Embedded allocutivity and its reference

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1 Introduction

- Allocutivity is a phenomenon, wherein certain languages have distinct verbal morphology that encodes the addressee of the speech act.
- A classic example is provided by Basque, where the verb bears distinct endings *-k* and *-n* to encode the male and the female hearer of the speech act.

  (1) *Pette-k lan egin di-k*
  Peter-ERG work do.perf 3.ERG-M
  'Peter worked.' (said to a male friend)

  (2) *Pette-k lan egin di-n*
  Peter-ERG work do.perf 3.ERG-F
  'Peter worked.' (said to a female friend) (Oyharçabal, 1993: ex.92-93)

- The phenomenon is typically considered to be a root phenomenon, which occurs on the matrix verb and refers to the addressee of the speech act (see Miyagawa 2012, 2017 for Basque and Japanese; Portner et al. 2019 for Korean).
- While its root restriction is quite evident in some languages (Korean/Thai), recent studies on Tamil (McFadden 2017) and Magahi (Alok and Baker 2018; Baker & Alok 2019) show that allocutivity can appear in the indirect speech context.
- With a view to better understand the syntax-semantics of embedded allocutivity, we examine two understudied allocutive languages in this paper— Punjabi *je* (Kaur 2017, 2018) and Japanese *-mas* (Miyagawa 2012; Yamada 2018).
- Punjabi (varieties in Kanpur, Lahore and Gujrat district) encodes allocutivity by the presence of *ii/aa* for the singular/non-honorific hearer and *je* for the plural/(non)-honorific hearer of the speech act (see Akhtar 1991, Butt 2007, Kaur 2017).

  (3) *raam kal aayegaa* ***ii/je***.
  Ram.NOM tomorrow come.FUT.M.SG ALLOC.SG/PL
  'Ram will come tomorrow.'

- Similarly, it is well-known from the seminal work by Miyagawa (2012) that Japanese encodes the utterance hearer via the form *-mas-*.

  (4) *ramu-wa ki-**mas**-u.*
  Ram-TOP come-ALLOC.H-PRS
  'Ram will come' (to an honorific hearer).

- In this paper, we have two modest goals:

  Embedded Allocutivity: First, we intend to add Japanese and Punjabi to the list of languages which allow allocutivity in embedded domains (contra Miyagawa's claim for Japanese). The embedding domains vary across the two languages, with Japanese being more generous.

  (Non)-Shifty reading: Secondly, examining the reference of embedded allocutivity, we show that typically, the embedded allocutive marker in both languages refers to the utterance addressee. However, in Punjabi, there is at least one condition under which embedded allocutivity can obtain a shifted reading, i.e. with a co-occurring embedded 1st person pronoun.

- We attempt an account to explain the above facts.

2 Description: Embedding domains

2.1 Japanese

2.1.1 Miyagawa's generalization

- **Previous studies:** Previous studies have tried to reveal the conditions under which embedded allocutive markings are licensed in Japanese (Tagashira 1973; Harada 1976; Nonaka and Yamamoto 1985; Nonaka 2006; Miyagawa 2012, 2017).

- **Miyagawa's classification:** Amongst all, Miyagawa's (2012, 2017) work has become quite influential in recent theoretical linguistics as he discusses the problem in the context of main clause phenomena. First, he points out that there are two different types of main clause phenomena — (i) those that Emonds (1970) discussed and (ii) those that Hooper and Thompson revealed (Table 1). Second, he claims that the embedded allocutive markers are permitted only under Class A predicates, exhibiting Emonds's environment (= (5)a).

  (5) a. Emonds's (1970) environment: only A
  b. Hooper and Thompson's (1973) environment: A, B, E

	A	B	C	D	E
	say report	suppose think	deny be (im)possible	regret be surprised	know learn
Emonds (1970)	√	–	–	–	–
Hooper and Thompson (1973)	√	√	–	–	√
Embedded Alloc.	√	–	–	–	–

Table 1: Miyagawa's generalizatione for Japanese embedded allocutive markers.

