

## On two distinct addressee-loci in imperative syntax

**Abstract** Recent syntactic approaches to addressee-encoding in imperatives argue that ALL imperatives reference the addressee via the unique imperative-specific *Jussive Phrase*, which hosts a 2<sup>nd</sup> person feature that agrees with the subject to derive addressee-restriction (Zanuttini 2008; Zanuttini, Pak & Portner 2012). The uniqueness of addressee-locus in imperative syntax cannot be maintained in light of the imperative with allocutivity in Punjabi (Indo-Aryan), which bans imperative-specific 2<sup>nd</sup> person ending found in standard imperatives. Instead, it obligatorily appears with the clause-type independent allocutive ending, which underlies an Addressee-DP located in the *Addressee Phrase*. I demonstrate that the lack of the imperative-specific ending in said imperative is not only morphological, but also syntactic, in that the structure lacks the Jussive Phrase altogether. The minimally specified *pro* subject in the allocutive imperative is licensed via agreement with the Addressee-DP. Crucially, formation of the imperative via agreement with the Addressee-DP instead of the Jussive head has non-trivial consequences for its usage - it is restricted to contexts with a specific addressee. This leads to two main claims: (i) imperative subjects do not obligatorily require the construction-specific Jussive Phrase to be licensed, and can agree instead with the Addressee-DP to derive addressee-restriction, and (ii) distinct interpretative effects in imperatives constituted of the Addressee-DP instead of the Jussive head further substantiate two distinct addressee-loci in syntax, which differ not only with regard to their argumental status and restriction to a clause-type, but also their encoding of pragmatic specificity (in the sense of Hill 2007, 2013).

**Keywords:** addressee, allocutivity, imperatives, Jussive, Punjabi, Korean

## 1 Introduction

In the spirit of the Performative Hypothesis (Ross 1970), recent years have seen a revival of interest in the encoding of utterance context in syntax. A major proposal in this regard is Speas & Tenny (2003), who expand the clause periphery to include a *Speech Act Phrase*, which hosts syntactic representations of the utterance speaker and addressee. Various studies have since presented cross-linguistic data from distinct phenomena in natural language to provide further support for the mapping of utterance participants in syntax proper (Hill 2007, 2013; Baker 2008; Giorgi 2010; Miyagawa 2012; Haegeman & Hill 2013; Zu 2015a, 2015b, 2018 among others). Imperatives constitute one such phenomenon. This paper investigates the syntax of addressee in imperatives, with focus on its locus and interpretation.

Imperatives in natural language provide evidence for the syntactic encoding of addressee. It is well-known that in many languages, the subject of an imperative is restricted to the addressee in that it must refer to, overlap with, or quantify over the addressee or the set of addressees (Mauck et al. 2004)<sup>1</sup>. In their seminal work on imperative syntax, Zanuttini (2008), Zanuttini et al. (2012) argue that this addressee-restriction is syntactic in nature. This is evidenced by the unique properties of imperative subjects, not exhibited by their declarative counterparts. For instance, null subjects in English imperatives permit a bound 2<sup>nd</sup> person

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<sup>1</sup> Exceptions to this generalization come from imperatives with 3<sup>rd</sup> person subjects found in languages such as Bhojpuri, where the subject does not overlap with or range over the set of addressees (see Mauck et al. 2004, Zanuttini 2008 for more discussion).

possessive pronoun in the object position, as illustrated in (1). Moreover, tag questions in imperatives with null subjects can only have second-person pronouns, as in (2).

- (1) Zanutini (2008: 3)  
Raise your hand!
- (2) Zanutini (2008: 4)  
Raise your hand, won't you/\*he.

Similarly, overt subjects in English imperatives also exhibit unique properties in imperatives (Bolinger 1967; Schmerling 1982; Platzack & Rosengren 1998; Potsdam 1998; Rupp 2003; Zanutini 2008). Pronominal subjects in imperatives are restricted to 2<sup>nd</sup> person, (3).

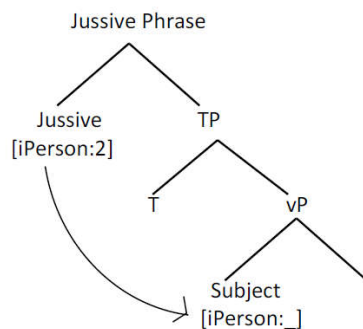
- (3) You/\*I/\*he read a book!

While 3<sup>rd</sup> person pronouns are disallowed in imperatives, other 3<sup>rd</sup> person subjects such as definite DPs, quantifiers and proper names are permitted. Despite their featural specification, said subjects can not only bind a 3<sup>rd</sup> person anaphoric object, but also a 2<sup>nd</sup> person anaphoric object. This is demonstrated with the quantifier subject in the imperative in (4a). Compare with the declarative in (4b), where the quantifier subject fails to bind a 2<sup>nd</sup> person anaphoric object.

- (4) Zanutini (2008: 16-17)
- a. Everyone<sub>i</sub> raise (hisi/heri/their<sub>i</sub>)/**your<sub>i</sub>** hand!
  - b. Everyone<sub>i</sub> should raise hisi/heri/their<sub>i</sub>/\***your<sub>i</sub>** hand.

These unique addressee-oriented properties of imperative subjects are argued to follow from the presence of a syntactic representation of the addressee (also Jensen 2003; Rupp 2003; Bennis 2006; Isac 2015). This representation of the addressee, labeled as the *Jussive Phrase*, is unique and found exclusively in the imperative clause-type. The Jussive Phrase realizes the addressee via an interpretable and valued 2<sup>nd</sup> person feature. In the presence of a T head that lacks a person feature, the 2<sup>nd</sup> person feature on the Jussive head agrees with the imperative subject, which occurs with an unvalued person feature to restrict it to the addressee. This is represented in (5).

- (5)



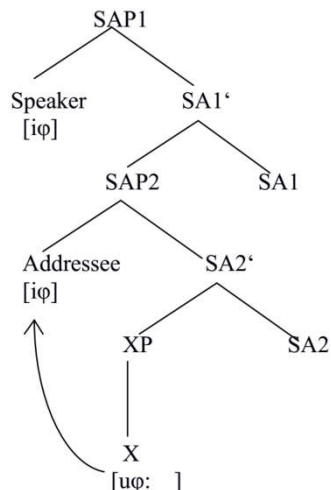
While an encoding of the addressee is well-motivated in imperative syntax, the proposed uniqueness of the addressee-locus (i.e. Jussive Phrase) is challenged by the availability of allocutivity, another phenomenon which also underlies a syntactic representation of the addressee.

Allocutivity is a phenomenon, wherein certain languages have distinct verbal morphology that encodes the addressee of the speech act (Miyagawa 2012; Antonov 2015; McFadden 2017; Kaur 2017, 2019, to appear; Haddican 2018; Alok & Baker 2018 ms. among others). A classic example is provided by Basque. Consider the following declaratives in (6a) and (6b), where a singular male hearer of the speech act is encoded via *-k* on the verb and the singular female hearer is encoded via *-n*.

- (6) *Basque* (Oyharçabal (1993: 92-93))
- |    |   |      |        |         |
|----|---|------|--------|---------|
| a. | Pette-k                                   | lan  | egin   | di-k    |
|    | Peter-ERG                                 | work | do.PFV | 3.ERG-M |
|    | 'Peter worked.' (said to a male friend)   |      |        |         |
| b. | Pette-k                                   | lan  | egin   | di-n    |
|    | Peter-ERG                                 | work | do.PFV | 3.ERG-F |
|    | 'Peter worked.' (said to a female friend) |      |        |         |

These allocutive agreement markers, which encode the addressee, his/her gender, number and (non)-honorific properties, are taken to underlie an agreement relation between a representation of the addressee in the left periphery and a functional head. Following Speas & Tenny (2003), Hill(2007), Miyagawa (2012), McFadden (2017), and Zu (2018) among others, I model the representation of the addressee underlying allocutivity as an argumental Addressee (henceforth *Adr-DP*). A concrete proposal for the SAP provided by Hill (2007) is discussed here --- the clause periphery is expanded to include a Speech Act Phrase (SAP). Like the verbal domain consisting of the *vP-VP* structure, where the specifier of the *vP* hosts the external argument (agent) and the specifier of the *VP*, the indirect object (goal), the SAP consists of two layers *SAP1* and *SAP2*. Mirroring the hierarchy of subject and indirect object positions in the verbal domain, the speaker and the addressee are encoded as arguments in the specifier of *SAP1* and *SAP2* respectively. In allocutive languages, a functional head, say  $X^0$ , is borne with unvalued phi-features, which must be valued by agreement with the addressee/*Adr-DP* to yield allocutivity, as shown in (7).

(7)



(adapted from Hill 2007, ex. 39)

The addressee/Adr-DP in (7), which underlies allocutivity, differs from the Jussive head in two important ways. First, given its ability to control agreement on a functional head, this representation of the addressee is typically taken to be argumental. This makes it distinct from the Jussive head, which is a functional head that encodes the addressee only via a 2<sup>nd</sup> person feature. Secondly, unlike the Jussive head which is imperative-specific, the Adr-DP is not restricted to a certain clause type in all languages (see Antonov 2015 for a typology). For instance, Basque allows allocutivity only in declaratives (Oyharçabal 1993; Miyagawa 2012). Japanese allows it across declaratives and interrogatives, but bans it in imperatives (Miyagawa 2012; Yamada 2019). Korean is the most relaxed in that it allows the occurrence of allocutive forms occur across all clause types (Kim-Renaud & Pak 2006; Pak 2015)<sup>2</sup>.

Given the availability of two distinct representations of the addressee in natural language: a natural question to ask is the following: what happens in the case of an imperative that shows allocutive agreement? Does the structure obligatorily require the imperative-specific Jussive Phrase or can the Adr-DP underlying allocutivity replace the Jussive Phrase to derive addressee-restriction on the subject?

The goal of this paper is to examine this question in light of imperatives with allocutivity in the Indo-Aryan/IA language Punjabi, which patterns with Korean (Pak 2008, 2015; Zanuttini, Pak & Portner 2012; Antonov 2015; Portner, Pak & Zanuttini 2019), the isolate language Pumé spoken in Venezuela (Antonov 2015), and the moribund Siouan language Mandan (Antonov 2015) in allowing the occurrence of allocutivity in imperatives. The imperative with allocutivity

<sup>2</sup> The distributional differences in the occurrence of allocutivity across languages, in the limited examination that they have received so far, have been analyzed in terms of the morpho-syntactic properties of allocutive agreement in a given language. For instance, Basque bans allocutivity in interrogatives, as shown in (i). It is argued that this ban occurs because the allocutive probe in the language, bearing uninterpretable agreement features, occupies the head of CP. Since the question form *-a* also occupies C<sup>0</sup>, it cannot co-occur with allocutivity (Miyagawa 2012).

(i) *Basque* (Monforte (2018: 30))  
 Hire amak ba-daki-(\*k) -a?  
 your mother CL-know.3SG.ABS.3SG.ERG -(ALLOC) -Q  
 ‘Does your mother know that?’

