Verb Agreement with Nonarguments : On Allocutive Agreement

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Recent works within Principles and Parameters Theory have made new proposals regarding sentence structure. These modifications are concerned with Inflection and especially Agreement, Verb projection, and the definition of A(rgument) positions (among other issues).

Within previous analyses, argument positions were defined as (potential) theta positions (Chomsky (1981)). However, the hypotheses (i) that subject NPs are VP internally generated (Fukui (1986), Koopman & Sportiche (1988), Kuroda (1988), among others), (ii) that the inflectional complex is multi-headed (Pollock (1989)), and (iii) that structural Case can or must be assigned by functional heads, even for accusative Case (Chomsky (1989a), Miyagawa (1990)), raise the question of the definition of argument ⁄ nonargument positions. Thus, for example, Mahajan (1989) characterizes argument positions as theta positions and potential Case positions. This analysis entails (1):

(1) Case position----> Argument position.

Further, Koopman & Sportiche (1988) suggest that agreement and structural Case are closely related, and Chomsky (1989a) assumes that agreement equates structural Case. Thus subject-verb agreement is correlated with nominative Case, and verb-object agreement is associated with accusative Case. I formulate this relationship in (2):

(2) Verb Agreement position ----> Structural Case position

(2), combined with (1), implies (3a) below:

(3) a. Verb-Agreement position ----> Argument position

(3a) is consistent with the proposal that Agreement expresses a Spec-head relation (Chomsky 1986b, Koopman 1987). However, if agreement reflects a government relation as proposed by Chomsky (1989a), then (3b) results:

(3) b. Agreement can involve an item in adjoined position.

Indeed, if agreement reflects a government relation, Case can be assigned to a DP adjoined to the Spec position of the appropriate agreement head. Following Kayne (1989), Chomsky (1989a) proposes that the government relation reflected by agreement is between the AGR head and either Spec or an adjoined element. Kayne's (1989) analysis of French past participle agreement is an illustration of such a situation as can be seen in (4). ((4) below follows Chomsky's analysis, with structural Case assigned to the adjoined DP; cf. (2) above.)[1]

(4) **Combien de tables**$_i$ **Paul a** $[_{AGR"} e_i{'}_{Case} [_{AGR"} AGR_i$ **repeintes** $e_i]]$
'How many tables has Paul repainted?'

(4) is consistent with (2) and (3b), However it contradicts (1) (more generally, the hypothesis that potential Case positions are argument positions). Indeed, if AGR-O assigns accusative Case to an NP adjoined to its Spec, as in (4), the conclusion is that Case can be assigned to A-bar positions; cf. also Kayne (1984) for the same kind of proposal in another context.[2]

Using data from Basque, I will argue in this paper (i) for (3b), by showing that verb agreement morphology can occur with adjoined elements, (ii) against (2), by showing that verb agreement does not imply structural Case

marking. The data examined, although rather different from those discussed in the mentioned works, strongly strengthen the proposal that agreement reflects a government relation (and not only a Spec-head relation). However, it also shows that no obligatory correlation exists between agreement and Case assignment, and that both are autonomous phenomena.

The phenomenon I am referring to has been called allocutive 'treatment' in Basque linguistics. I will name it allocutivity. It has not been an object of study in the generative framework, but has been carefully examined by several authors (Lafon 1957,1959, Rebuschi 1982, Alberdi Larizgoitia 1986). In allocutive forms, the inflected verb agrees with the addressee (person and gender agreement) when the latter is neither an argument selected by the verb. This is why in some traditional grammars allocutivity has been considered a voice (the so-called *voix familière* in Lafitte 1944). The following example illustrates allocutivity:

(5) **Lagunak ni   ikusi n----ai----k-------Ø**
    friend.ERG me.ACC seen   1sgA-+Pr.AUX-2sg.masc-3sgE

   'The friend saw me'

In (5) the auxiliary is inflected. It agrees with the subject (**Ø**, 3d sg. ergative) and the object (prefix **n**-, 1st sg. absolutive). It also agrees with the addressee (-**k**, 2d sg. fam. masculine). In (5) the 2d person is not an argument, i.e. it is not selected by V. Furthermore, in the familiar register, this agreement is obligatory.

The phenomenon is reminiscent of the so-called Japanese performative honorific *teinei-go*, because it expresses the relationship between the speaker and the addressee (Harada 1976), but it is realized in a different way (Miyagawa 1987), and has a different syntactic distribution.[3] In some Romance

languages like Galician and French, allocutive dative clitics are also used as more or less marked forms.[4]

In the first section, I briefly describe Basque allocutive forms. In the second section I show that allocutive agreement must be analyzed as a syntactic phenomenon. I will argue that allocutive agreement involves an empty element which has to be distinguished from empty pronominals (pro), because it cannot be overt, has neither case nor Case, and cannot A-bind. Then, I will analyze the properties of this empty allocutive element with respect to the Binding Theory. I will propose there is an allocutive operator generated in adjoined position to the highest functional projection of the inflectional complex (T"). Allocutive agreement occurs under government by T. At LF, the allocutive operator moves to Comp, leaving a variable. Thus, I assume variables are allowed in nonargument positions when generated *in situ*. In the third section, I examine the syntactic restrictions on allocutive forms, and show that the operator-analysis explains the exclusion of allocutive forms from embedded sentences and questions (with some dialectal variations).

1. The sentences in (6) illustrates the four ways to say 'Peter worked' in Souletian Basque:[5]

(6) a. **Pettek   lan egin dizü**
       Peter.ERG worked   AUX.3E.ALLOvouv   (Vouvoiement)

   'Peter worked'

   b. **Pettek lan egin dik**
       Peter.ERG worked   AUX.3E.ALLOmasc   (Masculine tutoiement)

   Same translation

   c. **Pettek   lan egin din**
       Peter.ERG worked   AUX.3E.ALLOfem   (Feminine tutoiement)

   Same translation

d. **Pettek lan egin dü**
   Peter,ERG worked   AUX.3E   (Non allocutive)

 Same translation

As far as their truth conditions and topic-focus relations are concerned, these four sentences are rigorously synonimous. Within the inflected auxiliary, the only argumental DP is realized as a **Ø** suffix, that is the marker of 3d person ergative. The alterations observed in the inflected auxiliary are determined by the agreement with the addressee. In (1a) the suffix **zü** inside the inflected form refers to the neutral or polite form of the second person (**zü** 'you'). In (1b,c), the suffixes **k** and **n** refer both to the familiar form of the second person (**hi** 'thou') making a distinction in gender, as can be seen in the glosses. These verb forms are allocutive forms, and they do not imply any kind of involvement on the part of the addressee in the process described by the verb, neither as participant nor as being affected in any way (for example, there is no special relationship between the argument DP and the addressee, and there is nothing ressembling an affected theta-role in the sense suggested by Jaeggli (1986) for Spanish ethical clitics).

