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On definiteness and person in Romanian vocatives

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We investigate the correlations between the various morphosyntactic types of Romanian vocatives (+/− vocative-morphology, +/− definiteness) and the main types of vocative uses – addresses, evaluative, selecting calls and non-selecting calls (where 'selecting calls' by and large correspond to Schaden's (2010) identificational vocatives). The Romanian data show that selecting calls and evaluative vocatives have structural properties that distinguish them from the other vocatives (used in addresses and non-selecting calls). Identificational vocatives, which are used when an addresee is selected from a larger group of potential addresees, involve a special Voc head that selects a definite DP, which may be unmarked for Person when the DP is nominal but is necessarily marked as 2nd person, via agreement, when the DP is pronominal. Morphologically-marked vocatives and [−def] vocatives obligatorily carry 2nd person. All four morphosyntactic patterns are available for addresses and non-selecting calls, the choice of one particular pattern being subject to lexical restrictions. We argue that morphological Vocative marking involves movement to the Voc-layer, as opposed to unmarked vocatives. Evaluative vocatives are obligatorily Voc-marked definites. We attribute the obligatory Voc-marking to the fact that for evaluative vocatives, the assignment of the NP property to the Addressee is new information. The specialization of the *definite* vocative-marked form for the evaluative use is explained as a morphological peculiarity of the nominalizing suffix that we postulate for evaluative adjectives, under the assumption that this suffix is also present with non-derived nouns used as evaluative predicates.

1. Introduction

Romanian shows several morphosyntactic patterns for one and the same noun used as a vocative: the noun can carry the suffixal definite article or not, it can be marked with vocative case or it can occur in the unmarked form ('direct case', or 'nominative-accusative'). The previous literature has uncovered lexical, morphological and socio-pragmatic constraints in the choice among these patterns (by 'socio-pragmatic', we refer to the degrees of politeness or familiarity that a certain vocative form may indicate).[1] The novel facts contributed by this article are a number of correlations between the morphosyntactic patterns of Romanian Vocatives and the main types of vocative uses described in the semantic literature (e.g., Zwicky 1974; Portner 2007; Schaden 2010; d'Avis & Meibauer 2013; Gutzmann 2019). The most striking correlations are illustrated in (1)–(2). Note, first, that when the vocative is used to single out an addressee from several possible addressees (the so-called 'identificational use', see Schaden 2010), the noun must be marked as definite and cannot be Case-marked:

(1)   [context: a teacher in front of a class, no specific student is already established as the addressee]

    a.   Băiatul din prima bancă, a început ora!
        boy-the from first-the bench has started class-the
        'The boy in the first row – the class has started!'

    b. #Băiatule/ #Băiete/ #Băiat din prima bancă, a început ora!
        boy-the.VOC/boy.VOC/boy from first-the bench has started class-the

The second generalization concerns the evaluative use, which requires both vocative Case-marking and definiteness marking:

(2)   a.   [context: the speaker blames the addressee for his behavior]
        Măgarule! / #Măgare! / Măgar! / #Măgaru'!   (evaluative)
        donkey-the-VOC donkey.VOC donkey donkey-the
        'You swine!'

    b.   [context: fairy-tale, the rabbit addresses the donkey]
        Măgare / Măgar / Măgarul, poţi să mă ajuţi?   (call or address)
        donkey.VOC donkey donkey-the can.2s SBJV me help.2s
        'Donkey, can you help me?'

We will argue that these correlations, which had so far gone unnoticed, are not random, they are not mere morphological peculiarities. Thus, the absence of vocative morphology on identificational

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[1] See Vasiliu (1956), Zafiu (2001), Croitor & Hill (2013), Hill (2014). In her formal analysis of vocatives, Hill (2014) encodes the socio-pragmatic values of vocative patterns by means of an i(nter)-p(ersonal) feature hosted by the Voc⁰ head (the functional category that heads vocative phrases).

vocatives is correlated with the possibility of embedding a subject relative with the verb in the 3rd person (as we will show in section 4). This suggests that vocative DPs that denote referents not yet established as Addressees differ in formal features from the other vocatives, by lacking interpretable 2nd Person, and vocative morphology is restricted to 2nd Person.

Turning now to the second correlation, illustrated in (2), the use of explicit vocative marking can be related to the fact that in evaluatives, the property assigned to the Addressee by the vocative noun phrase is new information, rather than part of the common ground. Compare with English, where, due to the unavailability of vocative morphology, an overt 2nd pronoun must be used (see the English version of (2)a).

In the rest of the article, we will propose a formal implementation of these intuitions. Before getting to the analysis, we will first present the morphosyntactic types of Romanian vocatives (section 2), and then the types of vocative uses proposed in the previous literature, choosing the classification that appears to be the most appropriate for our data (section 3). Sections 4 and 5 are devoted to identificational vocatives and evaluative vocatives respectively. Section 6 concludes the paper.

2. Romanian Vocatives: morphosyntactic patterns

In Romanian, nouns functioning as vocatives can either lack a determiner or carry the suffixal definite article and may either show dedicated vocative endings or appear in the nominative-accusative form. On the assumption that the nominative-accusative form is a default form (see below for justification), the four possible forms, illustrated in (3), can be described as [–def –voc], [–def +voc], [+def –voc], and [+def +voc] respectively; we will use the term 'marked' for those vocatives that bear the dedicated vocative morphology, as opposed to 'unmarked':[2]

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[2] Regarding (3)a, it should be mentioned that the [–def –voc] form for this noun is only acceptable with modification, see the following example taken from the Corola corpus:

(i) La revedere, băiat drag, Domnul fie   cu   tine.
     at re-seeing boy   dear Lord-the be.SBJV.3 with you
     'Good bye, dear boy, God be with you!'

(Corola-publishinghouse/Imaginative/1937_a_3262)

The same contrast appears with *om* 'human being'. But other masculine singular nouns, such as nouns of professions or functions (*şofer* 'driver', *chelner* 'waiter', *elev* 'pupil, student') do not show this restriction, allowing the [–def –voc] form without modification. In the plural, the restriction on unmodified [–def –voc] forms appears with certain feminine nouns:

(ii) Ce   faceţi, fete ??(dragi)
      what do.2P girls   dear
      'What are you doing/how are you, (dear) girls?'

The constraints on the [–def –voc] type are not fully understood yet, as far as we know. As they are not related to the vocative uses, they will not be treated in this article.

(3) a. băiat   [–def –voc]   *unmarked non-definite*
      boy

    b. băiet-e   [–def +voc]   *marked non-definite*
      boy-VOC

    c. băiat-u'   [+def –voc]   *unmarked definite*
      boy-the

    d. băiat-ul-e   [+def +voc]   *marked definite*
      boy-the-VOC

The nominative-accusative form should be viewed as a morphological default because it is the form that nouns and adjectives take (i) when the determiner carries the unambiguous genitive-dative ('oblique') morphemes and there is no case concord within the DP,[3] see (4), and (ii) when there is a prepositional case marker – see, in (5), the prepositional markers that occur when the DP has no determiner that can host the oblique morpheme (on the alternation between inflectional and prepositional case marking in Romanian, see Cornilescu 2001; 2003; Mardale 2007; Dobrovie-Sorin et al. 2013; Pană Dindelegan 2013: 269–270):

(4) a. acest-Ø băiat-Ø   aceşt-i băieţ-i
      this-MS boy-MS   this-MP boy-MP
      'this boy'   'these boys'

    b. acest-ui   băiat-**Ø**   acest-or   băieţ-**i**
      this-MS.OBL boy-MS   this-MP.OBL boy-MP
      'to/of this boy'   'to/of these boys'

(5) a. vânzarea {alcool-ul-**ui**   / **de** alcool-Ø}
      selling-the   alcohol-the.MS-MS.OBL of alcohol-MS
      'the selling of alcohol'

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[3] Case concord is very impoverished in Romanian: nouns and adjectives have case concord for the oblique only in the FS and use an ambiguous marking, identical to the plural; this marking only occurs when there is a determiner carrying the unambiguous oblique marking:

(i)   aceast-ă fat-ă;
       this-FS   girl-FS

(ii)   acest-**ei**   fet-**e**
       this-FS.OBL girl-*e*

(iii) acest-e/acest-or fet-**e**
       this-FPL/-OBL   girl-FPL

The unambiguous oblique morpheme can be iterated only in instances of co-occurrences of certain functional items (see Barbu 2009; Giurgea 2022), e.g. *mult-or alt-or-a* 'to/of many others'.
    On the co-occurrence of vocative endings, which is very restricted, see Croitor & Hill (2013).

b. dat   {băieţ-i-l-**or**   / **la**   trei   băieţ-**i**}
given boy-MP-the-OBL.PL DAT three boy-MP

Not all nouns have all four forms. Plural and feminine nouns lack a [–def +voc] form. Plural nouns exhibit definite forms with an explicit vocative ending, which is homophonous with the plural oblique ending:[4]

(6)   băieţ-i-l-or   fet-e-l-or
       boy-MP-the-VOC girl-FP-the-VOC

In the feminine singular, the dedicated vocative ending -*o*, traditionally analyzed as part of the [–def] inflection (GLR 1963 I: 84), can also be analyzed as realizing [+def +voc] (Gaster 1891: CXIV). An argument for this analysis is the fact that, when the noun ends in *e*, the -*o* ending does not replace the nominative-accusative -*e* ending. Instead, it is appended to this -*e* (which is turned into a semivowel), just as the definite article -*a* is, see (7)a. By contrast, other vocative endings replace stem vowels, see (7)b.[5] In the case of feminines ending in -*ă* (which are the most common), the vocative -*o* does replace the feminine singular -*ă*, but so does the nominative-accusative definite article, see (7)c.

(7)   a. vulp-e vulp-e-o   vulp-e-a
           fox-FS fox-FS-VOC fox-FS-the.FS

       b. maestr-u   maestr-e
           master-MS   master-MS.VOC

       c. fat-ă   fat-o   fat-a
           girl-FS   girl-VOC   girl-the.FS

A stronger argument for analyzing -*o* as 'the.VOC' is based on the generalization that only [+def +voc] forms can be used as evaluative vocatives, see (2) above and (8)a–b: whereas the [+def +voc] form in (8)a can be used as an evaluative vocative, attributing to the speaker the qualities of a doctor, the [–def +voc] form in (8)b can only be used as a non-evaluative vocative (call or address). In the feminine singular, -*o*-marked forms do allow an evaluative use, see (8)c. This shows that they may function as counterparts of the -*ul-e* masculine ending.[6]

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[4] It has been proposed (Densusianu 1914–1938: 145; Graur 1931–1932: 180–181; Vasiliu 1956: 9) that this ending, which is specific to Romanian (it does not occur in Latin or other Romance languages), emerged via a reanalysis of appositives to an indirect object referring to the addressee, as in (i):

(i)   V-am   zis   vouă,   **băieţilor**
       you.CL.PL.DAT-have.1 said you.PL.DAT boys-the.DAT
       'I told you boys'

[5] An overt MS ending occurs after occlusives +*r,l*, as in (7)b, and after vowels, e.g. *ero-u* 'hero'.

[6] A further difference between the FS.VOC -*o* ending and the MS.VOC -*e* ending is that -*e* can occur on prenominal

(8) a. Doctor-ul-e!
doctor-the-VOC
'You doctor!'

b. Doctor-e
'doctor-VOC
'Doc!'

c. vac-o
cow-*o*
'You cow!'