Needless to say, a principled investigation that can determine the distribution of allocutivity across different clause-types in different languages remains to be undertaken.

in Punjabi is peculiar in that it occurs with the allocutive marker *je* only in the absence of the imperative-specific ending *-o* that obtains in standard imperatives in the language. This is illustrated in (8).

- (7)    *kitaab*            *parheyaa-(\*o)*            *je*  
          *book*            *read.IMP-2PL*            *ALLOC.PL*  
          ‘(Please) read the book!’

I argue that the morphological composition of the verbal complex in (8) reflects a deeper syntactic fact of Punjabi- the language allows only one instance of person feature in the C-T domain. This means that allocutivity in the language becomes available only in the absence of the person bearing Jussive head (and vice-versa). In (8) with obligatory allocutivity, there is no Jussive head. Instead, the ADr-DP which underlies allocutivity, undergoes an agreement relation with the imperative subject to derive addressee-restriction. Subject-licensing via the argumental ADr-DP instead of the 2<sup>nd</sup> person feature on the Jussive Phrase has clear pragmatic consequences for the subject, which must refer to a specific addressee.

The proposed analysis of the imperative with allocutivity leads to two important findings for addressee-encoding in (imperative) syntax. First, this paper shows that it is indeed the case that imperative subjects require licensing via agreement with a representation of the addressee in the clausal periphery, in keeping with Zanuttini (2008), and contra approaches which derive addressee-restriction as a consequence of imperative force (Han 1998; Portner 2004a). However, the locus of this addressee feature is not universally required to be construction-specific. The ADr-DP, which is not imperative-specific, can also derive addressee-restriction via agreement with the subject. Secondly, this paper clearly illustrates that there are (at least) two distinct addressee-loci in the clausal structure- one corresponds to the Jussive head, and the other to the ADr-DP, both of which can occur in imperatives. As noted previously, these representations differ in the following two ways: (i) only the Jussive head is imperative-specific, while the ADr-DP can occur across clause types, albeit with cross-linguistic variation (Antonov 2015), and (ii) the Jussive head encodes the addressee via a 2<sup>nd</sup> person feature in contrast with the ADr-DP, which is argumental. This paper adds another difference as regards the internal structure of the two representations. I show that the subject of the imperative with allocutivity must always refer to a specific addressee. This restricted usage is argued to result from the distinct internal composition of the ADr-DP – by virtue of saturating the p-role of *addressee*, the ADr-DP obligatorily encodes pragmatic [specificity] modeled as an extra functional layer labeled RoleP (Hill 2007, 2013). The Jussive head, on the other hand, lacks the RoleP.

The paper is structured as follows: section 2 introduces the two types of imperatives in Punjabi- (i) the standard imperative composed of the imperative-specific endings, and (ii) the imperative with allocutivity which lacks imperative-specific endings. In section 3, I show that subjects of both imperative types are similar in that they exhibit addressee-restrictions, and are thereby unified in their demarcation from surrogate imperatives, where the subject may or may not overlap with the addressee. This is taken to indicate that both imperative encode an addressee representation which agrees with the subject. Section 4 shows that said addressee representation in standard imperatives corresponds to the Jussive head. In Section 5, I examine the imperative with allocutivity to argue that it lacks a Jussive head to license the subject, which agrees instead with the argumental addressee in ADrP to derive imperative syntax. Section 6 substantiates the distinction between the two addressee-loci, Jussive<sup>0</sup> and ADr-DP, by presenting and deriving

generic/specific addressee-readings across the two imperative types. Section 7 concludes the paper.

## 2 Core data

Following the pattern exhibited by most New Indo-Aryan languages (Masica 1991: 476), Punjabi typically makes imperatives with a bare verb form. These imperatives are restricted to the 2<sup>nd</sup> person subject. I label them *standard imperatives*. With a 2<sup>nd</sup> person singular subject, the verb form bears null morphology, as in (9). With a 2<sup>nd</sup> person plural subject, which may also function as a singular 2<sup>nd</sup> person honorific pronoun, the verb is marked with *-o*, see (10).

- (8)    kitaab            paRh-Ø  
        book            read-2SG  
        ‘Read the book!’
- (9)    kitaab            paRh-o  
        book            read-2PL  
        ‘(Please) read the book!’

Crucially, the agreement morphology in imperatives is distinct in affixal status and/or form as compared to 2<sup>nd</sup> person subject agreement paradigm attested in non-imperative structures. In declaratives and interrogatives, verbal agreement with 2<sup>nd</sup> person nominative subject yields stand-alone auxiliary forms *eN* and *o* for the 2<sup>nd</sup> person singular and 2<sup>nd</sup> person plural subject respectively, as illustrated in (11) and (12).

- (10)    tuu                kitaab paRh    reyaaN            eN  
        2SG.NOM        book read    PROG.M.SG       be.PRS.2SG  
        ‘You are reading the book.’
- (11)    tusii                kitaab paRh    raye                o  
        2PL.NOM        book read    PROG.M.PL       be.PRS.2PL  
        ‘You (all) are reading the book.’

In addition to the canonical imperatives, the language makes a unique imperative with allocutivity. Punjabi (Kanpur, Lahore and Gujrat district varieties reported thus far) is an allocutive agreement language- it has distinct verbal forms for the singular and the plural addressee, corresponding to *ii/aa* and *je* respectively (Bailey 1912; Akhtar 1997; Butt 2007; Kaur 2017, 2019, to appear). These endings comprise a unique paradigm, distinct from the 2<sup>nd</sup> person agreement endings that obtain in both standard imperatives and declaratives. Unlike the dedicated declarative and imperative 2<sup>nd</sup> person endings, the allocutive markers occur across clause types. I illustrate with declaratives here. In the declarative in (13), the presence of *ii* indicates an unselected verbal argument, which corresponds to a singular utterance addressee. The forms *ii* and *aa* are allomorphs, determined by the phonological ending of the preceding verb. When the verb ends in *-aa*, the form *ii* is used, as is the case in (13) where the progressive verbal form ends in *-aa* as a result of agreement with the masculine nominative subject. Contrastingly, when the verb ends in *-ii* typically due to agreement with a feminine argument, the form of the allocutive marker changes to *aa*, as shown in (14). In (15), we see *je*, which

encodes a plural utterance addressee; it can also be used to indicate a singular, honorific utterance addressee.

- (12) aman            kitaab            paRh            reyaa            ii  
 Aman.NOM    book            read            PROG.M.SG    ALLOC.SG  
 ‘Aman is reading a book.’ (to a singular/non-honorific hearer)
- (13) kiran            kitaab            paRh            reyii            aa  
 Kiran.NOM (F) book            read            PROG.F.SG    ALLOC.SG  
 ‘Kiran is reading a book.’ (to a singular/non-honorific hearer)
- (14) aman            kitaab            paRh            reyaa            je  
 Aman.NOM    book            read            PROG.M.SG    ALLOC.PL  
 ‘Aman is reading a book.’ (to a plural/honorific hearer)

The allocutive markers in the above declaratives are optional in that they can be replaced by the minus person (also used as default) form of the be-auxiliary with no change in the truth-conditional semantics of the clause. Consider (16), with the be-auxiliary. This sentence has the same meaning as those in (13) to (15), except the missing overt reference to the addressee.

- (15) aman            kitaab            paRh            reyaa            e  
 Aman.NOM    book            read            PROG.M.SG    be.PRS.3SG  
 ‘Aman is reading a book.’

Moving to imperatives, the allocutive endings cannot occur in standard imperatives, which must obligatorily occur with imperative-specific endings- Ø/-o, as shown in (17) and (18).

- (16) \*kitaab            paRh-Ø            ii  
 book            read-2SG            ALLOC.SG  
 ‘Read the book!’
- (17) \*kitaab            paRh-o            je  
 book            read-2PL            ALLOC.PL  
 ‘(Please) read the book!’

However, the language makes a unique imperative for the 2<sup>nd</sup> person plural subject with a distinct verb form ending in *-(e)yaa*, shown in (19). This imperative obligatorily occurs with the allocutive ending *je*<sup>3</sup>. I label this *allocutive imperative*. Crucially, the presence of allocutivity in said imperative bans the co-occurrence of the dedicated imperative ending *-o*.

- (18) kitaab            paRheyaa-(\*-o)            je  
 book            read.IMP-2PL            ALLOC.PL  
 ‘(Please) read the book!’

<sup>3</sup> The singular/non-honorific allocutive marker *ii/aa* does not occur in such imperatives in the Punjabi variety under study. There is an imperative which looks deceptively similar, see (i). However, the nasalized *-iiN* does not occur as an allocutive marker outside this imperative. I leave examining the morphosyntax of *-iiN* for future research.

(i) kitaab    paRh-iiN  
 book    read-iiN  
 ‘Read the book!’

To summarize, in addition to its standard imperative paradigm, which employs imperative-specific endings to the exclusion of allocutivity, Punjabi has a unique imperative with allocutivity, which obligatorily disallows the imperative-specific ending.

### 3 Addressee-restriction on imperative subjects

Given the distinct verbal form and the lack of imperative morphology in the allocutive imperative, a reader might wonder if allocutive imperative should be treated at par with standard imperatives as regards addressee-restriction, or if it is better situated with surrogate imperatives. This section shows that despite their distinct verbal forms, the allocutive imperative and standard imperatives pattern alike in that the subject is restricted to the addressee and exhibits unique properties like in English<sup>4</sup>. This enables us to (a) demarcate these imperatives from surrogate imperatives, which while addressee-oriented, do not require an overlap between the addressee and the subject (Zanuttini 2008 for Italian; Isac 2015 for Romanian among others), and (b) consequently analyze both standard and allocutive imperatives as hosting a syntactic representation of the addressee, which also agrees with the subject to derive addressee-restriction.

It is well-known in literature that languages have two kinds of imperatives- (i) true imperatives which require an overlap of the subject with the addressee, as seen previously for English in section 1 and (ii) surrogate imperatives, which do not require this overlap. Consider the following example of a surrogate imperative composed of the subjunctive verb from Italian.

- (19) *Italian* (Zanuttini et al. (2008: 30a))  
 Signor Rossi, che la signora sia pronta alle 3:00/ badi a se stessa!  
 Mister Rossi, that the lady be ready at 3:00/ care to herself  
 ‘Mr. Rossi, (see to it that) the lady be ready at 3:00/worry about herself.’

The surrogate imperative in (20) shows two main properties: (a) the subject of the imperative corresponds to a 3<sup>rd</sup> person nominal ‘the lady’, which is distinct from the addressee of the utterance ‘Mr. Rossi’, and (b), there is no licensing of a 2<sup>nd</sup> person anaphoric object in these imperatives, as illustrated by the 3<sup>rd</sup> person anaphor *se stessa*. Given these properties, surrogate imperatives are analyzed distinctly from true imperatives in that they lack an agreement relation between a syntactic representation of the addressee and the subject. The subject in such imperatives agrees with a T head that hosts an unvalued person feature, resulting in a wider range of subjects as compared to the true imperatives.

In light of this divide, we find that both standard and allocutive imperatives, despite their distinct verbal forms, pattern with true imperatives, suggesting an agreement relation between the addressee in syntax and the subject. The addressee-restriction on subjects is evidenced by subject-restrictions, binding, and agreement related properties, as I now elucidate.

