'Illness has weakened Jovino'

- ▶ Non-visual unmarked for 1/InclSBJ
- ▶ Same hierarchy for intentionality and non-visual direct evidence?

(26) 1, *Incl* > 2, 3

- ▶ Cf. Yellow Uyghur past tense

		1	2	3
(27)	non-evidential	-( <sup>h</sup> )tī	*	*
	evidential	*	-(i)ptī	-(i)ptī

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## Interrogatives: West Greenlandic

- ▶ Full separate interrogative paradigm only for 2SBJ

	1	2	3
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
0	<i>takuvunga</i>	<i>takuvutit</i> <i>takuit</i>	<i>takuvoq</i> <i>takua</i>
(28)	1	<i>takuarma</i> <i>takuinga</i>	<i>takuaanga</i>
	2	<i>takuakkit</i>	<i>takuaatit</i>
	3	<i>takuara</i>	<i>takuat</i> <i>takuiuk</i>
			<i>takuaa</i> ( <i>takuaak</i> )

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	2		<i>takuaatit</i>
	3	<i>takuat</i> <i>takuiuk</i>	<i>takuaa</i> <i>(takuaak)</i>

- ▶ Suggests an Interrogative Hierarchy:

(29) 2 > 3 > 1, *Incl*

Universally valid?

## Interrogatives: Newar

- ▶ Past tense paradigm, verb 'to come'

		1sg	2sg	3sg
(30)	decl	wonā	wona	wona
	interrog	wona	wonā	wona



## Interrogatives: Newar

- ▶ Past tense paradigm, verb 'to come'

		1sg	2sg	3sg
(30)	decl	wonā	wona	wona
	interrog	wona	wonā	wona

- ▶ Explanation:

For declaratives 1 is source of verification

For interrogatives 2 is source of verification

- ▶ Cf. pro drop in English

(31) Went to the market (declarative, diary language)

(32) Need any help? (interrogative)

## Visual evidence: Mỹky

- ▶ visual paradigm in two two tenses for 2SBJ

(33)	subject	present/immediate past		non-immediate past	
		visual	nonvisual	visual	non-visual
	2sg	-si	-hmĩ	-xu	-hmjũ
	2du	-mé-xi	-mé-hmi	-mé-xu	-mé-hmjũ
	2pl	-mǎ-xi	-mǎ-hmĩ	-mǎ-xu	-mǎ-hmjũ

- ▶ for 3SBJ only in non-immediate past visual paradigm  
for 1SBJ no visual paradigms

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- ▶ for 3SBJ only in non-immediate past visual paradigm  
for 1SBJ no visual paradigms
- ▶ Suggests an Visual Evidentiality Hierarchy:

(34)  $2 > 3 > 1$ , *Incl*

Similar to Interrogative Hierarchy

## Inferential & visual evidence: Qiang

- ▶ 3SBJ + INFR + 3 → mirat.

(35) *themle stuaha sə-tʃhə-ji-k-tʃi*

3PL food OR-eat-CSM-INFR-3PL

'They have already eaten' (inference from seeing used dishes)

- ▶ 1SBJ + INFR + 1 → mirat. + unintent.

(36) *qa dʒy h̄a-mə-sua-k-a*

1SG door OR-NEG-lock-INFR-1SG

'I didn't lock the door (but I thought I did)!'

Also in Yukaghir and Tariana.

## Inferential & visual evidence: Qiang

- ▶ 3SBJ + VIS + 3 → dir. vis. evidence

(37) *themle jimí de-se-ji-wu-tçi*  
3PL fertilizer OR-spread-CSM-VIS-3PL  
'They spread the fertilizer' (I saw it)

- ▶ 3SBJ + VIS + 1 → dir. vis. evidence + emphasis

(38) *the: jimí de-se-ji-w-a*  
3SG fertilizer OR-spread-CSM-VIS-1SG  
'She spread the fertilizer' (It was me who saw it)

- ▶ 1SBJ + VIS + 1 → unintent.

