

# Romance vocatives and the topological mapping of “deviance”

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## 1. Introduction

- How can we model the structure/behaviour of Romance vocatives?
- What can the structure/behaviour of Romance vocatives tell us about the relationship between grammar and meaning?

## Puzzle 1: vocatives are “weird”

|                    | NOM/thematic  |                                  | VOC/non-thematic                           |  |
|--------------------|---------------|----------------------------------|--|--|
| EuPt.<br>(IbRo.)   | A<br>the      | Leonor/querida<br>Leonor/darling | *(A) Leonor/querida!<br>the Leonor/darling |  |
| Taviano<br>(ItRo.) | {U/*Ø}<br>the | Kósimu<br>Cosimo                 | *(U) Kó(simu)!<br>the Cosimo               |  |

## Puzzle 2: syntax-semantics clash?

Vocatives are referentially “strong” yet structurally “weak”?

- “*intrinsic*” (Longobardi 1994:627) deictic reference
- “addressee semantics [...] *inherently definite* and *referential*” (Hill 2014:62)

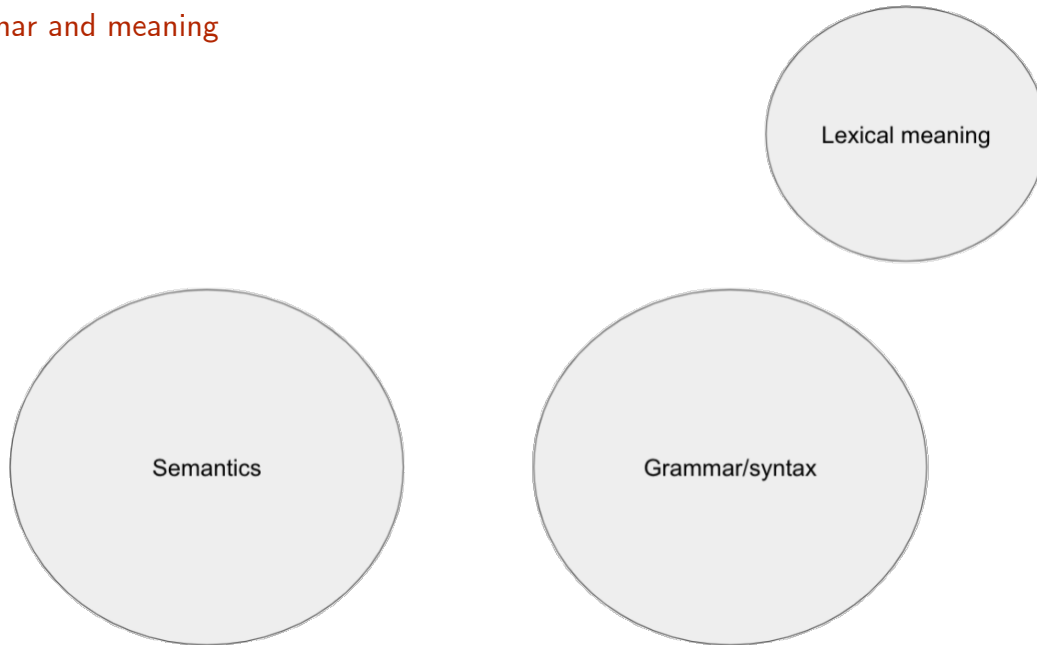
|                    | NOM/thematic                           | VOC/non-thematic                           |
|--------------------|--|--|
| EuPt.<br>(IbRo.)   | A Leonor/querida<br>the Leonor/darling | *(A) Leonor/querida!<br>the Leonor/darling |
| Taviano<br>(ItRo.) | {U/*∅} Kósimu<br>the Cosimo            | *(U) Kó(simu)!<br>the Cosimo               |

## Roadmap:

- Modelling the grammar-meaning interface
  - Theory of grammatical reference (Longobardi 2005; Sheehan & Hinzen 2011; Hinzen & Sheehan 2013; Martín & Hinzen 2014; Corr 2020)
- **Puzzle 1:** Vocatives are “weird”
  - Syntax-semantics of (Ro) vocatives and deviance thereof
- **Puzzle 2:** Resolving the syntax-semantics clash
  - How do vocatives get their meaning?
  - Extending the grammar of reference to Romance vocatives
  - → rethink ‘deviance’
  - → formalise intuition that speaker can ‘do things’ with (nominal) grammar

## 2. Modelling the grammar-meaning interface

### 2.1 Grammar and meaning



## 2.2 Grammar of reference

- Syntax-semantics in nominal domain:

- (1) a      Bevo            sempre      [(questo) [vino]].  
           drink.1sg    always      this        wine  
           'I always drink (this) wine'
- b      Conosco        [Maria [~~Maria~~]]  
           know.1sg    Maria  
           'I know Maria'
- c      Conosco        [tre    [Marie]]  
           know.1sg    three    Marias  
           'I know three Marias'

- Grammar of reference (Longobardi 1994, 2005; Hinzen & Sheehan 2011, 2013; Martín & Hinzen 2014)

## 2.2 Grammar of reference

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(1) a Bevo sempre [(questo) [vino]].

drink.1sg always this wine

'I always drink (this) wine'

b Conosco [Maria [Maria]]

know.1sg Maria

'I know Maria'

c Conosco [tre [Marie]]

know.1sg three Marias

'I know three Marias'

d [D [NP]]

(2) *Biconditional syntax-semantics in nominal domain* (Longobardi 2005:24)

Reference (to individuals) if N-to-D

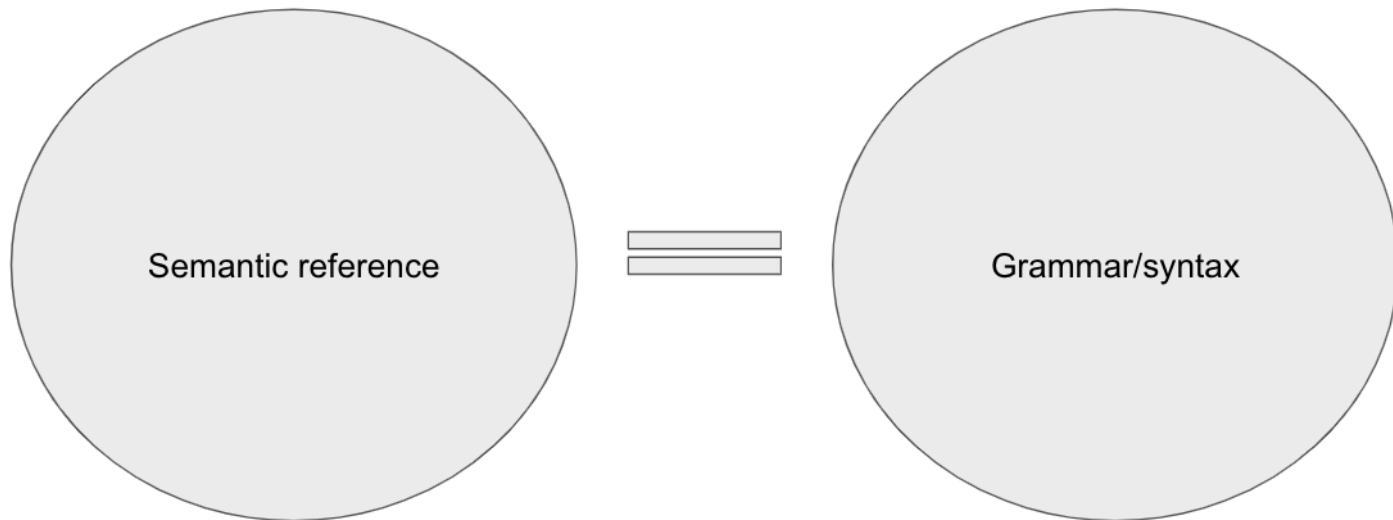
N-to-D if reference (to individuals)



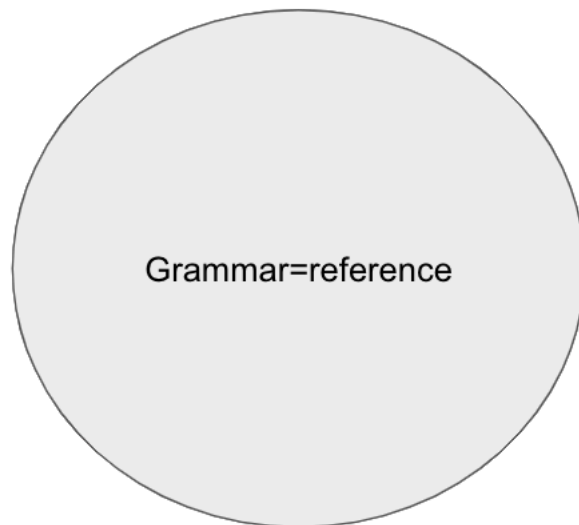
## 2.2 Grammar of reference

- (3) *The Phasal Template* (Sheehan & Hinzen 2011; Hinzen & Sheehan 2013)  
[Edge [Interior]]

## 2.2 Grammar of reference



## 2.2 Grammar of reference



## 2.2 Grammar of reference

(4) [Edge [Interior]]

- (5) a Busco [∅ [coche]].  
 'I am seeking a [non-specific] car'  
 b Busco [un/el [coche]].  
 'I am seeking a/the [specific] car'  
 c Busco [Herbie [~~Herbie~~]].  
 'I am seeking Herbie'  
 d Busco [este/ese [(coche)]].  
 'I am seeking this/that {car/one}'  
 e [Yo [∅]] busco un coche.  
 'I am looking for a car.'