Based on these arguments, we will analyze *-o* forms as [+ def + voc]. This is a synchronic analysis, with no implication for the origin of the ending, which most likely does not involve the definite article.[7]

Even among masculine singular nouns, some lack the [–def + voc] form. This gap is regular for nouns with the stem ending in a stressed vowel, e.g. *fi-u* 'son', *ero-u* 'hero', and is also frequent in nouns with monosyllabic stems (see Vasiliu 1956; Croitor & Hill 2013).

3. Main types of vocative uses
3.1 Calls vs. addresses, selecting vs. non-selecting calls

As is well-known, the basic function of vocatives is to refer to the addressee. But there are two possible situations to consider in this respect: (i) the addressee has been established prior to the uttering of the vocative, or, alternatively, (ii) the vocative is itself used to establish the addressee. In this latter use, labeled *call* by Zwicky (1974), the vocative is employed to attract the attention of some individual and to invite that individual to participate in a further communication exchange (see d'Avis & Meibauer 2013: 192), see (9)a. Vocatives used as calls are an instantiation of the

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adjectives and can sometimes surface both on a prenominal adjective and on the noun, as a result of case concord, whereas *-o* cannot occur in these contexts:

(i) iubit-e   {bunic   / bunic-ul-e}
     beloved-MS.VOC grandfather   grandfather-the-MS.VOC

(ii) iubit-o   {*bunică   / *bunic-o)
     beloved-*o*   grandmother   grandmother-*o*

While the fact that *-o* cannot co-occur with another *-o* ending can be explained by the hypothesis that *-o* is [+def], because the suffixal definite article does not occur more than once in a DP (see e.g. **iubit-a bunic-a* 'beloved-the grand-mother-the'), the fact that also the [–def –voc] noun is ruled out in (ii) can only be explained if *-o* is restricted to nouns, so that *iubit-o* 'beloved-FS.VOC' is an instance of nominalization (we thank an anonymous reviewer for pointing this out).

[7] *-o* is most likely a borrowing from Slavic (see Densusianu 1901; Pătruţ 1963; Rosetti 1986; ILR 1969: 222). Miklosich (1882: 60) and Tucker (1944) proposed an interjectional origin, which is less likely, because of lack of evidence for a vocative particle *o* placed after the noun.

communicative act described by Schegloff (1968) under the label *summons*. When the addressee is already established, a vocative can be used "to maintain or emphasize the contact between speaker and addressee" (Zwicky 1974: 787), see (9)b. This use is labeled *address* by Zwicky.[8]

(9) a. Hey **lady**, you dropped your piano.   (*call*)   (Zwicky 1984: 787)
     b. I'm afraid, **sir**, that my coyote is nibbling on your leg.   (*address*)

Schaden (2010) claims that the distinction between call and address is purely pragmatic, falling outside the scope of context-change-potential semantics, and considers more relevant for semantics a distinction between an *identificational* use, in which the vocative is used to single out an addressee from a bigger group of potential addressees, and two non-identificational uses: the *activational use*, which keeps the addressee active, and the *predicational use*, which assigns some property to the addressee. We have seen in (1) that the existence of a special type of identificational vocative is supported by a morphological contrast found in Romanian: in case the vocative is used to single out an addressee from a group, it must be marked as [+def] and cannot be marked as [+voc]. When there is no previous discourse, in what we may call *out-of-the-blue* calls, the use of a [+def –voc] form is possible, but not required. Compare (1) with (10):

(10) [out-of-the-blue, no previous conversation]
      Băiatu' / Băiete, ţi-a   căzut ceva!
      boy-the/ boy-VOC CL.2S.DAT-has fallen something
      'Boy! You dropped something!'

This does not mean, however, that Zwicky's *call* vs. *address* distinction does not have formal correlates – for instance, calls cannot occur in the middle of a sentence, addresses can (Zwicky 1974); for other differences, see Zwicky (1974), Hill (2014: 107–110, 204–205), Giorgi (2023). Therefore, we do not want to abandon this distinction, but prefer to consider identificational vocatives as a *subtype of calls*, which may be labelled *selecting calls*. A call that draws a person's attention but is not used to select out of several possible addressees may be called *non-selecting*.[9]

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[8] D'Avis & Meibauer (2013) prefer the label *A-Confirmation* (the function of the vocative being "to confirm the address-ee-status of the person spoken to").

[9] Schaden (2010) does not present the 'identificational' type as a sub-type of calls and even suggests that there may be identificational vocatives that are not calls, citing the example in (i) (we only give here the English version of Schaden's (2010) example (34)); in this example, a vocative that seems to be identificational, the proper name *Claude*, is used in sentence-final position, although calls must be utterance-initial (Zwicky 1974):

(i) [context: Claude is part of a larger audience]
     One really has to be stupid in order to turn on a hair-drier in the bathtub, isn't it true, **Claude**?

We consider that in this example *Claude* is in fact treated as an address and the selecting function of the vocative is not encoded in the structure, but is inferred from a mismatch between the expected addressee (the entire group) and the overtly expressed addressee. Note indeed that the example has a garden-path flavor, which is due to the fact that

3.2 Evaluative vocatives vs. addresses

Among vocatives that are not used as calls, i.e., when there is an established addressee, the Romanian data presented in (2) above and in section 5 below, as well as data from other languages, show that we need to distinguish between evaluative and non-evaluative vocatives (for the special formal properties of the evaluative type in other languages, see Corver 2008; d'Avis & Meibauer 2013; Gutzmann 2019). Non-evaluative addresses can contain proper names or introduce descriptive content, see (11), which led Schaden to distinguish between 'activational' (see *John* in (11)) and 'predicational' (see *my friend* in (11)). As in this article we do not analyze proper names, which do not show all the patterns in section 2 (there is no +/–def contrast), this distinction is not relevant. On the other hand, among those vocatives that qualify as 'predicational', there is a significant distinction between the non-evaluative type in (11) and the evaluative type in (12).

(11) Tell me, **John/my friend**, when will we have more time together?

(12) a. What have you done, **you fool**?

 b. Ce-ai   făcut, **prost-ul-e**?   (Ro.)
   what-have.2s done   stupid-the.ms-voc

An important difference between (12) and (11) is that in (12) the nominal predicate assigned to the addressee is new information, it does not belong to the common ground: whereas in (11) the friendship relation between the speaker and the hearer is part of the common ground, in (12) the hearer is not presupposed to characterize himself as a fool. The fact that the predicate is foregrounded in the evaluative use becomes clearer when we consider the use of vocatives in isolation. A non-evaluative vocative as in (13)a is felt as incomplete, whereas an evaluative vocative is not and can constitute a speech act by itself, see (13)b:

(13) a. My friends!
 b. You fool!

This speech act comes close to an assertion ('You are a fool!') but cannot be negated in the same way as assertions (see Gutzmann 2019: 243) and should rather be treated as a type of exclamative (see Gutzmann 2019 and Welte 1980, who uses the term "exclamational vocative"). Note indeed that (13)b seems to be the same type of speech act as the one conveyed by the exclamatives in (14), where the subject is a third or first person (see (14)a and (14)b, respectively):

Claude is treated as being the established addressee of the sentence, but this only becomes clear at the end. Some studies did not see a clear difference between identificationals and calls (see Gutzmann 2019: 181; Giorgi 2023: 582). In our opinion, Schaden's identificational vocatives constitute a subclass of calls, hence our label *selecting calls*, for which a semantic characterization will be provided in section 4.2 below.
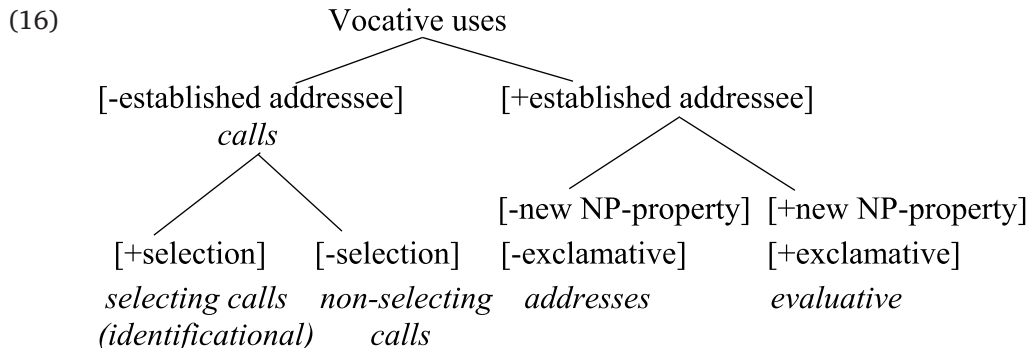
(14) a. The idiot!

  a′. Idiot-ul!   (Ro.)
       idiot-the

  b. Idiot that I am!

  b′. Prost-ul   de mine! (Ro.)
       stupid-the of me

Some terms of address are similar to evaluatives in that they express the speaker's feelings towards the addressee, e.g. *dear friends, my dear, beloved guests*. However, such expressions differ from evaluatives in that they would be felt as incomplete if used in isolation, just as *my friends* in (13)a, and the assignment of the NP-property to the addressee is not foregrounded. In Romanian, such expressions do not require Voc-marking (see (15)a, as opposed to the evaluative in (15)b, which requires Voc-marking), and in English they are not used in the Pronoun + NP construction of the type *you fool* (see (15)c, compared to (12)a, (13)b).

(15) a. Dragi prieteni, vă   aştept   disearǎ.
          dear friends   you.P.ACC wait.1S this-evening
          'Dear friends, I'm expecting you this evening.'

  b. Cum aţi   putut   să-i   spuneţi, mǎgarilor   /*mǎgari /*mǎgarii?
      how have.2P can.PTCP SBJV-3S.DAT tell.2P   donkeys-the.VOC/donkeys/donkeys-the
      'How could you tell her, you bastards!'

  c. (#You) dear friends, I'm expecting you this evening.

For these reasons, we do not include expressions of endearment such as *my dear* or *beloved guests* in the evaluative type.

Summing up, we adopt the classification in (16) in our treatment of vocatives, distinguishing in the class of vocatives that are not used to establish an addressee the sub-classes of evaluatives and non-evaluatives. For the latter, we will use Zwicky's term 'address'.

(16)   Vocative uses

      [-established addressee]   [+established addressee]
              calls

                                [-new NP-property] [+new NP-property]
      [+selection]   [-selection]   [-exclamative]   [+exclamative]
      selecting calls   *non-selecting*   *addresses*   *evaluative*
      (identificational)   *calls*

4. Identificational Vocatives in Romanian and the Person feature

4.1 The data

Diagnostic contexts for the identificational use are situations in which there are several persons that can hear the speaker and the speaker uses the vocative to choose one or several of them (but not all) as addressee(s), see Schaden (2010). As we have seen in section 1, for Romanian identificational vocatives based on common nouns, out of the four options listed in section 2 ([–def –voc], [–def +voc], [+def –voc], [+def +voc], see ex. (3)), only the [+def, –voc] option can be chosen – i.e., the noun cannot be vocative-marked and cannot be bare.[10] Here are other examples illustrating this contrast, which show that the facts remain the same if the noun is not modified ((1) is built with a modified noun):

(17)   [context: a choir of boys and girls; the director, in front of all, says:]
      a.   Băieţii,   cântaţi mai   încet!
           boys-the sing.2P more soft
           'Boys, sing softer!'

      b. #Băieţi/ #Băieţilor,   cântaţi mai   încet!
           boys   boys-the.VOC sing.2P more soft

(18)   [context: a teacher in front of a class with many students; two of the students are brothers and are talking to each other during the lesson]
      a.   Fraţii,   fiţi   atenţi!
           brothers-the be.2P attentive
           'Hey brothers, pay attention!'

      b. #Fraţi   /Fraţilor,   fiţi   atenţi!
           brothers /brothers-the.VOC be.2P attentive

The variants in (17)b–(18)b would be appropriate only if the intended addressee is already clear in the conversational situation – for instance, the teacher has approached the groups of boys or the brothers and is facing them while speaking.[11] In this case, the vocative is not used as an identificational, but as a non-selecting call.