 The example (1d) illustrates a non-allocutive sentence. In standard Souletian, (1d) can only occur when there is more than one addressee. Indeed, in this dialect, allocutivity is obligatory in both polite and familiar registers.[6] The Basque allocutive, however, is always singular (i.e. there is no allocutive with 2d person plural).

The examples in (7) illustrate these elements:

(7) a. **Hire   arreba** ***da   / dük**
        your.SG sister   COP.3A.   COP.3A.ALLO

  'This is your [SG] sister'

b. **Zien laguna da**
   your.PL friend COP.3A.

   'This is your [PL] friend'

c. **Ikusi haiala erran** **deit* **/ deitak**
   seen AUX.2sgA.3E.COMP said AUX.1D.3E. AUX.1D.3E.ALLO

   'He told me he saw you [SG]'

d. **Ikusi zitiela erran deit**
   seen AUX.2plA.3E.COMP said AUX.1D.3E

   'He told me he saw you [PL]'

In (7a) the predicate is a DP containing a 2d person genitive (singular). This means that the speaker has a single addressee. Thus, the inflected verb form must be allocutive (**dük**). The use of the non-allocutive form results in ungrammaticality (***da**). On the other hand, in (7b) the use of the 2d person plural genitive allows the use of the non-allocutive verb form **da** (insofar the addressee is not a single person).

In (7c), the embedded sentence shows that the speaker is speaking to only one person again. Therefore the allocutive must be used (**deitak**). If the non-allocutive or neutral form is used (**deit**), the sentence is bad. In (7d), the embedded sentence does not necessarily imply that there is only one addressee, thus, the allocutive is not obligatory.

In (8), I give other examples of allocutive forms. In these examples the auxiliary agrees with an absolutive (nominative) DP and a dative DP:

(8) a. **Pette mintzatü zitazü** (Vouvoiement)
   Peter.NOM spoken AUX.3A.1D.ALLOvouv

   'Peter spoke to me'

b. **Pette mintzatü zitak** (Masculine tutoiement)
   Peter.NOM spoken AUX.3A.1D.ALLOmasc

Same translation

c. **Pette   mintzatü zitan**   (Feminine tutoiement)
  Peter.NOM spoken   AUX.3A.1D.ALLOfem

   Same translation

d. **Pette   mintzatü zait**   (Non allocutive)
  Peter.NOM spoken   AUX.3A.1D

   Same translation

In (8), the examples show the same kind of contrast as those in (1). Here, as before, the only difference between the four forms follows from allocutivity.

I will not propose a morphological analysis of allocutive forms.[7] Let me just outline that the indexed suffixes which appear in the inflexion to perform allocutive agreeement are the same as the suffixes of 2d person for ordinary argumental agreement: **zü** for the vouvoiement, **(k)a** (**k** in final position) for the masculine tutoiement, and **na** (**n** in final position) for the feminine tutoiement.

Observe the examples in (9):

(9) a. **Lan egin dü---zü /dü-k   /dü-n**
       worked   AUX-2vouvE /   -2masc.E /   -2fem.E

    'You / thou / worked'

b. **Gertatu Ø--zai-zü   / Ø-zai-k   /Ø-zai-n**
     happened 3A--AUX-2vouvD /   -2masc.D /   -2fem.D

     'It happened to you /thee'

The ergative person agreement in (9a) and the dative person agreement in (9b) are agreement with an argument selected by the verb. If one compares the marker of 2d person in the inflected verb of the examples (9) with those marking allocutive agreement in (6-8), the morphological identity is obvious. In

all these cases the 2d person marker is the same, namely **zü** (2d polite), **k** (2d masc. fam.), and **n** (2d fem. fam.). Thus, as far as the form of the suffix is concerned, one cannot say whether the marking of the addressee in allocutive inflexions corresponds to a dative or an ergative suffix;[8] (see however (12b) below). In fact this question has no syntactic relevance, since allocutive agreement is compatible with overt realization of both dative and ergative argumental agreement. Thus, it is independent of them, and, as we will argue below, it has neither case nor Case.[9]

(10) a. **Lan egin d-i---zü------gü**
worked   AUX-ALLOvouv-1plE.

'We worked' (Vouvoiement)

b. **Zahartzia hullantü Ø--zi--ta---zü**
oldness.NOM approached 3A--AUX-1sgD--ALLOvouv

'The oldness approached to me' (Vouvoiement)

In (10a) there are two suffixes following the root **-i-** (<-**ü**-): the first one corresponds to allocutive agreement (**zü**), the second one corresponds to ergative agreement (**gü**). In (10b) the situation is similar with the difference that the order of the agreement markers has changed: -**ta** is the 1st person dative and -**zü** the 2d person polite allocutive.[10] Of course allocutive agreement is also compatible with both morphemes, dative and ergative person markers, when they co-occur together; see (11) below:

(11) **Eman Ø-dei-tz--o----zü------gü**
given   3A-AUX-A.pl-3sgD--ALLOvouv-1plE

'We gave them to him' (Vouvoiement)

The allocutive marker can appear with any inflected verb form provided it is a bare form or a form with assertive prefixes such as the negation or the positive particle **ba**- (for a more precise characterization, see the discussion of

syntactic restrictions in section 3). Further, all types of tenses and modes are compatible with the allocutive, except the Imperative.[11] Both synthetically and compositionally inflected verbs have allocutive forms.[12]

However, something puzzling occurs when the inflected form would have to be **izan** 'to be' and there is no dative agreement marker. In this case, instead of **izan** 'to be', †**edun** 'to have' must be used with allocutive forms, i.e. the auxiliary of transitive and nonunaccusative [+ASPECT] verbs.[13] Consider (12):

> (12) a. **(Ni) etorri n--a--iz**
>   I.NOM come   1A-+Pr-AUX
>
>   'I came' (Non allocutive)
>
> b. **(Ni) etorri n--a-u---k**
>   I.NOM come   1A-+Pr-AUX-ALLOmasc
>
>   'I came' (Masculine tutoiement)

(12b) is the allocutive form of (12a). (12b) differs from (12a) in (i) the selection of the auxiliary, since -**iz** is the auxiliary root of **izan** 'to be' in (12a), while -**u**- is the auxiliary root of †**edun** 'to have' in (12b); (ii) the suffixation of 2d person marker **k**. Now, compare the inflected form of (12b) with (12c) below:

> (12) c. **(Hik) (ni) ikusi n-a--u--k**
>   you.ERG me.ACC seen   1A-+P-AUX-2mascE
>
>   'You saw me'

The auxiliary form in (12b), which corresponds to the allocutive form of an unaccusative verb, and the auxiliary in (12c), with a transitive verb, are the same. In (12b) the allocutive shows up just like an ergative agreement marker.[14] However, all the restrictions mentioned above still hold. Thus, for example,

overt realization of the allocutive is excluded in (12b), while the 2d person pronoun is licensed in (12c).