(6) Class A
kare$_i$-wa (kanozyo-ni) [*kare$_i$-no hahaoya-ga asita mairi-**mas**-u-koto*]-*o*
he-TOP she-DAT he-GEN mother-NOM tomorrow come-ALLOC.H-PRS-C-ACC
sudeni tugete ori-masi-ta.
already tell PRG-ALLOC.H-PST
'He has already told her that his mother would come tomorrow .'(*-mas* = UttAddr)

2.1.2 Beyond speech act predicates

- **Embedded allocutive markers:** Contrary to Miyagawa's (2012, 2017) generalization, we can find embedded allocutive markers in non-speech act predicates.

(7) Class B (Bouletic predicate)
[*Gakusei-wa sensei-ga intai s-are-**mas**-u-koto-o*] ***nozonde***
student-TOP teacher-NOM retirement do-HONs-ALLOC-PRS-COMP-ACC desire
ori-mas-en.
PRF-ALLOC-NEG
'The students do not want the teacher (= you) to go into retirement.' (*-mas* = UttAddr)

(8) Class B (Doxastic predicate)
[*Gakusei-wa sensei-ga intai s-are-**mas**-u-koto-o*] ***sinzite***
student-TOP teacher-NOM retirement do-HONs-ALLOC-PRS-COMP-ACC believe
ori-mas-en.
PRF-ALLOC-NEG
'The students do not believe the teacher (= you) to go into retirement.' (*-mas* = UttAddr)

(9) Class C
[*Kabin-o kowasite simai-**mas**-ta-koto-wa*] ***hitei itasi**-mas-en.*
vase-ACC break MAL-ALLOC-PST-COMP-TOP denial do-ALLOC-NEG
'I do not deny that I broke the vase.'

(10) Class D (Emotive factive predicate)
[*Kabin-o kowasite simai-**mas**-ta-koto-o*] ***kookai site** ori-mas-u.*
vase-ACC break MAL-ALLOC-PST-COMP-TOP regret do PRG-ALLOC-PRS
'I regret that (I) broke the vase.'

(11) Class E (Epistemic predicate)
kare$_i$-wa [*kare$_i$-no hahaoya-ga asita mairi-**mas**-u-koto*]*-o* ***zonzite***
he-TOP I-GEN mother-NOM tomorrow come-ALLOC.H-PRS-C-ACC know
ori-masi-ta.
PRF-ALLOC.H-PST
'He knew that his mother would come tomorrow.' (*-mas* = UttAddr)

2.1.3 Evidence for indirect speech

- **Direct speech/indirect speech.** It is important to note that the examples shown above are all indirect speech context. *Koto*-clauses do not have the direct speech usage.

- TEST 1 (INDEXICAL ELEMENTS): Indexical elements makes it easier for us to detect the difference. In direct speech, all the indexical elements in ((12)) are interpreted under the reported context whereas those in ((13)) are anchored in the utterance context.

(12)*[*Watasi$_i$-no musuko-wa asita koko-o hanarer-u-**koto***]*-o kare$_i$-wa kanozyo-ni*
I-GEN son-TOP tomorrow here-ACC leave-PST-C-ACC yesterday he-TOP
tutae-ta.
she-DAT tell-PST
'Yesterday, he$_i$ told her (said to her), "I$_i$ will leave here tomorrow" (intended).'

(13) [*Kare$_i$-no musuko-ga asita koko-o hanarer-u-**koto**]-o kare$_i$-wa kanozyo-ni*
he-GEN son-NOM tomorrow here-ACC leave-PST-C-ACC yesterday he-TOP
tutae-ta.
she-DAT tell-PST
'Yesterday, he$_i$ told her that he$_i$ would leave here/*there tomorrow.'
→ His son is supposed to leave *tomorrow*.

- TEST 2 (SYNTACTIC WELL-FORMEDNESS): The syntactic well-formedness is another good criterion to tease the direct speech from the indirect speech context (Banfield 1973; Clark and Gerrig 1990; Oshima 2006). Observe the contrast below.

(14) a. He said, "I eated beans."
b. *He said that I eated beans.

