

Expressive addresses and exclamative sluices

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Centro de Linguística

Overview

Introduction

Typology of expressive addresses

- PERSONAL PRONOUN + expressive noun

- DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUN + expressive noun

Intensification, exclamation and expressive meaning

Expressive addresses and the discourse

Pejorative bias

Expressive addresses and the discourse

Analysis

- Previous analysis

- Expressive addresses as exclamative sluices

 - Ingredients

 - Expressive nouns

 - Phrase-structure scheme Address

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Thanks

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- ▶ Soroosh Akef
- ▶ Naama
- ▶ Students at FLUL



TODO

SL 23?? split table for typology???

!!! scheme for addresses

!!! type shifting gutzmann

!!! Gutzmann descriptions

!! Gutzmann tree



- Update Intro: puzzles to be solved!!!

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Add section on pronouns.
Simon (2003) mentions them too

The phenonemon

Expressive address? Expressive small clauses?

Pseudo-vocatives (cf. d'Avis and Meibauer 2013)

- (1) _ℓ[Zmlkni ty
shut.up.IMP you.NOM/VOC
debil-e/idiot-e/čurák-u/děvk-o/kurv-o]_ℓ.
moron-VOC/idiot-VOC/dick-VOC/whore-VOC/whore-VOC
'You moron/idiot/dick/whore...'
CZECH
- (2) kéké-ɲɔ-((x)é) wă.
bike-owner-2S.EMPH come.IMP
'You bikeman, come!'
KOTAFON GBE
- (3) Hey Rezo, du alter Zerstörer.¹
hey Rezo you old-M.S.NOM.ST destroyer
'Hey Rezo, you old destroyer.'
GERMAN

¹Philipp Amthor in Markus Lanz show, ZDF, September 2019.

Findings

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1. Large variety of language specific construction types (cf. Potts and Roeper 2006:183–185, Gutzmann 2019:241–247, Giomi, Van Olmen, and van Oers 2025):
 - 1.1 With independent illocution
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2. Most of them involve one deictic element (personal pronoun, demonstrative, interrogative pronoun) and a degree noun
3. In many languages: Pejorative bias (cf. Giomi, Van Olmen, and van Oers 2025:Sec. 4.2.4–4.2.6, 4.2.8, confirmed by corpus data from Bulgarian)
4. Not yet clear if there are any essential uniform properties that all of languages share

@@@Main Puzzles

Main puzzles (cf. Gutzmann (2019:228) for a similar list):

1. Why are there structurally similar expressive NPs that can function as arguments in certain languages?
2. Why can expressive addresses act as independence utterances? What is their illocutionary force and where does it come from? Are they licensed by a QUD?
3. Why can expressive addresses in many languages not be used as calls (d'Avis and Meibauer 2013, Gutzmann 2019:228,240, Giomi, Van Olmen, and van Oers 2025:Sec. 3.1, 8)?
4. Why can expressive addresses be used as parentheticals?
5. Why are expressive addresses overly associated with a pejorative bias?
6. How is the subject referent of the nominal predicate identified in expressive addresses and in expressive noun phrases

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Evidence that expressive addresses are a type of address that shares essential properties with exclamatives:

Was für ein Idiot ein blöder!

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3. Involve expressive content:
 - ▶ At least in some languages: some degree of unexpectedness
 - ▶ Small clauses with expressive content (cf. Potts and Roeper 2006:197)
 - ▶ AUTONOMOUS EXPRESSIVE ADDRESSES involve exclamative operator (cf. Gutzmann 2019:241–247)

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Languages with obligatory VOCATIVE-marking such as Modern Greek and Czech only permit VOCATIVE-marking in these constructions, so the term *vocative* is well justified:

- | | | | | | |
|-----|-------|------------|------------------|---------------------------|----------|
| (4) | o | ilíthios;. | DET idiot.NOM | ‘The idiot...’ (ARGUMENT) | M. GREEK |
| (5) | (Bre) | ilíthie! | VOCprt idiot.VOC | ‘(You) idiot!’ | M. GREEK |