(39) *qa the: ta de-we-z-u-a*  
1SG 3SG LOC OR-exist-CAUS-VIS-1SG  
'I hit him (accidentally)'

## Inferential & visual evidence: Qiang

- ▶ 3SBJ + INFR + VIS + 3 → mirat. + indir. vis. evidence

(40) *oh, the: z̥bə zete-k-u!*

oh 3SG drum beat-**INF-VIS**(3SG)

'Oh, he WAS playing a drum (as I guessed and now confirm)!'

- ▶ 3SBJ + INFR + VIS + 1 → mirat. + dir. vis. evidence

(41) *oh, the: z̥bə zete-k-u-a!*

oh 3SG drum beat-**INF-VIS-1SG**

'Oh, he IS playing a drum (as I guessed and now see)!'

- ▶ 1SBJ + INFR + VIS + 1 → mirat. + unintent. + mistake

(42) *qa apə-t̥ɕə-iantu-le: tsa t̥ɕy-k-u-a*

1SG granddad-GEN-pipe-DEF.CL here bring-**INFR-VIS-1SG**

'I mistakenly brought grandfather's pipe here'

# Inferential & visual evidence: Qiang

## ► Overview INFR and VIS

	SBJ	INFR	VIS	V	function
(43)	3	INFR		3	mirat.
	1	INFR		1	mirat. + unintent.
	3		VIS	3	dir. vis. evidence
	3		VIS	1	dir. vis. evidence + emphasis
	1		VIS	1	unintent.
	3	INFR	VIS	3	mirat. + indir. vis. evidence
	3	INFR	VIS	1	mirat. + dir. vis. evidence
	1	INFR	VIS	1	mirat. + unintent. + mistake

## ► Visual and inferential evidentials marked for 1SBJ

## Hearsay: Qiang

- ▶ 3SBJ + 3 + HS → hearsay from someone else

(44) *the: ɕtɕimi ʒdʒi-i*  
3SG heart sick(3SG)-HS  
'He's unhappy (someone told me)'

- ▶ 3SBJ + 1 + HS → hearsay from subject

(45) *the: ɕtɕimi ʒdʒa-i*  
3SG heart sick(1SG)-HS  
'He's unhappy (he told me)'



## Hearsay: Qiang

- ▶ not allowed: 2SBJ + 2 + HS; allowed: 2SBJ + HS

(46) *ʔũ tʂeɣunn tu-pu-ji-i-ji!*  
2SG marry OR-do-ASP-**HS**-ADVM  
'You got married (I heard)!'  
NOT: 'You got married (you said)!'

- ▶ cf. Jarawara: 2SBJ + HS → hearsay from subject

(47) Jarawara  
*ti-fimiha-mone*  
2SG-be.hungry-**HS.F**  
'You were hungry (you said)'

- ▶ With hearsay 2 as news source seems also marked.

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► Hierarchies in this presentation

Old hierarchy

(48)  $Incl > 1, 2 > 3$  (Silverstein)

Attested new hierarchy

(49)  $2 > Incl, 3 > 1$  (Imperative)

Proposed new hierarchies

(50)  $1, Incl > 2, 3$  (Intentional/non-visual)

(51)  $2 > 3 > 1, Incl$  (Interrogative/visual)

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- ▶ The Silverstein Hierarchy alone cannot explain all these effects.
- ▶ A better approach is to assume that different speech acts (defined in a broad sense) have different person preferences (“hierarchies”).
- ▶ The ultimate goal is to attest and explain the preferences for each speech act.

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- ▶ The Silverstein Hierarchy alone cannot explain all these effects.
- ▶ A better approach is to assume that different speech acts (defined in a broad sense) have different person preferences (“hierarchies”).
- ▶ The ultimate goal is to attest and explain the preferences for each speech act.