The *koto*-clause, unlike the *to*-clause, cannot accommodate an ill-formed expression as shown below; n.b., the correct form for the past tense is *-ta* not *-sa*.

(15)**Kare-wa* [*mame-o tabe-sa*]*-koto it-ta.*
he-TOP bean-ACC eat-PST-COMP say-PST
'He said, "mame-o tabe-sa" (intended).'

- TEST 3 (GRAMMATICAL DEPENDENCIES): Third, grammatical dependencies (e.g., extraction out of the clause) has been used a test for the direct speech/indirect speech distinction (Kuno 1988; Anand and Nevins 2004; Oshima 2006; Crnič and Trinh 2009).

(16) a. *What$_i$ did he say, "I read t_i?
b. What did he say that he had read t_i?

Wh-element can stay in both clauses, suggesting that both clauses have the use of introducing an indirect speech marker.

(17) a. [***Nani**-o yon-da*]*-to kare-wa ziman si-ta-no?*
what-ACC read-PST-COMP he-TOP boasting do-PST-Q
'What did he proudly say that he had read?'
b. [***Nani**-o yon-da-koto*]*-o kare-wa ziman si-ta-no?*
what-ACC read-PST-COMP-ACC he-TOP boasting do-PST-Q
'What did he proudly say that he had read?'

Likewise, the pronoun *his* does not allow the binding reading with the quantifier in the main clause if it is a direct speech context.

(18) a. #Every professor$_i$ says, "students should buy his$_i$ book."
b. Every professor$_i$ says that students should buy his$_i$ book.

The same test can be applied to Japanese as demonstrated in ((19)).

(19) *Subete-no kyoozyu-ga* [*seito-ga zibun-no hon-o kat-te*
every-GEN professor-NOM student-NOM self-GEN book-ACC buy-CV
kure-ru-koto-o] *negat-te ir-u.*
APPLH-PRS-C-ACC hope-CV PRG-PRS
'Every professor$_i$ hopes that students buy his$_i$ book.'

2.1.4 Other restrictions

- **Object-control predicates?:** Unlike Magahi, embedded allocutive markings are available under non object-control predicates. Overt nominative subjects can appear inside the embedded clause; e.g., (11). This distinction seems irrelevant.

- **Tense distinction?:** Some predicates lack the tense distinction in the embedded environment (e.g., (7)) but others do exhibit the contrast (e.g., (9)). This distinction seems irrelevant.

- **Finite/non-finite distinction?:** In some non-finite environments, embedded allocutive markers are not allowed. For example, they cannot be present inside the purpose phrase, i.e., *ni*-clauses.

  (20) Purpose clauses
  a. *Mahiro-wa* [*gohan-o tabe-ni*] *it-ta.*
  Mahiro-TOP rice-ACC eat-to go-PST
  'Mahiro went to eat rice/her meal.'
  b. *Mahiro-wa* [*gohan-o tabe-ni*] *iki-**masi**-ta.*
  Mahiro-TOP rice-ACC eat-to go-ALLOC-PST
  'Mahiro went to eat rice/her meal.'

  (21) a. **Mahiro-wa* [*gohan-o tabe-**masi**-ni*] *it-ta.*
  Mahiro-TOP rice-ACC eat-ALLOC-to go-PST
  'Mahiro went to eat rice/her meal (intended).'
  b. **Mahiro-wa* [*gohan-o tabe-**masi**-ni*] *iki-**masi**-ta.*
  Mahiro-TOP rice-ACC eat-ALLOC-to go-ALLOC-PST
  'Mahiro went to eat rice/her meal.'

  In other cases, *-mas* is used in what appears to be non-finite clauses. For example, if English *while ...ing* or *by ...ing* is translated into Japanese, *te*-clauses are used. As shown below, this *te*-clause can accommodate *-mas* but not a tense-marker *-u* or *-ta*.

  (22) a. [*Densya-ni not-te*], *suupaa-ni iki-masi-ta.*
  train-DAT ride-by supermarket-to go-ALLOC-PST
  'I went to the supermarket by riding a train.'
  b. [*Densya-ni nori-**masi**-te*], *suupaa-ni iki-masi-ta.*
  train-DAT ride-ALLOC-by supermarket-to go-ALLOC-PST
  'I went to the supermarket by riding a train.'