- (6) a. $_{\iota}$ [Zmlkni ty
shut.up.IMP you.NOM/VOC
debil-e/idiot-e/čurák-u/děvk-o/kurv-o] $_{\iota}$.
moron-VOC/idiot-VOC/dick-VOC/whore-VOC/whore-VOC
- b. * $_{\iota}$ [Zmlkni ty
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moron.NOM/idiot.NOM/dick.NOM/whore-NOM/whore-NOM

Vocative or nominative? – E. Portuguese

- (7) (Ó) (*a) sua burra!²
VOC PRT DET.FEM.S your.FEM.S donkey.FEM.S
'Stupid woman.' E. PORTUGUESE

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- Can be combined with vocative particle ó

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- ▶ Can be combined with vocative particle *ó*
- ▶ Like VOC: incompatible with definite determiner *a*

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(8) Hey lady, you dropped your piano.

- ▶ **Addresses:** Often utterance medial or final (parenthetical). Performing social relationship (cf. Droste and Günthner 2021, Leech 1999:116–117, Stavrou 2013:328–329)

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- ▶ Conclusion here: they are addresses that embed an expressive noun

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Expressive nominals in address function

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- ▶ Typologically four types of constructions can be identified (cf. Svennung 1958, Potts and Roeper 2006, d'Avis and Meibauer 2013, Van Olmen, Andersson, and Culpeper 2023, Hu and Van Olmen 2025, Giomi, Van Olmen, and van Oers 2025)
 1. PERSONAL PRONOUN + expressive noun: German, English, Czech, Polish, Dutch
 2. DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUN + expressive noun: Bulgarian, Yorùbá, Mandarin
 3. POSSESSIVE PRONOUN + expressive noun: Swedish, Danish, Portuguese
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- ▶ Generalised structure: DEICTIC MARKER {PERS.PRN, DEM.PRN, POSS.PRN, $\emptyset$ }+ expressive N

Type 1: PERSONAL PRONOUN + expressive noun

Corver (2008:47–51): Dutch (10), Czech, Polish, Kotafon independent 2S-pronoun with special form for VOCATIVE in Gawwada (East-Cushitic, 11)

- (10) Jij/*Je idioot!³
2S.STR/2S.W idiot
'You idiot!'

DUTCH

- (11) ?ata haarr-e⁴
2S.INDEP.VOC donkey-F
'hey, you donkey'

- (12) O du, mein holder Abendstern.⁵
VOCprt you my lovely evening.star

³As quoted in Corver (2008:51) = ex. ().

⁴As quoted in Tosco (2023:175) = ex. (18).

⁵Richard Wager. Wolfram's aria in *Tannhäuser*, 1845.

Type 2: DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUN + expressive noun

Bulgarian, Yorùbá (Atlantic-Congo), Wolaytta (Ta-Ne-Omoti),
Wakasa (2008:164–166, 173–175) NOMINATIVE (13) and
VOCATIVE (14)

- (13) ha kan-íya!⁶
DEM dog-NOM.F.S
'This bitch' (Insult to a woman) WOLAYTTA
- (14) ha godal-íyau, 7ái 7oott-ái⁷
DEM hyena-VOC.M.S what do-INTER.IMPF.2S
'This hyena, what are you doing?' (Insult) WOLAYTTA
- (15) wèrè yíí.
mad.person DEM
'This/you mad person.' YORÙBÁ

⁶As quoted in Wakasa (2008:164) = ex. (4.2.1.3.1-36).

⁷As quoted in Wakasa (2008:173) = ex. (4.2.1.3.3-2).



Type 2: DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUN + expressive noun 2

- (16) Ìwọ okùnrin yìí, kíní ìṣòro ẹ?
2S.EMPH man DEM what-FOC problem POSS.2S
'You this man, what is your problem?' YORÙBÁ
- (17) Eyín okùnrin wọn yìí kíní ìṣòro yin?
2P man PL DEM what-FOC problem POSS.2P
'You.FROM this man!'
'You.P these men, what is your.P problem?!' YORÙBÁ
- (18) Wo' bí ìwọ òpònú Tóbí yìí
look.IMP here 2S.EMPH idiot Tóbí POSS.2S
'Hey, Tóbí, you idiot' YORÙBÁ

Type 4: Bare expressive noun

Potts and Roeper (2006:191): Russian (19), Modern Greek (20)

- | | | |
|------|--|----------|
| (19) | Idiotka.
idiot.S.F
'Idiot.S.F!' | RUSSIAN |
| (20) | (Bre) ilíthie!
VOCPRT idiot.VOC
'(You) idiot!' | M. GREEK |

Type 3: POSSESSIVE PRONOUN + expressive noun

Svennung 1958:112–135, Corver 2008:51–52, d'Avis and Meibauer 2013:202–204: Scandinavian languages, probably originating in Latin genitive constructions.

