

Expressive addresses and exclamative sluices

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1 The phenomenon

Crosslinguistically, a range of linguistic strategies are employed to encode expressive vocatives. For many languages, there is more than one of these strategies available, but often there is one clear preference. The diversity of linguistic strategies ranges from addressee-oriented POSSESSIVE pronoun + N in Swedish and European Portuguese (cf. 1), to DEMONSTRATIVE pronouns + N in Bulgarian, Yorùbá (Atlantic-Congo) and Wolayatta (TaNe-Omotic, cf. 2), to simple PERSONAL pronouns + N as in Gawwada (Cushitic cf. 3), Mandarin (cf. 4), Czech (cf. 5), Kotafon Gbe (Atlantic-Congo, cf. 6), German and English, to special expressive vocative particles, including *ey* in Persian (cf. 7), ‘typecasting’ as in French and Hebrew (cf. 8) and bare nouns as in Russian or Modern Greek (cf. 9). See Potts and Roeper 2006:183–185, Halmøy (2016:298–300), Yousef and Torabi 2018:45, Shormani and Ali Qarabesh 2018 Gutzmann 2019:241–247, Jain 2021:368–372 and Giomi, Van Olmen, and van Oers 2025:3–7) for further typological overviews.

- (1) (Ó) sua burra!¹
VOCprt your.FEM.S stupid.FEM.S
‘Stupid woman.’ E. PORTUGUESE

- (2) ha godal-íyau, 7ái
DEM hyena-VOC.M.S what
7oott-ái²
do-INTER.IMPF.2S
‘This hyena, what are you doing?’ (Insult)
WOLAYTTA

- (3) ʔata haarr-e³
2S.INDEP.VOC donkey-F
‘Hey, you donkey!’ GAWWADA
- (4) ni ge hundan⁴
2S CLF bastard
‘You bastard.’ MANDARIN
- (5) _i[Zmlkni ty
shut.up.IMP you.NOM/VOC
debil-e/idiot-e/čurák-u/
moron-VOC/idiot-VOC/dick-VOC/
děvk-o/kurv-o]_i.
whore-VOC/whore-VOC
‘You moron/idiot/dick/whore...’ CZECH
- (6) kéké-nɔ-((x)é) wă.
bike-owner-2S.EMPH come.IMP
‘You bikeman, come!’ KOTAFON GBE
- (7) Ey mādar-ghahbe.⁵
VOCprt mother-whore
‘O you son of a whore!’ (lit. whore mother)
PERSIAN
- (8) ya xaticat metumtemet⁶
VOCprt piece.of stupid.FEM.S
‘You stupid.’ HEBREW
- (9) (Bre) ilíthie!
VOCprt idiot.VOC
‘(You) idiot!’ M. GREEK

These constructions have received various labels, including *evaluative vocatives* (cf. Corver 2008), *expressive vocative* (cf. Gutzmann 2019), *pseudo-vocatives* (cf. d’Avis and Meibauer 2013), *expres-*

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

³As quoted in Tosco (2023:175) = ex. (18).

⁴As quoted in Giomi, Van Olmen, and van Oers 2025:3 = (ex.

2).

⁵As quoted in Yousef and Torabi (2018:45).

⁶As quoted in Giomi, Van Olmen, and van Oers 2025:5 = (ex.

9).

sive small clauses (cf. Potts and Roeper 2006:183–185), *insults* (cf. Giomi, Van Olmen, and van Oers 2025). Given that languages with obligatory or optional vocative marking for calls and addresses, such as Czech, Greek (both obligatory), as well as Portuguese, Gawwada, Kotafon and Hebrew (all optional) employ all vocative markers in these constructions and are incompatible with definite 3rd person determiner, the term vocative seems to be the most appropriate here, however, acknowledging that they cannot be used in the call function, see Jain (2021:269–270) for a similar reasoning. Since this type vocative construction is only compatible with the address function, it will more adequately be referred to as *expressive address* henceforth. However, there is broad agreement that this type of utterance constitute an illocution type of its own.