    Another important observation is that the verb of a subject relative clause inside an identificational vocative can appear in the 3rd person.

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[10] From now on, we will no longer separate the morphemes in the Romanian vocative nouns, using the standard orthography instead. For details on the morphemic segmentation of nouns used as vocatives, see section 2.

[11] An anonymous reviewer finds examples (17)b and (18)b acceptable. The reason might be the fact that the context allows for non-linguistic means to establish the addressee, such as the speaker's gaze, because the intended addressees are likely to be grouped together – for (17), this is regular practice in a choir; in (18), the brothers must be close to each other since they are talking to each other. We consider that in such cases we are dealing with non-selecting calls. It is significant that in (19), where the vocative is complex, the reviewer agrees that only the [+def –voc] form is allowed. As we explain in fn. 12, non-selecting calls appear to rule out complex modification.

(19) [Context: a teacher + the students in the class, no particular student established as addressee prior to the utterance]
Băiatu' care se uită pe telefon, ia ieşi la tablă!
boy-the who REFL looks on phone PART go-out to blackboard
'The boy who's looking at his cell phone, come to the blackboard!'

This is impossible for the other types of vocatives, which require 2nd person inside a subject relative clause embedded in the vocative phrase, see (20). The vocatives illustrated in (20) are not calls. As they are not evaluative either, they belong to the (non-evaluative) address type.

(20) a. Soldat care {ai fost / *a fost } în Vietnam, meriţi această recompensă.
soldier who have.2s been / has been in Vietnam deserve.2s this reward
'(You) soldier who has been to Vietnam, you deserve this reward.'

  b. Băiatule /Băiete care {te visezi / *se visează} scriitor, începe
boy-the.VOC/boy.VOC who REFL dream.2s REFL dream.3s writer start.IMPV
să citeşti!
SBJV read.2s
'You boy who dreams of being a writer, start reading!'

In addresses and non-selecting calls complex modification is less common than in identificationals, because it does not help to identify the addressee, as it does in examples such as (19). Relative clauses may nevertheless appear, if the information they introduce about the addressee is relevant for other purposes, as is the case in (20), where they provide a reason for the assertion in (20)a and for the advice in (20)b, respectively.[12]

The obligatory 2nd person feature in subject relatives embedded in address vocatives is expected given the fact that with this type of vocatives the addressee is already established. The use of 3rd person in the descriptive part of identificational vocatives (inside relative clauses) is not unexpected either, since the addressee is not yet established at the point when the sentence is uttered. In the following sub-section, we will propose a line of formal analysis for these intuitions.

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[12] Since in non-selecting calls the vocative only serves to catch the attention of the intended addressee, their descriptive content is reduced to what is necessary for referring to the addressee, according to the Gricean maxim of quantity (see Schlenker 2005 for this type of explanation applied to nominal descriptive material). Therefore, the relative clauses in (20)a–b are not felicitous. We can use the sentences in (20)a–b after a call, as in (i):

(i) Hei tu, băiatule care te visezi scriitor, începe să citeşti!
hey you boy-the.VOC who REFL dream.2s writer start.IMPV SBJV read.2s
'Hey you, boy who dreams of being a writer, start reading!'

Here, we have two speech-acts, the call (or summons, in Schegloff's terms) and the imperative. The first vocative is a call, the second one is an address, associated to the directive sentence. The first word, *hei*, is a speech-act particle, encoding the attention-drawing component of the call (on the distinction between speech-act particles, which modify or head the entire illocutionary unit, and vocative particles such as Ro. *măi*, which attach to vocative phrases, see Hill 2014).

The Romanian data presented so far point to the following generalizations:

(21)   a.   Nominals used as selecting calls are regular definite DPs ([+def –voc]).

          b.   Nominals marked as vocatives either by vocative morphology or by occurring bare (without an overt D) cannot be used as selecting calls.

One might be tempted to explain these generalizations by the fact that in the identificational use, the nominal describes a referent that is not already presupposed to be the addressee. The impossibility of specific addressee markers such as vocative morphology or the special bare use would follow from the fact that such marking *presupposes* that the nominal refers to an already established addressee. The fact that embedded subject relative clauses show 3rd person in selecting calls (see (19)) but second person in addresses (see (20)) may receive a similar account. However, the generalizations in (21) only hold for *selecting* calls. In what we may call 'out-of-the-blue calls', where there is no common ground prior to the initiated conversation, [–def] and [+voc] vocatives can be used (see (22)–(23)), although the addressee is not already established:

(22)   Chelner! Nota,   te   rog.
          waiter   bill-the you.ACC pray.1SG
          'Waiter! The bill, please!'

(23)   [context: no previous conversation, the addressee is unknown to the speaker]
          Băiete, ţi-a   căzut ceva   din   rucsac.
          boy-VOC CL.2S.DAT-has fallen something from backpack
          'Hey boy! Something fell from your backpack.'

For some nouns, the use of the [+def –voc] form in an out-of-the-blue call is even impossible – for instance, the [+def –voc] variant is not acceptable in the context in (22), see (24)a. This is not because *chelner* 'waiter' would disallow a vocative use of the [+def –voc] form: in a selecting call, the [+def –voc] form is allowed, see (24)b. A comparable contrast is illustrated in (25) for the plural *copii* 'children'.

(24)   a.   [context: out-of-the-blue]
             #Chelneru'! Nota,   te   rog.
             waiter-the bill-the you.ACC pray.1SG

          b.   [context: a director gives instructions to the actors; one of the actors impersonates a waiter]
             Chelneru', stai   mai   la stânga!
             waiter-the stay.IMPV.2S more to left
             '(The) waiter! Move a bit to the left!'

(25) a. [context: out-of-the-blue]
          {Copii! /#Copiii}!   Ce   stradă e asta?
          children   children-the what street is this
          'Children! What street is this?'

      b. [context: in a room with several persons, both children and adults]
          Copiii!   Să   mergem afară!
          children-the sbjv go.1p   outside
          '(The) children, let's go outside!'

We conclude that the special construction described by (21) is restricted to *selecting* calls.

Note now that there is an exception to identificational vocatives not being marked as addressees. If the identification of the proposed addressee is achieved via deixis, the form that is used is not a demonstrative, but rather a 2nd person pronoun, see (26)a vs b (the symbol '☞' indicates a pointing gesture).[13] Pointing is also used if the pronominal DP contains a relative clause that contributes to the identification, see (26)c:

(26) a. Tu[☞], ce   ascunzi sub   foaie?
          you   what hide.2s under sheet
          'You, what are you hiding under the sheet?

      b. *{Ăsta[☞]/Ăla[☞]}, ce   ascunzi sub   foaie?
          this.ms/that.ms   what hide.2s under sheet

      c. [Tu care eşti mai   înalt][☞], îmi   trebuie cineva   care să   ajungă la
          you who are more tall   me.dat needs   somebody who sbjv reaches to
          bec.
          light-bulb
          'You who are taller, I need someone who can reach the light bulb'

This is one of the few situations when pointing is essential in establishing reference and can therefore be considered to contribute directly to the denotation of an expression. This also characterizes deixis found with demonstratives and what we call deictic items, more generally – deictic adverbs and deictic uses of some personal pronouns (those referring to humans: *he, she, they*, but not *it*, see Wolter 2006; Ahn 2019; 2022) – see (27), which shows that a demonstrative with a pointing gesture can be used to identify various referents (characterized by the same nominal property) via their location, while a definite DP, even accompanied by pointing, cannot do that:

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[13] Schaden (2010: 183) notices that 2nd person pronouns may occur as identificational vocatives only if they are 'accompanied by some kind of (gestural) cue as to how to determine the person they are supposed to refer to'.

(27) a.   Give me [that book] [☞₁], and [that book] [☞₂], and also [that book] [☞₃]
     b. *Give me [the book] [☞₁], and [the book] [☞₂], and also [that book] [☞₃]

Ahn (2019; 2022) proposes a semantics of deictic demonstratives in which pointing directly contributes to the denotation of the DP – it translates as a property, which places the referent at the pointed location. This property instantiates the second argument of the demonstrative D – in her analysis, demonstratives introduce a supremum operator, like the definite article, but differ from the definite article in that D takes two arguments, the NP and a second argument; this second argument may be an index, a relative clause or the property contributed by pointing; the operator in D yields the supremum of the intersection of the two properties denoted by the NP and the additional argument, respectively.[14]

In (26)a, *the property that identifies the addressee is, obviously, not provided by the person feature of the pronoun*, but by the pointing gesture and by the [+singular] and [+human] features of the pronoun (in (26)c, the property introduced by the relative is also included in the description of the intended addressee, but a sort of deictic gesture still seems to be needed). This means that the obligatory 2nd person feature is a formal property that signals the vocative use of the DP. This feature is imposed on the DP by the configuration in which it occurs, a configuration that is responsible for the identificational vocative reading.

Modulo this (important) exception, identificational vocatives behave as regular definite DPs. For instance, DPs without an overt N but with overt descriptive material display the strong form of the definite article, *cel* (in Romanian, the definite article takes a 'strong', i.e. non-affixal form, in the context _[N Ø]):[15]

(28) a.   [Cei   de la geam],   de ce vă   jucați?   (Hill 2014: 64, ex. 15a)
          the.MP of at window why REFL.2PL play.2P
          'Those by the window, why are you playing?'

     b.   Cei   din   ultima bancă, se   vede la tablă?
          the.MP of-in last-the bench REFL sees at blackboard
          'Those in the last row, can one see what's on the blackboard?'

Other phrases that license an empty N in definite DPs, such as DP-initial ordinals, are also allowed:

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[14] For the structure proposed by Ahn, see (i). The denotations corresponding to this configuration are shown in (ii):

  (i) $[_{DP}$ [$[_D$bin-sup] NP] [→ A]]   (modeled after Ahn, 2022: 1367, tree (55))

  (ii) ⟦→ A⟧ = λx.x is at A at w_0
        ⟦→⟧ = λa.λx. x is at a at w_0 (Ahn, 2022: 1367, (57))
        ⟦bin-sup⟧ = λP.λR.ιx.∀y [(P(y) ∧ R(y)) ↔ y ⊑ x]   (Ahn, 2022: 1359, (37))
        ⟦[that book][→ A]⟧ = the maximal entity that is a book and is at A

[15] The empty N can have an antecedent – representing nominal ellipsis – or not, being interpreted as +human, +human+female or –animate, depending on f-features. See Giurgea (2013) for details.

(29) Al doilea, vino   mai aproape!   (Croitor & Hill 2023: 819, ex. 47b)
      ORD second come.IMPV.2S more close
      'The second one, come closer!'