- (21) Din idiot.
 POSS.2S idiot
 'You idiot'

SWEDISH

Type 3: POSSESSIVE PRONOUN + expressive ADJECTIVE

A variation is found in Portuguese (cf. Svennung
1958:112–135, Corver 2008:52)

- (22) Seu burro.
 POSS.3S.M stupid.S.M
 ‘You.S idiot.S.M’
- (23) Suas burras.
 POSS.3P.F stupid.P.F
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- ▶ *seu* probably no longer full POSSESSIVE pronouns
- ▶ Formally *seu/sua* encodes 3S or formal address
- ▶ Anomaly 1: but it agrees with 2S arguments
- ▶ Anomaly 2: almost exclusively combines with nouns that denote animals that have MAS and FEM forms

Expressive addresses in typological perspective

For another comprehensive typological overview consider Giomi, Van Olmen, and van Oers 2025.

	PERSONAL PRONOUN+N					DEMONSTRATIVE+N			POSSESSIVE		TYPECASTING		PARTICLE	BARE N	
	D	ENG	NL	PL	CZ	MAN	YOR	BUL	+N SWE	+A P	FR	HBR	PER	RUSS	M GR
pejorative	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
endearment	✓	✓	?	?	✓ (+POSS)	?	?	✓	?	?	?	✓	prayer	?	?
address	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	—	✓	✓
as argument	✓	?	?	?	—	?	?	—	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
case	NOM	NOM	NOM		VOC	NOM	NOM	NOM/VOC	NOM	NOM	NOM	NOM	?NOM	NOM	VOC
voc-particle	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	✓	✓	?	✓
deictic marker	1PRN	*1PRN	*1PRN	2PRN	?	?	DEM	DEM	POSS	POSS				=ADDR (1PRN)	=ADDR ?
marker doubling	2PRN	2PRN	2PRN	2PRN	2PRN	2PRN	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	N/A	N/A

Table: Expressive nouns and adjectives

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2. In many languages exclamatives or expressive addresses involve anaphoric degree adverbs e.g. Croatian *tako* (cf. Michaelis 2001:1044–1045:)
3. Some particles occur with VOCATIVES and EXCLAMATIVES,
 - ▶ Modern Greek (cf. Stavrou 2013:311–315), E. Portuguese Abreu de Carvalho (2013:53), Romanian (cf. Hill 2007:2078, 2080–2082, 2086–2090, 2092–2098)
 - ▶ Arabic *yaʔ* (cf. Al-Bataineh 2020), Kafa (cf. Theil 2023:990), Sezo (cf. Desta 2023:1042–1043) Yorùbá (cf. Akinlabí and Liberman 2000:43–44, Oláwalé 2022:2)
 - ▶ Chukchi (cf. Dunn 1999:87, 90), Central Alaskan Yupik (cf. Miyaoka 2012:794–798)

4. Exclamatives may involve some degree of unexpectedness
Michaelis and Lambrecht (1996:237–243), Michaelis
2001:1040, Zanuttini and Portner (2003:54–57) and Rett
2011:416–417

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5. Nina Rothmayr's: expressive addresses are incompatible
with COMPARATIVE and SUPERLATIVE

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2001:1040, Zanuttini and Portner (2003:54–57) and Rett
2011:416–417
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6. Determiner doubling in Upper German varieties are
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7. Some languages including Hebrew may use exclamative
sluices as expressive addresses

(24) Eyze/eyzo idiot!.
 what.MAS/FEM idiot
 'What an.MAS/FEM idiot!'

Bavarian German exhibits optional determiner doubling with degree NPs, which is only licensed by certain intensifiers and demonstrative adverbs including *so* (cf. Kallulli and Rothmayr 2008:97–100, 104–106, 131).