All these patterns have in common that they convey a heightened emotional state of the speaker, which cannot be contested by the other speech participant, and thus constitute non-at-issue meaning Potts’ (2005) terminology. For most of these languages these expressive vocatives show a strong bias towards a pejorative interpretation, or the pejorative version is more productive (cf. Vater 2000:193–194, d’Avis and Meibauer 2013:210, Gutzmann 2019, Jain 2021:372–375, Giomi, Van Olmen, and van Oers 2025). This is further confirmed by a corpus study based on the Bulgarian dataset from *OpenSubtitles*: in a random sample of 200 masculine and 200 feminine tokens for NP+‘such’), 170 and 168, respectively, were used pejoratively, and only five and eight, respectively, expressed an endearing attitude notably still used a pejorative NP (e.g. *I love you, you fool*).

However, there are also languages and constructions that license a positive evaluation of the addressee, including endearments and appraisals, as in (10–11). German, for instance, has a specific 2s+ *alter* ‘old’ + N-construction that is used as a playful yet friendly form of address (12).

- (10) Ìwọ okùnrin yìí
2S.EMPH man DEM
‘You this man!’ YORUBÁ
- (11) Bis bald, Ihr sexy Zauberwesen!⁷
till later you.2P sexy magical.beings.
‘See ya, you sexy magical beings!’ GERMAN

⁷Announcement for a party posted in a Berlin telegram group, October 2025.

- (12) Hey Rezo, du alter
hey Rezo you old-M.S.NOM.ST
Zerstörer.⁸
destroyer
‘Hey Rezo, you old destroyer.’ GERMAN

Likewise, there is an archaic vocative particle *ey* in Persian, which precedes vocative nouns in prayers or curses but is not used for simply calling someone (cf. Yousef and Torabi 2018:45). A simplified and incomplete overview over the discussed data is given in Table 1.

2 Expressive vocatives and *such-exclamative sluices*

Despite the considerable intra-language and cross-linguistic variation, the vast majority of these expressive types of address exhibit very similar properties, which closely resemble those of exclamative sluices (cf. Ginzburg and Kim 2023).

First, much like exclamatives, expressive addresses are restricted to NPs that denote gradable degree properties, in the sense of Kennedy and McNally (2005). This is evident in the patterns found in many German varieties including the Viennese (13a), where doubling of the pronoun or determiner is possible, a pattern otherwise only found intensifiers such as *sehr* ‘very’ and *ganz* ‘completely’, (cf. Kallulli and Rothmayr 2008:97–100, 104–106, 131). These patterns occur with second-person pronouns, determiners and the demonstrative adverb *so*, the direct counterpart of *such* in English which occurs in exclamative sluices as discussed by Ginzburg and Kim (2023:24, 26–29).

- (13) a. Du Gfrast_i^{H*LL} du deppertes
you brat you stupid-NEU.S.NOM
—i du —i!
you
‘You stupid brat!’
- b. Das Gfrast_i^{H*LL}
DET.NEU.S.NOM idiot
das depperte
DET.NEU.S.NOM stupid-NEU.S.NOM
—i das —i!
DET.NEU.S.NOM
‘That stupid brat!’

⁸Philipp Amthor in Markus Lanz show, ZDF, September 2019.

	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	cz	?	DEM	DEM	POSS	POSS				=ADDR	=ADDR
	2PRN	2PRN	2PRN	2PRN	2PRN	2PRN	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	(1PRN)	?
marker doubling	✓	—	—	?	—	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	N/A	N/A

Table 1: Expressive nouns and adjectives

- c. Ein SO_i^{H*LL} ein deppertes Gfrast;
a such a stupid brat
‘Such a stupid brat!’
- d. Ein SO_i^{H*LL} ein Gfrast; ein deppertes
a such a brat a stupid
—_i
‘Such a stupid brat!’

Second, the use of expressive addresses always indicates that a certain property holds to a degree higher than expected by the speaker. This is reminiscent of the semantics observed with exclamatives, as noted by Michaelis and Lambrecht (1996:237–243), Michaelis (2001:1040), Zanuttini and Portner (2003:54–57) and Rett (2011:416–417).

The relevance of gradable degree properties in expressive addresses is further confirmed by Rothmayr’s (2025) observation that expressive addresses are less compatible with COMPARATIVE and SUPERLATIVE forms of adjectives. These forms are only felicitous if a set of individuals of the same type, denoted by the noun, is contextually available:

- (14) Du dümmster von allen Linguisten!⁹
you dumb-SUP of all linguists
‘You dumbest of all linguists!’