The use of definite DPs in selecting calls is probably a more general property of languages with articles – see Espinal (2013), who analyzes this pattern as a subtype of what she calls 'fake vocatives'.[16] Here are examples of vocatives with the definite article, usually involving modified nouns, in languages which are claimed to disallow [+def] vocatives – English, Italian, Greek, German:

(30) a. The students from France, where is your translator?   (Hill 2014: 43, ex. (1)d)

      b. The students who just arrived, you must stay in this room.   (Hill 2014: 43, ex.(1)e)

      c. The first one in line, I'll give you my orders   (Hill 2014: 68)

      d. (Tutti) gli studenti francesi, dov'è il vostro bagaglio?   (It., Hill 2014: 120)
          all   the students French   where is your   luggage
          '(All) the students from France, where is your luggage?'

      e. I   epivates xoris   isitirio perimenete ti sira sas. (Gr., Hill 2014: 222)
          the passengers without ticket wait.IMPV.2P the turn your
          'Passengers without tickets, wait your turn.'

      f. I   protoetis fitites, elate   edo! (Gr., Espinal 2013: 119, citing Stavrou, ms.)
          the first.year students come.2P.IMPV here

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[16] Note that Espinal's 'fake vocatives' do not exactly correspond to what we call 'regular definite DPs' here. Complex bare nominals, which for us belong to 'nominals specially marked as vocatives', are also treated as 'fake vocatives'. Another difference between Espinal's proposal and ours is that for the identificational vocatives, she proposes a complex structure, with the definite DP in the Spec of a larger DP that occurs in the complement of Voc; the head of this larger DP is a pronoun that moves to Voc⁰:

(i) [$_{VocP}$ [$_{Voc}$ tu]$_i$ [$_{DP}$ [$_{DP}$ el noi de la camisa blava][$_D$ t$_i$]]]   (Catalan; Espinal 2013: 122)
              you   the boy of the shirt   blue
     'you, the boy with the blue shirt!'

There is no evidence for this complex structure in Romanian. A 2nd person pronoun between a definite DP in identificational use cannot occur without a comma, see (ii). It can only occur in a separate intonational unit and it must be accompanied by some gesture that directs the attention towards the intended addressee, being in fact an instance of deictic identificational vocative (as in (26)a), see (iii), where we use the '☞' symbol to indicate the deictic gesture. We conclude that in (iii) we are dealing with two distinct Voc$_{ident}$Ps, the speaker using a second identificational construction to clarify the referential intention of the first one:

(ii) *tu băiatu' cu cămaşă albastră
      you boy-the with shirt   blue

(iii) tu[☞], băiatu' cu cămaşă albastră
      you   boy-the with shirt   blue

    g.   [context: an exhibition. Three men are standing in front of a picture looking at it. The man in the middle is wearing a green jacket. A wants to talk to this man]

Der Mann mit der grünen Jacke! Ihr Auto wird gerade abgeschleppt! (Ge.)
the man with the green jacket your car is.being just.now hauled-off
'The man with the green jacket! Your car is being hauled off just now.'

(D'Avis & Meibauer 2013: 198)

These examples seem to be instances of identificational vocatives, as is clear at least for (30)g. This strongly suggests that the existence of a special structure for identificational vocatives, involving a definite DP, is not a mere peculiarity of Romanian. Note however that these examples involve modification, and it may be the case that modification is required for [+def] identificationals in these languages (as reported for Greek by Anastasia Giannakidou, p. c.), which is not the case in Romanian (see the unmodified [+def –voc] nouns in (17)a, (18)a, (24)b, (25)b).

4.2 An analysis of identificational vocatives

The syntactic approach to vocatives in recent generative studies characterizes the vocative use of nominals by postulating special syntactic positions, introduced via functional categories. A special position on the clausal spine, above Rizzi's (1997) ForceP, is proposed by Moro (2003), who calls the relevant head Voc^0 and places vocative nominals in SpecVocP. Zanuttini (2004) and Portner (2007) label this projection AddrP (the 'addressee phrase'), see (31):

(31) $[_{AddrP}$ DP $[Addr^0$ [CP]]]

Hill (2007; 2014) argues that vocative nominals are also characterized by a nominal functional head above D, initially labeled $Role^0$ (Hill 2007), then relabeled Voc^0 (Haegeman & Hill 2013; Hill 2014; 2022; see also Stavrou 2014, who uses the label VoP), see (32):

(32) $[_{VocP}$ (Vocative particles) $[Voc^0$ [(D) NP]]]

Adopting Speas & Tenny's (2003) proposal of a Speech Act functional layer above ForceP, Hill (2007; 2014), followed by Haegeman & Hill (2013) and Stavrou (2014), places VocP in the specifier of the lowest projection in the speech act domain, labeled SAP in Haegeman & Hill (2013), SAhP in Hill (2014) (from 'Speech Act Hearer-Phrase', see (33)) and $PR_{addressee}$ in Stavrou (2014):

(33) $[_{SAsP}$ SA_s $[_{SAhP}$ VocP $[SA_h$ CP]]]   (cf. Hill 2014: 147, tree (14))

A VocP on top of DP in vocative nominals is also assumed in Espinal (2013), Roehrs & Julien (2014), Julien (2016), and Gutzmann (2019). Espinal (2013) does not use a dedicated sentential position for VocPs, treating them as specifiers of CP or parentheticals.

The evidence for assuming both a nominal projection (VocP) and a special sentential position (such as SpecSAP) for the syntax of vocatives comes from distributional facts which mainly involve word order with respect to vocative particles and speech act particles (see Haegeman & Hill 2013; Hill 2014). Giorgi (2023), who argues that vocatives in general express separate speech acts, proposes different configurations for addresses and calls: addresses, which can occupy parenthetical positions, are in the specifier of a prosody-oriented head projected above the left-periphery, which assigns the comma intonation (sentence-internal positions are derived via movement); calls are analyzed as sentence-external, situated in the specifier of a vocative discourse projection which is integrated with the following sentences only at a level higher than sentences, called *micro-discourse*.

In our analysis, we adopt the proposal of a VocP in the extended *nominal* projection, leaving open the issue of how VocP is integrated in the sentence (i.e., whether a dedicated projection is necessary or not). There are two reasons for which the data we discuss favor an analysis involving a nominal VocP, as in (32), rather than just placing the DP in the specifier of a sentential projection, as, for instance, in (31).

First, we have seen that identificational vocatives must be marked 2nd person when pronominal (see (26)) and the types that cannot function as identificationals (i.e., [–def –voc] and [+/–def +voc]) require 2nd person in embedded subject relative clauses, see (20). This indicates that there must be a source for the 2nd person feature specific to vocatives, in particular for identificationals, where this feature plays no role in the description of the intended addressee (see the discussion around (26)). Hill (2014) proposes that Voc is the head that introduces a valued 2nd Person feature in the derivation.

Secondly, an interesting contrast involving coordination supports the proposal that vocative-marked nouns in Romanian (the types [–def +voc] and [+def +voc]) raise to Voc^0 (as proposed by Espinal 2013 and Hill 2014). As shown in (34), marked vocatives differ from unmarked non-definite vocatives in being infelicitous in coordination[17] (this contrast was observed, but not analyzed, in Croitor & Hill 2013):

(34) a. Băieţi şi fete, veniţi încoace! / Băieţii şi fetele, veniţi încoace!
     boys and girls come.2P hither   boys-the and girls-the come.2P hither
     'Boys and girls, come here!'

    b. ??Băieţilor şi fetelor, veniţi încoace!
       boys-the.VOC and girls-the.VOC come.2P hither

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[17] The only exception to this generalization that we are aware of is *doamnelor și domnilor* 'ladies and gentlemen!' (lit. 'ladies-the.VOC and gentlemen-the.VOC'), which is a formulaic expression. Under the account proposed here, we might analyze this expression as an instance of raising of a coordination of marked DPs to SpecVocP.

c. Copii şi părinţi, linişte că soseşte moşul!
children and parents quiet that arrives old-man-the
'Children and parents, keep quiet, cause Santa is approaching!'

d. ??Copiilor şi părinţilor, linişte că soseşte moşul!
children-the.VOC and parents-the.VOC quiet that arrives old-man-the

Under the assumption that morphologically marked vocatives raise to Voc^0, the contrast can be explained as follows: in (34)b,d, since each vocative marker corresponds to a distinct Voc^0, we have a coordination of VocPs. If the semantic contribution of Voc^0 is to (exhaustively) specify the addressee of a speech act, a coordination of VocPs should be ruled out, because it would result in contradictory specification of the addressee. One may wonder why a group interpretation is not available. Note that coordinations of referential expressions (e.g. *John and the girl*) or NPs (e.g. *every [boy and girl]*) typically yield group readings. Unmarked vocatives, both bare and definite (see (34)a,c), do allow an interpretation by group formation. The unavailability of this interpretation in (34)b,d indicates that the coordinated constituents cannot be analyzed as mere NPs or DPs. We propose that they are VocPs.[18] In the analysis in (31), there is no way of representing the contrast between coordinations of marked and unmarked nominals: in both cases, we would have a DP coordination in SpecAddrP. In order to account for (34)b,d, one would have to assume that using vocative morphology forces the projection of several AddrPs, but it is not clear why this should be so. One could assume that vocative-marked nouns raise to $addr^0$, but movement from a specifier to a head position is not accepted in the current generative syntactic framework.[19]

Note now that coordinated [–def] vocatives are allowed, see (34)a,c. This leads to the conclusion that N^0 does not raise to Voc^0 in this type (*contra* Espinal 2013; Hill 2014). The structure of these examples involves a single Voc^0 and a coordination of NPs or DPs with a null D in its complement:

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[18] The impossibility of getting a group-addressee reading by coordinating VocPs indicates that the vocative interpretation (characterization of the denotation of a constituent as being *the addressee*) is the import of Voc^0 rather than of a sentential SA^0 (for details on the type of interpretation introduced by vocatives, which pertains to the non-at-issue component of meaning, see Portner 2007; Gutzmann 2019).

[19] Moro (2003), for Italian, and Hill (2014), for Romanian, noticed that phrases preceded by vocative particles cannot be coordinated:

(i) O Maria e (*o) Pietro, Gianni è arrivato. (It., Moro 2003: 259)
VOC.PART Maria and (VOC.PART) Pietro Gianni is arrived

(ii) Măi fraţi şi (*măi) cumnaţi, … (Hill 2014: 74)
VOC.PART brothers and (VOC.PART) brothers-in-law
'Brothers and brothers in law, …'

As vocative particles probably sit in SpecVocP (Moro 2003; Hill 2014), these data also show that VocPs cannot be coordinated. However, unlike the data in (29), these data are compatible with an analysis of VocPs as sentential projections, which is precisely Moro's (2003) position.

(35) [Voc⁰ [[$_{DP/NP}$ băieţi] [şi [$_{DP/NP}$ fete]]]]
      boys   and   girls

The existence of a D in [–def] vocatives is debated: some studies propose that a D must be projected (Szabolcsi 1994; Espinal 2013; Coene et al. 2019), while others allow for Voc⁰ to directly select NP (Hill 2014; Stavrou 2014). For Romanian, we do not know of any compelling evidence in favor of a null D in this type.[20] Therefore, we will use the [Voc NP] configuration for simplicity, but our analysis can be made compatible with the other alternative with minimal modifications, as we will indicate when necessary.