- (25) A ganz a [NP g'scheider Bua]!
 a very a smart-NOM.M boy
 'Quite a smart boy!'
- (26) A so a [NP fester Trottel]!
 a such a tight idiot
 'Such an idiot!'

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- Can be used in similar functions as expressive noun and as exclamative sluices

Determiner doubling with expressive addresses

Also found with expressive addresses (cf. Gutzmann (2019:205–207)) and other expressive nouns, adjectives can even be stranded but only with pejorative meaning:

- (27) Du [NP Beidl]_i du schiecher _____i!
you dick you ugly-M.S.NOM
'You ugly dick!' VIENNESE GERMAN
- (28) Die [NP Funs'n]_i die depperte _____i!!
the arrogant.woman the stupid-F.S.NOM
'That stupid cow!' VIENNESE GERMAN

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 ‘That stupid cow!’ VIENNESE GERMAN
- ▶ Only with expressive meaning if doubling occurs
 - ▶ Similar: *Scheiße_i verdammte _____i* (‘shit_i damned _____i’)!

Determiner doubling: positive evaluation

Determiner doubling also available with positive evaluation

- (29) Den köstlichen Kuchen den(, den) werde
the.ACC tasty cake the.ACC the.ACC will
ich niemals vergessen .
I never forget-INF

‘I won’t forget that delicious cake anytime soon. ’

- (30) Du Glückspilz du musst heute keinen
you.NOM lucky.dog-NOM you.NOM must today no
Eintritt bezahlen.
admission pay-INF

‘You lucky dog, you don’t have to pay admission today!.’

Determiner doubling: no neutral meaning

- (31) Auf euch Linguisten euch ist einfach kein
on you.ACC linguist-ACC you.ACC is simply no
Verlass.
rely
'You linguists (insult/praise) just can't be relied upon.'
- (32) # Mit euch Linguisten euch treffen wir uns
with you.DAT linguist-DAT you.DAT meet we REFL
gerne.
with.pleasure
'It's a pleasure to meet you linguists (insult/??praise).'

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Expressive addresses and the discourse

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- ▶ SPKR's judgement of the ADDR not yet discourse given
- ▶ SPKR's judgement motivated by an event salient in discourse (cf. Jain 2021:378)
- ▶ Recency, appears to play a role, similar as with exclamatives (cf. Rett and Murray 2013)

@@@@@Defective pronouns

English: no plural feature Defective phi-features Jain
(2021:369): no plural possible in english
portuguese:
seu does not mean 3rd person anymore

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So wahr es ist, daß diese oft Köstliches und Häßliches nennen, so offenkundig greifen wenigstens die intimsten Kosewörter manchmal in den andern Topf; und der Appell Sie Ehrenmann! kann eine Beleidigung sein. Ein Bonner Student soll einmal, so geht die Fama, im Wettkampf das schimpftüchtigste Marktwieb mit den Namen des griechischen und hebräischen Alphabetes allein (,Sie Alpha! Sie Beta!...') zum Schweigen und Weinen gebracht haben. Eine psychologisch glaubwürdige Geschichte, weil beim Schimpfen wie in der Musik fast alles auf den ,Ton' ankommt.

Bühler (1934:32)

Pejorative Bias with German expressive addresses

Everything is tailored to the third, to an appeal function in the strict sense in the language of commands, for example, and tailored to appeal and expression in balance with each other in words of endearment and abuse. Though it is true that words for charming or nasty things are often used for endearment and abuse respectively, at least the most intimate terms of endearment often obviously reach into the other pot; and the address you gentleman can also be an insult. It is rumoured that a student in Bonn once reduced his competitor, the most foul-mouthed market woman, to silence and to tears only by using the names of the Greek and the Hebrew alphabets ('you alpha!, you beta!'). A psychologically plausible story, because in swearing, as in music, everything depends on the tone.

Bühler (2011:39)

translated by Donald Fraser Goodwin



CLUL

36/70

Pejorative Bias with German expressive addresses

- ▶ Similar observations for German: Nehring (1933:128), Vater (2000:193–194), d'Avis and Meibauer (2013:210), Gutzmann (2019:230–232, 250–252)

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Results of corpus study on Bulgarian

To get 200 results: 489 hits (cf. van Olmen et al 2023: 1604 for Dutch, 284 for English, 797 for Polish).