- **Adjuncts:** Some adjunct clauses allow embedded allocutive markings.

  - **Relative clauses:** Relative clauses can accommodate embedded allocutive markers (Tagashira 1973: 122; Harada 1976; Miyagawa 2012, 2017).

    (23) Relative clause
    Watasi-wa [*mizutama moyoo-no ari-**mas**-u*] *hako-o sagasi-te ori-mas-u.*
    I-TOP polka dot design-GEN be--PRS box-NOM look for COP.-PRS
    'I am looking for the box that has polka dots.'

  - **Adverbial clauses:** Embedded allocutive markers are available in some adverbial clauses. The *tara*-conditional can accommodate embedded allocutive markers whereas the *ba*-conditional cannot.

(24) Conditionals
  a. [*Kasa-o osagasi **desi-tara***], *kotira-o otukai kudasai.*
  umbrella-ACC looking for COP.ALLOC-if this-ACC use APPLH
  'If you are looking for an umbrella, please use this one.'
  b. *[*Kasa-o osagasi **desi-ba***], *kotira-o otukai kudasai.*
  umbrella-ACC looking for COP.ALLOC-if this-ACC use APPLH
  'If you are looking for an umbrella, please use this one.'

- **Pragmatic constraints.** When Japanese allocutive markers are embedded under indirect speech context, the sentence should be used in a hyperpolite register.[1] When an embedded allocutive marking appears, another allocutive marker is typically present in the main clause.

- **Summary.** If the context is polite enough, allocutive markers are acceptable in Class A through E.

	A	B	C	D	E
	say report	suppose think	deny be (im)possible	regret be surprised	know learn
Embedded Alloc.	√	√	√	√	√

Table 2: Our generalization

2.2 Punjabi

2.2.1 Distribution

- **Finite/non-finite distinction:** Punjabi is not as liberal as Japanese and allows embedding only in finite domains, akin to the subject agreement hosting auxiliaries in the language.

(25) *karan* [*roTTii pakaanaa (*je/e)*] *caaNdaa*
Karan.NOM bread cook.INF ALLOC.PL/be.PRS.3.SG want.HAB.M.SG
je/e
ALLOC.PL/be.PRS.3.SG
'Karan wants to cook bread.'

- **Predicate types:** Within finite domains, embedded allocutivity is restricted to the complement clauses of speech predicates such as 'tell', 'say', 'speak', 'ask'[2]; see (26).

(26) Class A
*karan-ne **keyaa*** [*ki miiraa kal aayegii **je***]
Karan-ERG say.PRF that Mira.NOM tomorrow come.FUT.F.SG ALLOC.PL
'Karan **said** that Mira will come tomorrow.'

[1] **Variation among judgments:** Presumably, Miyagawa gives his judgments under the non hyperpolite register, which makes him conclude that only Class A predicates are licit because these predicates can have the direct speech reading.

[2] There is variation in the availability of embedded allocutivity. The three speakers of Lahore variety (Pakistan) who were consulted did not permit allocutivity on the embedded verb.

(27) *karan-ne* ***puccheyaa*** [*ki miiraa kadoN aayegii* ***je***]
Karan-ERG ask.PRF that Mira.NOM when come.FUT.F.SG ALLOC.PL
'Karan **asked** when would Mira come.'

- No other embedding verbs (of the Hooper and Thompson's (1973) list) are possible.

(28) Class B
karan-ne* ***soceyaa* [*ki miraa kal aayegii je*]
Karan-ERG think.PRF that Mira.NOM tomorrow come.FUT.F.SG ALLOC.PL
'Karan **thought** that Mira will come tomorrow.'

(29) Class C:
puliis-de baar-baar pucchan-de baad vii karan* ***nayii maneyaa*
police-GEN again-again ask.inf-GEN after even Karan.NOM NEG agree.PRF.M.SG
[*ki o-ne corii kittii je*]
that he-ERG theft(f) do.PRF.F.SG ALLOC.PL
'Despite being asked by the police again and again, Karan **denied** having committed the theft.'