(6) *TMT and the phasal template* (adapted from Martín & Hinzen 2014:102)

- |      |                   |                       |                              |
|------|-------------------|-----------------------|------------------------------|
| i.   | Predicative       | → phase interior only | → [Edge ∅ [Int coche]]       |
| ii.  | Quant/ref         | → edge + interior     | → [Edge un/el [Int coche]]   |
| iii. | Rigid (3P)        | → edge + interior     | → [Edge Herbie [Int Herbie]] |
| iv.  | Deictic reference | → edge + (interior)   | → [Edge este [Int (coche)]]  |
| i.   | Person reference  | → phase edge only     | → [Edge Yo [Int ∅]]          |

## 2.2 Grammar of reference

- (7) *The grammar-reference link hypothesis* (Martín & Hinzen 2014:102)  
Referential strength (from predicativity to deixis) is not an intrinsic property of lexical items, but rather of certain grammatical configurations.

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 Referential strength (from predicativity to deixis) is not an intrinsic property of lexical items, but rather of certain grammatical configurations.
- Prediction:
    - **If...**
      - **grammatical complexity co-varies referential strength;**
      - **vocatives are referentially 'strong'**
    - **Then...**
      - **vocatives should be grammatically complex constituents, i.e.**
      - **involve an expansion of functional structure and movement into 'edge'**
  - Proposal:
    - "Deviance" of Romance vocatives  $\neq$  "exceptional", but *predicted*
    - vocatives topologically mapped at 'edge' of 'edge' of nominal functional structure

## Puzzle 1: Vocatives are “weird”

### 3. Vocatives

#### 3.1 Structural build

- Ban on article/lexicalisation of D:

(8) a *Oye (\*el) **gilipollas**, ¿dónde te metes?* (EuSp.)

UTT the dickhead where you=put.2SG

'Hey, dickhead, where have you got to?' (Teruel)

b *Eh (\*un(s)) **company(s)**!* (Cat; Espinal 2013)

'hey ART.INDEF(PL) guy(s)'



- “Exceptional” marking strategies:

(9) a **O** *germanet*, no me digueu res (Mal.)

VOC son not me=say.SBJV.2SG nothing

‘My son, don’t say anything’

b **Ah** *tiu Antonho*, el adonde bai? (Sen.)

VOC uncle Antonho he where go.3SG

‘Uncle Antonho, where are you going?’ (Ferreira 2001)

(10) a La multi ani frumoși, **Eleno!** (Ro.)

to many years beautiful.PL Elena.VOC

‘A very happy birthday, Elena!’

b Elena a născut un bebeluș (Ro.)

Elena has given.birth a baby

‘Elena has given birth to a baby’

- 'phonetic *distortions* [...] tightly linked to this calling function' (Florivic & Molinu 2018:276)

(11) a *O 'tiu vran'tsi!* vs. *'tiu vran'tsisku* (Sard.; Florivic & Molinu 2018:273)

b *Gennàro* > *Gennarò* [dʒen,a:'ro:] (Nap.; Huszthy 2019:173)

c *Carmen!* vs. *Carmin*; *Máριο!* vs. *(el) Máriu* (Ext.; Carmona García 2011:86)

d *fraṭi* 'brother', *fraṭe* 'brother.VOC'; *ḡaṭi* 'girl', *'ḡaṭi* 'girl.PL', *ḡaṭə* 'girl.VOC', *ḡaṭe* 'girl.PL.VOC'; (Ro. Maiden 2016:103)

- '**deviant use**' or '**deviant insertion**' of morpholexical material (Hill 2014:66, on Ro.)

(12) a *Bărbate* 'man-VOC!' vs. *Bărbat-ul-e!* 'man-DEF-VOC! (derog.)' (Ro.)

b **Los amics**, *calem nos!* (Lgd.)

the friends silence.IMP.1PL=REFL

'Friends, let's calm down' (Ledgeway 2012:99)

c *plancí mego, le me serore!* (OMil.)

cry.imp with.me the my sisters

'Cry with me, my sisters!' (Barsegapé, 1684, cit. Rohlfs 1968:32)

d *Ditemi, quel giovine*, al vostro paese che regola si usa?

tell me, young man, your country what rule governs?