Third, expressive addresses can be felicitously uttered only when the circumstances that motivate the speaker’s emotional expression involve recent information that has not yet been shared between the speaker and the addressee (cf. Jain 2021:378). This is reminiscent of miratives, which are subject to a similar restriction (cf. Rett and Murray 2013:457, Rett 2021:197).

Fourth, there are certain languages like Hebrew that may use exclamative sluices like *Eyze/eyzo idiot! What an.MAS/FEM idiot!* as expressive addresses to make reference to the addressee.

⁹Quoted as in Rothmayr (2025:1) = ex. (3).

Interestingly, languages differ in which types of speech participants are permitted in these patterns (cf. Rauh 2004:80, Gutzmann 2019:198, 203). German allows reference to the speaker (*ich Trottel ich*) as well as the addressee, and even to participants not involved in the conversation (*der Idiot der*), whereas English does not allow speaker reference. Another notable detail is that German bans the use of 3rd pronouns, requiring a demonstrative pronoun instead. From this, we conclude that Indo-European languages impose a requirement for some form of pronoun that has a deictic feature, either speaker- or addressee-related pronouns (as in German, Swedish and Portuguese) or a demonstrative pronoun (as in Bulgarian).

Given the parallel behaviour of expressive addresses and (*wh*-)exclamative sluices, we will be shown that Ginzburg and Kim’s (2023:21–22) analysis of exclamative sluices as non-sentential utterances can be largely extended to expressive addresses as well.

To conclude, expressive addresses are treated here as an illocutionary act closely related to exclamatives. Note that Gutzmann (2019:241–247) pointed out a similar parallel between expressive addresses and exclamatives in that he assumes that the former can be uttered as an exclamation. He posits an operation *D-exclamation* that eliminates the truth-conditional content p from an expressive DP such that only the expressive/use-conditional content $q : u$ remains.

- (15) D-exclamation
A DP with semantic content $\langle p, q : u \rangle$ can be uttered as an exclamation. The resulting D-exclamation has only use-conditional content A DP with semantic content $q : u$

Notice that Gutzmann’s notation invites for misinterpretation as the expression in angle brackets $\langle p, q : u \rangle$ is obviously not intended to a interpreted

as semantic type but as a conjunction of the truth-conditional and expressive dimension of meaning.

3 Analysis

In addition to the evident parallels between expressive addresses and exclamative sluices illustrated above, a successful analysis has to account for the following puzzles, see 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

In what follows, it will be shown that the behaviour of expressive addresses can be modelled by adapting much of Ginzburg and Kim's (2012:227–229, 2023:20–23) analysis of nominal exclamative sluices in English. Given the diversity of expressive nouns and vocatives and diverging uses across languages, as illustrated in Table 1, the present paper confines itself to offering theoretical tools with which this range of observations can be adequately captured. Upper German will serve as the starting point, as it boasts an extremely diverse range of uses for expressive nouns and expressive addresses.

After reviewing previous proposals in Section 3.1, Puzzle 1 will be addressed in Section 3.2 and Puzzle 2, 3 and 4 in Section 3.3.

3.1 Previous accounts

In Functional Discourse Grammar Hengeveld and Mackenzie (2008:78–79) and Keizer (2016:190–191) treat vocatives and expressive addresses as separate interpellative illocutionary acts in which a predicate or evaluation is ascribed to the addressee. Building on this framework, Giomi, Van Olmen, and van Oers (2025:Sec. 4.2) identify eight variations of expressive addresses which they consider as subtypes of interpellative or evaluative illocutionary acts.

In his analysis of German autonomous expressive addresses, Gutzmann (2019:245) assumes that, syntactically, they are CPs that host an exclamative operator in C^0 which takes an expressive DP as its argument. The expressive DP is composed of the pronoun *you*, which Gutzmann (2019:253, 255–259) treats as a determiner being subcategorised for an NP with the expressive feature [+EXPR]. With respect to the semantic aspects of this construction, Gutzmann (2019:250, 253) assigns the semantic type *e* to the determiner, which is combined with the type shifted expressive noun of the type $\langle e, u \rangle$. In his analysis, there is some inconsistency between the syntax and the semantics of the pronoun *you*, since on the one hand it is syntactically transitive acting as a head that selects an NP-complement, but on the other hand it is semantically intransitive being of the type *e*, which is fairly unusual for the meaning of a determiner.