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<sup>4</sup> We refer here only to the standard imperatives in English, which occur with null subjects, 2<sup>nd</sup> person pronoun, and quantificational subjects. English also allows imperatives with 3<sup>rd</sup> person subjects, as shown in (i). However, these imperatives are not considered as grammatical by all speakers, and are thereby not considered as part of the prototypical imperative structure in the language.

(i) Zanuttini (2008: 44)  
 The girls be the cops, the boys be the robbers!



**Subject-restrictions:** Unlike surrogate imperatives which occur with all kinds of subjects, both standard and allocutive imperatives occur with a restricted set of subjects which consists of null subjects (as seen in the examples thus far) and 2<sup>nd</sup> person pronouns, shown in (21) and (22). Select quantifiers, such as ‘all’ can also appear as imperative subjects; consider (23) and (24) for illustration.

- (20) tusii/\*asii/\*o kitaab paRh-o  
 2PL/1PL/3PL book.F.SG read.2PL  
 ‘(Please) read the book!’
- (21) tusii/\*asii/\*o kitaab paRheyaa je  
 2PL/1PL/3PL book.F.SG read.IMP ALLOC.PL  
 ‘(Please) read the book!’
- (22) saare/sabb kitaab paRh-o  
 all book.F.SG read.2PL  
 ‘All of you (please) read the book!’
- (23) saare/sabb kitaab paRheyaa je  
 all book.F.SG read.IMP ALLOC.PL  
 ‘All of you (please) read the book!’

**Binding:** Null subjects show unique binding properties in both imperatives<sup>5</sup>. Punjabi, like the better-studied neighboring language Hindi-Urdu/HU, typically employs the *self*-anaphoric forms (Bhatia 1993, 2000). However, it also has person-variable possessive forms. These possessive anaphors must match the person feature of their antecedent in order to be licensed, as is demonstrated for the 1<sup>st</sup> person anaphor in (25), which can only be subject-bound by a 1<sup>st</sup> person subject.

- (24) asii/tusii<sub>k</sub> saaDii<sub>i</sub>/\*<sub>k</sub> caabii de dittii e/je  
 1PL.OBL/2PL.OBL 1PL.POSS.F.SG key.F.SG give give.PFV.F.SG be.PRS.3SG/ALLOC.PL  
 ‘We all have given our key.’ (to a plural/honorific hearer)

Null subjects of both standard and allocutive imperatives in Punjabi can bind a 2<sup>nd</sup> person anaphoric object, signaling a matching 2<sup>nd</sup> person antecedent. A 1<sup>st</sup> or 3<sup>rd</sup> person object cannot be subject-bound. This is demonstrated in examples (26) and (27).

- (25) pro<sub>i</sub> twaaDii<sub>i</sub>/saaDii<sub>i</sub>/\*<sub>j</sub> caabi de-o  
 pro 2PL.POSS/1PL.POSS key give.2PL  
 ‘(Please) give your key!’
- (26) pro<sub>i</sub> twaaDii<sub>i</sub>/saaDii<sub>i</sub>/\*<sub>j</sub> caabi deyaa je  
 pro 2PL.POSS/1PL.POSS key give.IMP ALLOC.PL  
 ‘(Please) give your key!’

<sup>5</sup> Binding of 2<sup>nd</sup> person anaphoric object cannot serve as a suitable diagnostic since even in the declarative domain, quantifiers can only bind self-anaphors. The 3<sup>rd</sup> person object cannot be interpreted as subject-bound.

(i) saareyaa-ne<sub>i</sub> apnii<sub>i</sub>/\*onaa-dii<sub>j</sub> caabii de dittii  
 all-ERG self.F.SG/3PL-GEN key give give.PFV.F.SG  
 ‘Everyone gave their own keys.’

**Agreement:** Lastly, quantifier subjects in imperatives occur with obligatory 2<sup>nd</sup> person/addressee agreement, despite being a 3<sup>rd</sup> person item itself. We have seen that language allows ‘all’ as the subject of both imperative types under study. As seen in (23) and (24), these subjects occur with *–o* and *je* morphology on the verb. This is in contrast with the declarative domain, where the quantifier subject triggers 3<sup>rd</sup> person agreement, as shown in (28). The 3<sup>rd</sup> person agreement can optionally be replaced by the allocutive marker *je*; however, unlike (24), there is no overlap between the subject and the addressee.

- (27)    sabb/saare      buaa    khol    raye                    ne/je  
              all                   door    open    PROG.M.PL      be.PRS.3PL/ALLOC.PL  
              ‘Everyone is opening the door.’ (to a plural/honorific hearer)

To sum up, despite their distinct verbal complexes, the allocutive imperative patterns with the standard imperative as regards addressee-restriction. This clearly illustrates that both imperatives host a syntactic representation of the addressee, which agrees with the subject.

In the rest of the paper, we first determine if both imperatives host the \*same\* representation of the addressee, or if the morphological absence of imperative morphology in the allocutive imperative also underlies a syntactic absence of the Jussive head. Furthermore, in case the two imperatives derive addressee-restriction via distinct addressee-loci, are there any tangible consequences?

#### 4        Deriving standard imperatives: *Jussive Phrase* licenses the subject

Starting the discussion with standard imperatives, which bear imperative-specific morphology, this section demonstrates that standard imperatives host a Jussive head to derive addressee-restriction on the subject.

Before establishing Jussive head as the subject-licensor in standard imperatives, I must clarify my theoretical assumptions regarding licensing (of subjects). First, I do not treat Case (in particular, nominative case) as a licensor that determines the distribution of arguments. Standard minimalist theories (Chomsky 2000, 2001) formalize case as a licensor, which is modeled in terms of an agreement relation between a finite T head with unvalued phi-features and a valued nominative case feature, and a DP bearing valued phi-features and an unvalued case feature. Upon agreement between the T head and the DP, both the unvalued phi-features on T and the unvalued case feature on the DP get valued. However, a plethora of evidence dissociates nominative case both from phi-agreement and finiteness, challenging the “positively-specified” view of unmarked nominative case (Marantz 1991; McFadden & Sundaresan 2011, ms; Preminger 2011, 2014; Kornfilt & Preminger 2015 among others). I thereby treat nominative case as simply a label for the absence of case valuation in grammar. Concretely, assuming that unvalued features do not result in a derivational crash (Preminger 2011), nominative case appears on a nominal that cannot receive a lexical/inherent or dependent case. That is, accusative case and other oblique cases are assigned under more specific rules to DPs that are lower down in the clause, leaving the subjects caseless, which translates to unmarked nominative case.

The second theoretical assumption regarding licensing is that 1<sup>st</sup>/2<sup>nd</sup> person pronominals do not occur unconstrained in the structure. They are unique in that they require licensing via corresponding person-agreement with the nearest functional head. This requirement is dubbed the Person Licensing Condition/PLC (Béjar & Rezáč 2003; Baker 2008; Preminger 2011, 2019 for varying versions). This paper assumes Béjar & Rezáč’s version of PLC, as given in (29).

- (29) Person Licensing Condition (PLC): An interpretable 1/2 feature must be licensed by entering into an Agree relation with a functional category. (Béjar & Rezáč 2003: 53)

The most telling evidence for PLC is provided by Person Case Constraint/PCC (Perlmutter 1971; Bonet 1991; Béjar & Rezac 2003; Anagnostopoulou 2003, 2005; Adger & Harbour 2007 among others). Consider (30) from French --- in a ditransitive structure, a 1<sup>st</sup>/2<sup>nd</sup> person direct object clitic is disallowed in the presence of an indirect object clitic.

- (30) *French* (Adger & Harbour (2007: 2))  
 \*On me lui montrera  
 one me.ACC him.DAT show.FUT  
*for* 'They will show me to him.'

According to standard syntactic accounts of PCC, it is argued that the ungrammaticality of (30) follows from the inability of the person feature on the direct object to be licensed. Concretely, assuming PLC, 1<sup>st</sup>/2<sup>nd</sup> person feature on the direct object requires licensing via agreement. However, in (30), the indirect object intervenes for agreement between the direct object and the nearest functional head *v*, resulting in ungrammaticality.

While Punjabi does not manifest PLC via PCC (unlike French), 1<sup>st</sup>/2<sup>nd</sup> person full pronouns in the language also require licensing. This is evidenced by differential object marking/DOM, which like PCC is a phenomenon driven by nominal features that require licensing (Kalin 2017, 2018). Consider (31), which shows that 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> person full pronouns in the object position must occur with DOM, realized as *-nuu*. With 3<sup>rd</sup> person pronouns, the marking is optional - in its presence, the pronoun is interpreted as referring to an animate entity; in its absence, the pronoun receives an inanimate reading, (32). For non-pronominals, the presence/absence of DOM correlates with effects like definiteness and specificity, (33).

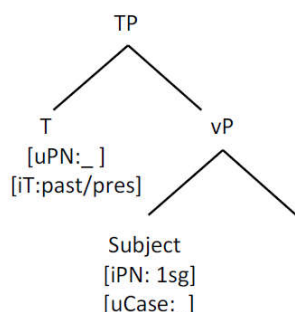
- (31) karan-ne maiN-\*(nuu)/tai-\*(nuu) vekhyaa  
 Karan-ERG 1SG-DOM/2SG-DOM see.PFV.M.SG  
 Karan saw me/you.'
- (32) karan-ne o-nuu/o vekhyaa  
 Karan-ERG 3SG-DOM/3SG see.PFV.M.SG  
 Karan saw him/it.'
- (33) karan-ne kuRii-nuu/kuRii vekhyaa/vekhii  
 Karan-ERG girl-DOM/girl see.PFV.M.SG/F.SG  
 Karan saw the girl/a girl.'

While DOM also affects features other than 1<sup>st</sup>/2<sup>nd</sup> person, its obligatory occurrence on 1<sup>st</sup>/2<sup>nd</sup> person pronouns can reasonably be taken to result from the (person) licensing requirement of said pronouns in object position<sup>6</sup>. Notwithstanding its distinct manifestation, I take PLC to be a universal requirement on 1<sup>st</sup>/2<sup>nd</sup> person pronominals.

With the theoretical assumptions in place, we can return to the derivation of standard imperatives. Recall that the 2<sup>nd</sup> person agreement endings that obtain with standard imperatives

<sup>6</sup> Discussing the role of DOM on 3<sup>rd</sup> person pronouns and non-pronominals, where it occurs optionally is beyond the scope of this paper and I direct the reader to Kaur (2016) and Kaur & Raynaud (to appear) for more details.

are distinct from 2<sup>nd</sup> person agreement forms in declaratives. Furthermore, the imperative subject is restricted to the 2<sup>nd</sup> person subject in contrast with the declarative subject which can be 1<sup>st</sup>/2<sup>nd</sup> or 3<sup>rd</sup> person. I situate these differences across standard imperatives and declaratives as ensuing from a distinct subject licensing head across the two clause-types. Following standard accounts for Indo-Aryan linguistic systems (Kidwai 2000; Bhatt 2005; Chandra 2007; Kaur 2016 among others), I propose that finite structures in the declarative domain in Punjabi host a T head, which bears unvalued person and number features [uPN: \_], in addition to the tense specification. Assuming the PLC, this instance of T bearing unvalued phi-features can agree with all 1<sup>st</sup>/2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> person subjects, licensing them without restriction<sup>7</sup>. The unvalued case feature on the nominal appears with a nominative. The declarative instance of T is represented in (34).