(C. Goldoni, *Le femmine puntigliose*; in Mazzoleni 1995, cit. Moro 2003:255)

- “Ungrammatical” linear orders:

(13) a il (\*caro/bello) mio (caro/bello) amico (It.)  
 the dear/beautiful my dear/beautiful friend  
 ‘my dear/beautiful friend’

b O caro il mio romano! / O bella la mia collina  
 o dear the my Roman o beautiful the my hill  
 ‘My dear Roman! / My beautiful hill!’

- ‘**reverse** or in some way **distort** the usual word or structure’ (Kraska-Szlenk 2009:109)
- ‘**rompe il rigore della grammatica**’ (Sorrento 1915:114)

- External syntax:

(14) **Ô Júlia**, vem aqui, **Júlia** (BrPt.)

VOC Júlia come.IMP here Júlia

'Júlia, come here, Júlia!'

(15)a Não se esqueça, **João**, que prometeu chegar cedo. (BrPt.)

not REFL=forget.SUBJ.3SG João that promise.PST.3SG arrive.INF early

'Don't forget, João, that you promised to arrive early' (Moreira 2013:29)

b Não se esqueça que, (\***João**), prometeu chegar cedo, (**João**).

not REFL=forget.SUBJ.3SG that João promise.PST.3SG arrive.INF early João

- Relationship to argument structure:

(16)a) **Mamá** stoy muy enshogholada con el trabajo! (Hkt.)  
 mum be.1SG very busy with the work  
 ‘Mum, I’m very busy with work!’

b Domnule profesor, îl cunosc pe domnul(\*e) Filipescu (Ro.)  
 mister.DEF.VOC teacher him=know.1SG DOM mister.DEF.VOC Filipescu  
 ‘Sir, I know Mr Timofti’

c Lucrarea {domnului/\*domnule} (Ro.)  
 work.DEF Lord. DEF.GEN/Lord.DEF.VOC  
 ‘The work of the Lord’

(17)a Mira, **chaval**<sub>i</sub>, en este país, si no tienes<sub>j</sub> dinero, no vales<sub>j</sub> (EuSp.)  
 UTT mate in this country if not have.2SG money not value.2SG  
 ‘Look, mate, in this country, if you don’t have money, you’re not worth anything’

b oye **ustedes**<sub>i</sub>; q hacéis<sub>i</sub>; pa q vuestro<sub>i</sub>; crush os<sub>i</sub>; noticee? (And.)  
 UTT you.3PL what do.2PL for that your.2PL crush you.2PL=notice.SBJV.3SG  
 ‘Hey you guys, what do you do to get your crush to notice you?’

Puzzle 2: How do vocatives get their meaning?

## 3.2 Meaning

- **Referential semantics**

- “inherent” (D’Alessandro & van Oostendorp 2016:69) or “*intrinsic*” (Longobardi 1994:627) deictic reference
- ‘[i]n the Vocative Phrase, definite articles do not check definiteness, since the addressee semantics is *inherently definite* and *referential*’ (Hill 2014:62)
- ‘the highly individualising function of the vocative (creating a direct relation between the speaker and the hearer) is *semantically incompatible with indefiniteness*’ (Longobardi 1994:62)



- **Function** (Zwicky 1974; cf. also Schaden 2010; Espinal 2013; d'Alessandro & van Oostendorp 2016; Gutzmann 2019)

- (18) a **Piðxea**, prindi s-prusixiți tora (ARo.)  
 children must SBJV=pay.attention now  
 'Children, you must pay attention at once!' (Kokka & Ionescu-Ruxăndoiu 1992:48)
- b Uy. ¿De dónde me eres tú, **guapiña?** (NSp.)  
 INTJ from where me=be.2SG you pretty.F.DIM  
 'Woah. Where are you from, pretty thing?'

→ vocatives not only **identify an object** (w/n speaker's immediate deictic frame), but **undertake an action in relation to that extensional referent** as identified *ipso facto* through speaker's uttering of vocative

- (19) a *Sta' un po' zitto [a pa(pà)!]*  
 'Daddy! (≠ my darling child!)' (Iovino & Rossi 2014:221)
- b *Sta' un po' zitto [a ppapà!]*  
 'My darling son! (≠ daddy!)'
- (20) **Las chicas** q llevan una camiseta negra y otra blanca con  
 the girls that wear.3PL a t-shirt black and another white with  
 leopardos, callaros ya por favor! (EuSp.)  
 leopards shut.up.INF=REFL.2PL already please  
 'The girls who are wearing a black t-shirt and a white one with leopards on it, would you shut up already!'
- (21) 'if I call John, as [a vocative], I will typically expect John to be present in the utterance context and know his identity; [...] it is nonetheless the case that if the person addressed is in fact mistaken for John and called Bill, it's Bill who is being referenced in the utterance context.' (Hinzen et al. 2014:320)