Jain (2021:378) treats English expressive addresses as mechanisms of expressive labelling, expressing the SPEAKER's emotional relation towards the ADDRESSEE.

Other authors too, consider expressive addresses as some sort of defective predication. Rothmayr (2025) assumes that they are defective predications that do not trigger any presuppositions.

3.2 The grammar of the expressive noun phrase

There are three important characteristics of the expressive NP that need to be accounted for: (i) What is the internal structure? (ii) what contributes the expressive content? (iii) What contributes the intensification?

Parallel behaviour of personal pronouns and definite article has lead many authors to assume that these elements form a natural class in many languages. One influential approach building on Abney's (1987) DP-hypothesis is to treat personal pro-

nouns as intransitive determiners, hence D^0 heads, as proposed by Vater (2000) and Gutzmann (2019:253–258). Alternatively, adopting a DP-less architecture of NPs, one can assume that first- and second-person pronouns are determiner that are selected by the following noun (cf. Machicao y Priemer 2017:243 following Postal 1969 and Machicao y Priemer and Müller 2021 for detailed discussion). We believe that both analyses are feasible and remain agnostic as to which more empirically and theoretically promising.

The fact that vocatives preceded by the second person determiner *du* as well as common NPs preceded by definite determiners in argument and adjunct positions can be used either in a non-expressive or in an expressive manner raises the question of where exactly the expressive dimension is introduced. At the level of the vocative or at the level of the noun.

Arguably the syntactic pattern of determiner doubling belongs to expressive nouns. Whenever a definite determiner is doubled, the only interpretation that remains is an expressive one, even when the noun is used as an argument or adjunct as in (16–17):

- (16) Den köstlichen Kuchen den(,
the.ACC tasty cake the.ACC
den) werde ich niemals vergessen .
the.ACC will I never forget-INF
'I won't forget that delicious cake anytime soon.'
- (17) Auf euch Linguisten euch
on you.ACC linguist-ACC you.ACC is
ist einfach kein Verlass.
simply no rely
'You (linguists) just can't be relied upon.'

Notice that even in sentences that do not contain any noun with a conventional expressive use, such as *Linguist*, the noun will be coerced into an insult, which was already known to both speech participants before the moment of utterance.

This is new evidence in support of Gutzmann's 2019:229–232 proposal to apply a type shifting operator that applies at the level of the noun phrase thereby transforming the latter into an expressive noun phrase.

There is a large variety of expressive noun phrases that may refer to referent other than the ADDRESSEE, such as French constructions involving possessive pronouns, e.g. *mon amour* 'my love' and demonstrative pronouns, e.g. *cet idiot* 'this idiot'.

As one reviewer points out, there are related expressive constructions in German as exemplified in

(18). However, contrary to the reviewer's suggestion, we do not take these as simple canonical NPs. The quantifier *alles* does not agree in gender and number with the noun *Idioten*. The fact that it can be replaced by the modifier *allesamt* which requires the presence of a verb or predicate suggests that this pattern is a shortened form of a complete sentence (19). The reduced acceptability of the configuration in Example (20) casts doubt on whether *alles* and *Idioten* form a single syntactic constituent. This pattern differs significantly from expressive addresses and therefore requires separate investigation.

- (18) Alles/allesamt Idioten!¹⁰
all-NEU.S/all.together idiots.MAS.P
'(They are) all idiots!'
- (19) Das sind alles/allesamt Idioten!
all idiots are that
'They are all idiots.'
- (20) ?? Alles/Allesamt Idioten sind das!
all idiots are that

Puzzle 1 can be accurately solved by assuming that definite determiner doubling is a syntactic construction that exclusively selects degree NPs bearing the feature [+EXPR].

