

A) Introduction

- Root small clauses--
 - 'Mad Magazine' utterances: 'What? Me worry?' (Akmajian 1984, Lambrecht 1990, Progovac 2006, 2007)
 - Reduced participials in Italian (Cecchetto & Donati 2022)
 - Paziente guarito BARE NOUN REDUCED
patient.M.SG heal.PPRT.M.SG
'The patient recovered'
- Ellipsis or more minimal?
- How much structure is needed for illocutionary force?
- Why a restricted distribution (root phenomenon)

B) The data--Expanding the discussion to Greek

- OTHER-DIRECTED WISHES—BLESSINGS, CURSES
- EMPATHETIC OBSERVATIONS (EMPATHY WITH ADDRESSEE)
- REDUCED SUGGESTIONS, DEMANDS
- PROCLAMATIONS

Nominal [Predicate: DP]

- (1) a. **Synxaritiria** [pp **stin** **Eleni**] !
congratulations to-the.f.acc Eleni
'Congratulations to Eleni!'
- b. **Dropi sou!**
shame you.gen.cl
'Shame on you.'

Adjectival [Predicate: ADJP]

- (2) a. **Panta aksios** [dp **o** **kyrios Nounesis**] !
always worthy.m.nom the.m.nom Mr.m.nom Nounesis.nom
'Mr Nounesis is ever worthy!'
- b. **Oreas** [dp **oi** **ntomates**] !
beautiful.pl.f/m.nom the.pl.f/m.nom tomatoes.pl.f.nom
'The tomatoes are beautiful (delicious-looking).'
- c. **Aionia** [dp **i** **mnimi tis miteras sas**]
eternal.f.nom the.f.nom memory.f the.f.gen mother.gen yours.pl.gen
'May your mother's memory be eternal.'
- d. **Perastika sou/** [pp **stin Anna**] !
passing you.gen/ to.the.f.acc Anna
'Get well soon (you)! / May Anna get well soon.'
- e. **Aghios** [dp **o** **Theos**] !
[holy.m.nom the.m.nom God.nom
'God is holy!'

Adverbs [Predicate: ADV]

- (3) **kalos -tin** / **kalos** [dp **ta** **paidia**] /*kalos-se
well -cl.3f.acc well the.pl.n kids well -cl.2s.acc
'Welcome!' Literally: well-her /well the kids! / *well you!
- (4) **brosta** [dp **ta** **paidhia**] , **piso** [dp **oi** **meghaloi**]
front the.pl.n.nom kids, in.back the.pl.nom grownups
'the kids should go/be in the front, and the grownups in the back.'

c) Reduced, not elliptical; major properties

These cannot be analyzed as elliptical sentences—they sometimes have different meanings & syntactic properties than apparently corresponding sentences with verbs

- Word order** for RSC =rigidly PREDICATE SUBJECT
- Word order** non-verbal predication with copula=flexible

GENERIC SUBJECT IMPOSSIBLE

- (5) a. oi petres einai varies b. varies einai oi petres
the.pl stones are heavy.pl heavy.pl are the.pl stones
'the stones are heavy.'/'stones are heavy (contrastive focus).' (**generic**)

- (6) **varies** [oi **petres**]
heavy.pl the.pl.nom stones
'The stones are heavy.'/'*stones are heavy.' (**generic reading not possible**)

IMPOSTER REQUIRED

- (7) a. kalos-irthis! b. (se-) kalos-orizo
well arrived.2sg you.acc well-set
Literally: 'You came well.' (i.e. 'Welcome!') 'I welcome you.'
- (8) **kalos -tin** / **kalos ta** **pedia** /***kalos-se**
well -cl.3f.acc well the.pl.n kids well -cl.2s.acc
'Welcome!' Literally: well-her /well the kids! / *well you!

'WRONG' CASE

- (9) a. se- dropiasan b. **Dropi sou**
cl.2.**acc** -shamed.3pl shame cl.2.**gen**
'They shamed you.' 'Shame on you.'

NO TAGS FOR PROCLAMATIONS; OK FOR NON-VERBAL PREDICATION WITH COPULA

- (10)a. Aghios einai o Theos, dhen eina?
holy is the God, not is
'God is holy, isn't He?'
- b. Aghios o Theos, *dhen einai
holy the God, *not is
intended: 'God is holy, isn't he?'

A closer look at the meanings expressed by RSCs indicates that they systematically involve addressees, and often interlocutor-addressees:

- Other-directed wishes**—blessings, curses (1a, 2b, 3)
- Empathetic observations**—elicits empathy with addressee (2a, 9)
- Suggestions, demands**—imperatives (4)
- Proclamations**—(5)

Interlocutor/Addressee sensitivity of Greek elsewhere in its grammar.

