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

**Word order** for RSC—rigidly Predicative Subject

**Word order** non-verbal predication with copular-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)*

**IMPERSONATION REQUIRED**

(7) a. kalos-irhul! b. (se-) kalos-orizo

well arrived.2sg you.acc well-set

Literally: ‘You came well.’ *(i.e. ‘Welcome’! I welcome you.’

(8) kalos – 1sg / kalos ta pedia | *kalos-se

well - cl.3sg acc well the.pl.n kids well - cl.2sg acc

‘Welcome!’ Literally: well-her /well the kids! / *well you!

‘WRONG’ CASE

(9) a. se | dropisan | b. Dropi sou

c.l.2.sg - shamed.3pl well shamed.cl.2.sg

They shamed you.’ ‘Shame on you.’

**NO TAGS FOR PROCLAMATIONS; OR FOR NON-VERBAL PREDICATION WITH COPULA**

(10a) Aghios o Theos, shen einai

holy is the God, not is

‘God is holy, isn’t He?’

b. Aghios o Theos, *then 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) Topothesia prosema (recipe)

add.1.pl leeks

Literally: We add leeks/ recipe: “Add leeks”

Interlocutor addresser requires imperative form.

**SELECTED REFERENCES**


**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/XP; 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

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**A) Introduction**

• Root small clauses—


  • Reduced participial in Italian *(Cecchetto & Donati 2022)*

    • *Paziene guarito* BARE NOUN REDUCED

    patient.M.SG heal.PRT.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 | [a.] Synaxaritiria | [b.] Dropi sou

| to the.f.acc Eleni | shame you.gen cl.2s.acc

| Congratulations to Eleni! | ‘Shame on you.’

**Adjectival**

| Predicate: ADJP |

| [a.] Panta aksios | [b.] Aghios

| or | or | Theos |

| [cl.2s.acc the.m.nom] | [cl.2.acc the.m.nom God, not is]

| ‘Your mother’s memory be eternal.’ | ‘God is holy!’

| [c.] Aghios | [d.] Perastika sopi |

| or | or |

| tis | tis |

| the.m.nom | the.m.nom Anna |

| May your mother’s memory be eternal. | ‘Get well soon! (you)/ May Anna get well soon.’

| [e.] Aghios | [f.] Aghios o Theos |

| or | or |

| shamed.3pl | Theos |

| [cl.2.sg shamed.cl.2.sg] | [cl.2.sg the.m.nom God, not is]

| ‘They shamed you.’ | ‘Shame on you.’

**Adverbs**

| Predicate: ADV | [a.] kalos-tin | [b.] kalos ta paidia|

| / kalos ta paitida | *kalos-se

| well - cl.3sg acc | well the.pl.n kids well - cl.2sg acc

| ‘Welcome!’ Literally: well-her / well the kids! / *well you!

| [b.] brosta ta paidia | [c.] piso | oi meghabi |

| front the.pl.n kids in.back the.pl.n grownups |

| ‘the kids should go in the front, and the grownups in the back.’

**Propositional structures**

| Predicate: VP | [a.] Aghios o Theos, shen einai |

| holy is the God, not is |

| ‘God is holy, isn’t He?’

| [b.] Aghios o Theos, *then einai holy the God, *not is |

| intended: ‘God is holy, isn’t He?’

**Illocutionary force does not require φ-phrase/XP; allocutive phrase can license a variety of smaller structures**

**Conclusion**

• These are reduced sentences—i.e., not elliptical, rather made out of smaller parts

• Illocutionary force does not require φ-phrase/XP; 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

**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). *(15a, 15b)*

  **[Adjunct clause]**

  *Kouراσtikα yiaìrìs [petres (ok: …yiaìtìs [petres einai varies got.tired.1sg because heavy the stones because the stones are heavy intended: ‘I got tired because the stones are heavy.’]

  [15b] ‘I’ Sophia ipe oti varia i petra

  the Sophia said that the stone is heavy.

  intended: ‘Sophia said that the stone is heavy.’ *(generic interpretation okay)*

| [Predicative: ADJP] | [small clause] |

| [c.] Theo | [Predicative: ADJP] |

| or | [Predicative: ADJP] |

| [petres | the.pl.acc stone |

| heavy.pl | ‘I consider (the stones heavy).’ *(generic interpretation okay)*

This is a distribution also demonstrated by imperatives and allocative 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 allocative 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 allocutive 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, & R.Zamparelli 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)*.