Annotated for:

- ▶ rude/impolite?¹ - yes/no
- ▶ does it have an adjective?¹ - Yes/No/Complex NP
- ▶ meta?¹ (participants discussing the meaning of the phrase) - yes/no
- ▶ evaluative polarity literal⁰ - yes/no (yes: bad word=bad meaning; no: good word=bad meaning)
- ▶ . vocative?⁰ - yes/no/irrelevant (e.g. mass nouns like *sgan/svoloč* 'group' or specific words like *tvar* 'being/thing')
- ▶ free text notes

Note: Categories marked with ¹ were also tested in van Olmen et al. (2023), in addition to sg/pl and a qualitative analysis of the specific noun

Totals out of 200:

Meta: 0; Eval.polarity literal: all

Adj: 157 (78.59%) no, 37 (18.5%) yes, 6 complex NP

Rude: 188 (94%) rude, 12 (6%) not rude

Overt vocative: 129 (64.5%) no, 39 (19.5%) yes, 30 irrelevant; 2 special

Adjective	Rude		VOC		
	yes	no	yes	no	irr
157 no	145	12	38	98	19
37 yes	37	0	1	36	8
6 complex NP	6	0	0	3	3

Table: Results for 200 hits of feminine NP+*such* in BgTenTen21 corpus

Adj x Rude: Fisher $p = 0.128$ not significant but a trend

Adj x Voc: Fisher $p = 0.0059$ strongly associated



Our results compared to the van Olmen et al. (2023) findings:

► Overall rate of impoliteness

	Dutch	English	Polish	Bulgarian
Impolite	137	150	184	188
% ratio	68.5%	75%	92%	94%

Discussion of Study 1

Our results compared to the van Olmen et al. (2023) findings:

► Rate of adjective modification

	Dutch	English	Polish	Bulgarian
Adj	102	105	48	37
No-adj	98	95	152	157
% ratio	51%	52.50%	24%	19.1%
AdjxRude	yes (+adj -rude)	yes	no**(trend) (+adj -rude)	no*(trend) (-adj w -rude)

“The reason why the NPs with adjectives exhibit a lower ratio of impolite instances appears to be same as in Dutch too: the nouns in the non-impolite cases **need modification more often to secure a non-negative evaluation** - as in *you gorgeous girl* - or to ‘alter’ it - as in *you romantic bastard*.” (p. 34; bold ours)

→ our results show that it is not necessarily so

Non-impolite cases

Total: 12/200

- ▶ 7 sexual: 3x *izkusitelka* 'seductress'; 2x *palavnitsa* 'playgirl'; 1x *milfke* 'MILF'; 1x *krasavitsa* 'beautiful.person'
- ▶ 3 playful/friendly banter: *bŭrborica* 'talkative.person'; 1x *zabravanka* 'forgetful.person'; 1x *zakačko* '≈joker'
- ▶ 2 truly positive: *krasota* 'beauty'; *vdŭxnovitelka* 'inspirerer'

Strongly in line with findings by van Olmen et al. (2023), where sexual and playful were the highest non-impolite categories

	Impolite	NOT-impolite	Total
VOC=yes	36	3	39
VOC=no	121	8	129
Total	157	11	168

Table: Contingency table for VOC $\times$ RD

χ^2 and Fisher tests show no statistically significant effect of VOC $\times$ RUDE ($p \approx 0.74/76$)

Cf. Girvin (2013): VOC in Bulgarian is associated with emotive evaluation but can be positive or negative

Disclaimer: very little data in the not-impolite category

Surprising additional result:
Entire utterance vs part of utterance

	whole yes	whole no
VOC yes	1	38
VOC no	51	77

Fisher exact test: $p < 0.00001$ highly significant:

VOC strongly prefers to be part of a longer utterance

Always pejorative?

Nehring (1933:128) also neutral (33), always characterisation of the ADDR:

- (33) Was unterstehen Sie sich, Sie
what dare you.FORM REFL you.FORM
junger Mann!
young-M.S.NOM man
'How dare you, you young man!'
- (34) Du liebes Kind, komm, geh mit mir!⁸
you dear child come go.IMP with me
'Oh, come, thou dear infant! oh come thou with me!'
(transl. Edgar Alfred Bowring.)
- (35) »Ohh, Sie schamloser Charmeur, Sie!«
oh you.FORM shameless charmeur you.FORM
sagte ich sozusagen kokett und setzte mich.⁹
said I so.to.speak
"Ohh, you shameless charmer, you!" I said coquettishly, so



Systematic exceptions??