The instance of T in (34) is missing in the imperative structure. For one, if the said T found in declaratives (T-decl, henceforth) were available across clause types, we would not have obtained distinct 2<sup>nd</sup> person agreement forms, corresponding to *eN/o* in the declarative, and null/*-o* in the imperative. Furthermore, the 2<sup>nd</sup> person restriction on imperative subject would also remain unexplained. I thereby propose that instead of a T<sup>0</sup> that bears an unvalued person feature, the imperative structure hosts a person feature-relativized agreeing head. Following Béjar & Rezáč (2009), Preminger (2014) among others, a relativized agreeing head when specified for say feature [F] only sees the closest goal with [F] in its search space. This is distinct from non-relativized agreeing heads that can probe freely in the absence of any pre-specified features. The feature-relativized head in imperatives corresponds to the Jussive head, which consists of an [iPerson:2] feature, and can subsequently only agree with a 2<sup>nd</sup> person subject or with a minimal *pro*, which lacks person features upon entering the derivation and obtains them via agreement with the functional head.

It must be clarified that I treat the Jussive head as the imperative counterpart of the T head in declaratives, in keeping with the divide between T-decl and T-imp proposed in Jensen (2003)<sup>8</sup>, which is distinct from Zanuttini (2008) and Zanuttini et al. (2012) treatment where the

<sup>7</sup> Forms of the tensed be-auxiliary (subject agreement)

	Present tense		Past tense	
	sg	pl	sg	pl
1	aaN	aaN	saaN	saaN
2	eN	o	saiN	so
3	e	ne	sii	sann

<sup>8</sup> To be precise, in Jensen (2003), the T-imp also hosts a T feature, which is anchored to speech time. I abstract away from the issue of temporality in imperatives, and focus on the phi-featural composition of the C-T alone.

imperative structure consists of both a T head and a Jussive head. In particular, Zanuttini (2008), Zanuttini et al. (2012: ex 23, page 1246) propose that in imperatives with 2<sup>nd</sup> person subjects, the Jussive head hosts an interpretable and valued 2<sup>nd</sup> person feature, and the minus person T head hosts an unvalued number and a valued case feature. This split however is challenged by at least two pieces of empirical evidence. First, there is no positive evidence from morphology showing a split between number agreement on T and person agreement on Jussive. It is well-known from cross-linguistic investigation that imperative verbs manifest reduced morphology in comparison to declaratives verbs that host subject agreement (Sadock & Zwicky 1985; Zhang 1990; van der Wurff 2007 among others). In particular, Sadock & Zwicky (1985: 172–173) report that half of the languages in their sample employ the bare form of the verb as an imperative, especially in the 2<sup>nd</sup> person singular familiar form. It is crucial to note that the reduction in morphology affects both number and person features uniformly, without split. Secondly, more data that argues not only against positing both T and Jussive heads, but also against the distinct (un)interpretable and (un)valued specification of person and number features on the two heads, is provided by agreement properties with the indefinite subject ‘someone’. In languages such as Latin (Jensen 2003), the indefinite subject ‘someone’, which hosts a 3<sup>rd</sup> person singular feature, occurs with 2<sup>nd</sup> person plural agreement on the verbal complex in imperatives. Inflecting the verb with 3<sup>rd</sup> person singular morphology to match *someone* results in ungrammaticality.

- (35) *Latin* (Jensen (2003: 22a))  
 Aperi-te                      aliquis  
 open-IMP-2PL              someone.NOM.SG  
 ‘Someone open!’

Recall that for Zanuttini et al. (2012), the T head occurs with an unvalued instance of number, which is valued by the subject. The person feature, on the other hand, is pre-valued on the Jussive head. If this were the case, we should have obtained 2<sup>nd</sup> person singular agreement in (35), *contra facts*. I take this to indicate that the Jussive head not only hosts person but also number feature.

If person and number originate on the same source, then the only remaining issue that needs resolving to rule out the presence of a distinct T pertains to nominative case valuation. In Zanuttini et al. (2012), the T head also hosts a nominative case feature, which is assigned to the subject. However, as discussed previously, there is a lot of evidence from literature that argues against nominative case being assigned by a finite T head to the subject DP upon agreement. Instead, it is the absence of any otherwise assigned case values (lexical/inherent/dependent) on the subject DP. Such a treatment of the nominative case does not require a distinct T head with a positively specified case value. In light of empirical observations that argue against a T-Jussive split, coupled with an alternative analysis of nominative case, I analyze the imperative structure as being composed of a unique functional projection, which hosts a 2<sup>nd</sup> person feature and a number feature. This head is labeled the Jussive head<sup>9</sup>.

<sup>9</sup> A more conceptual argument against positing both T and Jussive heads in imperatives comes from imperatives with 3<sup>rd</sup> person subjects in languages such as Italian, Bhojpurī (Zanuttini et al. 2012). These imperatives restricted to 2<sup>nd</sup> person subjects and can occur with a wider range of subjects, including definite noun phrases and 1<sup>st</sup>/3<sup>rd</sup> person pronouns. Furthermore, there is no licensing of a 2<sup>nd</sup> person anaphoric object in these imperatives. Despite the absence of any syntactic evidence, Zanuttini et al. (2012) argue that imperatives with 3<sup>rd</sup> person subjects host the Jussive head, which provides reference to the addressee in the interpretation of these imperatives in that the addressee is meant to ensure that the event denoted by the verb come about, even when she is not the agent. While

In addition to the JussiveP, the imperative structure consists of a verbal projection, which corresponds to a bare verb stem. This verbal form encodes no information (aspectual or agreement related), beyond the lexical content of the verb. Outside the imperative domain, the bare verb has an extremely restricted occurrence such that it is attested only in one configuration—as the main verb of a complex predicate. Punjabi, like its neighboring Indo-Aryan languages, has complex verbal structures comprising of two verbs (Akhtar 2003; Butt 1995, 2003 among others). Typically, the main verb (V1) provides the lexical meaning, with the second/light verb (V2) providing extra aspectual information. Consider (36) for illustration, where the main verb, which makes the primary contribution to meaning, occurs in its stem form. All the aspectual and agreement information is borne by the light verb, and is inadmissible on the main verb<sup>10</sup>.

- (36)    karan-ne        kek                khaa(\*-yaa)                littaa  
           Karan-ERG    cake.M.SG        eat (-PFV.M.SG)            take.PFV.M.SG  
           ‘Karan ate the cake (completely).’

The ban on the occurrence of aspect and agreement morphology on the bare verb stem in the verbal complex indicates that this form corresponds to a phi-defective vP structure. Regardless of the phi-specification of the v head, the imperative structure can occur with an object, which depending on its properties, can either get an unmarked accusative, or appear with DOM, realized as *-nuu*.

- (37)    kuRii-(nuu)    vekh-o  
           girl-DOM        see-2PL  
           ‘See a/the girl!’

Given the disassociation between phi-agreement and object licensing, I do not treat the accusative case as a structural case valued by the v head to the object upon agreement. Instead, it is better analyzed as a dependent case, which obtains on the lower nominal in the presence of a higher nominal that does not bear a non-structural case in the same minimal domain, in line with Marantz (1991), Sigurðsson (2006) among others. DOM, as discussed previously, is not a case value, but a consequence of the licensing requirement of select nominal properties including 1<sup>st</sup>/2<sup>nd</sup> person.

With this, we are in a position to derive the standard imperative. Consider the tree in (38).

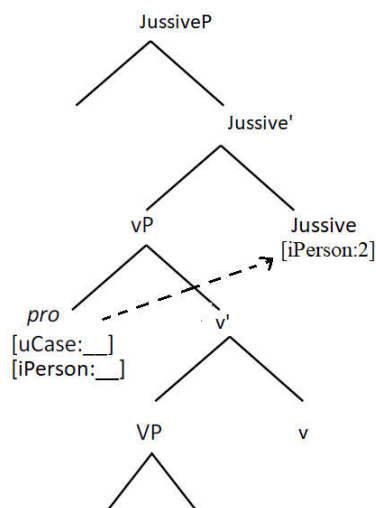
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the claim about the syntactic availability of the Jussive head in said example cannot be counter-exemplified empirically, it challenges the original premise underlying the Jussive Phrase. In particular, the Jussive Phrase analysis constitutes a syntactic alternative to the semantic-pragmatic approaches (à la Portner 2004a) to deriving addressee-orientation in imperatives. Its presence is motivated by syntactic evidence pertaining to agreement, binding and subject restrictions. When such syntactic support is lacking, the reference to the addressee in the imperative interpretation can also be derived by semantic-pragmatic approaches, challenging the original premise of a syntactic-encoding of the addressee in imperatives. However, since the current paper focuses on imperatives with 2<sup>nd</sup> person subjects, I do not discuss this issue further here.

<sup>10</sup> Not all complex predicates are composed of the verbal stem as the main verb. Some light verb constructions employ the infinitival form of the main verb (Butt 1995; Butt and Ramchand 2005 among others).

- (i)        o                    ro-n                    laggii  
           3SG.NOM        cry-INF.OBL        be.attached.PFV.F.SG  
           ‘She began to cry.’                    (based on Butt & Ramchand 2005)

(38)



The structure in (38) consists of the phi-feature devoid vP and the JussiveP. The Jussive head hosts an interpretable and valued instance of the 2<sup>nd</sup> person feature and a number feature. The subject is a minimally specified *pro* with unvalued phi features (in the sense of Rizzi 1986), and must receive them by agreement with the Jussive head. Holmberg's (2005) contention against identification of minimal pronouns by functional heads, which themselves are inherently unspecified (following standard agreement system, Chomsky 2000, 2001), does not pose a problem in imperatives since the Jussive head enters the derivation with a pre-valued 2<sup>nd</sup> person feature, which is also interpretable and consequently does not get deleted at the LF interface.

To account for the agreement relation between the *pro* subject and the Jussive head, I follow Wurmbrand's (2012) *Reverse Agree* (see Zeijlstra 2012; Bjorkman & Zeijlstra 2019 for a distinct version of Upward Agree based on feature (un)interpretability). According to *Reverse Agree* given in (39),

(39) Wurmbrand (2012:1)

A feature F: \_\_\_ on a head  $\alpha$  is valued by a feature F: val on  $\beta$ , iff

- i.  $\beta$  asymmetrically c-commands  $\alpha$  AND
- ii. There is no  $\gamma$ ,  $\gamma$  distinct from  $\beta$ , with a valued interpretable feature F such that  $\gamma$  commands  $\alpha$  and is c-commanded by  $\beta$ .

Employing this system, I propose that subject with its unvalued [iPerson: ] probes upward to find the valued instances of these features. In the absence of an intervening source of valued instances of said features, it locates the Jussive head and gets its features valued via downward valuation. This agreement relation transfers the 2<sup>nd</sup> person feature to the subject, restricting it to the addressee, as required by imperative syntax. In summary, the standard bare-verb imperatives in Punjabi host an imperative-specific 2<sup>nd</sup> person bearing Jussive head, a counterpart of T-decl(arative), which agrees with the subject to yield addressee-restriction.