Auxiliary changing in allocutive forms must be distinguished from implicative sentences, i.e. sentences where a stative predication is expressed by means of the transitive auxiliary used as copula (cf. Rebuschi 1982).[15] Indeed these are two independent phenomena, and allocutive is compatible with implicative forms. Consider the examples in (13):

(13) a. **Semea gerlara joana   dut**
   son.ACC   war.ADL   gone.RES AUX.3A.1E.

  lit. 'I have the son gone to the war' (Non allocutive)

b. **Semea gerlara joana   diat**
   son.ACC   war.ADL   gone.RES AUX.3A.1E.ALLOmasc

  Same translation (Masculine allocutive)

The sentences in (13) are implicative sentences. (13a) is non-allocutive, whereas (13b) is allocutive. In (13), the resultative form of the unaccusative verb **joan** 'to go' is associated with the auxiliary †**edun** 'to have', although the regular auxiliary of unaccusative verbs is **izan** 'to be'. Thus, apparently, here too there is auxiliary changing. But this construction actually doesn't show auxiliary changing because it is bi-clausal (see Ortiz de Urbina & Uribe-Etxebarria *this volume*, and Oyharçabal 1990, for this kind of proposal within different analyses). Thus, in (13) †**edun** 'to have' is not an auxiliary but a verb.

Intuitively, there is some similarity between allocutivity and implicative forms. When the implicated is 2d person, an implicative form looks like an allocutive form, as often observed.[16] However, they have a different distribution and syntactically they show several sharp differences as observed by Rebuschi (1982). Allocutive forms do not trigger any restriction on the aspectual marking

of the main verb, whereas implicatives like (13) only occur when the embedded verb has the resultative marker (-**a**). Allocutive sentences have syntactic restrictions that implicatives don't have. For example, the latter can appear in relative clauses, or in embedded questions, whereas the former cannot (see below). Furthermore allocutivity is compatible with implicative forms as illustrated in (13b). This would be excluded if the allocutive were an 'implied' DP. This shows that auxiliary changing in allocutive inflexion must not be analyzed as some kind of bi-clausal construction.

2. How can we give an account of allocutive forms? The first idea which comes to mind is that this kind of phenomenon doesn't belong to syntax, since the allocutive is not an argument: it is not selected by the verb and has no theta-role. Thus, one could suggest that allocutive agreement is the result of a stylistic rule in the post-syntactical morphological component. It would be for example introduced as a Readjustment Rule in Halle's (1989) framework. Within this view one could assume that the allocutive has no syntactic existence, that it is not visible at LF, and that it is introduced at the PF level.[17]

I will not discuss in detail such a possibility. Note, however, that such an analysis faces several problems. It predicts that allocutivity will play no role at LF, and this is hardly compatible with the fact discussed below that allocutive is excluded from questions and embedded sentences. Assuming a morphological explanation for example, one would have to say that, when the inflected verb is prefixed or suffixed, allocutive marking is blocked.[18] This is, however, a disputable assumption because not all prefixes are incompatible with allocutivity. Furthermore there are contexts where allocutivity is blocked, although the inflected verb is bare.

To illustrate the first situation, I will contrast the assertive prefix **ba** and the suppositive prefix **ba** in (14):

(14) **Banenki   banikek**
  ba.1E.IRR.know **ba**.1E.IRR.have.ALLOmasc

 'If I knew, I would have'

In (14) the inflected verb in the protasis takes the suppositive **ba** as prefix and does not show allocutive agreement. On the other hand, the apodosis, where the verb takes the affirmative suffix, shows allocutive agreement. But the sentence is still grammatical. The suppositive **ba** is assumed to be a complementizer, hence allocutive agreement is blocked in the protasis. As we pointed out in (7), when allocutivity is available, it is obligatory. Thus, sentences must be coherent regarding the use of allocutivity. This is why, if it were available, the allocutive form would have to be used in (14); (Recall that allocutivity is obligatory in the familiar register for all dialects;) for example, (15) is ungrammatical:

(15) ***Ba-henki   ba-nenkike**
  if--2E.IRR.know   ASS-1E.IRR.know

 'If thou knew, I would know'

In the protasis of (15) the 2d person is an argument. However, the verb inflexion in the apodosis is not allocutive. The sentence is bad. It would be good if the inflected verb in the matrix sentence had the 2d masc person marker (-**k**) : **banenkikek** 'I would know' (masculine allocutive).

This show that the prefixes in (14), although morphologically similar, do not have the same properties with respect to allocutivity:[19] assertive **ba**- is compatible with allocutive verb forms, while suppositive **ba**- is not.

The inadequation of a morphological explanation of allocutivity is also illustrated by the fact there are contexts where allocutive forms are not used, though the inflected form is bare. This is mainly the case in questions and is best illustrated in classical Basque and Souletian. In these dialects, assertives and interrogatives contrast sharply with respect to the occurrence of allocutivity. Consider (16):

(16) **Hire amak   badaki?**
     2d.GEN mother.ERG **ba**.3A.know.3E

     'Does your mother know it?'

The inflected verb in (16) does not carry allocutive agreement. But if allocutivity were available, it would have to be used, since the genitive pronoun is 2d person familiar. But without allocutive marking (16) is still well formed, because it is a question. Observe that in (16) the interrogative is not performed by adding an affix to the verb (cf. (28) below). Thus, the absence of allocutivity can only be attributed to syntactic constraints.[20]

Let us try now to give a syntactic analysis of allocutivity. First, we observe that the allocutive agreement marker is not linked to an overt DP within the sentence. So, assuming that agreement relations in verb inflection correspond to Spec-Head or government relations, the allocutive element looks like an empty category (hereafter, I will call the empty category corresponding to it e_{ALLO}). Assuming the standard typology of empty categories, it cannot be a DP trace since there is no DP with which it can be related. It cannot be a PRO, since the agreement implies that it is in a governed position (assuming that agreement implies at least government). Can it be pro or a variable? I will show first that it is not pro.