- Previous approaches
- Grammar of reference (Longobardi 1994, 2005)
  - non-argumental bare proper names lack N-to-D movement (Longobardi 2005:28)
  - vocatives “semantically incompatible with indefiniteness” (Longobardi 1994:627)
- Complementary distribution with arguments:

| (45)              | Arguments   | Non-arguments   |
|-------------------|---|---|
| Bare proper names | + obligatory raising  | – obligatory raising  |
| Bare common nouns | + obligatorily indefinite<br>+ obligatorily mass/plural<br>+ obligatorily lex. governed | – obligatorily indefinite<br>– obligatorily mass/plural<br>– obligatorily lex. governed |

Longobardi (2005:28)

- VocP in syntax:
  - Dedicated features, e.g. *interpersonal, kinship, relation* (Hill 2014:109); *deictic/Dx* (Espinal 2013; D'Alessandro & van Oostendorp 2013)<sup>1</sup>
  - VocP above Force Highest clausal specifier (Moro 2003; Espinal 2013), or complex left peripheral 'speech act'/'utterance' space (Hill 2007, 2014; Moreira 2013; Slocum 2016; Corr 2017; Portner et al. 2019a, 2019b)

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<sup>1</sup> 'Vocative is a deictic head above Force encoding the ADDRESSEE (Portner 2007; Zanuttini 2008; D'Alessandro 2004, 2007; Espinal 2011), [where] [DX] is an edge feature, i.e. a feature triggering movement for interpretational reasons (Chomsky 2000, 2001, 2008)' (D'Alessandro & van Oostendorp 2013:6).

### 3.3 Interim summary

- “independent of” (Fink 1972:62) or “syntactically unintegrated” (Kaltenböck et al. 2016:14) from sentence/argument structure
- reduced structural complexity vs. thematic constituents (Longobardi 2005)
- “inherent” (D’Alessandro & van Oostendorp 2016:69) or “intrinsic” (Longobardi 1994:627) deictic reference
- (grammatical) behaviour and/or make-up of vocatives in some way “deviant” (Hill 2013:137) or otherwise “exceptional” (Sonnenhauser & Noel Aziz Hanna 2013:16)

## 4. Proposal

### 4.1 Vocatives reconsidered?

(22) a oye, amigo, bûcco cariño/muhêh (And.)

UTT friend seek.1SG affection/woman

‘Look, mate, I’m seeking affection/a wife’

b oye, cariño/muhêh, bûcco amigo

UTT affection/woman seek.1SG friend

‘Look, my dear/woman, I’m seeking a friend’ (Corr 2020:103)

- ***If...***

- ***grammatical complexity co-varies referential strength;***

- ***vocatives are referentially ‘strong’***

- ***Then...***

- ***vocatives should be grammatically complex constituents, i.e.***

- ***involve an expansion of functional structure and movement into ‘edge’***

## 4.2 Topological mapping theory

- Grammar of reference (Longobardi 1994, 2005; Hinzen & Sheehan 2011, 2013; Martín & Hinzen 2014)

(23) *The grammar-reference link hypothesis* (Martín & Hinzen 2014:102)

Referential strength (from predicativity to deixis) is not an intrinsic property of lexical items, but rather of certain grammatical configurations.

(24) *The Phasal Template*

[<sub>Edge</sub> [INTERIOR]]

- (25) a Busco [∅ [coche]].  
 'I am seeking a [non-specific] car'  
 b Busco [un/el [coche]].  
 'I am seeking a/the [specific] car'  
 c Busco [Herbie [~~Herbie~~]].  
 'I am seeking Herbie'  
 d Busco [este/ese [(coche)]]].  
 'I am seeking this/that {car/one}'  
 e [Yo [∅]] busco un coche.  
 'I am looking for a car.'

- (26) *Topological mapping principles* (adapted from Martín & Hinzen 2014:102)
- |            |                          |                            |                                      |
|------------|--------------------------|----------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| i.         | Predicative              | → phase interior only      | → [Edge ∅ [Int coche]]               |
| ii.        | Quant/ref                | → edge + interior          | → [Edge un/el [Int coche]]           |
| iii.       | Rigid (3P)               | → edge + interior          | → [Edge Herbie [Int Herbie]]         |
| <b>iv.</b> | <b>Deictic reference</b> | → <b>edge + (interior)</b> | → [ <b>Edge este [Int (coche)]</b> ] |
| <b>ii.</b> | <b>Person reference</b>  | → <b>phase edge only</b>   | → [ <b>Edge Yo [Int ∅]</b> ]         |