As the Examples (1–8) illustrate, most of the constructions feature some sort of pronoun that involves a deictic dimension. In this respect, they resemble exclamative sluices, which in many Indo-European languages involve interrogative or demonstrative pronouns. It is noteworthy that in some languages the pronouns in expressive addresses have become defective or display some kind of anomaly. Formally, the Portuguese pronoun *seus/sua* encodes 3rd person or formal address, yet it agrees with common familiar 2nd person subjects and ADDRESSEES. Similarly, English *you* in expressive addresses no longer agrees with plural subjects, despite historically being a plural form (cf. Jain 2021:369).

It is assumed here that these pronouns fulfill the same function as the interrogative pronoun in exclamative sluices contributing the semantics of an intensifier that points to an unexpectedly high degree of a property. This is formalised by means of the *ScaleUp*-property as proposed by Ginzburg and Kim's (2023). As they assume, exclamative *wh*-phrases act as intensifiers indicating that the property expressed by the noun holds to a very high de-

¹⁰<https://www.droemer-knaur.de/buch/thoma-s-erikson-alles-idioten-9783426791080>

gree. This is modelled by means of an abstract predicate called $ScaleUp(P)(x)$ of the type $\langle\langle e, t \rangle, \langle e, t \rangle\rangle$ (=IV(IV) in Montague’s abbreviated notation for intransitive verb or predicate), which selects both a degree property and an individual which conveys that the property P holds of x to a very high degree.

- (21) a. $ScaleUp:(IV)IV$
 b. $e:ScaleUp(P)(x)$ for some δ : degree, s :
 $Scale [P(x, \delta) \wedge High(\delta, s)]$

Turning to the internal structure of expressive addresses, we adopt the analysis of exclamative *wh*-phrase as suggested by Ginzburg and Kim (2023:20–21), assuming the deictic pronoun/determiner takes the place of the exclamative *wh*-pronoun.

3.3 Exclamative illocutionary force of autonomous expressive addresses

Turning to their speech act properties, it is assumed that expressive addresses are non-sentential utterances that receive their illocutionary force through a unary phrase-structure scheme.

According to the taxonomy suggested by Ginzburg (2012:231–234, 239, 248), there are two main syntactic types of non-sentential utterances. The first type is headed by an adverb, such as *such* as response particles *yes* and *no* or sentential adverbs such as *probably*. The second type is considered as a defective clause headed by a phonologically unrealised verb such as with short answers or sluices.

As illustrated in Figure 1, the mother selects a type shifted expressive noun that displays all the characteristics consistent with the expressive meaning proposed by Gutzmann (2019:250–253).

Following Gutzmann, the type shifter $!$ adds the expressive content that the speaker ‘has negative feelings towards x because x is P ’.

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

- (23) $[[!linguist]]''\lambda x\{c :$
 C_s has negative feelings toward x
 because x is a linguist}

The output of this type shifting operation is implemented in the scheme in Figure 1 as part of the expressive noun’s *Dialogue Game Board* which represent the non-at-issue content of a sign. In addition to Ginzburg and Kim’s (2023) analysis of exclamative sluices, it becomes necessary to assume that

the embedded noun contributes non-at-issue meaning, as a result of being type-shifted from a common noun to an expressive noun, as proposed by Gutzmann (2019:250–253). By virtue of the DGB-principle proposed by Ginzburg (2012:126), the content of each daughter node is always collected and passed up to the mother node. The DGB-principle therefore has exactly the same effect as the interplay of Gutzmann’s (2019:217) ordinary and expressive functional application, but is formulated in a much simpler way.

The predicate relations c_2 and c_3 inside the DGB-value of the expressive noun corresponds to the non-at-issue-meaning contributed by the type-shifter $!$ that the speaker has a negative attitude about the addressee because p is true of x .

Note that, by virtue of its inherent deictic semantics, the 2s pronoun plays here the same role as the deictic adverb *such*, both sharing the property of deictically pointing to high degree of a property salient in the utterance situation. Following Ginzburg and Kim (2023:27–29) the pronoun’s feature WH is the empty set to ensure that it cannot be embedded under predicates like *reveal*.