Empty pronomimal forms which trigger verb agreement are a typical illustration of pro. Basque, which has rich multi-case agreement, is a pro-drop language, with null subject and null object, as illustrated in most of the examples above. Does allocutive agreement imply the existence of allocutive pro?

There is in fact one argument which seems to support the pro-analysis for $\mathbf{e}_{ALLO}$: namely the fact that allocutive marking and agreement with an argument 2d person are mutually exclusive. If allocutivity is an independent phenomenon, why is it that inflected verbs countaining a 2d person plural marker cannot be marked for allocutivity? Consider (17):

(17) a. pro   **Lan egin duzue**
         2pl.ERG worked   AUX.2plE

    'You (pl.) worked'

   b. *$\mathbf{e}_{ALLO}$ pro   **Lan egin dinazue**
              2pl.ERG worked   AUX.2plE.ALLOfem

    Same translation (speaking to one woman (familar register))

(17) is an example of a sentence where the only argument is the 2d person plural. I first give in (17a) the only available inflected form which is not allocutive. I also give in (17b) the reconstructed form one would expect if allocutivity were available (here feminine 'tutoiement' in standard Basque). But the result is ungrammatical in the last case.

(17b) reflects a more general property of Basque verb inflexion. Indeed, within verb inflexions, person agreement markers never can corefer or overlap. See (18):

(18) *pro   pro   **Mirailean ikusi gaitut**
         1sg.ERG 1.pl.ACC mirror.LOC   seen   1plA.AUX.1E

'I saw us in the mirror'

One could suggest that the explanation for (18), and presumably for (17b) too, falls under the Binding Theory. First, notice that argumental anaphors are always 3d persons in Basque. Actually, the reflexive form of 1st and 2d persons looks like an ordinary DP. For example the reflexive for the 1st person is **ene burua** lit. 'my head', which requires 3d person agreement in the verb inflection, like in (19) below, where the verb agrees with the anaphoric form:

(19) pro   **Ene burua hilen dut**
     1sg.ERG 1sg.GEN head.ACC kill.FUT 3sgA.AUX.1sgE

   lit**.** 'I will kill my head (= I will commit suicide)'

Therefore in (18) there are two 1st person pronominal forms within the same relevant domain. This results in a violation of Principle B of the Binding Theory. Thus, if we want to extend this explanation to (17), we must assume e_{ALLO} to be pronominal too, since it seems to display the same effects as argumental pronouns with respect to the Binding Theory.

There are however some important differences between argumental pro's and e_{ALLO}. Let me outline two of them :

- First, e_{ALLO} cannot bind a lexical anaphor, but argumental pro's can.[21] Consider the following contrast:

(20) a. pro_i **Hire buruarekin$_i$ mintzatzen haiz**
     2sg.NOM 2d.REF.SOC   speaking   AUX.2A

   'You are speaking with yourself'

   b. *e_{ALLOi} pro_k **Hire buruarekin$_i$ mintzatzen nauk**
         1sg.NOM 2d   REF.INST   speaking   1A.AUX.ALLOmasc

   'I am speaking with yourself'

In (20a) the sociative DP is a reflexive form. It is bound by the subject pro (2d person). The sentence is well formed. In (20b), the reflexive sociative (2d person) is not bound by the subject pro (1st person). However, Inflexion contains allocutive agreement. If e_{ALLO} were pro and in argument position, we could expect it to bind the sociative phrase. But the sentence is bad. Thus, unlike argumental pro's, e_{ALLO} is not able to bind an anaphoric form.

The same kind of evidence can be found with genitive anaphors in classical Basque (modern Basque doesn't have 1st and 2d person inherent genitive anaphors). As shown in Rebuschi (1986), classical Basque had 2d person anaphoric genitives. In this dialect, **hire** was the pronominal form for 2d person genitive in familiar register, and **heure** its anaphoric equivalent. Now consider the data in (21); (cf. Sarasola (1980), for similar examples):

(21) a. *pro$_i$ **Hire$_i$ ama**   **ikusi duk**
             2sg.ERG 2sg.GEN mother.ACC seen   3A.AUX.2masc.E

         'You saw your own mother'

   b. e_{ALLOi} pro$_k$ **Hire$_i$ ama**   **ikusi diat**
               1sg.ERG 2sg.GEN mother.ACC seen   3A.AUX.1E.ALLOmasc

         'I saw your mother' (allocutive)

In (21a), pro (2d ergative) binds the genitive inside the object DP. Hence the anaphoric form of the genitive (**heure**) would have to be used in this dialect (instead of **hire**). This is why (21a) is not well formed. In (21b), pro (1st person) doesn't bind the genitive DP (2d person) within the object DP, because they have different indices. But again, if e_{ALLO} had the properties of argumental pro's, it would bind the genitive phrase (both are 2d persons) and the sentence would

be ungrammatical, just like (21a). However it is well formed, because e_{ALLO} is not an A-binder.

    - The second difference between pro's and e_{ALLO} is the following: pro (I put aside the case of expletive pro) can alternate with overt realization of the pronoun, while the allocutive entity can never be overt. So we obtain the constrast in (22):

    (22) a. **Hik   lan egin duk**
            2sg.ERG worked   AUX.2sg.mascE

        'You worked' (Masculine "tutoiement")

      b. *pro **Hi   /hik /hiri   mintza niaitekek**
               2sg.ABS/2sg.ERG/2sg.DAT parler   1A.AUX.POT.ALLOmasc.

      'I can speak' (Masculine "tutoiement")

In (22a), the ergative pronoun is overt and the sentence is perfect. However, in (22b), where the allocutive is overt, the sentence is ungrammatical, irrespective of the case of the overt 2d person pronoun: absolutive, ergative or dative (apart from the allocutive, these are the three cases which trigger verb agreement in Basque). I will posit that the lack of Case blocks overt realization of e_{ALLO} (Case Filter). Assuming Rizzi's (1986) proposal regarding the licensing of pro (i.e. that pro must be Case-marked), this is a strong indication that e_{ALLO} is not pro.

The above discussion, thus, supports the hypothesis that e_{ALLO} is not in argument position and that it is not pro. Furthermore, the syntactic restrictions on allocutivity we examine in the 3d section cannot be explained within a pro-analysis of e_{ALLO}.