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- ▶ D: *Du alter* + NP,

Plan

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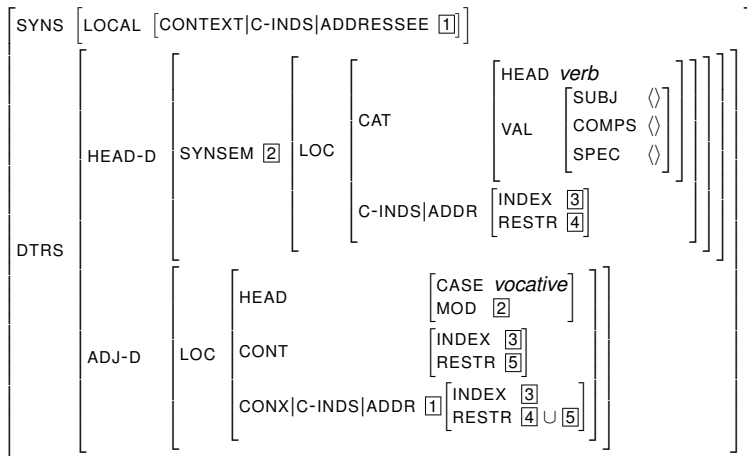
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- ▶ Vocative NP adjoined to Sentence level
- ▶ Head-daughter has a verbal head, all arguments saturated (=S)
- ▶ No treatment of standalone vocatives, vocatives occurring with non-verbal utterances

Vocatives in HPSG: Head-adjunct structure



Keizer (2015:61–62, 65–66, 2016:190–191) Giomi, Van Olmen, and van Oers (2025:Sec. 1.2)

- (36) a. Clean it yourself, you lazy whatsit!
- b. $A_I : [(F_I : \text{INTERP}(F_I))(P_I)_S(P_J : \text{you}(P_J))_A(C_I : [(T_I : \text{--lazy whatsit--}(T_I))(C_I)))(A_I))$
- c.

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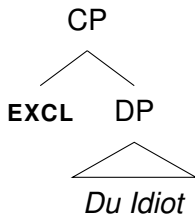
- ▶ English has seven (?atomic) sentence types: e.g.
EXCLAMATIVE, INTERPELLATIVE
- ▶ Expressive vocatives and vocatives in general:
INTERPELLATIVE
- ▶ Problem: how to account for parallel behaviour between
exclamative sluices and expressive addresses

Use-conditional analysis (cf. Gutzmann 2019:232–247)

- ▶ *du*+NP are expressive signaling a heightened emotion of the SPKR (p.43)
- ▶ Three different types – three different structures
 1. 'integrated' *Du Idiot kommst zu spät/Dieser Idiot kommt zu spät*
 - ▶ second person pronoun + expressive modification
 - ▶ do not have many vocative-like features
 2. parenthetical *Du Idiot, du bist zu spät*
 - ▶ vocative operator + second person pronoun + expressive modification
 3. autonomous *Du Idiot!*
 - ▶ exclamation + second person pronoun + expressive modification

Syntax of autonomous vocatives (cf. Gutzmann 2019:232–247)

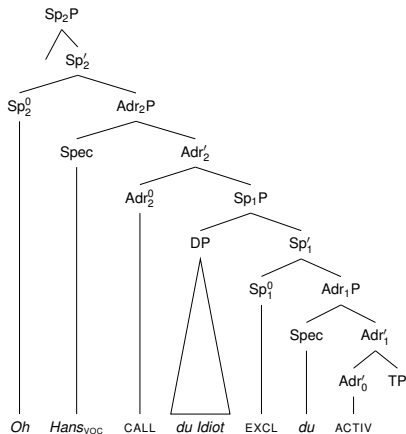
General idea:



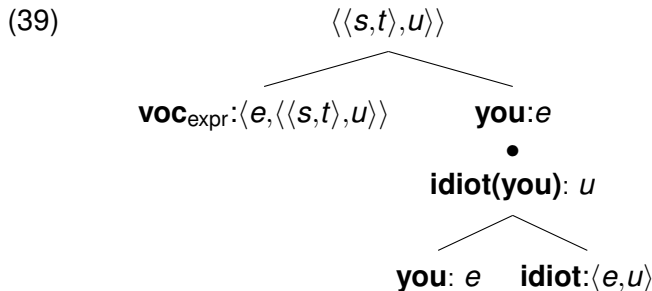
Syntactic combination of VOCs (cf. Gutzmann 2019:232–247)

(37) Oh Hans, du Idiot, du

(38)



Semantics of autonomous vocatives (cf. Gutzmann 2019:250–251)



- ▶ pronoun
- ▶ In contrast call functions take an argument of type $\langle e, t \rangle$ (p.250)
- ▶ Inconsistency: Gutzmann takes du to be a second person determiner, but semantic type e rather than $\langle \langle e, t \rangle, \langle e, t \rangle, t \rangle$ (cf. Heim and Kratzer 1998:146–147 referring to Lewis, Montague, Barwise/Cooper 1986)

- ▶ **voc**_{call} is of type: $\langle\langle e, t \rangle, \langle\langle s, t \rangle, u \rangle\rangle$
 - ▶ needs a noun of the type $\langle e, t \rangle$
 - ▶ *eVocs* are of the type *e* (or in McCready style the shunted type u^s)

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Main claimsI

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1. Expressive content is introduced by a type-shifting rule at the level of the NP
2. Expressive NPs are built in a similar way as exclamative NPs
3. Personal pronouns and determiner form one natural class (cf. Vater 2000, Gutzmann 2019:253–258)
4. In general, addresses are an independent illocutionary acts as proposed by Ginzburg and Kim (2023:20–21)

5. Addresses are licensed by same similar phrase-structure scheme as the scheme for exclamative sluices as proposed by Ginzburg and Kim (2023:21–22)

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7. Independent speech acts can occur as parentheticals
8. Addresses occur as parentheticals (cf. Levinson 1983:71, Dehé 2009:570–571, 575, 610, 2014:3,43 Espinal 2013:310, 315–316, Stavrou 2013:325–326, Slocum 2016:159–196 and D’Alessandro and Oostendorp 2016:69, Haddad 2020)

Gutzmann (2019:251) expressive type shifter:

$$(40) \quad \lambda p. !p(x) : \langle \langle e, t \rangle, \langle e, u \rangle, \rangle$$

$$(41) \quad \llbracket ! \rrbracket^u \lambda P. \lambda x \{ c : \\ c_S \text{ has negative feelings toward } x \text{ because } x \text{ is } P \}$$

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- ▶ Takes a common noun
- ▶ Returns a noun with non-at-issue content 'speaker has negative feelings toward x because x is P

Variation of expressive nouns

- Determiner doubling also occurs also with arguments, when they are expressive nouns

Variation of expressive nouns

- ▶ Determiner doubling also occurs also with arguments, when they are expressive nouns
- ▶ Typological difference (cf. Giomi, Van Olmen, and van Oers (2025:Sec. 3.3, 4.2))
 1. Expressive address that only allow for pejorative use (e.g. Persian, French *espèce de*)
 2. Expressive address that allow for pejorative and positive use (e.g. German, ?E. Portuguese)
 3. Neutral address

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 2. Expressive address that allow for pejorative and positive use (e.g. German, ?E. Portuguese)
 3. Neutral address
- ▶ Probably: different type-shifting rules for different languages

(42) $\lambda p. !p(x) : \langle \langle e, t \rangle, \langle e, u \rangle, \rangle$

