

Addressee Agreement as the Locus of Imperative Syntax

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Problem & Key claims: In addition to its standard imperatives composed of an imperative verb form (1) (Bhatia 1993, Kaur 2018), Punjabi, an Indo-Aryan language makes another imperative with a declarative verb-form bearing obligatory overt addressee/allocutive (honorific/plural) agreement indicated by *-je*, (2).

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| 1. (tuu/tussi) bacce-nuu vekh-Ø/vekh-o | 2. (tussi) bacce-nuu vekhyaa-je |
| (2.sg/2.pl) child-acc see.imp-2.sg/see.imp-2.pl | (2.pl) child-acc see.perf.m.sg-alloc |
| 'Look after/see the child.' | 'Look after/see the child!' |

Unlike sentences such as 'You will work tomorrow' in English, which have a declarative syntax, but can be used either as a declarative or as an imperative in the appropriate context, (2) cannot alternate as per the context or prosody, and corresponds uniquely to a command/request. Given this lack of ambiguity, this paper claims that despite its declarative appearance, (2) has an underlying imperative (and not declarative) syntax. Specifically, the presence of addressee agreement in (2) provides all the building blocks that make a standard imperative. These are: a 2nd person feature which encodes the notion of an addressee, a defective/null T and an 'agreeing' 2nd subject (see Jensen 2003, Bennis 2006, Zanuttini 2008 *a.o* for varied versions). This uniquely imperative structure hosts a strong covert modal operator, resulting in its restricted (and strong imperative force related) semantic-pragmatic properties.

Account: Punjabi (select varieties) is a language with optional allocutive agreement (Akhtar 1999, Kaur 2017, 2018). Consider (3), where the verb agrees with the unmarked object in number and gender, and optionally hosts the addressee agreement marker *-je*. Note that *-je* in (3) does not correspond to either the subject or the object, and instead encodes the honorific/plural addressee of the utterance.

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| 3. karan-ne kuRii vekhii -(je) |
| Karan-erg girl.f.sg see.perf.f.sg -(alloc) |
| '(I am telling you), Karan saw a girl.' |

A. Defective/null T: The occurrence of allocutivity in the language is contingent on the person-defectiveness of v-T. To elaborate, Punjabi is a split ergative language, such that imperfective subjects agree with the T head in full phi and are valued as nominative, (4). In contrast, perfective subjects do not agree with T and are valued as non-nominative, (5) (Deo & Sharma 2006, Chandra & Kaur 2017). Given (4) and (5), only the default (3.masculine.sg) auxiliary *e*, which obtains with all 1st/2nd and 3rd (non-nominative) perfective subjects and with 3rd imperfective subject, can be dropped to realize *-je*, as in (6).

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| 4. maiN/tuu/o kuRii-nuu vekhdaa aaN/eN/e |
| 1.sg/2.sg/3.sg.nom girl-acc see.hab.m.sg be.pres.1.sg/2.sg/3.sg (default) |
| 'I/you/(s)he am/are/is seeing the girl.' |
| 5. maiN/tuu/o-ne kuRii-nuu vekhyaa e |
| 1.sg.obl/2.sg.obl/3.sg-erg girl-acc see.perf.m.sg be.pres.3.sg (default) |
| 'I/you/(s)he saw the girl.' |
| 6. maiN/tussi/o-ne/o kuRii-nuu vekhyaa-je/vekhdaa-je |
| 1.sg.obl/2.hon/pl.obl/3.sg-erg/3.sg.nom girl-acc see.perf.m.sg-alloc/see.hab.m.sg-alloc |
| 'I/you/(s)he saw the girl/he sees the girl.' |

B. Agreeing 2nd argument: The second property of addressee agreement in the language is that it can also co-occur with a 2nd argument (unlike Basque; see Miyagawa 2012). If the 2nd argument and *-je* refer to the hearer of the same Speech act projection/SAP, they must 'agree'; see (7) with an honorific/pl 2nd object. Failure to 'agree' results in ungrammaticality, as in (8) with the non-honorific/sG 2nd object.

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| 7. karan-ne twaa-nuu bulaayaa -je | 8. *karan-ne tai-nuu bulaayaa -je |
| Karan-erg 2.pl/hon-acc call.perf.m.sg-alloc | Karan-erg 2.sg/non.hon-acc call.perf.m.sg-alloc |
| 'Karan has called you.' | 'Karan has called you.' |

To confirm this further, consider the following embedded context, (9).

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| 9. mira-ne; tai-nuu keyaa sii ki maiN; match jitt jaavaangi -je |
| Mira-erg 2.sg-acc say.perf be.past that 1.sg.nom match win go.fut.1sg.f -alloc |
| 'Mira had said to you that she will win the match.' (Shifted reading; *non-shifted) |

Punjabi is an indexical shift language, such that the embedded subject *maiN* can refer either to the matrix speaker, or to the matrix subject *mira*. In the non-shifted reading, *-je* refers to the matrix hearer, and so