Now let us consider the last remaining option: e_{ALLO} is an empty category generated in nonargument position, and its features are [-anaphor,   -

pronominal] (i.e. the features of variables and R-expressions in Chomsky 1981). At first sight, it does not seem there is any counterevidence giving these features to e_{ALLO}.[22]

As we saw before, since allocutivity is excluded when a 2d person argument is affixed to the inflected form, e_{ALLO} is never anaphoric.

On the other side, e_{ALLO} is always free within the root tensed sentence it belongs to.[23] However, one cannot directly show whether e_{ALLO} obeys either the Principle B or the Principle C of the Binding Theory, because there is no context where (i) e_{ALLO} would be free in a given domain D (the first clause which countains it), and (ii) where it would be coreferent with a DP binding it and belonging to the domain D' (D' including and distinct from D). This situation cannot be found, because it requires the allocutive to be realized within an inflected *embedded* sentence. But C is not available to e_{ALLO} in embedded sentences, and, therefore, allocutive forms are excluded from all embedded sentences; see section 3.

Observe that the last point is independent of binding constraints, since the exclusion of allocutive forms from embedded sentences also occurs when e_{ALLO} is not bound at all. What I wish to point out is that (23a) below is ungrammatical, not (at least, not only) because it is coreferent with an DP in the matrix sentence, but because it belongs to an embedded clause. This is shown in (23b) where the allocutive is free in the whole sentence. However, the sentence remains ungrammatical:

(23) a.*pro [e_{ALLO} **Manex   joanen duala]   uste duk**
          2d.ERG   John.NOM go.FUT   3A.AUX.ALLOmasc. think   AUX.2mascE

    'You think that John will(+ALLO) go'

    b. ***Ez beza   inork   pentsa [e_{ALLO} Manex joanen duala]**

NEG IMP.AUX.3E nobody.ERG think

'Don't anybody think that John will(+ALLO) go'

In (23b), the embedded sentence has allocutive inflexion. $\mathbf{e}_{ALLO}$ is free, since there is no 2d person argument in the matrix sentence (contrary to (23a)). Furthermore, the matrix verb being imperative, it is not allocutive. Although $\mathbf{e}_{ALLO}$ is free in (23b), the sentence is still ungrammatical.

Let us now we assume that UG allows to generate allocutive operators.

In the case of Japanese honorific *teinei go* this would be mediated by the use of specific morphemes affixed to the verb. In the case of Basque this is realized by means of an empty operator carrying verbal agreement and binding a variable at LF.

In Japanese, the performative affix moves at LF in order to have scope over its sentence. This is why for example this morpheme cannot be used in indirect questions with matrix verbs like **sitteiru** 'to know', which subcategorizes for [+WH] complements. Indeed, in this case, at LF the moved allocutive morpheme does not allow the matrix verb to govern the [+WH] element (**ka**) in Comp; cf. Miyagawa 1987.

(24) **Boku wa [dare ga   kuru ∕ *ki---masu ka] sittei-masu**
   I   TOP who NOM come   come-POL   Q   know- POL
   'I know who will come'

Let us now formulate an empty-operator-analysis of $\mathbf{e}_{ALLO}$ in Basque. First we must analyze the syntactic restrictions on the distribution of allocutive agreement.

3. In the eastern dialects where they show up in the sharpest way, syntacic restrictions on allocutivity can be characterized roughly as follows: allocutive

forms are excluded from any sentence where C gets some feature such as [+ WH], or from any sentence where C is filled by a lexical element or its trace. In the general case, this includes embedded sentences. This is why Basque grammarians sometimes have used allocutivity as a criterion in order to determine whether a sentence is or is not subordinated (see nevertheless fn. 18). For example, in (14), we give an example where the prefix **ba**- appears twice. In one case it corresponds to an assertive morpheme, and it is compatible with allocutive inflexion; in the other case it corresponds to a suppositive prefix in a protasis, and is not compatible with the allocutive inflexion. The suppositive **ba**-, thus, contrary to the homonymous assertive prefix, must be analyzed as a Complementizer-type element, similar to **if**, even though it is realized at PF as a verbal prefix.

I give below other examples where allocutive agreement is excluded:[24] within a relative clause in (25), a subjunctive complement sentence in (26), an indirect question in (27), an interrogative in (28):

(25) a. **[Lo egiten duen]   gizona Manex dun**
       sleeping   AUX.3E.COMP man   John   COP.3A.ALLOfem

    'The man [who is sleeping] is John'

    b. ***[Lo egiten dinan]   gizona Manex dun**
sleeping   AUX.3E.ALLOfem.COMP man.the John   3A.COP.ALLOfem

    Same translation

In (25a), the inflexion inside the relative clause doesn't show allocutive agreement contrary to the inflexion in the matrix sentence. The sentence is well formed. In (25b), the allocutive agreement is marked on the inflexion of the relative clause, and ungrammaticality results.

(26) a. **Ez dinat   nahi [gerta dakion]**
      NEG AUX.1E.ALLOfem want   happen 3A.AUX.3D.COMP

  "I don't want it to happen to him'

  b. ***Ez dinat   nahi [gerta diakionan]**
      NEG AUX.1E.ALLOfem want   happen 3A.AUX.3DALLOfem.COMP

   Same translation

In (26a), the matrix inflected verb has an allocutive marker. Not the embedded sentence which corresponds to a subjunctive form. The example is good. However when the allocutive agreement is marked in the inflexion of a subjunctive sentence like (26b) the sentence is ungrammatical.

(27) a. **Ez dakinat   [zer   gertatu den]**
       NEG know.1E.ALLOfem what.NOM happened 3A.AUX.COMP

   'I don't know what it is'

   b. ***Ez dakinat   [zer   gertatu dunan]**
       NEG know.1E.ALLOfem what.NOM happened 3A.AUX.ALLOfem.COMP

    Same translation

In (27a), the indirect question, contrary to the matrix sentence, doesn't contain allocutive agreement. Thus, the example is well formed. When, on a par with (27b), the allocutive agreement shows up in the inflection of the embedded question, ungrammaticality results (with the required interpretation).

(28) a. **Lan egiten duia   hire lagunak?**
       work   AUX.3E.Q your friend.ERG

   'Does your friend work?

   b. ***Lan egiten dina   hire lagunak?**
       work   AUX.3E.ALLOfem.Q your   friend.ERG

    Same translation

In (28a), **hire** 'your' is the genitive form of the familiar 2d person. As we noticed above, allocutive agreement is required in familiar register. However (28a) is well formed, as opposed to (28b), which is not well formed, because allocutive agreement appears within the inflected auxiliary.[25]

The above restrictions on the distribution of allocutive forms suggest there is a close relationship between allocutive and Comp. How can we explain this?

