

Bare nominals, true and fake vocatives

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Bare nominals (1)

- BNs = count bare nominals.
- Romance languages, in spite of being languages with determiners, allow BNs not only in predicate position, but also in object position of prepositions and of a restricted class of verbs, as well as in vocatives.

(1)a. *Es payaso.* [SPANISH]

is clown ‘He is playful like a clown.’

b. *En cama.*

in bed ‘(to be) in bed’

c. *Tener novio.*

have boyfriend ‘to have a boyfriend’

d. *¡Señor!*

sir

d’. *¡Usted, señor!*

you sir

Bare nominals (2)

- Q.** What is the syntactic structure that must be attributed to these BNs?
- Canonical structure for nominal expressions postulated for languages with number morphology and determiners (Chierchia 1998, Longobardi 2001, Zamparelli 1995).

(2) [_{DP} D [_{NumP} Num [_{NP} N]]]

Bare nominals (3)

- **BNs in predicate position.** They can either be NPs or NumPs.

- (3) a. [NP N]
b. [NumP Num [NP N]]

- From a semantic perspective they have been claimed to denote capacities or roles (de Swart et al. 2007; type $\langle e^c \rangle$; e.g., *Es lingüista*). But, they may also denote properties of individual (temporal) entities (type $\langle e, t \rangle$; e.g., nouns *Es invierno*), and gradable predicates (when the root corresponds to a multidimensional scalar noun; type $\langle \langle e, t \rangle d \rangle$; e.g., *Es payaso*).

Bare nominals (4)

- **BNs in object position.** Nominal expressions may lack D and Num (cf. Déprez 2005, Dobrovie-Sorin et al. 2006, de Swart & Zwarts 2009, and others). If number neutral they denote properties of atomic kinds (Espinal 2010; type $\langle e^k, t \rangle$, e.g. *tener novio*). If number is present they denote properties of token individual entities (type $\langle e^0, t \rangle$, e.g. *tener libros*).

- (3) a. [NP N]
b. [NumP Num [NP N]]

Bare nominals (5)

- **BNs in vocatives**: nominal expressions that sometimes designate the hearer(s) or addressee(s) (e.g. *¡Juan!*) and provide the identity or identification of the addressee (e.g. *¡Tú, Juan!*), type <e>; and nominal expressions that denote properties of the hearer(s) / addressee(s) (e.g. *¡Señor!, ¡Usted, señor!*), type <e,t>.

- (4)a. **Ei** **Joan!** **quin** **goig** **que fas!** [CAT] - proper name
 part Joan how nice that do
 ‘Hey! Joan, how nice you look!’
- b. **Ei** **company!** **com** **va?** - BS
 part guy how goes
 ‘Hey! Guy! How are things?’
- c. **Eh** **nois!** **espero** **que** **estiguen bé.** - BP
 part boys hope that be.subj fine
 ‘Hey! Boys! I hope that you are fine.’

Questions

- General assumption: vocatives are referential and deictic expressions (Osenova & Simov 2002, Hill 2007, Stavrou 2009, among others), but are not arguments of verbal predicates (Longobardi 1994).

Q1. What is the internal structure of a phrase interpreted as Vocative? (see Moro 2003, D'hulst et al. 2007, Hill 2007, Corver 2008, Stavrou 2009).

Q2. Is it possible to find a correlation between types of Vocatives and other syntactic structures (e.g., copular sentences)?

Outline of the talk

1. **The data (Catalan). Hypotheses.**
2. The syntax of vocative structures.
3. Complex vocatives. Similarities with copular sentences.
4. Conclusions and predictions.

- Longobardi (1994:613): “A ‘nominal expression’ is an argument only if it is introduced by a lexically filled D position”.
- Therefore, count bare nominals can occur in vocative contexts because they are not arguments (Moro 2003, Corver 2008)

...of the verbal predicate of the host structure.

NB4: Argumental ≠ referential.

- BN vocatives introduce a mismatch at the syntax-semantics interface:

BN vocatives may have an ostensive-deictic interpretation, even though common count nouns, unlike proper names, are property denoting expressions.

- ☞ I assume that this is the motivation for postulating that vocative nominals move from the canonical structure in (2) to a higher VocP.