### 4.1.1 Applying the template

i) Mechanisms (Longobardi 1994, 2005):

(27) a Overt movement:

[DP Gianni mio [NP Gianni]]

\*[DP John my [NP John]]

b Covert movement:

[DP **John** my [NP John]] →

(\*John) 'my John'

\*[DP **Gianni** mio [NP Gianni]]

c Expletive-associate chain:

\*[DP The my [NP John]]

[DP Il mio [NP Gianni]]

ii) leftmost edge for subsets of extensional referents (Corr 2020:47):

(28) As Longobardi points out, languages and dialects vary with regard to the extent to which they allow/require expletive-associate chains rather than overt movement. Thus in Italian, the expletive is generally optional, but becomes obligatory with the surnames of females (e.g., \*(la) Callas, Longobardi 1994: 622). In European Portuguese, the expletive is obligatory with proper names of people, but not all countries or mythical creatures. In French, the expletive is obligatory with proper names of countries (except islands), but not people.

Sheehan & Hinzen (2011:9)

•NB: DxD = additional 'deictic' layer (Martín 2012; Martín & Hinzen 2014)<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> Additional 'deictic' layer, DxD (Martín 2012; Martín & Hinzen 2014):

(i) *tibi* (< t + i + bi = 2sg + deixis + place<sub>dist</sub>)  
 [DP t [D<sub>xP</sub> i-bi [DP D [N ... bi]]]]

## 4.2 Modelling vocatives

## 4.2.1 Extending the template

(29) **Deictic reference** → **edge** + **(interior)** → [Edge **este** [Int (coche)]] (Martín & Hinzen 2014:102)

Vocative bare nouns:

- (30) a [EDGE [INT amigo]]  
 b [EDGE amigo [INT ~~amigo~~]]

- (31) a [EDGE Juan [INT ~~Juan~~]]  
 b [EDGE Juan ~~Juan~~ [INT ~~Juan~~]]

## 4.2 Modelling vocatives

## 4.2.1 Extending the template

(32) **Person reference** → **phase edge only** → [Edge **Yo** [Int  $\emptyset$ ]] (Martín & Hinzen 2014:102)

Overt expansion of left edge:

(33) a O tu/te che muovi la ruota (It.)

'Oh you.NOM/ACC who move the wing' (Moro 2003:248)

b [EDGE O [INT tu/te]]

(34) a [EDGE O te/tu [INT  $\emptyset$ ]] = [VOC O [DXD te/tu [N  $\emptyset$ ]]]

b [EDGE O tu/te [INT ...che muovi la ruota]] = [VOC O [DXD te/tu [N ...che muovi la ruota]]]

c [EDGE Juan ~~Juan~~ [INT ~~Juan~~]] = [VOC Juan [DXD ~~Juan~~ [N ~~Juan~~]]]

✓ vocatives ≠ 'inherently' referential, but *obligatorily* referential

### 4.2.2 Further extensions: Argument vs. non-arguments

Voc<sub>PTC</sub>+Voc<sub>N</sub> expressions e.g. *Ó pá!* 'dude/mate!' (where *pá* < *rapaz* 'boy', cf. Carvalho 2010:53<sup>3</sup>)

- (35) a *Ó pá!*  
 b *Ó João, ó menina* vs. *\*Pá João, \*pá menina*  
 c *O {rapaz/\*pá} comeu o bolo.*

(36) [<sub>EDGE</sub> (Ó) [(pá) [<sub>INT</sub> pá]]]

- (37) a [<sub>VOC</sub> Ó [<sub>João</sub><sub>VOC</sub> [<sub>DxD</sub> João<sub>θ</sub> [<sub>N</sub> João]]]]  
 b [<sub>VOC</sub> O [<sub>tu/te</sub><sub>VOC</sub> [<sub>DxD</sub> tu/te<sub>θ</sub> [<sub>INT</sub> Ø]]]]  
 c [<sub>VOC</sub> Ó [<sub>pá</sub><sub>VOC</sub> [<sub>DxD</sub> rapaz<sub>θ</sub> [<sub>N</sub> rapaz]]]]

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<sup>3</sup> Argumental *rapaz* ('boy') in (37c) = shorthand for observation that *pá* retains lexico-semantic (i.e. descriptive) properties, yet cannot be used argumentally

Lexical encoding of SPKR-ADDR distinction:

- (38) a [VOC O [ma'<sub>VOC</sub> [DxD ~~madre~~<sub>θ</sub> [N ~~madre~~]]]]  
 'Mother!' (≠ my child!)
- b [VOC A [matre<sub>VOC</sub> [DxD ~~madre~~<sub>θ</sub> [N ~~madre~~]]]]

→ Generalised obligatory raising of Voc<sub>NS</sub> beyond DxD:

Non-lexical reading:

- (39) a [VOC ~~mamma~~<sub>VOC</sub> [DxD ~~mamma~~<sub>θ</sub> [N ~~mamma~~]]]]  
 'darling child' (≠ 'mummy')
- b [DxD ~~mamma~~<sub>θ</sub> [N ~~mamma~~]]]]  
 'mummy' (≠ 'darling child')

Licensing of postnominal determiners:

(40) a Romanian

domnul (NOM/ACC.) vs.