## 5 Deriving Allocutive imperatives: *Adr-DP* licenses the subject

Recall that differently from the standard imperative, there is no overt realization of the imperative-specific *-o* in allocutive imperatives, which must obligatorily occur with the allocutive marker *je*, as repeated in (40). This raises the question of a covert occurrence of the imperative-specific Jussive head in the structure. The goal of this section is to rule out a covert Jussive layer by arguing that allocutivity occupies the T head in Punjabi only in the absence of a co-occurring instance of the person feature in the C-T domain. In its imperative occurrence, the allocutive T head mediates an agreement relation between the imperative subject and *Adr-DP* to restrict the subject to the addressee.

- (40)    *kitaab*            *parheyaa-(\*-o)*            *je*  
           book            read.IMP-2PL            ALLOC.PL  
           ‘(Please) read the book!’

### 5.1 Allocutivity at T

Existing work on allocutivity in Basque, Tamil and Magahi situates allocutivity in these languages above T- at C in Basque, AgrP in Tamil, and at FinP in Magahi (Oyharçabal 1993; Miyagawa 2012; McFadden 2017; Baker & Alok 2018 ms.). Punjabi allocutivity, however, is located at T, and not C, as I show in this section.

Allocutivity in Punjabi is realized by free morphemes, which occur in the clause-final position after aspect, voice, modal elements and negation. This is shown in (41).

- (41)    *karan*            *tez*            *gaDDiyaaN*    *nayii*    *calaa*    *paan-d-aa*    *je*  
           Karan.NOM    fast    cars            NEG    drive    can-HAB-M.SG    ALLOC.PL  
           ‘Karan cannot drive fast cars (to an honorific/plural hearer).’

To rule out its occurrence at C, I illustrate that allocutivity in Punjabi can co-occur with C-level items. The language has a polar question item *kii*, which can occur both in the sentence-initial and final positions, as in (42). The polar question *kii* is unacceptable in the pre-verbal position, unless accompanied with a prosodic break, (43).

- (42)    (kii)    *karan-ne*            *miiraa-nuu*    *kitaab*    *dittii*            *e*            (kii)  
           POLQ   Karan-ERG    Mira-DAT    book    give.PFV.F.SG    be.PRS.3SG    POLQ  
           ‘Has Karan given the book to Mira?’  
           (43)    ??*karan-ne*            *miiraa-nuu*    *kitaab*            *kii*    *dittii*            *e*  
                  Karan-ERG    Mira-DAT    book            POLQ    give.PFV.F.SG    be.PRS.3SG  
                  ‘Has Karan given the book to Mira?’

I follow Bhatt & Dayal’s (2014) treatment of the Hindi-Urdu polar question particle *kyaa*, in assuming that the polar question item is situated in a higher CP projection, comparable to ForceP. This CP layer is found above the C-domain where the null Y/N operator is located. Consider the schema in (44). Importantly, there is no ban on the allocutive marker in the presence of polar question, as shown in (45).



(44) [CP2 polar-kyaa [ CP1 Null-Yes/No-Operator [ IP ]]]

(45) karan-ne miiraa-nuu kitaab dittii je kii  
 Karan-ERG Mira-DAT book give.PFV.F.SG be.PRS.3SG POLQ  
 ‘Has Karan given the book to Mira? (to a plural/honorific hearer)’

However, since the polar question item occupies an extended projection of the C layer, one cannot rule out the occurrence of the allocutive marker in a lower C<sup>0</sup>. We thereby proceed to examining the co-occurrence of allocutivity with other C-based items such as complementizers. Punjabi, like Hindi-Urdu has a lexical complementizer *ki*, which occurs head-initially in embedded finite structures (Bhatia 1993 among others). Consider (46) for an illustration.

(46) karan-nuu pataa e ki tu kal aayengii  
 Karan-DAT know be.PRS.3SG that 2SG tomorrow come.FUT.2SG  
 ‘Karan knows that you will come tomorrow.’

Following Dayal’s (1996) (also see Singh 1977)<sup>11</sup> account of the Hindi-Urdu *ki*, I situate the Punjabi lexical complementizer *ki* at C<sup>0</sup>, which patterns similarly. It is observed that there is no ban on the occurrence of allocutivity with lexical complementizers in embedded structures. Consider the following illustration with the overt complementizer *ki* which co-occurs with the embedded allocutive marker.

(47) karan-ne keyaa ki miiraa kal aayegii je  
 Karan-ERG say.PFV.M.SG that Mira.NOM tomorrow come.FUT.F.SG ALLOC.PL  
 ‘Karan said that Mira will come tomorrow.’ (to a plural/honorific hearer)

To the extent that the lexical complementizer in Punjabi is situated at C, its co-occurrence with allocutivity indicates the non-C position of the latter.

Stronger support for the location of allocutivity not at C, but at T comes from its distribution vis-à-vis the be-auxiliary at T. Typically, the inflectional domain in Punjabi is composed of two components. The first component is the main verb, which hosts aspectual information<sup>12</sup>. The second component consists of the be-auxiliary, which bears temporal information. I follow Anand & Nevins (2007) and Davison (2002) to take the be-auxiliary (and its various forms) to be a spell-out of Tense in Punjabi, like in Hindi-Urdu. While the aspect encoding verb (complex) shows agreement in number and gender, the tense-inflected auxiliary form shows agreement in number and person.

Given this template of the inflectional domain, where person agreement is hosted only on auxiliary, we find that the be-auxiliary shows distinct person-inflected forms only with 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> person nominative subjects. In all of the remaining scenarios, i.e. with (a) 3<sup>rd</sup> person nominative subjects, (b) non-nominative subjects but unmarked objects, and (c) nomin-

<sup>11</sup> Note that the complementizer in Hindi-Urdu has some unusual properties not exhibited by canonical complementizers; see Dayal (1996), Manetta (2011) among others.

<sup>12</sup> In the perfective and habitual aspect, the aspectual content is affixed to the verb. In the progressive aspect, however, there is a separate stand alone auxiliary form composed of the verb *rai* ‘live’.

nominative subjects with DOM-marked objects, the be-auxiliary occurs in 3<sup>rd</sup> person/minus person forms (*e/ne*).

Punjabi is an aspect based split-ergative language, with a nominative-accusative alignment in the imperfective domain, and an ergative-accusative alignment in the (transitive) perfective (Bhatia 1993; Deo & Sharma 2006; Bhatt 2007; Kaur 2016; Chandra & Kaur 2017). Given this case alignment, person-inflected auxiliaries obtain only with 1<sup>st</sup>/2<sup>nd</sup> person nominative subjects, as shown in (48).

- |      |                      |            |                |                |
|------|----------------------|------------|----------------|----------------|
| (48) | asii/tusii           | billiiyaaN | paalde         | <b>aaN/o</b>   |
|      | 1PL.NOM/2PL.NOM      | cat.F.PL   | raise.HAB.M.PL | be.PRS.1PL/2PL |
|      | ‘We/you raise cats.’ |            |                |                |

With a 3<sup>rd</sup> person nominative subject, minus person forms *e/ne* obtain, as shown in (49) and (50).

- |      |                    |            |                |            |
|------|--------------------|------------|----------------|------------|
| (49) | o                  | billiiyaaN | paaldaa        | <b>e</b>   |
|      | 3SG.NOM            | cat.F.PL   | raise.HAB.M.SG | be.PRS.3SG |
|      | ‘He raises cats.’  |            |                |            |
| (50) | o                  | billiiyaaN | paalde         | <b>ne</b>  |
|      | 3PL.NOM            | cat.F.PL   | raise.HAB.M.PL | be.PRS.3PL |
|      | ‘They raise cats.’ |            |                |            |

The same auxiliary-forms obtain with an (un)marked ergative subject in the perfective domain. This subject fails to control agreement on the verb, which instead agrees with the unmarked object in number and gender. Consider (51), where the unmarked feminine, plural object ‘cat’ controls agreement on the verbal complex<sup>13</sup>. Crucially, object agreement is not person-variable. 1<sup>st</sup>/2<sup>nd</sup> person pronominal objects bear obligatory DOM, *-nuu*. As a consequence of being marked, there is no possibility for (person) agreement with objects (Kaur 2016).

- |      |                            |            |                |            |
|------|----------------------------|------------|----------------|------------|
| (51) | asii/ona-ne                | billiiyaaN | paaliyaaN      | <b>ne</b>  |
|      | 1PL.OBL/3PL-ERG            | cat.F.PL   | raise.PFV.F.PL | be.PRS.3PL |
|      | ‘I/they have raised cats.’ |            |                |            |

The minus person form *e* also obtains when both the subject and the object fail to control agreement, resulting in default agreement. Consider (52) with the oblique subject and the DOM object. In such a scenario, neither of the arguments controls verbal agreement, yielding a default (3sg) form of the auxiliary, *e*.

- |      |                       |      |              |                |                      |
|------|-----------------------|------|--------------|----------------|----------------------|
| (52) | asii                  | oss  | billii-nuu   | paaleyaa       | <b>e</b>             |
|      | 1PL.OBL               | that | cat.F.SG-DOM | raise.PFV.M.SG | be.PRS.3SG (default) |
|      | ‘We raised that cat.’ |      |              |                |                      |

The agreement system is summarized in Table I. Importantly, the be-auxiliary is never inflected for the person feature expect in the presence of 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> person nominative subjects.

<sup>13</sup> Punjabi also has other non-nominative subjects such as dative subjects, which pattern like ergative subjects in their inability to control agreement. They pattern like their ergative counterparts in not being able to control agreement. We will omit dative subjects from the discussion at hand.

**Table I.** Forms of the ‘be’-auxiliary

	Nominative subject (Subject agr)		Non-nominative subject (Object agr)		Non-nominative subject and DOM object (Default agr)
	sg	pl	sg	pl	
1	<b>aaN</b>	<b>aaN</b>	-	-	e
2	<b>eN</b>	<b>o</b>	-	-	e
3	e	ne	e	ne	e

Given the distribution of the be-auxiliary forms, we find that allocutivity is disallowed with the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> person nominative subject, as shown in (53). It can only occur in configurations which license a minus person be-auxiliary. This means that allocutivity is grammatical in configurations with 3<sup>rd</sup> person nominative subjects, as in (54), with non-nominative subjects but unmarked objects, shown in (55), and in default agreement configurations with non-nominative subjects and marked objects, as in (56).