(2) $[_{DP} D [_{NumP} Num [_{NP} N]]]$

3. Bare adjectives, optionally preceded by a vocative particle. These vocative expressions are A° that denote properties of token individuals <e,t>, and predicate deictically of the addressee.

- (7) a. *Ei jove! on vas?*
part young where go 'Hey! Youngster. Where are you going?'
- b. *Eh desgraciats! marxeu de casa meva!*
part swine.pl leave from house mine
'Hey! Swine (people)! Leave from my house!'

- The postnominal A in (8b) is wellformed because it does not compete for a vocative position occupied by the 2P pronoun. Predicational A.

- (8) a. **Eh vosaltres desgraciats!*
part you swine
- b. *Eh vosaltres, desgraciats!*
part you swine

- But, when the A is a Spec of a DP the whole nominal expression, which is not a head, is interpreted as a non-deictic vocative → predicational (9). Other vocatives: referential (10a,b) or quantificational (10c).

- (9) a. *Benvolgut amic meu.* [CATALAN]
 dear friend mine 'My dear friend'
- b. *Stimate cititorule, ...* [ROMANIAN]
 respected.VOC reader.the.VOC 'Dear readers' (Hill 2007:ex.(12e))
- c. *Caro amico, vieni a trovarmi.* [ITALIAN]
 dear friend come to visit.me (Longobardi 1994:ex.(7a))
- (10) a. *Au travail, les filles!* [FRENCH]
 to work the girls (Cabredo-Hofherr 2009: ex. (12a))
- b. *I protoetis fitites, elate edo.* [GREEK]
 the first.year students come here (Stavrou 2009:ex.(57a))
- c. *Tots vosaltres, veniu!* [CATALAN]
 all you come

Hypotheses

- H1** A distinction should be made between ‘true’ and ‘fake’ vocatives.
- H2** In **‘true’ vocatives** **second person strong pronouns, proper names, bare nominals and bare adjectives**, immediately specified by a Voc particle, occur in Voc⁰ and are interpreted as **deictic**, either because 2P pronouns and proper names directly designate the addressee, or because bare nominals and bare adjectives introduce a property predicated of the addressee that points to him/her.
- H3** In **‘fake’ vocatives** a **full DP** (or QP), very exceptionally specified by a Voc particle, enters into a syntactic relationship with Voc⁰ (Spec,VocP; c-commanded constituent), and is associated either with a **predicational**, a **referential** or a quantificational interpretation.

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The syntax of vocative structures

- VocPs can either occur at the **left periphery** of a sentential structure (cf., split Comp field analysis; Rizzi 1997, Moro 2003):

(11) $C^0 = \dots \text{Force}^0 > (\text{Top}^0 > \text{Foc}^0 > \text{Top}^0 >) \text{Fin}^0 \dots$

... or, alternatively, when vocatives do not occur with a host structure, they can be analysed as **disjunct / parenthetical** constituents (Espinal 1991): VocP not integrated syntactically in any host structure.

- Wrt its **external structure**, that VocP is in [Spec,ForceP] rather than in [Spec,Pragmatic RoleP] (Stavrou 2009), or in head position of a Speech Act projection that selects ForceP (Hill 2007).

(12) [**ForceP** [**VocP** {*ei*, *eh*} [_{Voc'} [_{Voc°}]...]] [_{Force'} [_{Force°} {decl, imper, inter}]...]]

NB5: Vocative nominals can precede either a declarative, an imperative or an interrogative clause.

- Wrt its **internal structure**, vocatives are nominal because they are direct forms of address that take a DP structure as its complement.