(30) Class D
karan* ***hairaan e* [*ki miraa paper-vicc fel ho gayii*
Karan surprised be.PRS.3.SG that Mira.NOM exam-in fail be go.PRF.F.SG
je]
ALLOC.PL
'Karan **is surprised** that Mira has failed the exam.'

(31) Class E
*??/*karan* ***jaandaa*** *e* [*ki miraa kal aayegii je*]
Karan know be.PRS.3.SG that Mira.NOM tomorrow come.FUT.F.SG ALLOC.PL
'Karan **knows** that Mira will come tomorrow.'

- **Adjuncts:** Outside verbal complements, *je* can occur in finite adjuncts (temporal/location), but is not permitted in purpose and reason-clauses with *kyunkii/taaki*.

(32) *maiN tadd jaavaaNgii* [*jaddoN karan vii jaayegaa* ***je***]
I.NOM then go.FUT.F.SG when Karan.NOM also go.FUT.M.SG ALLOC.PL
'I will go when Karan does too.' (Temporal adjunct)

(33) *maiN otthe jaa rayii aaN* [*jitthe karan vii gayaa*
I.NOM there go PRG.F.SG be.PRS.1.SG where Karan.NOM also go.PRF.M.SG
je]
ALLOC.PL
'I am going there where Karan has gone too.' (Location adjunct)

(34) **karan bajaar gayaa* [*kyoNkii o-nuu ikk kuRii-ne bulaayaa*
Karan market go.PRF.M.SG because 3.SG-DOM a girl-ERG call.PRF.M.SG
je]
ALLOC.PL
'Karan went to the market because a girl called him.' (Reason clause)

(35) **karan bajaar gayaa* [*taakii o ikk kuRii-nuu mil paaye*
Karan market go.PRF.M.SG so-that 3.SG a girl-DOM meet get.SUBJ.M.SG
je]
ALLOC.PL
'Karan went to the market so he could meet a girl.' (Purpose clauses- subjunctive embedding)

2.2.2 Evidence for indirect speech

- To return to the 'say'-type examples that seem to involve *-je* embedding, we employ the diagnostics previously discussed in Section 2.1.3 to confirm that they are indirect speech structures.
- TEST 1 (INDEXICAL ELEMENTS/DISCOURSE PARTICLES): Pronouns inside a quote are evaluated with respect to the reported speech act, not the actual one. Thus, *his* in the following example must be evaluated with respect to the original speech context whose speaker is Karan.

  (36) *karan-ne$_i$ keyaa* [***suno*** *oddii$_{*i/j}$ maa aa gayii e*]
  karan-ERG say.PRF hey his mother come go.PRF.F.SG be.PRS.3.SG
  'Karan said, "Hey, his mother has come." (Quote)

- This restriction on the embedded pronoun to be evaluated with respect to the reported speech act does not seem to hold in structures with embedded allocutivity.

  (37) *karan-ne$_i$ keyaa* [*ki oddii$_i$ maa aa gayii je*]
  Karan-ERG said that his mother come go.PRF.F.SG ALLOC.PL
  'Karan said that his mother has come.'

- TEST 2 (SYNTACTIC DEPENDENCIES): Further evidence comes from syntactic-semantic dependencies. It is possible for a question word associated with the embedded clause to take scope over the matrix clause to form a direct question, and for matrix negation to license an NPI in the embedded domain.[3]

  (38) *?**kidde-naal** karan-ne keyaa* [*ki miraa bajaar gayii* ***je***]
  who.GEN-with karan-ERG say.PRF that Mira.NOM market go.PRF.F.SG ALLOC.PL
  'With whom did Karan say that Mira went to the market?'

  (39) *karan-ne **nayii** keyaa* [*ki miraa kire vii calii jaaNdii* ***je***]
  karan-ERG NEG say.PRF that Mira.NOM anywhere also walk go.HAB.F.SG ALLOC.PL
  'Karan did not say that Mira goes anywhere.'

3 Description: Reference

3.1 Japanese

- **Japanese:** Japanese does not permit the embedded addressee indexical to shift as per the reported context.