- (53) *1<sup>st</sup>/2<sup>nd</sup> person nominative subject*  
 \*asii/tusii                      billiiyaaN                      paalde                      **je**  
 1PL.NOM/2PL.NOM                      cat.F.PL                      raise.HAB.M.PL                      ALLOC.PL  
 ‘We/you raise cats.’
- (54) *3<sup>rd</sup> person nominative subject*  
 o                      billiiyaaN                      paaldae                      **je**  
 3SG.NOM                      cat.F.PL                      raise.HAB.M.SG                      ALLOC.PL  
 ‘He raises cats.’ (to a plural/honorific hearer)
- (55) *Non-nominative subjects (object agreement)*  
 asii/ona-ne                      billiiyaaN                      paaliyaaN                      **je**  
 1PL.OBL/3PL-ERG                      cat.F.PL                      raise.PFV.F.PL                      ALLOC.PL  
 ‘I/they raise(s) cats.’ (to a plural/honorific hearer)
- (56) *Non-nominative subjects and DOM objects (default agreement)*  
 asii                      oss                      billii-nuu                      paaleyaa                      **je**  
 1PL.OBL                      that                      cat.F.SG-DOM                      raise.PFV.M.SG                      ALLOC.PL  
 ‘We raised that cat.’ (to a plural/honorific hearer)

There are two important lessons to learn from the distributional pattern of the allocutive marker vis-à-vis the be-auxiliary. First, the mutual exclusiveness of the be-auxiliary with the allocutive marker in examples (54)–(56) suggests a shared locus of realization, corresponding to the T head. This means that there is no possibility for the be-auxiliary, even in its default form, to co-occur with the allocutive marker, as shown in (57).

- (57) \*asii                      oss                      billii-nuu                      paaleyaa                      e                      **je**  
 1PL.OBL that                      cat.F.SG-DOM                      raise.PFV.M.SG                      be.PRS.3SG                      ALLOC.PL  
 ‘We raised that cat.’ (to a plural/honorific hearer)

Secondly, the ban on 1<sup>st</sup> person nominative subjects (in addition to 2<sup>nd</sup> nominative subjects) with the allocutive marker shows that the structure with allocutivity altogether lacks a functional head that can license a 1<sup>st</sup>/2<sup>nd</sup> person nominative subject. It is well-known from cross-linguistic

investigation that allocutive languages ban allocutivity with a nominative 2<sup>nd</sup> person subject, which controls agreement (McFadden 2017 for Tamil; Alok & Baker 2018, ms for Magahi). However, there is no such ban on the occurrence of a 1<sup>st</sup> person subject, as shown for Tamil where the allocutive marker *ngæ* co-occurs with the agreeing 1<sup>st</sup> person subject.


- (58) *Tamil* (McFadden (2017:1))  
 Naan jaangiri vaang-in-een-ngæ  
 I Jangri buy-PST-1SG.SBJ-ALLOC  
 ‘I bought Jangri.’

The availability of a 1<sup>st</sup> person nominative subject which controls agreement with allocutivity indicates that the underlying structure for (58) hosts a T head with an unvalued person feature, [uPerson: \_\_], which can agree with the 1<sup>st</sup> person subject to person-license it. The allocutive probe is located higher, and it agrees with the Addressee-DP separately. The two independently obtained agreement morphemes are also realized separately in the verbal complex, given the agglutinating nature of Tamil. In contrast with Tamil, Punjabi bans 1<sup>st</sup> person nominative subjects with allocutivity, indicating that the subject agreement probe and the allocutive probe compete in this language. In particular, an allocutive structure in Punjabi lacks a person probe at T, which can agree with the 1<sup>st</sup> person subject (in full-phi). I must note that the deduction here assumes the previously noted PLC. Since the allocutive structure in Punjabi lacks an unvalued person probe, it cannot agree with the 1<sup>st</sup> person subject and license it. This leads to a ban on the occurrence of 1<sup>st</sup> person nominative subjects with allocutivity.

These pieces of evidence clearly illustrate that allocutivity in Punjabi obtains on T, and only in the absence of another instance of the person feature in the C-T domain. To model this, I propose that the declarative T head enters the derivation with an unvalued person feature [uPerson: \_\_]. Typically, this instance of person agrees with the (1<sup>st</sup>/2<sup>nd</sup> person) subject to license it, resulting in person-inflected auxiliary forms. In such a scenario, allocutivity cannot obtain due to lack of a person probe to agree with the Adr-DP. This is schematized in (59).

- (59) [Adr-DP [CP [TP <sub>[uPerson: \_\_]</sub> 1<sup>st</sup>/2<sup>nd</sup> subj<sub>[iPerson: 1/2]</sub> [vP...]]]]
- 

Allocutivity obtains when the uniquely available [uPerson: \_\_] on T undergoes agreement with the Adr-DP instead of the subject, as shown in (60). This is not possible in the presence of a 1<sup>st</sup>/2<sup>nd</sup> person subject, which needs its person feature to be licensed via agreement, following PLC. However, with subjects that lack a person feature (3<sup>rd</sup> person subjects) or whose phi-features have been rendered invisible due to the presence of a PP/KP (non-nominative subjects), the person probe on T does not undergo agreement with the subject, and is left unvalued. It can either remain unvalued, in which case, minus person or default auxiliary forms are realized. Alternatively, this unvalued person probe on T can target the Adr-DP to yield allocutivity.

- (60) [Adr-DP [CP [TP <sub>[uPerson: \_\_]</sub> 3<sup>rd</sup> subject/non-nom 1<sup>st</sup>/2<sup>nd</sup> subj [vP...]]]]
- 

In summary, the declarative C-T in Punjabi hosts a unique instance of the person feature, which can have two possible sources of valuation- the 1<sup>st</sup>/2<sup>nd</sup> person subject, or the Adr-DP. In a given

derivation, only one of the sources is targeted for agreement. If the targeted source is the subject, we get subject agreement. For ease of exposition, I label this instance of T as *T-decl*. If the T head targets the Adr-DP and bears allocutivity, it is labeled as *T-alloc*.

This analysis of allocutivity is instructive as regards the composition of the C-T in imperatives. Recall that the Jussive head, which derives standard imperatives in Punjabi, is the imperative counterpart of T-decl. Extending the distributional requirement of T-alloc to imperatives allows us to straightforwardly rule out the co-occurrence of Jussive head with T-alloc. In the presence of the Jussive head, there is no possibility for the C-T domain to host another instance of the person feature, which can agree with the Adr-DP. Thus, the standard imperative fails to host allocutivity, as seen previously in section 2. By the same token, presence of T-alloc with a person feature that targets the Adr-DP rules out the Jussive head. I take this to indicate that the allocutive imperative in Punjabi, which occurs with obligatory allocutivity, lacks the Jussive head not only morphologically but also syntactically.

## 5.2 Deriving the allocutive imperative

Recall from section 3 that the allocutive imperative patterns with the standard imperative in that it requires an overlap between the subject and the addressee. In the absence of the Jussive head, how is the addressee-restriction derived?

I claim that addressee-restriction obtains by agreement of the subject with the Adr-DP via the allocutive T head. Note that the  $-(e)yaa$ <sup>14</sup> marked verb form in the allocutive imperative cannot be treated as the locus of a 2<sup>nd</sup> person feature which derives addressee-restriction since said verb cannot occur on its own to make the imperative, as shown by the ungrammaticality of (61). If the verb form were specified for a 2<sup>nd</sup> person feature, it should have been able to stand alone and license the subject. However, this is not borne out, signaling the (licensing) deficiency of the verb<sup>15</sup>. On the flipside, situating the 2<sup>nd</sup> person feature on the verbal form in the allocutive imperative precludes an explanation for the obligatory occurrence of the allocutive marker *je* in the imperative. Recall that *je* is obligatory in the imperative, in contrast with declaratives and interrogatives, where it is optional. If the verbal form of the imperative hosts a 2<sup>nd</sup> person feature

<sup>14</sup> For verbs that end in consonants, the verb form in the allocutive imperative bears resemblance to the default form of the perfective/participle verb in Punjabi. Consider *parh* ‘read’- the verb occurs as *paRheyaa* in the allocutive imperative, which is homophonous with the default perfective form of the verb. However, this similarity is purely phonologically/lexically constrained. Consider verbs ending in vowels such as ‘eat’ *khaa*, ‘take’ *lai*. In the allocutive imperative, these verbs occur with  $-yaa$  (*khaayaa*, *leyaa*). In contrast, their perfective forms have suppletive morphology corresponding to *khaddaa*, *pittaa*, *littaa*. Another verb for which this difference is seen clearly is ‘go’ *jaa*. The allocutive imperative form is *jaayaa*, while the perfective form is the lexically idiosyncratic form *gayaa*. Thanks to Rajesh Bhatt (p.c) for pointing this out.

<sup>15</sup> It is plausible that the verbal form of the allocutive imperative in Punjabi  $v-(e)yaa$  *je* is historically related to the polite imperative in Hindi-Urdu/HU. Specifically, Bubenik (1998) posits that the HU polite imperative has originated from the 3rd person passive in Old Indo-Aryan, which got remodeled through the middle Indo-Aryan period, into an active imperative form with 2<sup>nd</sup> person features (*kri-ya-te* > *k-ijja-i* > *k-ijja-hi* > *k-iji-e* ‘please do’). Unlike the HU polite imperative form which is a fused verb form, the Punjabi allocutive imperative form is not a dedicated polite form and can be used for a plural non-honorific addressee. Furthermore, this verb is separable into the  $-(e)yaa$  verb and *je*, as shown by the possibility to insert negation/emphatic particles in (i). Also, *je* in Punjabi is not restricted to the imperative domain, but has an independent life across clause types. I thereby treat it distinctly.

(i) othhe sirf jaayaa ii naa je, mastii vii maareyaa je  
 there only go.IMP emphatic NEG ALLOC, fun also hit.IMP ALLOC  
 ‘Do not just go there, but also have fun!’

and can license the imperative subject, the obligatory occurrence of the allocutive marker remains unexplained.

- (61) \*kitaab            paRheyaa  
       book            read.IMP  
       ‘(Please) read the book!’

In light of this discussion, I maintain that the 2<sup>nd</sup> person feature in the allocutive imperative is provided by the allocutive complex, and not the verb form, which I treat as being devoid of phi-specification akin to the bare verb stem in the standard imperative.

With this, we are ready to derive the allocutive imperative. Instead of the Jussive head, the allocutive imperative is composed of T-alloc, which enters the derivation with a person feature, which must be licensed by agreement with the Adr-DP (following Miyagawa 2012; McFadden 2017). Like in the standard imperative, the subject is a *pro* with unvalued person features, which must probe upward following Reverse Agree to be valued. However, differently from the standard imperative which hosts a valued instance of the 2<sup>nd</sup> person feature on the closest c-commanding head, Jussive<sup>0</sup>, the person feature on T-alloc in allocutive imperatives is unvalued, and must be obtained from Adr-DP. To explain the agreement relation between the *pro* subject, T-alloc and Adr-DP, I invoke the Feature Sharing view (Pesetsky & Torrego 2007) in (62), albeit with a modification in directionality of agreement probing.

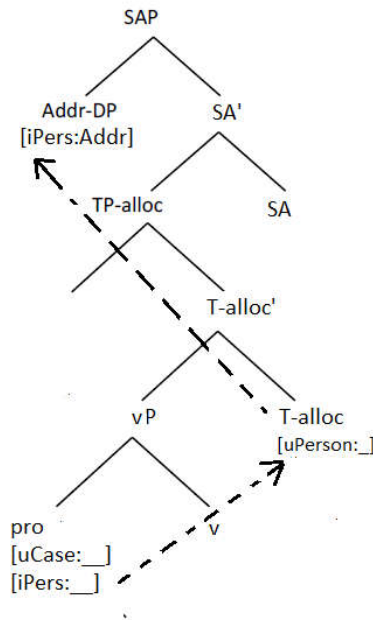
- (62) Feature sharing view of Agree (Pesetsky & Torrego (2007: 5))
- i. an unvalued feature *F* (a *probe*) on a head *H* at syntactic location  $\alpha$  ( $F\alpha$ ) scans its c-command domain for another instance of *F* (a *goal*) at location  $\beta$  ( $F\beta$ ) with which to agree.
  - ii. Replace  $F\alpha$  with  $F\beta$ , so that the same feature is present in both locations.