The proposal that vocative types in Romanian can be distinguished at the level of a nominal functional projection VocP does not exclude differences in the way VocP is integrated into larger structures. In particular, we are sympathetic with Giorgi's (2023) view that calls are sentence-external, involving separate discourse units. But the distinction between selecting calls, which use the identificational structure, and non-selecting calls, is done at the level of the VocP. For addresses, our analysis is compatible both with the hypothesis of a dedicated position in the Speech Act domain (Hill 2007; 2014) and with the hypothesis of a specifier position of a prosody-oriented head not specialized for addressees (Giorgi 2023).

Summarizing, the general assumptions about the structure of vocatives that appear to be best fit for describing the facts of Romanian are the following:

(36) (i)   vocative nominals have VocP as the maximal nominal projection, with Voc⁰ carrying valued 2ⁿᵈ Person;
      (ii) marked vocatives (the types [+def +voc] and [–def +voc]) involve raising (of N⁰ or D⁰) to Voc⁰.[21]

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[20] Espinal (2013: 117) argues for the existence of a null D for Catalan nominal vocatives that do not have any overt D based on the claim that they are 'referential and interpreted as familiar and unique'. But the fact that the NP property holds of the Addressee is arguably the semantic contribution of the Voc head. As the addressee is unique and the NP-property is normally familiar (for the exceptional case of evaluative vocatives, see section 5), the familiarity and uniqueness invoked by Espinal may result from the Voc+NP combination, without the need of a DP. Note moreover that, at least for addresses, the claim that vocative nominals 'are interpreted as unique' is not indisputable. In a situation with several boys, the speaker can use 'boy' (Ro. *băiete* 'boy-VOC') to maintain the contact with the already established addressee. In non-selecting calls, the addressee is indeed understood to be the maximal entity satisfying the NP-restriction in the immediate situation – e.g., by uttering *copii* 'children' the addressee will be understood to be the entire group of children in the speech situation. But note that the maximality interpretation can be encoded in the semantics of the NP-selecting Voc head, for which we will use the label Voc$_N$ later in the paper (see Portner 2007 for this type of semantics of vocatives).

[21] We do not want to elaborate here the syntactic details of the analysis, because this would require a presentation of definiteness marking in Romanian, which is a complex and debated issue (see Dobrovie-Sorin & Giurgea 2006; Cornilescu & Nicolae 2011; Nicolae 2019; 2020). The only observation that seems important is that, if a PF-lowering analysis is adopted for suffixal definiteness marking in Romanian, as proposed in Dobrovie-Sorin & Giurgea (2006), for [+voc +def] vocatives we can assume raising of D$_{def}$ to Voc, followed by lowering of [D+Voc] to N at PF. For convenience, we will speak of 'N-to-(D-to)-Voc', leaving aside the details of the phenomenon.

Under these assumptions, the formal differences between identificational vocatives and the other types, presented in the previous sub-section (4.1), indicate a difference at the level of Voc. We propose the following:

(37)   a.   Identificational vocatives involve a special head Voc_{ident} that selects a DP

        b.   This DP must be referential and definite because it is interpreted as providing the identification of the Addressee:

           Voc_{ident} updates the context c to a context c' such that Addressee(c') = ⟦DP⟧

The obligatory referentiality and definiteness observed for identificational vocatives can thus be viewed as being due to the fact that Voc_{ident} introduces the identification of the Addressee. In order to explain the limitation of Voc_{ident} to *selecting* calls and to clarify the notion of context involved in (37)b, we follow the suggestion of an anonymous reviewer to represent the potential addressees from which Voc_{ident} selects the addressee by using the notion of *ratified recipient* (see Goffman 1981; McCawley 1999). Ratified recipients include all the accepted participants to the conversation, who can hear the message and are accepted by the speaker as recipients of the message, but are not necessarily addressees; they include the addressee but also third parties. In the context in (17), all the choir members are ratified recipients; likewise, in the class contexts in (18) and (19), all the students in the class are ratified recipients. McCawley (1999: 605) characterizes the shared knowledge involved in the notion of common ground as consisting 'of the propositions that the ratified participants in a discourse jointly take as already established at the given point in the discourse and take for granted in the immediately following discourse'. Using a notion of context parameterized to the set of all the ratified participants allows a conversational move by which the Addressee is changed, as in (37)b. We conclude that it is this notion of context that must be assumed for c and c' in (37)b. For the restriction of Voc_{ident} to selecting calls, we propose that Voc_{ident} introduces the presupposition that the proposed Addressee is properly included in a set of Ratified Recipients – see (38), which is formulated so as to cover plural vocatives as well as singulars; RR(c) notates the property of being a ratified recipient in the context c, Σz:RR(c) (z) is the maximal sum of the ratified recipients in the context c, '<' notates the proper part relation.

(38) Voc_{ident} combined with a DP that denotes an entity x, in a context c,

       – updates the context c to a context c' such that Addressee(c') = x

       – Presupposition: x < Σz:RR(c)(z)

In out-of-the-blue calls, there is no such previously established set from which the vocative selects an addressee. Hence the impossibility of Voc_{ident}.

On the hypothesis that in [–def] vocatives Voc^0 directly selects NP, (37) excludes [–def] vocatives (because Voc_{ident} selects DPs).[22]

In order to explain the fact that [+def +voc] vocatives are excluded in the identificational construction, we propose that Voc_{ident} does not have the attracting feature responsible for Voc-marking (see (36)(ii) and the coordination facts in (34)). In the following, we will use the label Voc* for the Voc that triggers movement. Using the subscripts N and D for the Voc that select NP or DP, respectively, we conclude that addresses and non-selecting calls can use the heads Voc_N*, Voc_N Voc_D* and Voc_D, all distinct from Voc_{ident}. The choice between these heads is strongly influenced by the nominal lexeme (see (22)–(25) above and also 4.4 below), a matter which lies outside the scope of this article.

An alternative to using Voc_{ident} for identificational vocatives would be to directly merge the definite DP in the projection of a discourse head that characterizes calls – a special head of this type was proposed by Giorgi (2023), who calls it Dis-Voc and places the vocative in its specifier (in her system, the complement of a discourse head is the following discourse projection). But we would still need to assume a dedicated head for *selecting* calls, because, as we have seen above, not all calls are selecting (out-of-the-blue calls do not use the identificational structure, see (21)–(25)): for instance, a Dis-Voc_{ident} with a DP-specifier, distinct from a Dis-Voc head used for non-selecting calls, with a VocP-specifier. Moreover, Dis-Voc_{ident} will have to be endowed with a valued 2_{nd} person feature, responsible for the Person agreement facts illustrated in (26) above and discussed in the following sub-section. As we do not wish to take a stance on the external syntax of vocatives, we will consider Voc_{ident} as part of the *nominal* functional structure.

4.3 The Person feature in identificational and non-identificational vocatives

Let us now see how this analysis can account for the facts concerning Person noticed in section 4.1. Let us recall the generalizations, starting with identificationals:

(39)   a.   Subject relatives inside identificational vocatives allow 3rd person verbs (ex. (19))
       b.   Pronominal identificational vocatives, where identification relies on deixis, must be 2nd person (ex. (26))

As we have already mentioned, (39)b is evidence for the fact that 2nd person may come from Voc: if the interpretive contribution of 2nd person is the presupposition that the referent of the constituent it attaches to is the addressee (see Heim & Kratzer 1998; Kratzer 2009), we must conclude that the 2nd person on the DP of identificationals cannot be interpreted, because the fact that the referent of the DP is the addressee is not yet established at that point of the discourse, but is achieved by the context update operated by Voc_{ident}. We conclude that the

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[22] On the hypothesis that [–def] vocatives have a null D, we should assume a special vocative head that licenses this null D. Crucially, this head must be different from Voc_{ident}.

person feature comes from Voc^0, via upward agreement.[23] The necessary use of the 2nd person (see (26)b) is due to the fact that pronouns always carry a Person feature. In the particular case of identificational vocatives, this feature is uninterpretable and receives a value from Voc$_{ident}$. This ϕ-feature matching requirement can be seen as a consequence of the fact that Voc belongs to the same extended nominal projection as the pronoun's D. Independent evidence for the existence of uninterpretable person features on pronouns, which are valued via Agree, comes from the so-called 'fake indexicals' discussed in Kratzer (1998; 2009).

Note now that in Kratzer's proposal, the Person feature is *interpretable* on the member of the agreement chain where it is inserted as valued. This is *prima facie* at variance with our proposal, which assumes valued Person on Voc$_{ident}$.[24] A possible solution is to decompose Voc$_{ident}$ into several features, among which Person, which is what Kratzer (2009) proposes, in fact, for pronouns. Note that the semantics in (38) makes reference to the Addressee, but Voc$_{ident}$, in addition, updates the context so that the Addressee of the updated context is identified with the referent of the complement DP. These two meaning components can be represented as two features that are bundled together in Voc$_{ident}$:

(40) $[_{VocP} [[2^{nd}][\text{Ident-Update}]]_{Voc\text{-}Ident} [DP]]$

Ident-Update updates the context to a context in which an identity relation holds between the referent of its first argument (the person feature inside Voc$_{ident}$) and the referent of the second argument (the DP), and introduces the presupposition on the second line in (38). The 2nd person feature introduces an entity that refers to the Addressee.

If the DP is not pronominal, an embedded subject relative may have a 3rd person verb (see (39)a), which means that the person feature is not necessarily transmitted to the complement of Voc$_{ident}$. We propose that in this case D, represented by the definite article, lacks a Person feature altogether.[25]

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[23] For reasons for allowing the option of Upward Agree, see Baker (2008), Zeijlstra (2008; 2012), Béjar & Rezac (2009), Wurmbrand (2012; 2014), Bjorkman & Zeijlstra (2019).

[24] We thank an anonymous reviewer for pointing out this issue.

[25] The connection between the D head and Person was made by Longobardi (2008). However, he proposes that D always carries Person, which is not compatible with our analysis. Other studies argue that only *some* DPs bear a Person feature: Richards (2008) proposes that +Person is the feature responsible for the special syntactic behavior of DPs that occupy a high position in the Animacy and Definiteness scales, in certain phenomena involving Agree. This idea was applied to Romanian in Cornilescu (2020) and Cornilescu & Tigău (2022), who argue that only +Person DPs trigger DOM (differential object marking), and in Giurgea (2019), who characterizes those DPs that are ruled out as (nominative) subjects in *se*-passives as +Person. These accounts lead to the conclusion that definite DPs headed by the definite article in Romanian can be unmarked for Person (because they can occur without DOM and as subjects of *se*-passives). This is in accordance with our explanation for the 3rd person subject relatives in identificational vocatives. Note also that personal and animate demonstrative pronouns require DOM and cannot be subjects of *se*-passives, which supports our proposal that these pronouns always have Person.

Let us now observe that subject relatives embedded in identificational vocatives may also show 2nd person on the verb:

(41) Băiatu' care {se   uită / **te   uiţi** } pe telefon, ia   ieşi   la tablă!
      boy-the who REFL.3S looks **REFL.2S look.2S** on phone PART go-out to blackboard
      'The boy who's looking at his cell phone, come to the blackboard!'