[3]NPI-licensing in Punjabi (like in Hindi-Urdu) require clausemate negation without a corresponding c-command requirement; see Lahiri (1995) for more details.

- For example, in (40), the indexicality of the embedded *-mas* is determined *wrt* the utterance context. It is the addressee of the utterance context, not of the reported context, who is admired by the speaker of the utterance context. Presence or absence of the dative noun (*Akira-ni*) does not affect the reading.

  (40) *Mahiro-wa (Akira-ni)* [*Mira-ga asita mairi-**mas**-u-koto*]-*o sudeni*
  Mahiro-TOP Akira-DAT Mira-NOM tomorrow come-ALLOC.H-PRS-C-ACC already
  tugete ori-masi-ta.
  tell PRG-ALLOC.H-PST
  'Mahiro has already told (Akira) that Mira would come tomorrow.'

3.2 Punjabi

- **Punjabi:** Like in Japanese, the reference of embedded allocutivity in Punjabi is typically restricted to the utterance context.

- To see this, let us refer back to (41), where the embedded *je* refers to the UttAddr.

  (41) *karan-ne keyaa* [*ki miiraa kal aayegii **je***]
  Karan-ERG say.PRF that Mira.nom tomorrow come.FUT ALLOC
  'Karan said that Mira will come tomorrow.'(*je* = UttAddr)

- The sentence in (41) can be used correctly only when the utterance speaker is speaking to someone elder.

- These facts replicate the Japanese pattern indicating a uniform analysis for the two languages under study.

- However, we observe that Punjabi allows embedded allocutivity to obtain a shifted reading in at least one condition:

  Co-occurring embedded 1st person pronoun: If the embedded domain consists of a 1st person pronoun, embedded allocutivity seems to allow a shifted reading.

  (42) *karan-ne **keyaa*** [*ki maiN kal aavaaNgaa **je***]
  Karan-ERG say.PRF that I.NOM tomorrow come.FUT ALLOC
  'Karan said that I will come tomorrow.' (I = UttSpeaker or Karan; je = UttAddr or the reported hearer of Karan)

- This shifted reading can be better understood by zooming out to include Punjabi full pronouns.

- Independently of allocutivity, Punjabi seems to pattern like an indexical shift language with speech predicates (see Bhatia 2000; ex. 3a). Let us first see a classic example of indexical shift from Zazaki, as reported in Anand (2006).

  (43) *Heseni va* [*kE Ez newEsha*]
  Hesen. said [that I be-sick-PRS]
  Hesen$_i$ said that he$_i$ was sick. (Anand, 2006, 77)

  (44) *Heseni va (Ali-ra)* [*kE ti newEsha*]
  Hesen. said (Ali-to) [that you be-sick-PRS]
  Hesen said to Ali$_i$ that he$_i$ was sick. (Anand, 2006, 77)

- In Punjabi, 1st person pronouns undergo indexical shift like in Zazaki, as shown below:

(45) *karan-ne keyaa [ki maiN baRaa syaanaa aaN]*
Karan-ERG say.PRF that I.NOM very smart be.PRS.1.SG
'Karan said that I(= UttSpeaker or Karan) am very smart.'

- That this is true indexical shift and not a direct quotation is evidenced by the following data which illustrates NPI-licensing across domains.

(46) *karan-ne nayii keyaa [ki maiN koyii vii kitaab paRh saknaa aaN]*
Karan-ERG NEG say.PRF that I.NOM any also book read can.HAB.M.SG be.PRS.1.SG
'Karan did not say that I(= Karan/UttSpeaker) can read any book.

- Unlike the 1st person pronoun, the 2nd person pronoun does not seem to receive a shifted reading.

(47) *karan-ne keyaa [ki tuu baRaa syaanaa eN]*
Karan-ERG say.PRF that you.NOM very smart be.PRS.2.SG
'Karan said that you (= UttAddr) are very smart.'

- However, the presence of a 1st person pronoun in the embedded domain seems to activate a shifted reading for the 2nd person pronoun, like for embedded allocutivity.