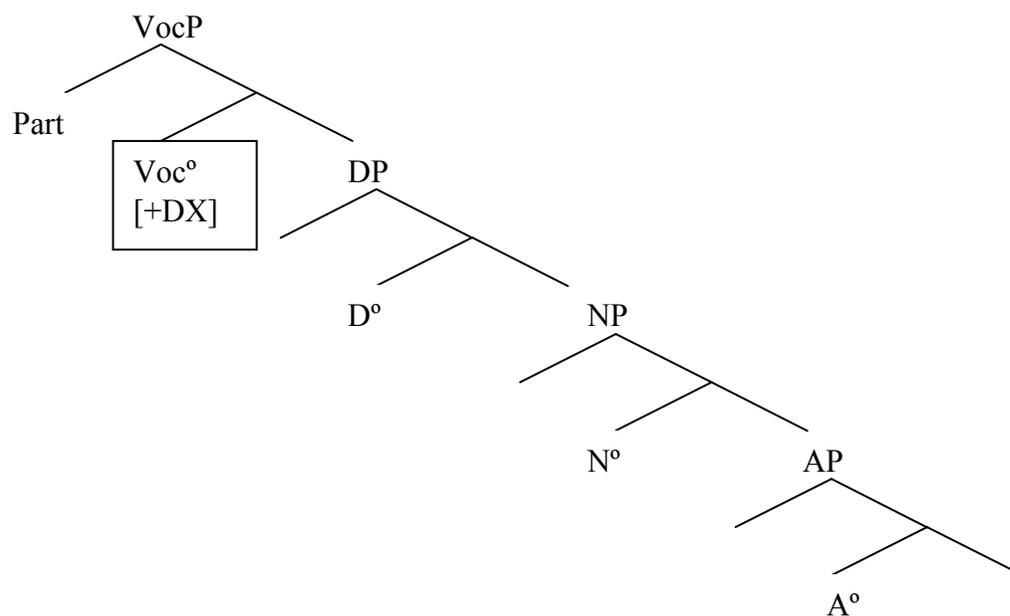
(13) [**VocP** {*ei*, *eh*} [_{Voc'} [_{Voc°} [+II,-I]] [**DP** D° [_{NumP} Num° [_{NP} N°]]]]]

- Voc⁰ is defined by a **deictic feature** [+DX]. Vocative particles specify a vocative expression, by default a 2P strong pronoun; it can also specify a N (or an A) when this N (or A) has a deictic interpretation. The complement of Voc⁰ is a canonical nominal structure (Chierchia 1998; Longobardi 2001, 2005; Zamparelli 1995).
 - **Extension of N-raising** (Longobardi 1994) to common nouns (Coene et al. 1999). N⁰-to-D⁰ movement, even relevant in French.
 - (14) a. *Le Seigneur est mon esperance. **Seigneur** vous êtes mon esperance.* (Cabredo-Hofherr 2009: ex.(6)).
 - b. ***Françaises, français!*** (Schaden 2010: ex. (18a)).
- NB6. Specific phonological processes (truncation, prosodic contours) apply to vocative forms both in languages with and without articles (Floridic 2002,²⁰ 2010; Cabré & Venrell 2008; Daniel & Spencer 2009; among others).*

- Structural distinction between **‘true’ and ‘fake’ vocatives**.
 - In ‘true’ vocatives a Voc^0 is phonologically overt, either by a 2P strong pronoun moved from D^0 , or by a nominal expression moved from a N^0 or an A^0 position lower than D^0 .
 - In ‘fake’ vocatives a DP either specifies or remains as a complement of an empty Voc^0 .

True vocatives

(17)