Two possibilities come to mind; either the allocutive operator (hereafter Op-allo) itself is an element of C, or it is an element of IP which moves to Comp at some level.

If we take the first option, syntactic restrictions can be formulated straightforwardly (Rebuschi 1984), but the fact that allocutive marking is realized by means of verbal inflection remains unexplained. It would be necessary to admit either some ad-hoc stipulation making the allocutive features percolate down to I through CP, or obligatory Verb-movement to I at s-structure.[26]

The second option is that Op-allo is generated directly adjoined to IP, and that allocutive agreement expresses a structural relation between a head and its specifier or an element adjoined to the maximal projection of the head. I will suggest an analysis following these lines.

Following current work (Pollock 1989, Chomsky 1989a, among others), I assume there are several inflexional projections. I admit that TP and AGR-Ps are separate functional projections and project at double-bar level, whereas V, a lexical projection, projects at a single bar-level.
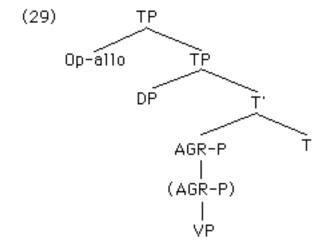
I will adopt an analysis of DP movement within IP (argument shift in Holmberg's (1986) terms) in terms of L-relation. Each position within the chain created by DP movement is L-related.

Chomsky (1989b) proposes that A is L-related to B, B a lexical category, if A is included in a projection of B. I interpret L-relation in terms of strict inclusion, where A includes B if every segment of A includes B.

Let us assume TP and AGR-Ps are projections of V. On this view, Spec of AGR-Ps are L-related, since they are included in every segment of a projection which is a projection of V. In Basque AGR-Ps are three (Laka 1988). They correspond to subject agreement (either ergative or nominative), dative agreement, and object agreement. All argument NPs are generated within VP, and Spec of AGR-Ps are argument positions where Case marking is realized (0yharçabal 1990). Thus I assume Basque displays three instances of argument shifts (see also Mahajan 1990).

We showed before that e_{ALLO} has no theta-role, is not in a Case position, and cannot bind reflexives. We conclude that e_{ALLO} is not in argument position. Thus we do not want to add allocutive agreement to the list of AGR-P's, nor do we want it to be L-related, since L-related position are argument positions.

I propose that Op-allo is generated in adjoined position to the highest functional projection (assumed to be TP). So there is no AGR-ALLO Projection, and the nonargumental nature of Op-allo is a consequence of its (non L-related) position. Indeed, if L-relations are expressed in terms of strict inclusion, Op-allo is not included in every segment of TP. Since allocutivity is realized by means of verb agreement, this analysis implies that agreement relations are allowed between a head and a element occupying an adjoined position (Chomsky 1989a, Kayne 1989). (29) illustrates our proposal:

```
(29)          TP
        ┌──────┴──────┐
     Op-allo          TP
              ┌────────┴────┐
             DP             T'
                       ┌────┴────┐
                    AGR-P        T
                      │
                   (AGR-P)
                      │
                     VP
```

I return now to the question of the relation between allocutivity and syntactic restrictions illustrated in (23-28). We analyze syntactic restrictions on allocutivity as restrictions on Op-allo Movement to Comp. Op-allo has to move to Comp, since operators must bind a variable. However Comp has to be empty to be available to Op-allo. Otherwise movement is blocked, and allocutive agreement excluded. On the other hand, whenever Comp is free, Op-allo moves to Comp, leaving a variable. This accounts for the complementary distribution observed between allocutivity and imperative, interrogative and embedded sentences

4. Let us sum up the main points of this study. We have shown that UG allows the associatiation of allocutive marking to the agreement system of a language which displays rich agreement.[27] This is not surprising, since allocutive markers are assumed to be syntactically active in other languages. For example Miyagawa (1987) convincingly shows that in Japanese embedded questions the allocutive affix **mas** can block government of the interrogative particle **ka** in Comp. The case of allocutive agreement is particularly interesting for current research oriented toward the structuration of the inflectional complex, and the definition of argument positions within it. Assuming that $\mathbf{e}_{\text{ALLO}}$ is generated in an adjoined position within IP (= TP), our analysis gives support

to the proposal by Kayne (1989) that agreement is not restricted to Spec-head relations but can also occur with broadly governed elements (Chomsky 1989b). On the contrary it strongly contradicts analyses where verb agreement is assumed to be linked to Case assignment (Koopman & Sportiche 1988).

The study has established that e_{ALLO} must be distinguished from empty pronominals, even though it appears as an empty category which brings about obligatory verb agreement. So we have shown that e_{ALLO} cannot bind an anaphor, while pro can. Besides, allocutive e cannot be overt while pro can alternate with an overt realization of the pronoun. We have attributed the impossibility to give an overt form to the allocutive entity to the Case Filter, whereas pro, we argued following Rizzi (1986), must be Case marked.

The standard typology of empty categories established by means of Binding Theory's features do not give clear direct results in the case studied here. However, since e_{ALLO} is neither an anaphor nor pro we have concluded that it has the features of R-expressions and variables. Our proposal has been to take e_{ALLO} as an operator generated adjoined to TP. This operator moves to Comp leaving a variable. This gives a straightforward explanation of the syntactic restrictions on allocutive agreement. It is restricted to constructions where C is not occupied, that is to constructions where C is available to the allocutive operator.

The allocutive phenomenon, at first glance, seems to represent some language specific stylistic and/or discoursive rule performed ouside of syntax. But in fact it shows that nonargumental positions existing at the periphery of L-related projections allow to syntactically encode linguistic relations not linked to the selectional properties of lexical and functional projections.

Considering that it is made up by means of verb agreement, Basque allocutive marking gives a strong limit to the syntactic consequences one can associate to agreement morphology. In particular, it shows that agreement phenomena cannot be restricted to Case assignment and argument position status.

Footnotes

Abbreviations: A, ABS= absolutive; ACC= accusative; ADL= adlative; ALLO= allocutive; COP= copula; D, DAT= dative; E, ERG= ergative; Fem= feminine; GEN= genitive; I= Inflexion; IMP= imperative; FUT= future; INST= instrumental; IRR= irrealis; masc= masculine; LOC= locative; NOM= nominative; +P= Present; -P= non-present; RES= resultative (aspect); PL, pl= plural; POL= polite; POT= Potential; Q= interrogative; REFL= reflexive; SG, sg= singular; SOC= Sociative; TOP= topic marker; Vouv= vouvoiement.