The feature sharing view of agreement allows the possibility to value a feature, say *F* at more than one location as a consequence of an application of Agree that involves only one of these locations. Consider a derivation with two unvalued occurrences of *F*. Agree between these two occurrences of *F* yields a structure that contains only one occurrence of *F* with two instances; this is shown with indices in (63). When either of these instances of *F* undergoes agreement with a valued occurrence of *F* in a third syntactic location, the result will be a valued feature *F* present at three locations, as schematized in (64).

- (63)  $F_\alpha[] \dots F_\beta[] \rightarrow F_\alpha[]^1 \dots F_\beta[]^1$   
 (64)  $F_\alpha[]^1 \dots F_\beta[]^1 \dots F_\gamma \text{ val}[X] \rightarrow F_\alpha[X] \dots F_\beta[X] \dots F_\gamma \text{ val}[X]$

Assuming the feature sharing approach to agreement coupled with Reverse Agree, we can resolve the agreement relation between the *pro* subject, T-alloc and Adr-DP. The subject hosts an unvalued instance of person. Employing Reverse Agree, it locates the T head, which also hosts an unvalued occurrence of the person feature. This application of agreement between the subject and the T head yields a structure that contains only one occurrence of the person feature with two instances. When T probes further upward and receives a value from the Adr-DP, the person feature on both the subject and the T head get valued. The full derivation is shown in (65).

(65)



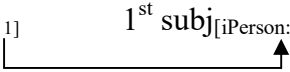
The tree above shows that in the absence of the Jussive head, the subject undergoes agreement with T-alloc, which agrees with Addr-DP located in the Addressee Phrase. This T-mediated agreement relation between the subject and the Addr-DP restricts the former to the addressee, as required by imperative syntax. In summary, addressee-restriction on subjects in allocutive imperatives in Punjabi is derived via the clause-type independent allocutivity<sup>16</sup>.

Before we conclude this section, let us derive the (un)grammaticality of the allocutive imperative with other subjects. Recall from section 3 that apart from null subjects and 2<sup>nd</sup> person pronouns, the allocutive imperative is grammatical with the quantifier ‘all’, but is illicit with 1<sup>st</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> person pronouns. Let us begin with the quantifier subject. I follow Zanuttini (2008), who draws from Stanley & Szabó (2000), in proposing that the quantificational phrase has a syntactic element that corresponds to its domain restriction. This syntactic element is assumed to be a null noun phrase. Like with a *pro* subject in (65), the null noun phrase in the quantifier targets the T head for acquiring a person feature. The T head then targets the Addr-DP, resulting in valuation of the person feature on both the T head and the subject (via Feature sharing). Due to the presence of an Addressee feature on the quantifier subject, it is always interpreted as ranging over a set containing the addressee.

Replacing the subject with a full 1<sup>st</sup>/3<sup>rd</sup> person pronoun in the allocutive imperative, however, results in a derivational crash. To see this, we begin with the 1<sup>st</sup> person subject. Adopting the PLC, the 1<sup>st</sup> person subject undergoes agreement with the [uPerson:\_] on T, resulting in 1<sup>st</sup> person subject agreement. Once valued, the person feature on T can no longer target the Addr-DP to derive allocutivity. In the absence of an agreement relation between the subject and the addressee-locus (via the T head), an imperative cannot be obtained. Moreover,

<sup>16</sup> While I have not addressed the issue of imperative force in the allocutive imperative, the analysis proposed here is amenable to a ‘minimal semantics’ account of Portner (2004a; also von Stechow and Iatridou 2017), according to which imperatives denote a property that is restricted to the addressee. In this system, the directive force associated with imperative meaning is not built into the syntax-semantics, but is instead obtained in the pragmatic component.

note that the derived structure is not even grammatical (as a declarative), given the deficiency of the *-(e)yaa* verb form, which cannot stand alone without the allocutive marker.

- (66) [Adr-DP [CP [TP <sub>[uPerson: 1]</sub> 1<sup>st</sup> subj<sub>[iPerson: 1]</sub> [vP...]]]]
- 

Unlike the 1<sup>st</sup> person pronoun, the 3<sup>rd</sup> person pronoun does not have a person feature that requires licensing via agreement with the T head. This allows the person feature on T to target the Adr-DP. However, since there is no agreement relation between the subject and the T-alloc head, the subject cannot be restricted to the addressee, preventing the construal of a grammatical imperative.

- (67) [Adr-DP [CP [TP <sub>[uPerson: Addr]</sub> 3<sup>rd</sup> subj [vP...]]]]
- 

Thus far, the paper has shown that Punjabi has two types of imperatives --- standard and allocutive imperatives, both of which exhibit addressee-restriction on the subject. In the standard imperative, addressee-restriction is derived via the Jussive head. Contrastingly, the allocutive imperative lacks the Jussive head and derives addressee restriction via an agreement relation with the Adr-DP, mediated via the T-alloc head.

Support for the claim that standard and allocutive imperatives derive addressee-restriction via distinct addressee-loci comes from distinct uses of the subject. Only the subject of the standard imperative can be used to refer to a generic/non-specific addressee. The subject of the allocutive imperative, in contrast, must always refer to a specific addressee. The next section presents and derives these differences.

## 6 (Non)-specific addressee

### 6.1 Differences in (non)-specific addressee uses

We typically understand the addressee as a speech act participant who is being spoken to directly by the speaker of the speech act. However, as Portner, Pak & Zanuttini (2019), Pak (2015) among others propose, this pre-theoretic notion of the ‘addressee’ needs further nuance. There are contexts where the speaker interacts directly with the addressee, yielding a specific use of the addressee. However, we also find utterance contexts, which involve a non-specific/generic addressee. To see this difference, consider the following imperatives from English.

- (68) Portner et al. (2019: 10)

Please, have some tea!

- (69) Portner et al. (2019: 14)

No feeding the monkeys!

The utterance in (68) identifies the addressee as a specific individual who is interacting with the speaker and is being requested to have tea. This instance of the addressee is called the interlocutor-addressee. On the other hand, (69), in its natural usage, does not pick a specific addressee who is being spoken to directly by the speaker at a given point of time. Here, the



addressee “is merely the individual(s) towards whom the prohibition is targeted or directed” (Portner et al. 2019), which could be anyone visiting the zoo.

Employing this divide between the notion of interlocutor-addressee and generic addressee, we find that while the subject of the standard imperative in Punjabi can be used to refer to a generic or non-specific addressee, the subject of the allocutive imperative must always refer to an interlocutor-addressee (Kaur 2019). The first instance of this divide comes from the (in)availability of the indefinite pronoun ‘someone’ as the imperative subject. The standard imperative allows ‘someone’ to occur as the subject. In contrast, the occurrence of ‘someone’ in the allocutive imperative is ungrammatical. This is shown in (70).

- (70) koyii            buaa    khol-o/\*kholeyaa    je  
 someone.NOM door    open-2PL/open.IMP    ALLOC.PL  
 ‘Someone open the door!’

Note that in its occurrence in the standard imperative, it is obligatory for the subject ‘someone’ to overlap with the addressee or a subset if there is a set of potential addressees, failing which this structure is ungrammatical. This is illustrated in (71), where the addressee and the subject of the event of opening the door are distinct. Only a phi-feature matching subjunctive verb form is permitted in such sentences.

- (71) bhainjii,        vekho            ki        koyii            buaa    khole/\*khol-o  
 sister.HON    see.2PL            that    someone        door    open.SUBJ.3SG/open-2PL  
 ‘Sister, see that someone opens the door.’

The second illustration of the difference between both imperatives as regards (non)-specific addressee comes from their use in contexts with a generic addressee. These include mottos, protest cries, catch phrases, and public orders (Pak 2015; Portner et al. 2019). We find that only the standard imperative can be used felicitously in said contexts. Consider the standard imperative used as a motto in (72) and as a general public order in (74). The allocutive imperative, in contrast is disallowed in such contexts, as shown in (73) and (75)<sup>17</sup>.

- (72) atiit-de        gulaam            nayii, bhavish-de    nirmaataa        ban-o  
 past-GEN    slave            NEG    future-GEN    creator            become-2PL  
 ‘Be the creator of your future, not a slave of your past.’  
 (Motto- <https://jagbani.punjabkesari.in/thought>)
- (73) #atiit-de        gulaam    nayii, bhavish-de    nirmaataa        baneyaa        je  
 past-GEN    slave    NEG    future-GEN    creator            become.IMP    ALLOC.PL  
 ‘Be the creator of your future, not a slave of your past.’
- (74) aepp            download        karan    layii        calik    kar-o  
 application    download        do.INF for    click    do-2PL  
 ‘Please click to download the application.’

<sup>17</sup> The utterances in (73) and (75) become felicitous when uttered to a specific addressee. For instance, imagine a context where a teacher is motivating her class. In such a context, (73) is allowed. Similarly, for (75), a felicitous context could come from a situation where a tech-support representative is telling a certain hearer the steps to download the application.

- (Instruction- <http://beta.ajitjalandhar.com/#sthash.5RxV02ff.dpbs>)
- (75) #aepp            download        karan   layii        calik   kareyaa        je  
       application   download        do.INF for        click   do.IMP        ALLOC.PL  
       ‘Please click to download the application.’

## 6.2 Deriving the (non)-specific addressee uses

This section aims to situate these differences in the distinct properties of the two addressee-loci across the two imperative types. To this end, I first discuss the [status] based account by Portner et al. (2019), showing the challenges presented by Punjabi. An alternative based on pragmatic specificity, as entailed by the pragmatic-role of *addressee*, is proposed (with Hill 2007, 2013; Stavrou 2014 among others).

The division in (non)-specific addressee uses seen in Punjabi imperatives is not unique and has been discussed in detail for Korean imperatives (Pak 2015; Portner et al. 2019). Korean is an allocutive language which encodes the speaker’s relation with the hearer via speech style particles/SSPs (Martin 1992; Sohn 1999; Kim-Renaud & Pak 2006; Antonov 2015; Pak 2015). The language has six SSPs: formal, polite, semiformal, familiar, intimate, and plain. Except the plain SSP, all particles invoke a specific addressee. Consider the imperative in (76) with a polite SPP, which can only be uttered to an honorific addressee, signaling the identification of a specific addressee in turn.

- (76) *Korean* (Pak (2015: 6c))  
       kamki   keli-si-ess-unikka        swui-si-eyo.  
       cold   catch-HON-PST-since   rest-HON-IMP.POL  
       ‘Since you have a cold, rest!’

The plain SSP, however, is unique in that it may occur both in contexts with and without a specific addressee. It has two forms in its imperative occurrence *-(u)la* or *-ela/-ala*, which are not in free variation. *-(u)la* can occur only when the imperative is used for a generic addressee, as in mottos, rallies etc. This is demonstrated in (77a). Its usage in contexts with a specific hearer, as in (77b), where a teacher is talking to a student, is infelicitous. Only *-ela/-ala* can be used in such contexts.