[<sub>DxD</sub> domn-ul [<sub>N</sub> ~~domn~~]]

mister=the

'Mr'

domnu' (VOC.)

[<sub>VOC</sub> domn [<sub>DxD</sub> ~~domn~~-u(l) [<sub>N</sub> ~~domn~~]]]

mister

the

'Mr!'

b Taviano

U Kósimu<sub>θ</sub> (\*u) (thematic)

[<sub>DxD</sub> U [<sub>N</sub> Kósimu]]

the Kósimu

'Kósimu'

vs. (\*U) Kó(simu)<sub>Voc</sub> (\*u) (non-thematic)

[<sub>VOC</sub> Kó(simu) [<sub>DxD</sub> ~~Kósimu~~-[<sub>N</sub> ~~Kósimu~~]]]

Kósimu

'Kósimu!'

Licensing of prenominal determiners (definiteness marking):

- (41) a Fr. le chien! (addressing an unknown dog) vs. chien! (insult) (Corr 2020:51)  
 b Ro. *fată* 'girl!' vs. *fato* 'girl.VOC!' (derog.)

Affective readings:

- (42) a [<sub>DxD</sub> il mio caro [<sub>N</sub> amico ~~caro~~]]]  
 b [<sub>VOC</sub> O [caro [<sub>DxD</sub> il mio ~~caro~~ [<sub>N</sub> amico ~~caro~~]]]]



### 4.2.3 Further extensions: Speaker vs. addressee?

RF (SPKR-oriented **yes**; ADDR-oriented: **no**):

(43) *A ppapà!* 'My son!' vs. *A papà!* 'Daddy!'

Locality conditions (D'Alessandro & Biberauer 2006; Silvestri 2014; Ledgeway 2018):

- between two constituents (here, Voc<sub>ptc</sub> and Voc<sub>n</sub>) is sufficiently local
  - 'occurs only if the lexeme which causes it constitutes, together with the item it acts on, a minimal phrase – a kind of hierarchically superior word' (Fanciullo 1986:88. cit. Ledgeway 2019:284)
  - e.g. Cos. *cchiù* (<plus) 'more' + *granne* 'tall' > *cchiù ggranne* 'taller' vs. *granne cchiù 'i* (\**ddi* < *de*) *mia* 'tall more of (= than) me'

- Phase-based distinction (Biberauer & d'Alessandro 2006; D'Alessandro & Scheer 2015; Bošković 2016:34-36; Ledgeway 2018)

- (44) a [NumP tri [NP ggatti]]  
 b [NumP tri [NP [Spec ppoveri] gatti]]  
 c Ni tiengu [NumP tri [NP [N' [ni] [AP nnivuri]]]]  
 d [DP [Spec ogni] [D' D° \_\_ [NP [Spec ppoveru] gattu]]]
- (45) a [TopP [Spec Accussì] [Top' ... [TP pparava ccu mia]]]  
 b [ForceP [Spec Accussì] [Force' ... [TP parrava ccu mia]]]
- (46) a [ForceP [Force' Fa- [FinP [Fin' [Fin° [Cl llu] [Fin fa] [v-VP tu fa!]]]]]]  
 b [ForceP [Force' Fa [FinP [Fin' fa [TP ... tuttu [v-VP fa!]]]]]]

- Spkr: Voc<sub>CPTC</sub> + Voc<sub>N</sub> in local configuration
- Addr: Voc<sub>CPTC</sub> + Voc<sub>N</sub> in non-local configuration

Hypothesis 1: Voc<sub>CPTC</sub> is in a fixed position (variation in landing site of Voc<sub>N</sub>)

- (47) a [FP1 a [FP2 ppa:pà [INT ~~pa:pà~~]]]  
 b [FP1 a [FP2 [FP3 pa:pà [INT ~~pa:pà~~]]]]