- (12) Topothetoume prassa (recipe)
add.1pl leaks
Literally: We add leaks/ recipe: "Add leaks"

Interlocutor addressee requires imperative form.

selected references

Akmajian 1984; Antonov 2015; Cecchetto & Donati 2022; Cheng, L. L.-S., C. Heycock, and R. Zamparelli (2017); Hill 2007; Lambrecht 1990; Miyagawa 2017; McFadden 2020; Portner, Pak, & Zanuttini 2019; Progovac 2006, 2007

D) Licensing in reduced structures

Proposal: addressee orientation of RSCs due to presence of an allocutive head in these constructions. In support of this proposal, I note that

- RSCs are indeed restricted to root clauses (independently observed in Progovac 2007 for mad magazine utterances, with quite different conclusions).

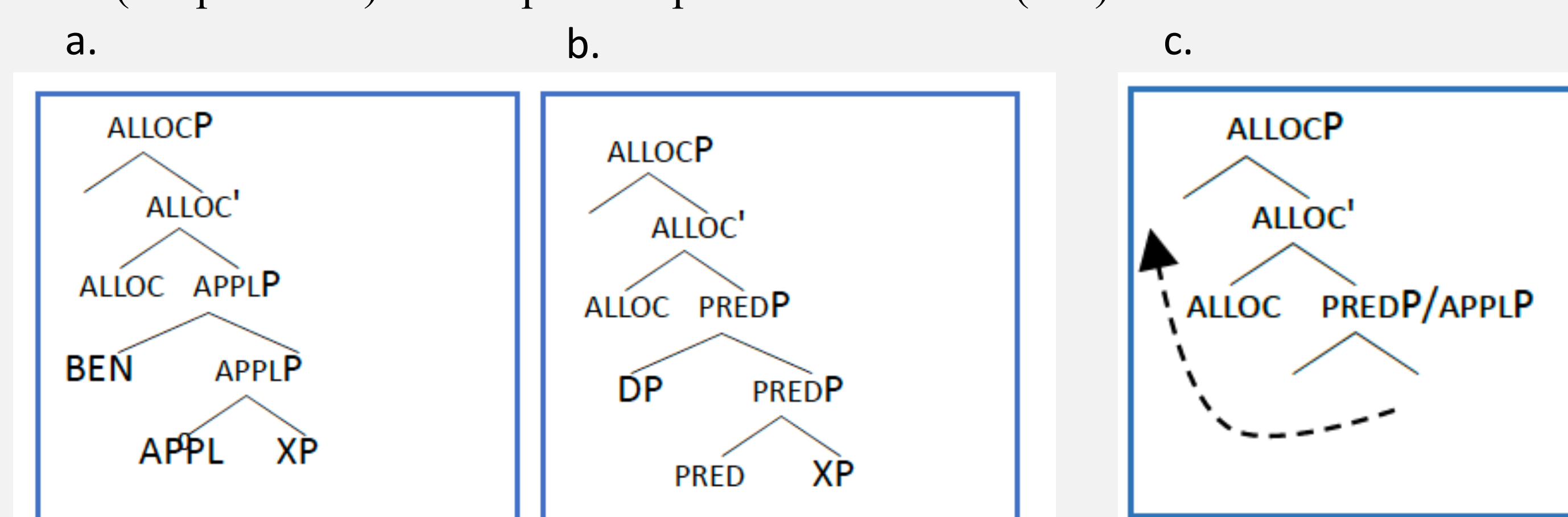
- (13)a. ***Kourástika** yiati **varies oi petres** (ok: ...yiati oi petres einai varies)
got.tired.1s because heavy the stones because the stones sre heavy
intended: 'I got tired because the stones are heavy.' [**adjunct clause**]
- b.??I Sophia ipe oti **varia i petra** [**embedded indicative**]
the Sophia said that heavy the stone
intended: 'Sophia said that the stone is heavy.'
- c.Theoro [varies tis petres] [**small clause**]
consider.1s heavy.f.pl the.f.pl.acc stone
'I consider (the) stones heavy.' (generic interpretation okay)

This is a distribution also demonstrated by imperatives and allocutive constructions (in many languages- McFadden 2020, Miyagawa 2017 for allocutivity): they are restricted to root environments.

- allocutivity: addressee is indexed in some way, although not (necessarily) expressed in argument structure
- Same distribution as allocutive agreement (McFadden 2020, Miyagawa 2017)

(14) allocutive head has selected a predication such as an AppliedPhrase (14a) or PredPhrase (14b), and the predicate moves out of that phrase to the specifier of the allocative phrase (14c).

- Just as definiteness can be accomplished without a definite morpheme, but instead by word order variation—a phrase moves to the specifier of an empty head to license the DP projection (Cheng, Heycock, & RZamparelli 2017), so too, I argue, can an allocutive phrase (AllocP) be licensed without overt morphology, via movement of an XP (the predicate) to the specifier position of AllocP (14c):



CONCLUSION: RSCs can be constructed out of smaller parts than usual for sentences.

- These are reduced sentences—i.e., not elliptical, rather made out of smaller parts
- Illocutionary force does not require ϕ -phrase/TP; allocutive phrase can license a variety of smaller structures
- Contra Progovac, lack of embedding of minor sentence types (such as RSCs) does not argue for a different mode of simple sentence creation (other than merge alone); rather shows richness of syntax of speaker/addressee interactions