1 Within Kayne's (1989) analysis of (4), $e_i{}'$ is in adjoined to IP, and Case is assigned by the past participle to e_i.

2 Kayne (1984) makes such a proposal by assuming Case marking in Comp. He specially mentions the case of the following contrast: *__Je crois Jean être intelligent__ 'I believe John to be intelligent' vs __Jean, que je crois être intelligent__ 'John, who I believe to be intelligent'. The subject of the infinitival is not Case marked in the bad sentence. In the other one, the trace of the quantifier in Comp can receive accusative from the matrix verb, avoiding the Case Filter violation. Rebuschi (p. c.) also mentions the case of Hungarian. Wh-movement from embedded questions in Hungarian is discussed in Chomsky (1981); in (i) below **kit** is not nominative but accusative:

> (i) **Kit   gondolsz hogy Vili mondta hogy látta Jánost?**
>   who.ACC you-think that   Bill   said   that   saw   John.ACC
>
>   Who do you think Bill said saw John?

Chomsky (1981), following Horvath (1981), assumes that the matrix verb assigns accusative case to the WH-word in Comp position. See against this analysis Marácz & de Meij (1986); (the example (i) is borrowed from the latter work).

3 The Japanese performative honorific is performed by the affixation inside the verb form of the morpheme -**mas** or -**des**, depending on Tense. Its use is restricted by some syntactic constraints, less sharp that those found in Basque for allocutive agreement. However, contrary to propositional honorifics, the Japanese performative honorific is excluded in nondirect declarative complements; cf. Yamanashi (1974), Harada (1976).

4 Allocutive clitic in French is often confused with ethical clitic, with which it actually shares several basic features. Both are morphologically dative clitics, both only have clitic realization, both lack a theta role assigned by the verb. However, they have different properties. Allocutive dative is only 2d person, but not ethical clitic. Allocutive clitic does not admit reported discourse, while ethical dative does. Only allocutive clitic allows argumental dative clitic doubling; such doubling has been observed by Hale (1973) mentioned by Simpson & Withgott (1986)**:**

> (i) **Je te lui ai écrit une note**
>   I 2D 3D AUX written a note
>
>   'I wrote (+ALLO) him a note'

In (i) the first dative clitic is allocutive. It does not imply any kind of participation of the addressee in the event related, nor any kind of relation with one of the arguments (unlike the possessive dative), nor any special interest as beneficiary or detrimentary in the situation reported (as with ethical datives). For these last datives, see Jaeggli (1986), and Borer & Grodzinsky (1986).

K. Sainz points out (p. c.) that Galician too frequently uses allocutive clitics, contrary to standard Spanish, and, according to my informants, Catalan and Italian. Galician, like French, allows dative clitic doubling (ii), but it also allows allocutive dative with unaccusative predicates (iii):

> (ii) **(Sabes?) Mandéi-che--lle unha carta a Bush**
>   2sgD 3sgD
>
> '(Do you know?) I sent a letter to Bush'
>
> (iii) **o Xoan é-che un tonto**
>   2sgD
>
> 'John is an idiot '

5   In this first section (ex. 6-11) I will concentrate on data from Souletian, because it is a dialect where allocutivity extends to both kinds of second person: singular, 'vouvoiement' (**zuka**) and 'tutoiement' (**hika**). It is also the most conservative dialect in keeping the syntactic restrictions on allocutivity as tight as possible. In most other dialects the non-familiar register is non-allocutive (**eztabadaka**), and the familiar register obligatorily allocutive.

6   In other dialects allocutivity is required in familiar register only. In fact it is likely that there are Souletian idiolects where the non familiar register is twofold, including both allocutive vouvoiement and non allocutive or neutral forms. This situation has been observed in Oriental Low Navarrese (Rebuschi (1981)).

7   Besides the integration of the 2d person suffix inside the verb inflection, allocutivity can also carry palatalization on the first syllable. As we discuss below, it also carries along auxiliary alternation when the auxiliary is **izan** 'to be', and there is no dative agreement. It is likely that such an alternation also occurs when the auxiliary is †**edun** 'to have', and does not contain a dative agreement marker. In this case too the auxiliary root changes (-**u**- > -**i**-); cf. Rebuschi (1982).

8   The absolutive person markers are always prefixed. The allocutive agreement marker is always suffixed, unless in case of auxiliary changing in [-Present] forms in some western dialects. See footnote 14.

9   This means that the allocutive morpheme cannot correspond either to the ergative or the dative (inherent Cases), or the absolutive (structural Case). An inflected verb form can only agree with one ergative DP, one dative DP and one absolutive DP. For example in causative constructions where it is possible to have two dative DPs only one of them can carry verb agreement: **Jabeari itzul araziko dizut** 'I will make you return it to the owner'. In this example the dative agreement only can occur with the causee (which has dative case), the other dative DP (the beneficiary of the embedded verb; **jabeari** 'the owner'+DAT) is not able to trigger agreement. See below for the allocutive marking when auxiliary changing occurs.

10   They are some variations regarding the place the allocutive agreement marker takes inside inflexion. I would say that the canonical order is DAT-ALLOC-ERG, but this is not always the case even for the same speaker. Furthermore speakers often duplicate the same suffix: **dia(g)uk-di(g)uk- dia(g)u** for example are three forms which can be used in Low-Navarrese to express the non allocutive **du(g)u** 'we have' in masculin tutoiement. In the first one the allocutive agreement index is duplicated (-**a**- and -**k**), in the second form it is suffixed, in the last

one (which as far as I know is the oldest form) it precedes the ergative marker (**gu**). Duplication also occurs with nonallocutive suffixes, for example with dative suffixes (Souletian **zitazü** 1st dative + ALLOvouv can be realized **zi-TA-DA-zü-T**, with dative suffixe duplicated twice).

11 The contrast only concerns imperative forms where the subject DP is 3d person; cf. **Etor bedi** ⁄ *__bedik hire laguna__ "Let come your friend !' If it is 2d person, allocutive form is excluded following the general incompatibility of allocutivity with argumental 2d person agreement (*__zatoztek tenoreko__! Come in time ! (with an 2d person plural)). If it is 1st person, it appears with a Complementizer-type suffix and this excludes allocutive marking, as we will see in section 3. Maybe the prefix **b**- found in these forms (as in **bedi**)is a complementizer-type element.