As we do not see any meaning difference between the two variants in (41), we propose that the difference relies in formal features: the definite D may come with unvalued Person, which must then be shared with the rest of the nominal spine, or can lack Person altogether:

(42) a. $[_{VocP} [Voc_{ident}[+2^{nd}]] [_{DP} [_D THE_{+Gender+Number+\mathbf{Person}>\mathbf{2nd}} [_{NP} NP_{\mathbf{Person}>\mathbf{2nd}} CP]]]]$
      b. $[_{VocP} [Voc_{ident}[+2^{nd}]] [_{DP} [_D THE_{+Gender+Number} [_{NP} NP CP]]]]$

Moving on to the other types of vocatives, we have seen in section 4.1 that embedded subject relatives must show 2nd person (see ex. (20), resumed in (44) below):

(43) Subject relative clauses inside [–def –voc] and [+/–def +voc] vocatives necessarily have 2nd person on the verb

(44) a. Soldat care {ai   fost / *a   fost } în Vietnam, meriţi   această recompensă.
          soldier who have.2S been / has been in Vietnam deserve.2S this   reward
          '(You) soldier who has been to Vietnam, you deserve this reward.'

      b. Băiatule /Băiete   care {te visezi / *se   visează} scriitor, începe
          boy-the.VOC/boy.VOC who REFL dream.2S REFL dream.3S writer   start.IMPV
          să   citeşti!
          SBJV read.2S
          'You boy who dreams of being a writer, start reading!'

An explanation based on agreement with Voc^0 may carry over to these cases, in particular for marked vocatives, which have been shown to involve N-(to-D)-to-Voc. It is reasonable to assume that raising N to Voc^0 requires sharing all the φ-features between Voc^0 and N. Since Voc^0 bears 2nd person (see (31)(i)), feature sharing results in N having 2nd person. This feature must be matched by the subject of the relative clause (via agreement or any other mechanism involved in matching phenomena in relative clauses, see Cinque 2020). Because in identificational vocatives there is no raising to Voc^0, there is no requirement that N should share all Voc^0's features, including Person.

For unmarked non-definite vocatives ([–def –voc]), on the hypothesis that there is a null D^0, it can be assumed that this D^0, which is selected by Voc$_N$, carries 2nd Person; on the hypothesis that there is no D-layer, we may assume that Voc$_N$ acts like D with respect to φ-features, requiring full feature sharing with N.

But there is also a possible semantic explanation for (43). Note that all the examples of relatives in these types involve addresses. We have not been able to find or imagine examples of relatives embedded in non-selecting calls (see footnote 12). In addresses, the addressee is already established. We may then assume that these types involve an *interpretable* 2nd person on D or N. Admittedly, this explanation must still be supplemented with a formal component: the Voc of these types must have a selectional feature requiring a complement bearing Person, because, as we have seen in (39)a/(41)/(42)b, D in Romanian does not necessarily bear Person.

4.4 Other uses of unmarked definite vocatives

While Voc$_{ident}$ only allows [+def –voc] vocatives, the reverse is not true: [+def –voc] vocatives may also occur in non-selecting calls and addresses, but in that case, they are subject to strong lexical restrictions.

Examples of [+def –voc] in non-selecting calls are given in (45).

(45)   [context: no previous conversation, the addressee is an unknown person]
    a. Băiatu', ţi-a   căzut ceva   din   rucsac.
        boy-the CL.2S.DAT-has fallen something from backpack
        'Hey boy! Something fell from your backpack.'
    b. Domnu',   v-aţi   uitat   pălăria pe bancă!
        mister-the CL.2P.DAT-have.2P forgotten hat-the on bench
        'Mister, you left your hat on the bench!'

This means that the [+def –voc] pattern is not restricted to Voc$_{ident}$. But when it is used with a non-identificational Voc^0, it is subject to strong lexical restrictions. We have seen in (24)a that profession nouns such as *chelneru'* 'the waiter' are not felicitous. Even the feminine counterpart of the noun in (45)a, *fată* 'girl', does not occur in the [+def –voc] form:

(46)   [context: no previous conversation, the addressee is an unknown person]
    a. Fată/ ??Fata,   ţi-a   căzut ceva   din   rucsac.
        girl   girl-the CL.2S.DAT-has fallen something from backpack
        'Hey girl! Something fell from your backpack.'

Such a lexically restricted use is also found for [+def –voc] in addresses. The existence of stronger lexical restrictions on addresses than on calls was noticed as early as Zwicky (1974: 790–791) and is expected since in the case of addresses the content of the noun phrase does not play any role in the identification of the addressee, which is already established. Portner (2007) proposes that the meaning contribution of addresses consists, at least in part, in describing the relationship between speaker and addressee (see the use of nominals such as *dear friend, my lord, honey*). This

proposal is supported by Romanian, where kinship terms and relational nouns used in addresses normally take the speaker as their implicit argument (e.g. *prietene* 'friend.VOC' = 'my friend', *soră* 'sister' etc.)[26]: under the assumption that the noun is used to describe the relationship between Speaker and Addressee, if the noun is inherently relational, its implicit argument will have to be set to the Speaker. This type of interpretation may be encoded in the i(nter)-p(ersonal) feature assumed by Hill (2014; 2022) for Voc heads. [+def –voc] vocatives are allowed with relational nouns and kinship terms only when they have an explicit possessor, see (47)a and (48)a (the sentence-internal placement indicates that these vocatives are not calls). In the b examples, we show that these nouns do allow a [+def –voc] version without a possessor, but only in selecting calls (identificationals). (48)b also shows that identificational [+def –voc] vocatives do not have to take the speaker as the implicit argument.

(47) a. Ce   credeţi,   {fraţilor/   *fraţii/   fraţii   mei}, că
          what believe.2P brothers-the.VOC/brothers-the/brothers-the my   that
          mi-a   spus?
          me.DAT-has   told
          'What do you think, {brothers/my brothers}, that (s)he told me?'

      b. [context: a teacher in front of a class with many students; two of the students are brothers and are talking to each other during the lesson]
          Fraţii,   fiţi   atenţi!
          brothers-the be.2P   attentive
          'Hey brothers, pay attention!'

(48) a. Ce   s-a   întâmplat, soră / vere   /*sora   / *văru'?
          what REFL-has   happened   sister / cousin-VOC sister-the cousin-the
          'What happened, sis(ter) /cousin?'

---

[26] Exceptions are very rare, necessitating a specific contextual setting. For instance, if the sentence is about a mother's duties, a vocative of the diminutive of the noun *mamă* 'mother' can also take an implicit argument distinct from the Addressee:

(i) Mămico,   ai   grijă să-l   speli   de două ori   pe zi!
     mother-DIM-the.FS.VOC have.IMPV.2S care SBJV-him wash.2S of two   times per day
     'You, mother, make sure you wash him twice a day!'

A systematic exception is the so-called 'reversed vocatives', which also describe a Speaker-Addressee relation, but with reversed roles – e.g., 'mother' or 'father' are used in addresses to somebody's child (see Robertson Rieschild 1998; Hill 2022, and references therein):

(ii) [context: a mother speaking to her little boy:]
     Ce   faci, mamă, aici?
     what do.2S mother here

    b.   [context: in the waiting room of a medical office where several people are waiting, addressed by an employee to the relative of a pacient who has already entered the office]

           Sora/   Vărul,   puteţi intra acum.
           sister-the/cousin-the can.2P enter now
           'The sister/the cousin, you may step in now.'

Within the analysis proposed in 4.2, the instances of [+def –voc] in addresses (see *fraţii mei* 'brothers-the my' in (47)a) and non-selecting calls (see (45)) should be accounted for by a Voc head different from Voc_{ident}. We conclude that, among the Voc heads that are not identificational, there is a head Voc_D that takes a definite DP without triggering movement, besides the movement-triggering Voc* (for marked vocatives) and Voc_N (for [–def +voc] vocatives).

4.5 On the type of DP used with Voc_{ident}

So far, we have only considered definite DPs as identificational vocatives. English and German also allow DPs with universal quantifiers (see Portner 2008; Schaden 2010; Gutzmann 2019: 179–180); Schaden (2010) provides the English example (49)a, and Gutzmann (2019: 179) provides its German equivalent in (49)b:

(49)   a.   Everyone who has a dog, you need a dog permit!

        b.   Jeder der   einen Hund hat, ihr   braucht eine Hundelizenz!
           each   who a   dog   has you.P need.2P a   dog-permit

For these examples, Portner (2007: 411), followed by Gutzmann (2019), assumes that the universally quantified DP is shifted to type *e*, referring to an entire group. In Romanian, quantified DPs with singular number (with *fiecare* 'each', *oricine* free-choice 'any', 'whoever'), which are obligatorily interpreted distributively, are disallowed. *Toţi* 'all' is allowed, see (50), but this quantifier combines with definite DPs and arguably yields a plurality-referring expression, its semantic contribution being the removal of the exceptions to the maximality condition that plural definites typically allow (see Brisson 1998; Lasersohn 1999; Križ 2016 for details).

(50)   Toţi (cei)   care aveţi   un câine – aveţi   nevoie de permis / am   aici un
        all   (the.MP) who have.2P a   dog   have.2P need   of permit   have.1S here a
        os.
        bone
        'Everyone who has a dog – you need a permit/I have a bone here.'

The pattern illustrated in (51), which is also found in English (see (52)), is only an apparent exception to the definiteness of the DP. First, notice that it is restricted to subjects of imperatives, see (51) (the same holds for English according to Portner 2007). Moreover, as Portner (2007)

notices, the addressee is the entire group and the requirement is that some members of the group should undertake the desired action. This means that, unlike in selecting calls, no actual change in the Addressee takes place. We believe, with Portner, that these DPs are subjects of imperatives or peripheral DPs that bind the subject of imperatives, rather than vocatives.

(51) Câţiva   de-acolo, { veniţi   să   mă ajutaţi! / *Cât   e ceasul?}
      some.MPL of-there   come.IMPV.2PL SBJV me help.2P   how-much is clock-the
      'Some (of you) over there, come and help me! /* what time is it?'

(52) Some of you, come here!   (Portner 2007: 411)

5. Evaluative vocatives

As noted in section 1 (see ex. (2)), evaluative vocatives require Voc-marking in Romanian, see (53) (the [–def –voc] and [+def –voc] variants of the noun in (53)a would be appropriate if we were addressing an actual donkey):

(53) a. [context: the speaker blames the addressee for his behavior]
          Măgarul**e**!   / #Măgar! / #Măgaru'!
          donkey-the-VOC donkey   donkey-the
          '**You** swine!'

      b. {Prostul**e**!   / *Prost! / *Prostu'! }, de   ce i-ai   spus?
          stupid-the-VOC stupid   stupid-the   why 3S.DAT-have.2S said
          '**You** stupid, why did you tell her?'

The contrast between non-evaluative vocatives, which allow all morphosyntactic patterns, and evaluative vocatives, which require [+voc], is further illustrated in (54), for the plural of the noun *copil* 'child'.

(54) a. [context: addressed to a group of children]
          Ce-aţi   făcut aici, {copii   / copiilor   / copiii}?
          what-have.2P done here children / children-the.VOC / children-the

      b. [context: addressed to adults who are claimed to behave like children]
          Ce-aţi   făcut aici, {copii**lor**?   / #copii   / #copiii}?
          what-have.2P done here children-the.VOC /   children /   children-the
          'What have you done here, you childish guys!'

In section 1 we suggested that overt Vocative marking is chosen because in this case the predicate that characterizes the hearer is new information, not entailed by the common ground of the conversation. The role of overt marking is to make clear that the NP is predicated of the addressee.