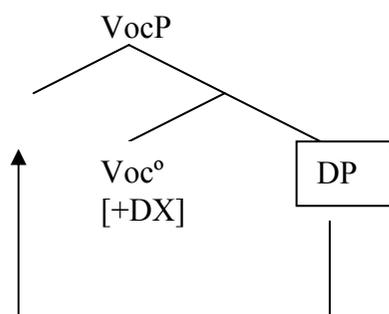


‘True’ vocatives: deictic

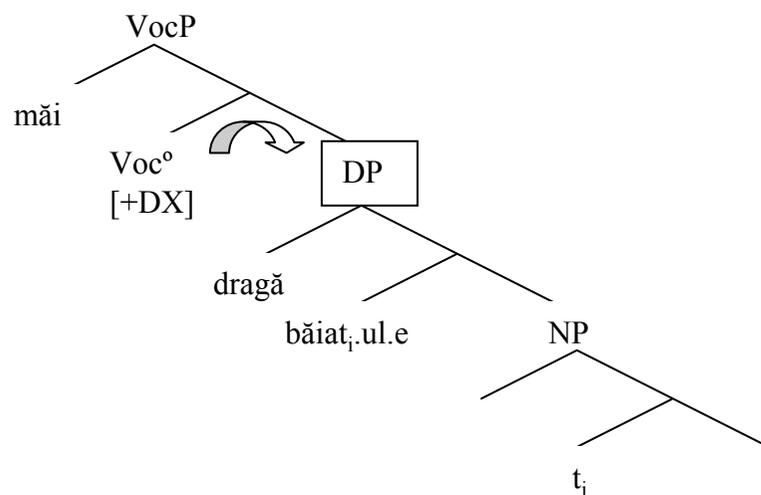
- Only 2P pronouns, specified by [+II,-I] Person grammatical features and defective for a deictic feature [+DX], satisfy the requirement of being forms of direct address to the hearer / addressee (Hill 2007). **First-order ‘true’ vocatives.**
- Other nominal heads (proper names, common nouns) and adjectives that move to a probe deictic Voc⁰ in the process of the derivation are to be considered **second-order ‘true’ vocatives.**

Fake vocatives

(18)



(19)



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Complex vocatives

(20)a. *Tu, Joan!*

you Joan

b. *Tu, el noi de la camisa blava!*

you the boy of the shirt blue

c. *Tu, {noi, desgraciat}!*

you boy swine

- Problem: what sort of analysis should be attributed to the **complex vocative** nominal expressions in (20)? Which one of the nominal expressions in each example is to be considered the ‘true’ vocative?

👉 The 2P pronoun.

Types of copular sentences (Higgins 1979)

| <i>Type</i> | <i>Subject</i> | <i>Predicate</i> |
|-------------------------|-------------------------|-------------------------|
| Identity | Referential | Referential |
| Identificational | Referential | Identificational |
| Predicational | Referential | Predicational |
| Specificational | Superscriptional | Specificational |

- Sentences that instantiate each type (Alexiadou 2005:exs.(67))

- (21)a. *The Morning Star is the Evening Star.* (Identity)
b. *That man over there is John Smith.* (Identificational)
c. *Paul is sick.* (Predicational)
d. *What I don't like about John is his tie.* (Specificational)

- Vocative constructions are distinct from copular sentences in not having a copula verb, but still they are similar in that they relate nominals in subject-predicate structures.

NB7: The specificational type is excluded in vocatives because the head is not²⁹ cataphoric, but deictic.

Extension to vocative structures

(22)a. *Tu, Joan!* (Identity)

$[\text{VocP } [\text{Voc}^\circ \text{tu}_i] [\text{DP } [\text{DP } [\text{D}^\circ \text{Joan}_j] [\text{NP } [\text{N}^\circ \text{t}_j]]]] [\text{D}^\circ \text{t}_i]]]$

b. *You, John, come here!*

(23)a. *Tu, el noi de la camisa blava!* (Identificational)

b. *Tu, el Joan!*

$[\text{VocP } [\text{Voc}^\circ \text{tu}] [\text{DP } [\text{DP } [\text{D}^\circ \text{el}] [\text{NP } [\text{N}^\circ \text{noi}] [\text{PP } \text{de la camisa blava}]]]] [\text{D}^\circ \text{t}_i]]]$

$[\text{VocP } [\text{Voc}^\circ \text{tu}] [\text{DP } [\text{DP } [\text{D}^\circ \text{el}] [\text{NP } [\text{N}^\circ \text{Joan}]]]] [\text{D}^\circ \text{t}_i]]]$

c. *You, the boy with the blue shirt, come here!*

(24)a. *Tu, {noi, desgraciat}!* (Predicational)