12 Synthetic inflexion is made up without using any auxiliary, while compositional inflexion refers to cases where the inflexion is realized on both the main verb (which receives aspectual markers) and an auxiliary (which takes Tense and person markers). Synthetic inflexion is restricted to some verbs.

13 There are two kinds of features which rules Basque auxiliary selection. These are [+⁄-ERG] and [+⁄- ASP]. This gives 4 auxiliaries in most dialects; (in Guipuzcoan dative agreement too brings about auxiliary changing when it is associated to [+ERG,+ASP] features; standard literary Basque follows the Guipuzcoan pattern on this point):
   - [+ERG, +ASP] = †**edun** 'to have'
   - [-ERG, +ASP] = **izan** 'to be'
   - [+ERG, - ASP] = †**ezan** (without lexical use)
   - [-ERG, -ASP] = †**edin** (without lexical use)
The auxiliary changing brought about by allocutivity only affects **izan '**to be'. Not its correspondent *__edin__ used with lexical verbs without aspectual marking. This last auxiliary is specially used in modal structures, and it allows allocutivity, without carrying auxiliary shift to the [+ERG] auxiliary. When **izan** 'to be' contains a dative affix (see for example (3) above) auxiliary changing doesn't occur, and **izan** appears with the allocutive.

14 In most dialects, in [-Present] forms the allocutive marker remains suffixed to the root when there is no object person marker prefixed (with [+ERG] auxiliaries or verbs). In non allocutive inflexion the ergative person marker is prefixed in these forms. So the ambiguity observed in (12b,c) doesn't appear, but auxiliary changing still shows up. See (i) below where the auxiliaries in Past Tense appear with different inflected forms contrary to (12b,c):

  (i) a. **Manex etorri zuan**
     John.NOM come AUX.3A.ALLOmasc

     'John came'

    b. **(Hik) Manex ikusi huen**
      you.ERG John.ACC seen AUX.3A.2mascE

      'You saw John'

(ia) corresponds to the regular allocutive form of (12b) in Past Tense, while (ib) is the regular transitive form corresponding to (12c) in Past Tense. The prefixation of the ergative person marking observed in (12c) doesn't occur with the allocutive agreement, which remains suffixed in most dialects. However, it seems that some western dialects use the prefixed form for allocutive marking too: **uan** and **uke** are then the allocutive forms for respectively (non allocutive) **zan** and **litzake**.

15 I use the name <u>implication</u> in a less restricted way than Rebuschi (1982). The latter keeps this designation for cases where the addressee is 'implied'.

The typical example is the ambiguous (i), which can be glossed in two ways with the meaning 'Your mother is sick':

    (i) **Ama   eri duk**
      a. mother.NOM sick 3A.AUX.ALLOmasc
      b. mother. ACC sick 3A.AUX.2d masc.E

Whether or not it is desirable to develop such a framework is beyond the scope of this paper. In any case, observe that the auxiliary alternation illustrated in (12) can hardly receive a syntactic analysis. So the morphological component must be powerful enough to permit such a readjustement.

Such an assumption receives support from the fact that in embedded sentences, the inflected verb usually receives either a suffix or a prefix. However in western dialects there are few adjunct clauses made up by enclitization of a coordinator (**eta** 'and' or **baina** 'but'). In these clauses allocutive agreement is allowed:

    (i) **ez diat   erosiko, ez diat   dirurik----eta**
        NEG AUX.3A.1E.ALLOmasc bought.FUT NEG have.1E.ALLOmasc money.PART-and

        'I won't buy it, because I don't have money' (lit. I don't have money-and)

Observe that in (i) **eta** is not joined to the inflection itself (though such a possibility exists), but to the partitive DP. The fact that this use is possible shows that the morpheme is not a verbal suffix.

19 In some dialects the two prefixes act differently with respect to accentuation, cf. Txillardegi (1984).

Yes/no questions can be expressed by a special intonation, as in (9), or they can also marked by adding the suffix -**a** to the inflected verb. Of course, in this case too the allocutive is excluded.

This property (incapability to be an A-binder) prevents us from considering the allocutive as a kind of incorporated pronominal, a suggestion one could make following the fact that the allocutive element as no overt realization outside the verbal inflection; cf. the discussion about Gaelic languages where overt realization and inflectional realization of a subject pronoun are in complementary distribution (Stump 1984). In Basque all the arguments which can trigger verb agreement can bind argumental anaphors. For instance dative and ergative DPs can bind an argument anaphor with instrumental case in the same way:

    (i) pro$_i$ pro$_j$ **Elkarrez$_{ij}$ hitz egin diegu**
      we   them RECIP.INST worg do AUX.3PLD.1PLE

      'We talked to them about each other'

Jaeggli (1986) proposes this characterization (R-expression) for ethical clitics in Spanish. He considers that these clitics are generated in clitic position, and assumes that, since the latter is a nonargumental position, it is compatible with the variable analysis.

23 One could suggest that the ungrammatical (17b) provides a context where **e**$_{ALLO}$ is bound within its own clause. Thus, in this example the subject pro would c-command **e**$_{ALLO}$ adjoined to IP (see below). However, this is not compatible with the standard definition of c-command:
 - α c-commands β iff α does not dominate β and every γ that dominates α dominates β. (α is dominated by β only if it is dominated by every segment of β.) (cf. Chomsky 1986b).

24 The exclusion is relaxed (and more or less optional depending on idiolects) in western and central modern dialects. See Rebuschi (1982).

25 Notice that the inflected forms in (28) have a suffix (-**a**) marking the interrogation. Without the suffix the exclusion of the allocutive is weakened. In the western dialects, which do not use the interrogative suffix -**a**, the allocutive agreement in direct questions is possible, and fairly common.

26 Such a movement is likely to happen in questions, and arguably in sentences countaining focalized elements; cf. Ortiz de Urbina (1989). However, it must be observed that there is no difference with respect to allocutivity between sentences countaining focalized elements, and those without such elements:

      (i) **Nihauri zidaie   ekarriko**
        me.DAT   3A.AUX.1D.3plE. bring.FUT

        'They will bring it TO ME'

      (ii) pro pro pro **ekarriko zidaie**

        'They will bring it to me'

27 However our analysis does not relate Basque allocutive agreement to the fact that this language has a rich agreement system. As far as I know other languages having such a rich agreement system do not have allocutive agreement. At least it is not mentioned for Georgian by Harris (1981), for Warlpiri by Simpson (1983) or for Choctaw by Davies (1986).

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