In languages that do not have vocative morphology, an alternative to the overt Vocative marking is the use of a 2nd person pronoun, as can be seen in the English translations in (53). Another language that shows this use is German. In this language the structure [Pronoun + Epithet] is not limited to evaluative vocative uses (as in (55)b), it can also occur in argument positions (see (55)a).

(55) a. Hast **du Idiot** schon wieder vergessen, das Licht auszumachen? (Ge.)
    have.2s you idiot already again forgotten the light off-to-switch
    'Did you forget again to switch off the light, you idiot?'

                  (D'Avis & Meibauer 2013: 206)

  b. **Du Idiot**, Morgen hat die Post doch geschlossen! (Gutzmann 2019: 192)
    you idiot tomorrow has the post but closed
    'You idiot, the post office is closed tomorrow!'

  c. **Du Idiot**!   (Gutzmann 2019: 191)
    you idiot

D'Avis & Meibauer (2013) and Gutzmann (2019) propose that both the argumental and the vocative use rely on the structure [D$_{pron}$ + NP], where D is a transitive second person pronoun (as in *you linguists*) and NP is endowed with expressive meaning. This structure can be inserted in argument positions (see (55)a). For the vocative use in (55)b, Gutzmann (2019) proposes that the structure [D$_{pron}$ + NP] occurs in the complement position of a Voc^0 head. For the autonomous use in (55)c, Gutzmann does not resort to Voc^0, but to an EXCL operator that is added to the DP and that eliminates the truth-conditional meaning component. The [EXCL + DP] constituent is labeled CP, being able to function as a complete utterance.

Under Gutzmann's proposal for (55)b, the Germanic construction is similar to what we see in Romanian: we do not have a predicational construction embedded in the DP, with two maximal projections (as proposed by Corver 2008 and Espinal 2013), but just a head-complement structure, a single nominal extended projection. In Romanian, it is clear that we only have a single extended projection, because the evaluative vocative consists of a single word: the [+ def + voc] epithet (see (53)). Vocative marking overtly signals the presence of the Voc^0 head, to which we assume that the noun raises (see section 3 above). Were this a predicational structure with a covert 2nd subject licensed by the vocative inflection (that encodes 2nd person), we would expect to see the pronoun optionally realized overtly, as is the case for *pro* (see (56)b). But an overt pronoun is excluded, see (56)a:[27]

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[27] An overt pronoun in (56) can only be used as a call, prosodically separated from the epithet. This use occurs if the speaker is not sure that the addressee has been aware that he was spoken to (it is equivalent with 'Hey, it's you I am talking to!').

(56) a. Tot o mai crezi,   (*tu) prostule?
       still her more believe.2s you.2s stupid-the.VOC
       'Do you still believe her, you stupid?'

  b. (Tu) eşti   prost.
       you are.2s stupid

Romanian can also use such [+def +voc] as independent speech acts, see B's reply in (57), which is a complete speech act, expressing discontent:

(57) A: Le-am   mâncat eu, ţie   nu ţi-au   mai rămas.
        3FP.ACC-have.1 eaten   I   you.DAT not CL.2S.DAT-have.3P more left
        'I ate them, there are no left for you.'

  B: Măgarule!
       donkey-the.VOC
       'You swine/asshole!'

This indicates that Voc^0 is also present in the autonomous type in (55)c, no special structure being needed.

An analysis of the English Pron + NP pattern as involving a single maximal projection, with the pronoun raising from D to Voc, was also proposed by Hill (2014). A more complex structure, with a predication relation between the pronoun and the NP, may be suitable for the patterns Possessive-Pronoun + Epithet (found in Scandinavian, Frisian, some Dutch dialects, and Brazilian Portuguese, see Corver 2008; Julien 2016) or the Dutch constructions involving a linker (e.g. *doe sen ezel* 'you LNK donkey', see Corver 2008). These constructions resemble, indeed, the qualitative binominals of the type *this jewel of a child* or Ro. *prostul de Ion* 'stupid-the of Ion'. What is, in our view, significant is that in all the rich material provided in Corver's (2008) paper, the pronoun occupies the first position of the binominal. We did not find equivalents of the Romanian pattern *prostul de tine* 'stupid-the of you' – a pattern which can occur as a self-standing exclamative, but does not function as a true vocative, see (58). The pattern in (59), which is similar in that the pronoun is marked as an adnominal dependent,[28] has the pronoun in the first position:

(58) Ce văd aici, {prostule   / *prostul de tine}?
     what see.1s done stupid-the.VOC   stupid-the of you
     'You fool, what do I see here?!'

---

[28] In the Romanian binominal quality construction *prostul de Ion*, the particle *de*, although glossed as 'of', is not a possessive marker: a DP possessor would surface as a genitive: *prostul lui Ion* 'stupid-the GEN Ion' = 'Ion's stupid person.'

(59) a. Men här kan du ju   inte parkera, **din idiot**! (Sw., d'Avis & Meibauer 2013: 201)
          but here can you PART not park   your idiot
          'But here, you can not park, you idiot!'

      b. Seu   idiota!   (Brazilian Portuguese, Corver 2008: 52)
          your.MS idiot
          'You idiot!'

The obligatory initial position of the pronominal possessive form is also noticed by Julien (2016) for modern Scandinavian varieties, including those where genuine possessors can appear prenominally only under a contrastive reading.

We hypothesize that the pronoun always occurs first because it must access the Voc-layer, either via movement (which can be also movement to SpecVocP, see Hill 2014) or via agreement, which requires a local relation to Voc^0. If DP is a phase, the pronoun cannot remain embedded in the phase head complement, as in (58), but has to reach SpecDP, as in (59).

Summing up, making the Voc-layer visible is arguably the common property of Romanian evaluative vocatives, which are necessarily Voc-marked, and the pronoun + epithet constructions of Germanic languages and Brazilian Portuguese.

A second property of evaluative vocatives in Romanian concerns the type of marked vocatives. Recall from section 2 that some of the masculine singular nouns distinguish two marked forms, a definite and a non-definite one, which we labeled [+def +voc] and [–def +voc], respectively. It appears that evaluative vocatives must be [+def +voc].

With epithets based on nominalized adjectives, a [–def +voc] form is unavailable (e.g. *imbecilule/*imbecile* 'imbecil-the.VOC/VOC'),[29] so the [+def +voc] form is the only option. The generalization that evaluative vocatives must be marked not only as [+voc] but also as [+def] can be illustrated with nouns denoting animals, used as insults, and nouns that are normally neutral and acquire a contextual evaluative meaning when they occur in this construction (e.g. *doctor* in *you doctor!*, see d'Avis & Meibauer 2013 and Gutzmann 2019 for this type).

Let us take the noun *măgar* 'donkey', commonly used as an insult in the [+def +voc] form *măgarule*, see (57). The [–def +voc] *măgare* would be very weird in the context in (57), but it is not lexically excluded – we may find it, for instance, in fables or jokes with animals, where the addressee is an actual donkey, see the attested example in (60):

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[29] A possible cause of this morphological gap is the fact that the *-e* form of the [–def +voc] masculine singular would be identical to the unmarked feminine plural (as we have shown in section 2, the [–def +voc] type only exists in the masculine singular). Note however that a few nouns based on adjectives do have a [–def +voc] form: *bătrâne* 'old-man-VOC.MS', *tinere* 'young-man-VOC.MS', *sărmane* 'poor-VOC.MS'.

(60) Iepurele   îşi   suflecă urechile şi îi   zice prietenului   său:
      rabbit-the CL.REFL.3.DAT bents   years-the and CL.3S.DAT says friend-the.DAT his
      - Ptiu, ptiu, ai   încurcat-o, **măgare**!
      INTERJ   have.2s messed-it donkey-VOC
      'The rabbit bends his ears and says to his friend: ugh, you messed it up, donkey!'
      (https://adevarul.ro/stiri-locale/suceava/cele-mai-bune-bancuri-cu-regele-animalelor-
      cum-1882475.html)

Let us now consider a noun that does not have an evaluative use registered in the lexicon: *doctor* 'doctor, physician', for which the absence of a lexically encoded evaluative use is shown by the impossibility of occurring in the qualitative binominal construction, see (61). The [–def +voc] form is a regular vocative, used as a call or as an address, see (62)a. By contrast, the [+def +voc] form can have an evaluative use, as illustrated by (62)b, with a contextual setting in which the Addressee is not a doctor, but is claimed to possess the qualities of a doctor (in this case, we see a positive evaluation associated to the vocative, which, albeit less common than the negative one, is not impossible).

(61) {măgarul/*doctorul}   de Ion
      donkey-the/doctor-the of Ion

(62) a. **Doctore**!   Ce   are copilul?
          doctor.VOC what has child-the
          'Doc! What's wrong with the child?'

      b. [context: the Addressee, who is not a doctor, has often given good medical advices to the Speaker; the sentence is uttered after the treatment recommended by the Addressee for an ear inflammation]
          Doctorule!   Pare că ştii   toate bolile.
          doctor-the-VOC seems that know.2s all   diseases-the
          'You doctor! You seem to know all the diseases.'

For the fact that evaluative vocatives must be Voc-marked, the intuitive explanation we proposed is that the overt marking of the vocative function is preferred because the fact that the addressee is characterized by the NP-property is not part of the common ground and, therefore, by using an unmarked form it may be unclear that we refer to the addressee. Even with epithet nouns, for which the evaluative use is easier to infer, a use without explicit vocative marking can be interpreted as referring to a non-participant (a 3rd person), and this is indeed how (63) is interpreted in Romanian:

(63) Idiotul!
      idiot-the
      'The idiot!'

Within the general analysis of Romanian vocatives that was argued for in section 4.2, which places the formal differences between vocative types at the level of a VocP placed on top of DP, this intuitive explanation can be formally implemented as follows: the Voc heads that do not trigger movement (and are different from Voc_{ident}), that is Voc_N and Voc_D, introduce the presupposition that the Addressee satisfies the NP-description, see (64).[30]

(64) a. Voc_N selects an NP and introduces the presupposition that the Addressee has the NP-property:

The common ground of the context c entails $[\![NP]\!]^c$(Addressee(c))

b. Voc_D selects a definite DP and introduces the presupposition that the Addressee is identical to the referent of the DP:

The common ground of the context c entails $[\![DP]\!]^c$ = Addressee(c)

The entries in (64) exclude the [–def –voc] and [+def –voc] types from the evaluative use, because in evaluative vocatives the fact that the addressee satisfies the NP-property is new information, not part of the common ground.

But why is only the [+def +voc] type allowed in evaluatives, see e.g. *doctorule* 'doctor-the. VOC' vs. *doctore* 'doctor.VOC' in (62) or *măgarule* 'donkey-the.VOC' in (53) vs. *măgare* 'donkey. VOC' in (60)? A direct encoding of the observation would be to extend (64)a to Voc_N*. But we would like to consider another possible account, which builds on the fact that a lot of evaluative vocatives are nominalized adjectives.

As shown in (65), nominalized adjectives used as terms of endearment, which are addresses rather than evaluatives (see the [+def –voc] form used with possessors and the discussion in section 3.2 above), disallow the [–def +voc] form:

(65) a. Ce   faci, {scump-u-l-e /   scump-u-l   meu / *scump-e} ?
       what do.2S   dear-MS-the-MS.VOC / dear-MS-the.MS my / dear-VOC
       'How are you, dear /my dear?'

b. Vino   la poză, {frumos-u-l-e /   frumos-u-l   mamei /
   come.IMPV.2S to photo beautiful-MS-the-MS.VOC / beautiful-MS-the mother-the.GEN
   *frumoas-e}!
    beautiful-MS.VOC
   'Come to the photo, you handsome/my handsome boy!'