(48) *karan-ne keyaa [ki maiN-nuu tuu baRii pasand eN]*
Karan-ERG say.PRF that I-DAT you.NOM very like be.PRS.2.SG
'Karan said that I (= Karan) like you (= hearer of Karan (who can be the UttSp)) very much.'

- In summary, the 1st person pronoun in Punjabi permits both shifted and non-shifted readings. On the other hand, 2nd person pronominals do not shift on their own and need a 1st person pronoun to trigger the shifted reading.

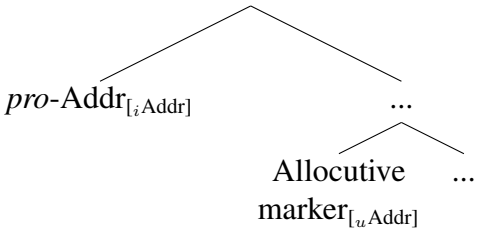
4 Towards an analysis

- We have seen that both languages allow embedded allocutivity, which typically refers to the UttAddr across both languages.

- **Speech act projection:** We propose that embedded (finite) clauses in both languages project a speech act layer composed of at least a *pro*-Addr(essee) that sanctions embedded allocutivity.

- **Agreement:** The embedded allocutive marker is obtained by agreement between the interpretable/valued instance of [addressee] on the *pro* and the uninterpretable/unvalued instance of [addressee] on a lower functional head, see (49) (cf., Miyagawa 2012; McFadden 2017 among others).

(49)



- **Shifty operators:** To deal with the reference of the embedded allocutive marker, we assume the presence of shifty operators, distinct from the pro-Hearer that triggers allocutive agreement. This is due to the observation that both Japanese and Punjabi allow allocutivity in embedded domains. However, neither of the two languages allow the embedded allocutivity to shift (on its own). If the pro-Hearer was the monster, it would have triggered a shifted reading of the embedded allocutivity, contra facts.

- We follow a version of the "shifty operator" approach (Anand & Nevins 2004, Anand 2006; ~~Sundaresan 2011, 2012~~; Shklovsky & Sudo 2014; Deal 2017 *a.o*), as per which complements of attitude predicates encode shifty operators. The operator's function is to overwrite the context parameter of interpretation for its complement with the (bound) index parameter.

  — For Japanese, the proposal is straightforward. There are no shifty operators in the embedded left-periphery. As a consequence, the allocutive marker realized via agreement between the functional probe and pro-Hearer can only be interpreted against the utterance context, resulting in a non-shifted reading.

  — Punjabi patterns differently. While it typically does not allow shifted readings of embedded allocutivity, the presence of a 1st person pronoun permits shifty readings.

  — A possible way to account for this fact is via the implicational hierarchy proposed in Deal (2017). Essentially, the idea is that monstrous operators are arranged in a hierarchical order vis-a-vis one another- the Addressee-shifting operator is higher than the Speaker-shifting operator, and the location shifting operator is the highest.

  (50) Loc-OP $>$ Addr-OP $>$ Auth-OP

- As per the implicational hierarchy, the higher operator cannot be evoked/activated without activating the operator lower in the hierarchy first. For instance, the presence of Addr-OP in the structure requires the presence of an Auth-OP. This gives us the desired results for Punjabi where 1st person pronouns can shift on their own. However, shifting of the 2nd person pronoun requires a co-occurring and shifted 1st person pronoun.

- We propose that the embedded left-periphery in Punjabi consists of shifty operators (Auth-OP and/or the Addr-OP), in addition to the pro-Hearer that controls allocutive agreement. The operators scope over the pro-Hearer, like they scope over other 1st and 2nd pronouns in the embedded domain, yielding shifted readings.

  (51) Addr-OP $>$ Auth-OP $>$ pro-Hearer $>$ TP...

5 Summary and remaining issues

5.1 Summary

- In this talk, we have shown that differently from the intuitive view that speech act projections licensing allocutivity are only restricted to main clause (Zu 2015, 2018; Portner et al. 2019), they can be embedded across distinct predicates in Punjabi and Japanese.