→ SPKR necessarily higher than ADDR

Hypothesis 2: variation in merge site of Voc<sub>CPTC</sub>

2a: Voc<sub>N</sub> in fixed position for SPKR/ADDR

2b: Voc<sub>N</sub> in variable position for SPKR/ADDR

→ ≠ SPKR necessarily higher than ADDR

→ Parallel with external syntax if ADDRESSEE > SPEAKER

2a: VocN in fixed position for SPKR/ADDR

- (48) a [FP1 [FP2 a<sub>SPKR</sub> [FP2 ppapà [INT papà]]] Voc<sub>PTC</sub> + Voc<sub>N</sub> in local configuration -> RF  
 b [FP1 a<sub>ADDR</sub> [FP2 ... [papà [INT papà]]] Voc<sub>PTC</sub> + Voc<sub>N</sub> in non-local configuration -> \*RF

2b: VocN in variable position for SPKR/ADDR

- (49) a [FP1 [FP2 a<sub>SPKR</sub> [FP2 ppapà [INT papà]]] Voc<sub>PTC</sub> + Voc<sub>N</sub> in local configuration -> RF  
 b [FP1 a<sub>ADDR</sub> [... [papà [INT papà]]] Voc<sub>PTC</sub> + Voc<sub>N</sub> in non-local configuration -> \*RF

Evidence from non-templatic truncation (SPKR-oriented **no**; ADDR-oriented: **yes**):

- (50) a Me lo fai un caffè, (a) zi' / (a) no' ? (reg.It.)  
 'Can you make me a coffee, aunty/grandpa?  
 b Me lo fai un caffè, a {zzia/\*zzi'} / a {nnonno/\*nno'}?  
 'Can you make me a coffee, my grandchild/ niece/nephew?

Evidence from non-templatic truncation (SPKR-oriented **no**; ADDR-oriented: **yes**):

(51) a Me lo fai un caffè, (a) zi' / (a) no' ? (reg.It.)

'Can you make me a coffee, aunty/grandpa?

b Me lo fai un caffè, a {zzia/\*zzi} / a {nnonno/\*nno}?

'Can you make me a coffee, my grandchild/ niece/nephew?

- TMT = omission of morpholexical material = function of heaviness of edge
- (30a-b) Addr = heaviest edge (not Spkr)

(52) a [FP (a<sub>ADDR</sub>) ... [VOC zi' VOC [zia<sub>VOC</sub> [DxD zia<sub>θ</sub> [N zia<sub>θ</sub>]]]]]

'Aunty!' (≠ 'my darling!')

b [VOC a<sub>VOC</sub> [zzia<sub>VOC</sub> [DxD zia<sub>θ</sub> [N zia<sub>θ</sub>]]]]]

'My darling (niece/nephew)!' (≠ 'aunty!')

#### 4.2.4 Further evidence

- o Reconceptualisation of vocatives as structurally ‘reduced’ elements

‘True’ vs. ‘Fake’ vocatives (Espinal 2013; D’Alessandro & van Oostendorp 2016):

(53) a A **Bia**’

VOC Bianca

‘Bianca!’

b {Wuaglionə/tu} nghə la majetta **bbianghə**!

girl/you with the white t-shirt!

‘You girl with the white t-shirt!’ (D’Alessandro & van Oostendorp 2013:2/2016)

Truncation of utterance-oriented items:

(54) a ba’ [‘ba] < bae [‘ba:ɛ] ‘go.IMP’ (cf. andas go.2SG, andat go.3SG)

b mi’ [‘mi] < mira [‘mi:ra] ‘look.IMP’ (cf. miras look.2SG, mirat look.3SG)

c kie [‘ki:ɛ] < ki (‘who’), dae [‘da:ɛ] < da (‘give’), tie [‘ti:ɛ] < ti (‘you’)

Interjection + complementiser constructions (Colasanti & Silvestri 2019:164; Corr 2020:96)

(55) a lh-chə...! (Santa Maria del Cedro)

INTJ+COMP

b lh chi-mi ...! (Melito)

INTJ+COMP+MI

c lh ci cu ...! (Vernole)

INTJ+COMP+CU

## 5. Conclusions

- Conceptual rethinking of how vocatives are modelled
  - Reframe referential properties in terms of *grammatical* rather than semantic reference
- 'Deviance' of vocatives *predicted* by grammar of reference
- Extension of Sheehan & Hinzen's (2011) phasal template → definition 'by pointing' at edge of the edge
  - formalise intuition that speaker can 'do things' with (nominal) grammar
- Phase-based distinction between VocADDR vs. VocSPKR
  - grammar of reference = phasal model of grammar (phasal distinctions = referential-deictic/semantic distinctions)<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> Arsenijevic & Hinzen 2010; Sheehan & Hinzen 2011; Hinzen 2012; Martín & Hinzen 2014; Corr 2020.



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