

On the structure of vocatives.

In this paper I will focus on the following two questions: **Q1.** What is the internal structure of a phrase interpreted as Vocative? (see Moro 2003, D'hulst et al. 2007, Hill 2007, Stavrou 2009). **Q2.** Is it possible to find a syntactic correlation between Vocatives and other syntactic structures?

I will address these questions within a generative formal syntactic theory, the main ingredients of which are the following: **(i)** VocP is a functional projection (Moro 2003, Stavrou 2009) whose head Voc° is defined by [+II,-I] person formal features; **(ii)** Voc° can be specified by a vocative particle, and Voc° selects a DP (see the structure in (1)); **(iii)** second person strong pronouns, which are standardly assumed to be generated in D°, are postulated to move from this position to Voc° in order to be valued appropriately (see (2)); **(iv)** N° movement to D° in the syntax (Longobardi 1994) can be extended to Voc° in order to account for the syntactic and semantic properties of the nominal expression in (3a): the bare count nominal is incompatible with the D and denotes a property of the referred second person entity; and **(v)** a VocP can either occur at the left periphery of a sentential structure (assuming the split Comp field analysis of Rizzi 1997, Moro 2003) (see (4)), or alternatively, when vocatives do not cooccur with a host structure), it can be analysed as a disjunct or parenthetical constituent (Espinal 1991).

In the second part of the talk I will come to some significant structural similarities that hold crosslinguistically between vocatives and copular sentences. Following Higgins' (1979) claim that copular sentences are not uniform, I will discuss, based on the Catalan data in (2), (3), and (5), that vocatives are not a peripheral phenomenon in the syntax of natural languages, and that three of the four types of copular sentences postulated by Higgins apply to vocative structures as well, namely the identificational, the identity and the predicational types. What these three structures have in common is that the subject (i.e., the vocative head) is always referential, while the predicate (i.e., the subsequent NP or DP) is either identificational, referential or predicational, respectively (compare the three examples in (5)). Vocatives do not show specificational uses because the head is not cataphoric, but deictic. Notice, furthermore, that vocatives are not arguments of verbal predicates (Longobardi 1994, Moro 2003, D'hulst et al. 2007), but they can be arguments of nominal predicational structures (5c), as it is the case in copular sentences. They differ from the latter in that they never show an overt copular verb. The relevant parallelism I will introduce between vocative structures and copular structures will allow me to extend the proposed analysis to additional data from English.

(1) [VocP Part [Voc' Voc° [DP [D' D° [NP [N' N°]]]]]

$\begin{array}{c} \uparrow \qquad \qquad \qquad \uparrow \\ \text{(iii)} \qquad \qquad \text{(iv)} \end{array}$

(2) Eh, *vosaltres!* CATALAN
 PART you.PL 'Hey! You!'

(3) a. Ei, *company, com va?* 'Hey! Guy! How are things?'
 PART guy how goes
 b. *Ei, *el company, com va?*
 PART the guy how goes

(4) ...Voc° > Force° > (Top° > Foc° > Top° >) Fin°...

(5) a. Tu! *el noi de la camisa blava!* *identificational*
 you the boy of the shirt blue 'You! The boy with the blue shirt!'
 b. Tu! *Joan!* *identity*
 you Joan 'You! Joan!'
 c. Tu! *noi!* *predicational*
 you boy 'You! boy!'