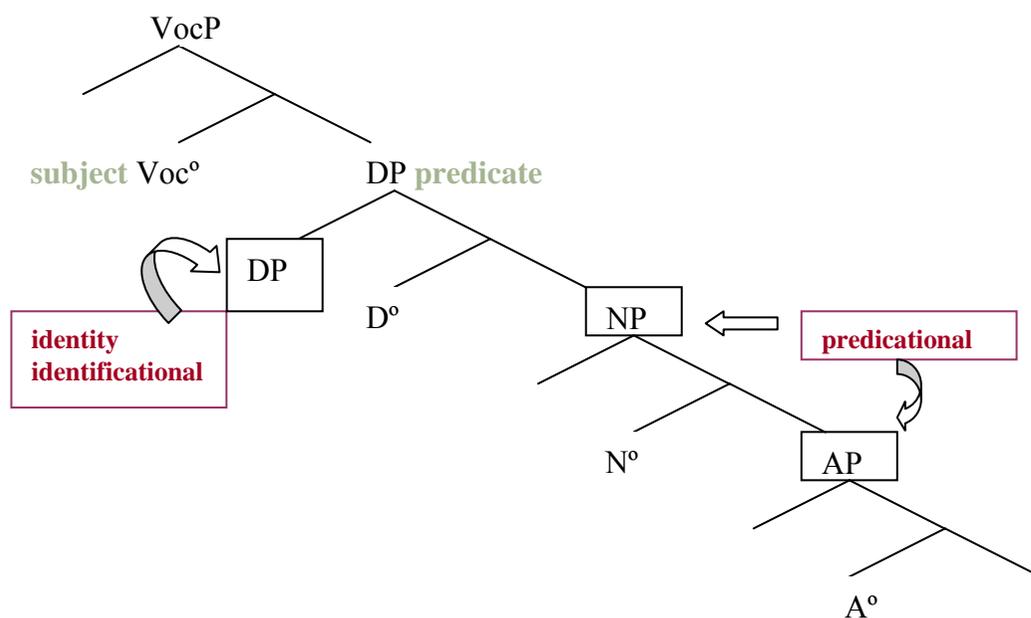
$[\text{VocP } [\text{Voc}^\circ \text{tu}_i] [\text{DP } [\text{D}^\circ \text{t}_i] [\text{NP } [\text{N}^\circ \text{noi}]]]]]$

$[\text{VocP } [\text{Voc}^\circ \text{tu}] [\text{DP } [\text{D}^\circ \text{t}_i] [\text{NP } [\text{N}^\circ] [\text{AP } [\text{A}^\circ \text{desgraciat}]]]]]]]$

b. *You, (stupid) bastard, come here!*

Types of complex vocatives

(25)



Semantic types for vocative nominals

| <i>Type</i> | <i>Subject (2P)</i> | <i>Predicate</i> |
|------------------|---------------------|------------------------------------------------------|
| Identity | Referential <e> | Referential – proper names <e> |
| Identificational | Referential <e> | Identificational – DPs <e> |
| Predicational | Referential <e> | Predicational – bare predicates <e,t> <<e,t>d> |

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Conclusions

- C1.** Structural distinction between ‘true’ and ‘fake’ vocatives.

- C2.** Three types of complex vocatives: identity, identificational and predicational.

Predictions from C1

1. We expect to find vocative particles with ‘true’ vocatives and very exceptionally with ‘fake’ vocatives.

2. Full definite and indefinite expressions are not expected as ‘true’ deictic vocatives.

(6) c. **Ei* *el Joan!*

part the Joan

c. *Ei, ## el Joan!*

d. **Eh* *el company!*

part the guy

d. *Eh, ## el noi ros!*

part the boy fair.haired

3. Full NPs, [N A] structures, are not expected either.

(26) **Ei noi guapo!*

part boy handsome

Predictions from C1

4. Bare singulars and bare plurals must be distinguished from singular or plural indefinites in that they can move to Voc⁰ and be interpreted as deictic (i.e. they provide a property of the individual identified as the addressee). These nominals are not number neutral, do not have an existential reading and cannot be associated with a kind generic interpretation.

- (4) b. **Ei** **company!** com va?
 part guy how goes
 ‘Hey! Guy! How are things?’
- c. **Eh** **nois!** espero que estigueu bé.
 part boys hope that be.sub fine
 ‘Hey! Boys! I hope that you are fine.’
- (6) e. ***Eh** **un(s)** **company(s)!**
 part a / some guy(s)

Predictions from C1

5. Two different interpretations will be associated to the bare plural in (27a-a') (deictic or predicational), and also to the nominals in (27b-b') (deictic or merely referential; Coene et al. 1999:ex.(26)) and (27c-c') (deictic or generic; Schaden 2010:ex.(18a-b)).