Turning to semantic structure of expressive addresses, Giomi, Van Olmen, and van Oers (2025:2), without acknowledging their behaviour parallel to exclamative sluices, also suggest in their analysis within the framework of *Functional Discourse Grammar* that these are most efficiently analysed as abstract predicates in which the speaker predicates some property of the addressee. That expressive addresses are not simple noun phrases can be seen from the fact that they cannot be quantified **All you idiots!* (Den Dikken pers. commun). In a similar fashion Schaden (2010) claims that any type of vocative is some sort of predication.

Further evidence that a predication is present here is that this construction bears a nuclear accent on the expressive noun. Following Schwarzschild (1999), who assumes that contextually given information is destressed, it appears plausible that the expressive noun encodes information that is not backgrounded and new to the addressee. expressive addresses are typically uttered in situations in which the addressee just did something that offended the speaker, rather than the speaker intends to convey *I consider you as an idiot, as you already know*, see Jain (2021:378) for similar reasoning.

Notice that all the expressive content of the expressive address construction is solely contributed by

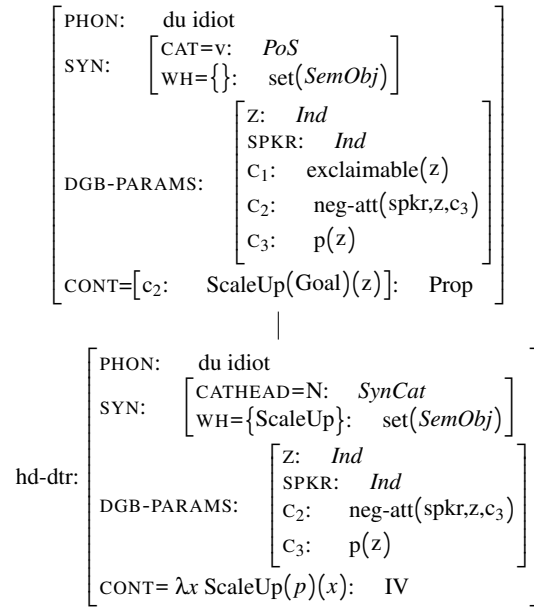


Figure 1: Phrase structure scheme for addresses building on Ginzburg and Kim’s 2023:21–22 analysis of exclamative sluices

the expressive NP serving as the head daughter. Consequently, there is no need to posit a separate phrase-structure scheme for expressive addresses, instead, it suffices to assume a general scheme that licences the full range of address types, as illustrated in Figure 1.

One central claim of this paper is that addresses always convey independent illocutionary force. There is broad agreement that at least vocatives in call function are independent speech acts (cf. Delbrück 1901:144–145, Schegloff 1972:357–359; Levinson 1983:71, 281, 308–312, Potts and Roeper 2006, Asher and Kumari 2013:186, Keizer 2015:61–62, 65–66, Borràs-Comes, Sichel-Bazin, and Prieto 2015:70, Gutzmann 2019:241–247, Giorgi 2023:588–590, Krifka 2023:163, Croitor and Giurgea 2024:17, 29, 36). As argued here, it is plausible that this also holds for vocatives in address functions.

In several earlier studies, it was proposed that vocatives in address function are in fact parentheticals that serve as modifiers of the utterance (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). Similarly, Osenova and Simov (2003:239–242) argue, in their HPSG-analysis of Bulgarian vocatives, that they are adjoined to complete utterances.

In general, parentheticals often constitute independent speech acts as well. So it is perfectly consistent if not expected that addresses should also function as speech acts in a parenthetical setting. This resolves Puzzle 4.

Puzzle 3 can be accounted for as a conflict of non-at-issue content. Expressive vocatives come with non-at-issue content that makes reference to events known both to the *SPEAKER* and the *ADDRESSEE*. As a consequence, they cannot be discourse-initial. In contrast, vocatives in call functions are discourse initial by nature: they require that the Dialogue Game Board has yet not been instantiated and therefore lacking the capacity to accommodate such events, as shown by Maché (2025:214–215).

To sum up, expressive vocatives can be treated as exclamative sluices. The analysis is based on three assumptions: (i) the expressive content is introduced by a type-shifting rule at the level of the NP, (ii) expressive addresses are independent illocutions because addresses in general are independent illocutions, and (iii) expressive utterances can occur both as standalone utterances and as parentheticals.

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