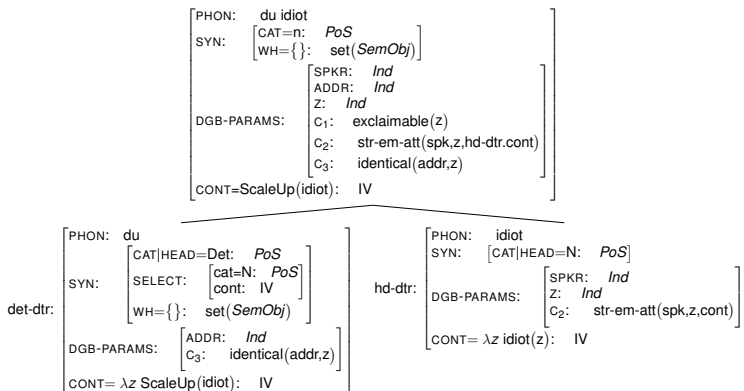
(43) $\llbracket ! \rrbracket^u \lambda P. \lambda x \{ c : c_S \text{ has strong} \\ \text{contextually supplied emotions } x \text{ because } x \text{ is } P \}$

(42) $\lambda p. !p(x) : \langle \langle e, t \rangle, \langle e, u \rangle, \rangle$

(43) $[[!]]^u \lambda P. \lambda x \{c : c_S \text{ has strong}$
contextually supplied emotions x because x is $P\}$

- ▶ Type of emotion contextually supplied by:
 - ▶ voice
 - ▶ descriptive content of NP
 - ▶ immediate utterance context
 - ▶ socio-cultural factors
 - ▶ ...

Expressive NPs modelled after exclamatives wh-Phrases following Ginzburg and Kim (2023:20–21) and Hassen, Ginzburg, and Abeillé (2025:19)

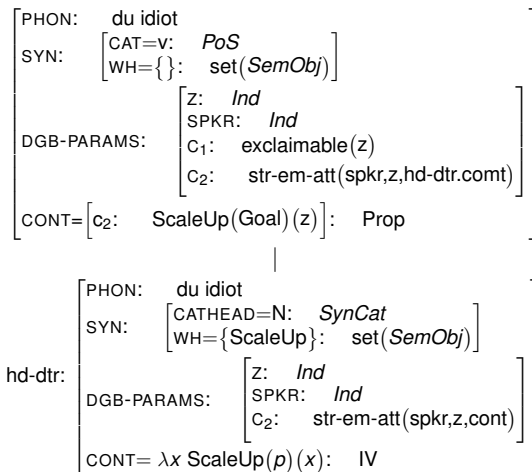


- ▶ Non-sentential utterance with a phonologically unrealised verbal head (cf. Ginzburg 2012:231–234, 239, 248, Ginzburg and Kim's 2023:21–22)

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- ▶ Contributes that subject referent of NP predicate is *exclaimable* (= salient in context)
- ▶ Expressive content is 'inherited' from the expressive NP

Phrase structure scheme Address



Phrase structure scheme Address

$$\begin{array}{c}
 \left[\begin{array}{l}
 \text{PHON: } \text{du idiot} \\
 \text{SYN: } \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{CAT=v: } PoS \\ \text{WH=\{\}}: \text{set}(SemObj) \end{array} \right] \\
 \text{DGB-PARAMS: } \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{Z: } Ind \\ \text{SPKR: } Ind \\ \text{C}_1: \text{exclaimable}(z) \\ \text{C}_2: \text{str-em-att}(spkr, z, \text{hd-dtr.comt}) \end{array} \right] \\
 \text{CONT= } \left[\text{C}_2: \text{ScaleUp}(\text{Goal})(z) \right]: \text{Prop}
 \end{array} \right] \\
 | \\
 \text{hd-dtr: } \left[\begin{array}{l}
 \text{PHON: } \text{du idiot} \\
 \text{SYN: } \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{CATHEAD=N: } SynCat \\ \text{WH=\{ScaleUp\}}: \text{set}(SemObj) \end{array} \right] \\
 \text{DGB-PARAMS: } \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{Z: } Ind \\ \text{SPKR: } Ind \\ \text{C}_2: \text{str-em-att}(spkr, z, \text{cont}) \end{array} \right] \\
 \text{CONT= } \lambda x \text{ ScaleUp}(p)(x): IV
 \end{array} \right]
 \end{array}$$



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Summary tendencies

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1. Typological variation among expressive addresses in the world languages
2. Expressive addresses clearly are independent speech acts in most of these languages
3. Systematic parallels with exclamative sluices
 - 3.1 Similar strategies of marking
 - 3.2 Convey expressive/non-at-issue meaning
4. Expressive addresses are expressive NPs embedded in address



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