- | | |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------|
| (27) a. Nois, veniu aquí! boys come here | a'. Vosaltres, nois, veniu aquí! you boys come here |
| b. Amis, partons tout de suite. friends let's.leave straight away | b'. Allons, les amis. let's.go the friends |
| c. Françaises, français! French.FEM French | c'. Les français the French |

Predictions from C2

6. In identificational vocatives we expect recursivity of DPs.

(28) a. *Tu, el Joan, vés-te'n!*

you D Joan go CI CI 'You, Joan, go away!'

b. *Tu, el Joan, el Joan Ripoll vés-te'n!*

you D Joan D Joan Ripoll go CI CI

7. In identificational vocatives we expect a 2P pronoun to be followed by an appositive nominal: the possessive vocative pattern found in Swedish.

(29) *Du, din idiot, borde vara försiktigare i framtiden.*

you your idiot should be careful.COMPAR in future.the

(Corver 2008: ex. (33a))

Predictions from C2

8. In predicational vocatives neither bare nominals nor bare adjectives move to D° (they are not referential), and therefore can't move to Voc° (they are not deictic) either.

(20) c. *Tu, {noi, desgraciat}!*

you boy swine

$[_{VocP} [_{Voc^\circ} tu_i] [_{DP} [_{D^\circ} t_i] [_{NP} [_{N^\circ} noi]]]]]$

$[_{VocP} [_{Voc^\circ} tu_i] [_{DP} [_{D^\circ} t_i] [_{NP} [_{N^\circ}] [_{AP} [_{A^\circ} desgraciat]]]]]]]$

9. 'True' vocatives can be arguments of nominal (and adjectival) predicates (cf. predicational copular sentences Higgins 1979; contra Coene et al. 1999:note1).

(20)c. *Tu, {noi, desgraciat}!*

(Predicational)

Predictions from C2

10. The internal syntax of *you linguists!* and *you idiot!* (evaluative vocative; Corver 2008) is predicted to be the same in spite of the fact that the semantics of the BNs is different: $\langle e,t \rangle$ vs. $\langle \langle e,t \rangle d \rangle$. Predicational vocatives.

- (30) a. *Tu, {noi, càmera, violí primer}!* – prop. of token individuals
you boy camera violin first
- b. *Tu, {pallasso, idiota, foca}!* – gradable predicates
you clown idiot seal

Reinterpretation of 'You linguists' (1)

- Déchaine & Wiltschko (2002:str.(33a)): *you* is a D^0 , *linguists* is a complement N^0 . (Cf. Payne & Huddleston's 2002 distinction between you_d and you_p). You_d can be preceded by *all*.

(31) $[_{DP} [_{D^0} \textit{you}] [_{\varphi P} [_{\varphi^0}] [_{NP} [_{N^0} \textit{linguists}]]]]]$

- Cowper & Hall (2009:str.(28a)): *you* is the head of φP (a functional projection that introduces an index), modified by $\#P$ (which introduces number features).

(32) $[_{\varphi P} [_{\varphi P} \textit{you}] [_{\#P} \textit{linguists}]]]$

Reinterpretation of 'You linguists' (2)

- My analysis: predicational vocative. *You*_p is the head of VocP, *linguists* is the head of a predicational NumP.

(33) [_{VocP} [_{Voc°} *you*_i] [_{DP} [_{D°} *t*_i] [_{NumP} [_{Num°} *linguists*_j] [_{NP} [_{N°} *t*_j]]]]]]

- By contrast, *You the linguists* is an identificational vocative. The DP has not the status of a syntactic modifier DP adjoined to φ P (Cowper & Currie Hall 2009). It is a definite DP in the [Spec,DP] position complement of Voc° that identifies the referent of the vocative head.

(34) [_{VocP} [_{Voc°} *you*_i] [_{DP} [_{DP} [_{D°} *the*] [_{NumP} [_{Num°} *linguists*_j] [_{NP} [_{N°} *t*_j]]]]] [_{D°} *t*_i]]₄₂

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