---

[30] A potential problem for this hypothesis is the fact that unmarked vocatives may also occur in non-selecting calls, see section 4.1. For this case, we propose that, first, a common ground is created between the speaker and the person invited to assume the Addressee role, and, then, the presupposition is evaluated with respect to this common ground. Note that non-selecting calls use nominal descriptions that the addressed person would accept as self-ascriptions, in accordance with our proposal in (64).

Very few nominalized adjectives have a [–def +voc] form: *tânăr* (–def +voc: *tiner-e*) 'young man', *bătrân* (–def +voc: *bătrân-e*) 'old man', *sărman* 'poor, wicked' (–def +voc: *sărman-e*).[31]

We might thus hypothesize that the nominalizing head used with evaluative adjectives, which can be analyzed as a variety of n^0 (let us call it n_A), lacks the [–def +voc] form, as a morphological gap. As we have mentioned at the end of section 2, the absence of a [–def +voc] form is also found with other masculine singular nouns (those in *-u* such as *fiu* 'son', *erou* 'hero', those with the accented agent/profession suffixes *-tor, -er*, many nouns with a monosyllabic stem – *moş* 'old-man', *om* 'human, man', *unchi* 'uncle', etc.).

Under this hypothesis, the obligatory use of the [+def +voc] form with nouns that are not de-adjectival, such as *măgar* 'donkey' or *doctor* 'doctor', can be explained by the inclusion of these nouns, in the evaluative use, in the morpho-syntactic pattern of nominalized adjectives. In other words, nouns like *doctor* 'doctor' in (62)b acquire the quality-interpretation 'possess the qualities of N', correlated with the evaluative reading, by being inserted in a configuration with the nominalizing n of evaluative adjectives:

(66)   [[n_A] [doctor]]

The relevance of morphology is shown by the fact that there are a handful of exceptions to the obligatory use of the [+def +voc] form for evaluatives: these are nouns ending in *-e* with an epithet use registered in the lexicon. For the masculine, see *câine* 'dog' in (67), which carries a strong negative evaluation:

(67)   De ce i-ai   spus, câine?
         why   CL.3S.DAT-have.2S told   dog-*e*
         'Why did you tell her, you dog?'

As the *-e* ending coincides with the vocative masculine singular ending, we may analyze *câine* in (67) as a [–def +voc] form, to comply with the proposal in (64). The [+def +voc] form is not used here because it is unavailable for *e*-stem masculine nouns. The singular [+def +voc] form of this type would be *-e-le*, which would coincide with the unmarked singular masculine form (the definite article has the MS form *-le* with nouns ending in *-e*). This homonymy appears to block the [+def +voc] form for this class of nouns, as can be seen from the fact that the definite form in *-ele* cannot be used in addresses, see (68), although these nouns allow a [+def +voc] form in the plural and the corresponding feminine nouns also allow the [+def +voc] form:

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[31] *Drag* 'dear' has an irregular [–def +voc] form: *dragă*.

(68) a. Ce   s-a   întâmplat {frat-e   /*frat-e-l-e   /fraţ-i-lor
      what REFL-has happened   brother-*e* /brother-*e*-the-*e* brother-PL-the.PL.VOC
      / sor-o   }?
        sister-the.VOC
      'What happened, brother/brothers/sister?'

   b. [addressing a dog]
       Ieşi   afară, {câin-e /*câin-e-l-e   / căţeluş-o}!
       exit.IMPV.2S out   dog-*e* dog-*e*-the-*e*   dog-DIM(F)-the.FS.VOC
       'Get out of here, dog/puppy!'

   b′. [addressing some dogs]
       Ieşiţi   afară, câin-i-lor!
       exit.IMPV.2P out   dog-PL-the.PL.VOC

The exceptional use of a [–def] form as an evaluative extends to feminine nouns that are inherently evaluative such as *canalie, jigodie, pramatie,* all roughly meaning 'scoundrel' and *scorpie*, 'shrew'.

The fact that *câine* 'dog' and *canalie, pramatie, jigodie, scorpie* 'scoundrel' may function as evaluative vocatives without being [+def +voc] and without carrying distinctive vocative marking is clearly related to their being lexically marked as epithets. An *-e-* noun with no deprecatory meaning marked in the lexicon, such as *abate* 'abbot', can never be interpreted as an evaluative vocative (as opposed to a noun such as *doctor* 'doctor' in (62)b, where the [+def +voc] marking easily allows an evaluative reading). We interpret this fact as showing that the n_A head is not used in this type, for morphological reasons (unavailability of the [+def +voc] form).

To complete the picture, note that feminine nouns normally use *-o* in the evaluative vocative use. This provides further support for the idea that the *-o* ending functions as a vocative form of the definite inflection, as we argued in section 2.

(69) Ce-ai   făcut aici, {vaco   / #vacă / *vaca}?
     what-have.2S done here   cow-the.VOC / cow   / cow-the
     'What have you done here, you cow?'

6. Conclusions and open issues

The morphological richness of Romanian vocatives (distinguishing up to four types, [–def +voc], [+def +voc], [–def –voc] and [+def –voc]) allowed us to probe deeper into the syntax and semantics of vocative phrases. Previous research had already found a syntactically significant distinction between evaluative vocatives and what we may call 'proper vocatives' (see Corver 2008; D'Avis & Meibauer 2013; Gutzmann 2019), and we found evidence for this distinction in Romanian as well, where the evaluative use is correlated with marked definite forms ([+def +voc]). What has previously been less emphatically stressed is that the class of proper vocatives

exhibits a distinction between identificational vocatives (first described by Schaden 2010), argued here to be a sub-type of calls (*selecting calls*), and non-identificational vocatives. Identificational vocatives involve a specialized Voc_{ident} head that selects a referential DP. This head encodes the conversational move by which a new context is proposed, which differs from the previous context in that the addressee is identical with the referent of the DP. The addressee is selected from several potential addressees which are Ratified Recipients in the sense of Goffman (1981). In Romanian, identificational vocatives are not vocative-marked. The complement of Voc_{ident} is a definite DP (type [+def]) that is not different from a run-of-the-mill argumental DP, with one exception: when deixis is used to identify the addressee and the DP is pronominal, it must surface as a 2nd person pronoun. Otherwise, this DP does not necessarily have a 2nd person feature (*contra* previous claims that vocatives are always 2nd person, see Hill 2014). The form of the verb in an embedded relative shows that 3rd person as well as 2nd person are possible, whereas in non-identificational vocatives, an embedded relative must have a 2nd person verb. We explained this fact by assuming that person marking on D is optional: if D lacks Person, the 3rd person form appears as a default. If D has unvalued Person, the Voc head will value it as 2nd, via upward Agree. Pronominal DPs obligatorily have Person, which results in the obligatory 2nd person form.

In out-of-the-blue calls, i.e., when there is no previous conversation, the identificational structure is not used. We concluded that Zwicky's (1974) *call vocatives*, i.e. vocatives used to establish the addressee (as opposed to *addresses*, used when the addressee is already established), should be divided into two types: *selecting calls*, which rely on the identificational structure, and *non-selecting calls*, which are not structurally different from addresses at the level of VocP (the two probably differ in the way they are integrated into the sentence/discourse, with calls constituting separate discourse units, see Giorgi 2023).

All four types ([+def +voc], [+def –voc], [–def +voc], [–def –voc]) can be used in non-selecting calls and addresses, subject to various lexical and pragmatic restrictions (such restrictions are a general property of vocatives, in particular of addresses, see Zwicky 1974, Portner 2008). Identificational vocatives do not show these restrictions, because in their case the NP-property is essential for identifying the intended addressee. For the various morphosyntactic types of non-identificational vocatives, we proposed varieties of Voc^0 distinguished by their formal features: whether they select an NP or a definite DP (Voc_N/Voc_D) and whether they trigger movement to the Voc-layer or not (Voc*/Voc). Based on the different behavior with respect to coordination, we proposed that marked vocatives (types [–def +voc] and [+def +voc]) involve movement to Voc, as opposed to unmarked vocatives (types [–def –voc] and [+def –voc]).

The only semantically significant difference that occurs among these various types of non-identificational vocatives concerns evaluative vocatives, which only allow the [+def +voc] type (with a few lexical exceptions). The necessity of overt voc-marking for evaluatives was related to the fact that in their case, the property of the Addressee expressed by the NP is not

contextually established. In some languages that lack vocative morphology, structures with a 2nd person pronoun, of the type *you fool*, fulfill the requirement of overt marking. We proposed that the Voc heads that rule out evaluatives introduce the presupposition that the Addressee satisfies the NP-property. From a cross-linguistic perspective, Romanian evaluatives are important in showing that this type does not always involve a predicational structure (as in the *your idiot*-type discussed in Corver 2008): in Romanian, an evaluative is necessarily a [+def +voc] noun, no pronoun being allowed (*idiotule* 'idiot-the.VOC', vs. *tu idiot(ule))*. This supports the idea that the special constructions used in evaluatives have the role of clarifying the fact that the nominal predicate holds of the addressee, as this is new information. Romanian can achieve this by using overt vocative morphology, and, therefore, does not need to resort to a structure involving a 2nd person pronoun. The fact that not all [+voc] forms are used in evaluatives, but only the [+def +voc] type, was explained as an effect of the morphological properties of a nominalizing head n_A used with evaluative adjectives (under the hypothesis that this head underlies the evaluative use of non-derived nouns).

Regarding the issue of the syntactic integration of vocative phrases into the sentence, our analyses are compatible with the idea that vocatives involve Speas & Tenny's Speech Act layer (SAP; see Hill 2007; 2014; Haegeman & Hill 2013) as well as with analyses in which vocatives do not involve dedicated positions in the sentence structure (see Espinal 1991; 2013; Gutzmann 2019, and Giorgi 2023 for addresses). Nevertheless, we are sympathetic with the view that certain vocative types constitute independent speech acts, which may be integrated only at a level of discourse structure, above the sentence level (see Giorgi's (2023) proposal for calls). We have also seen that evaluative vocatives can constitute separate speech acts, although they can also occur within a sentence, as parentheticals.

An issue that could not be addressed here in detail, for space reasons, is the way in which modification constrains the choice between the various morphosyntactic types. We noticed that it is only non-identificational vocatives that are subject to restrictions regarding modification. In identificational vocatives, where the restriction of D is crucial for identifying the referent, the modification patterns and, more generally, the internal complexity of the DP are unrestricted. Finally, we suggest that the syntax of identificational vocatives should be studied in other languages, as evidence for a special syntax seems to be provided by the existence of definite vocative phrases in languages which do not normally allow definite articles with vocatives (such as English, German, Italian, Greek).

Abbreviations used in the glosses

1 = 1ˢᵗ person, 2 = 2ⁿᵈ person, 3 = 3ʳᵈ person, ACC = accusative, CL = clitic, DAT = dative, F = feminine, GEN = genitive ending, preposed genitive marker, IMPV = imperative, INTERJ = interjection, M = masculine, ORD = ordinal numeral marker, OBL = oblique (genitive-dative), P = plural, PART = particle, PTCP = participle, REFL = reflexive, S = singular, SBJV = subjunctive, SUP = superlative marker, VOC = vocative

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