  1. **Japanese:** Embedded allocutive markers are observed not only under speech act predicates but also under a wider range of predicates.
  2. **Punjabi:** Embedded allocutive markers are observed under finite, speech act predicates.

- Furthermore, the reference of embedded allocutivity in Japanese is always interpreted with regard to the utterance context in the absence of monsters, while in Punjabi, the Auth-OP can activate Addr-OP, permitting shifted allocutivity in select structures.

- However, there are two curious facts about embedded allocutivity in both languages that are rather unclear at the moment, and require careful investigation.

5.2 Two curious issues

1. **Blended discourse:** In Japanese, when the embedding predicate is *iw-* 'say,' the respect encoded by the embedded *-mas* exceptionally targets the addressee of the reported context.

   For example, in (52), *-mas* is evaluated with respect to the reported speech context. However, pronouns (e.g., *anata* 'you') and deictic expressions (e.g., *asita* 'tomorrow') are interpreted in terms of the utterance context.

   (52) *Ototoi,* *kare-wa* [*asita-made-ni* *anata-ni nimotu-o*
   the day before yesterday he-TOP tomorrow-until-by you-DAT package-ACC
   *todoke-**mas**-u*]*-to* ***it**-te* *i-masi-ta.*
   deliver-ALLOC-PRS-C say-CV PRG-ALLOC-PST
   'The day before yesterday, he said, "I will deliver the package to you by tomorrow."'

2. **Overtness of the matrix goal IO**: Punjabi presents a curious pattern pertaining to the overtness of a reported hearer, realized as IO of the matrix verb 'say'.

   Typically, (c)overtness of an item is inconsequential in a language like Punjabi, which is a pro-drop language. The IO of the verb 'say' can be readily dropped, with no consequences for syntactic phenomena such as binding, control.

   (53) *karan-ne* *(saareyaaN-nuu$_i$)* [*PRO$_i$ ikk-duje-de$_i$* *ghaar jaan-nuu*] *keyaa*
   Karan-ERG everyone-DAT PRO one-other-GEN house go.INF-DOM say.PRF.M.SG
   'Karan said (to everyone) to go to each other's house.'

   However, with regard to the reference of the embedded 2nd person item (full pronoun or allocutive marker), it seems to be of consequence in that it allows a shifted reading.

(54) *karan-ne aman-nuu keyaa* [*ki* ***tuu*** *baRaa syaanaa eN*]
Karan-ERG Aman-DAT say.PRF that you very smart be.PRS.2.SG
'Karan said to Aman that you (= Aman or UttAddr) are very smart.'

(55) *karan-ne daarjii-nuu/*apne puttar-nuu keyaa* [*ki aman kal*
Karan-ERG grandfather-DAT/*self son-DAT say.PRF that Aman tomorrow
aayegaa ***je***]
come.FUT.M.SG ALLOC.PL
'Karan said to grandfather that Aman will come tomorrow.' (je= grandfather)

These structures test positive for indirect embedding with regard to NPI-licensing, but not with regard to the behaviour of co-occurring embedded indexicals. Similar results seem to obtain with embedded allocutivity.

(56) NPI-licensing
karan-ne aman-nuu ***nayii*** *keyaa* [*ki* ***tai****-nuu* ***kire-vii*** *cale jaanaa*
Karan-ERG Aman-DAT NEG say.PRF that you-DAT anywhere-also walk go.INF
caayidaa e]
should.HAB.M.SG be.PRS.3.SG
'Karan did not say to Aman that you (= Aman or UttAddr) should go anywhere.'

(57) Coreference (with a shifted reading for 'you')
karan-ne$_i$ *aman-nuu keyaa* [*ki* ***tai****-nuu* ***oddii***$_{*i/j}$ *kitaab wapas karni*
Karan-ERG Aman-DAT say.PRF that you-DAT his book return do.INF
caayidii e]
should.HAB.F.SG be.PRS.3.SG
'Karan said to Aman that you (= Aman) should return someone else's book.'

— Since these structures with overt IO show mixed properties with regard to (in)direct speech, it is unclear how to (a) define their status, and (b) determine their effect on indexical shifting.

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