- (77) *Korean* (Portner et al. (2019: 20a-21))
- a.        Na-lul   ttala-o-la!                                (Rally cry)  
           I-ACC   follow-come-IMP  
           ‘Follow me!’
  - b.        Na-lul   ttala-o-#la/ala!                            (Specific student-teacher interaction)  
           I-ACC   follow-come-IMP  
           ‘Follow me!’

Portner et al. (2019) analyze this difference as resulting from the extra encoding of “politeness”. The authors postulate a dedicated *c* head in the clausal periphery. Unlike the relevant clausal unit (CP/SentMoodP) in a language, which is only associated with propositional content, the meaning of *c* consists of both the propositional content, and the politeness meaning. The presence of politeness meaning restricts the *c* to root contexts. (Im)politeness is modeled as a [Status] feature

on *c*, which can be valued for speaker-hearer relations. Linguistic forms that encode (im)politeness are in turn treated as realizations of *c*.

(78) [cP<sub>[Status]</sub> [JussiveP<sub>[iPerson:2]</sub> [TP....]]]

Given (78), *-(u)la* is a simplex form which realizes only the Jussive head in imperatives. The form *-ela/-ala*, on the other hand is a spell-out of the clause-typing Jussive head and the [status] feature hosting *c* head.

The authors further substantiate the reality of *c* based on the ability of (im)politeness encoding particles to be embedded. For instance in Korean, only the simplex form of the plain SSP *-(u)la* can be embedded. Imperatives bearing the complex form *-ela/-ala*, in contrast, cannot occur in embedded domains, as shown in (79).

(79) *Korean* (Portner et al. (2019: 19))  
 Yumi-ka Inho-hanthey [choysen-ul ta ha-**la**/\***ela**-ko] malha-ess-ta.  
 Yumi-NOM Inho-to best-ACC all do-IMP-comp say-PST-DEC.PLAIN  
 ‘Yumi told Inho to do his best.’

The [status] based account does not explain the facts in Punjabi. For one, allocutivity in Punjabi has been argued to be situated at T, unlike the SSPs in Korean, which realize *c*. This is not a fatal problem and can be resolved by analyzing the allocutive marker as realizing a complex functional unit consisting of T bearing the person feature, and *c* hosting the [status] feature. However, there are three bigger issues. First, differently from the SSPs in Korean including the complex plain SSP (*-ela/ala*), which perform the *dedicated* function of encoding a speaker-hearer relation, the allocutive marker in Punjabi is not a dedicated politeness marker. To elaborate, the allocutive imperative with *je* encodes plural hearers which are underspecified with regard to their relation with the speaker. When uttered to a plurality, the imperative in (80) is felicitous both when the group is comprised of elders (honorific), or of friends (non-honorific). The same imperative can also be recruited for a singular honorific hearer.

(80) ae kitaab paRheyaa je  
 this book read.IMP ALLOC.PL  
 ‘Read this book!’ (to addressee + associate(s), (non)-polite) OR  
 ‘Read this book!’ (one addressee, polite)

Secondly, unlike the simplex plain SSP *-(u)la*, which is banned from occurring in contexts with an interlocutor-addressee (refer to 77b), the standard imperative in Punjabi is not banned from occurring in such contexts. Imagine a context where a teacher is addressing her class of students and asking them to read a book. Here, the standard imperative is also felicitous. In fact, the standard imperative patterns with the allocutive imperative in that it can be employed to refer to a plural set of hearers, in which case their (non)-honorific status is irrelevant. Alternatively, it can be used as a polite pronoun for a singular hearer.

(81) ae kitaab paRh-o  
 this book read-2PL  
 ‘Read this book!’ (to addressee + associate(s), (non)-polite) OR

‘Read this book!’ (one addressee, polite)

Lastly, there are no embedding differences across the two imperatives (see Kaur & Yamada 2019 for more details on embedding allocutivity in Punjabi). They can both be embedded, as shown by the following example in (82).

- (82) karan-ne keyaa ki [agle hafte goa jaa/jaayaa je]  
 Karan-ERG say.PFV.M.SG that next week Goa go-2PL/go.IMP ALLOC.PL  
 ‘Karan said that you go to Goa next week.’

Evidence for the embedded structure being a true instance of indirect speech comes from the possibility for a question word associated with the embedded clause to take scope over the matrix clause to form a direct question (following diagnostics used in Anand & Nevins 2004; Crnic & Trinh 2009 among others).

- (83) kidde-naal karan-ne keyaa ki [goa cale jayaa je]  
 who.GEN-with Karan-ERG say.PFV.M.SG that goa go go.IMP ALLOC.PL  
 ‘With whom did Karan say that you go to Goa?’  
 (84) kidde-naal karan-ne keyaa ki [goa cale jaa-o]  
 who.GEN-with Karan-ERG say.PFV.M.SG that goa go go.2PL  
 ‘With whom did Karan say that you go to Goa?’

In summary, Punjabi is distinct from Korean in that (a) the allocutive marker in Punjabi is not a dedicated politeness marker, (b) the standard imperative can also be used in contexts with a specific hearer, and (c) both imperatives can be embedded. The properties in (a) to (c) demonstrate that it is incorrect to propose that only the allocutive imperative, to the exclusion of the standard imperative, hosts a unique c encoding politeness, which derives specific-addressee readings. Such an account would not be able to explain both the optionally available specific readings with the standard imperative as well as the embedding possibility of the allocutive imperative.

In view of the untenability of the [status] based account for Punjabi, I propose that differences in (non)-specific addressee readings across Punjabi imperatives follow from pragmatic [specificity] encoded as a feature on the Adr-DP, but not the Jussive head. According to Hill (2007, 2013), pragmatic [specificity] is a syntactico-semantic feature crucial for the identification of the hearer (or the speaker). For an argument to occupy spec, AdrP and saturate the p-role of addressee, it must bear and check said feature, failing which the argument cannot be licensed. Primary motivation for Hill’s claim comes from vocatives, overt arguments that occupy spec, AdrP and identify the addressee (Portner 2004b; Zanuttini 2004; Hill 2007, 2013; Stavrou 2014). Like the allocutive imperatives in Punjabi, vocatives are also restricted to specific addressee readings. This can be seen by the ban on items with intrinsically existential/generic meaning in vocatives (Longobardi 1994; Hill 2007, 2013; Espinal 2013; Stavrou 2014 among others. Consider (85), showing the ungrammaticality of the vocative with the indefinite quantifier ‘some’.

- (85) *Italian* (Longobardi (1994: fn 20, ex. iv))  
 \*Alcuni ragazzi, venite qui!

some guys,      come.IMP    here

Furthermore, vocative nouns always have a specific reading even when they display indefinite forms (Hill 2007; Espinal 2013 for Catalan; Stavrou 2014 for Greek etc.). Consider (86), where the 3<sup>rd</sup> person vocative nominal ‘dear readers’ occurs without definite morphology. Regardless, it is not interpreted generically and can only have a restricted reference, corresponding to a specific set of readers who read what the publisher publishes<sup>18</sup>.

(86) *Romanian* (Hill (2007: 23c))

Dragi cititori,      vă      așteptăm!  
 dear readers      you      await-1PL  
 ‘We are waiting for you, dear readers!’

These facts are argued to derive from ‘pragmatic specificity’ of the vocative phrase (Hill 2007, 2013). Hill proposes that vocative phrases consist of an extra functional layer called the RoleP above the DP. Role<sup>0</sup> hosts a pragmatic [specificity] feature<sup>19</sup>, which must be checked either by merging a suitable particle in Role<sup>0</sup>, or by noun movement to Role<sup>0</sup>, or a combination of both. An illustration of this checking is provided by Umbundu. The language has a dedicated Role marking particle *a*. As shown in (87), the noun ‘Maria’ must occur with the marker *a* in order to be licensed as a vocative, which identifies the addressee of the speech act. The particle *a* is an obligatory vocative prefix for nouns with the [+human] feature, and is compatible with any formality value.

(87) *Umbundu* (Hill (2013:1c))

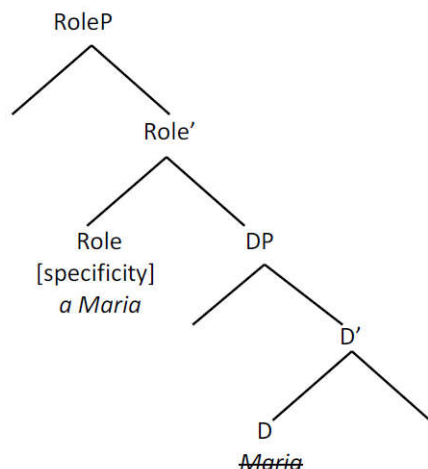
**a**      Maria,... // \*Maria,...  
 ROLE   Maria.VOC// Maria.\*VOC

Based on Hill (2013, figure. 17), the representation for the vocative in (87) is provided in (88). The vocative is composed of a RoleP > DP/NP. The marker *a* occupies Role<sup>0</sup>, where it check the [specificity] feature. By virtue of being an affix, it attracts the noun from within the DP/NP to Role<sup>0</sup>.

(88)

<sup>18</sup> As Hill (2007: 2091) notes, it is also possible to insert a definite article by switching the word order in the vocative nominal (*cititorilor dragi* ‘readers-the-VOC dear’) in (86). However, this is inconsequential for the interpretation of the vocative, which must always be interpreted as pragmatically specific.

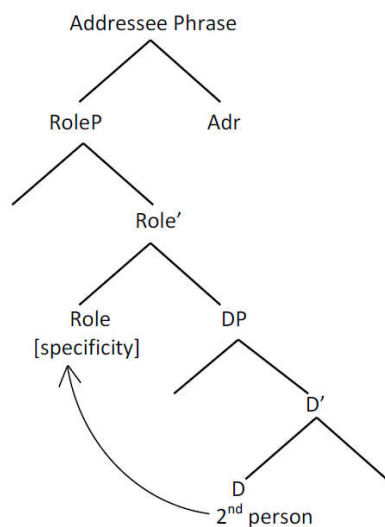
<sup>19</sup> In addition to the [specificity] feature, Hill (2013) also posits an interpersonal/i-p feature, which is comparable to the [status] feature of Portner et al. (2019), except its location within the internal structure of the argument, and not in the clausal spine. However, since we have ruled out [status] as the determining factor for (non)-specific addressee readings in Punjabi, I omit it from further discussion.



It is only upon checking the [specificity] feature in Role<sup>0</sup> that the vocative argument can be merged in the specifier of AdrP, where it gets identified as the addressee in the conversational setup. By virtue of saturating the p-role of addressee in this position, the vocative is ruled out from being used in contexts with a generic addressee.

Extending the analysis for vocatives to the covert Adr-DP, I propose that Adr-DP also consists of a RoleP, which selects a DP hosting a 2<sup>nd</sup> person feature. The 2<sup>nd</sup> person feature on D moves to Role to check [specificity], whereupon the RoleP can be merged in spec, AdrP where it saturates the p-role of *addressee*.

(89)



This internal composition of the Adr-DP explains its restriction to contexts with a specific addressee, as observed in allocutive imperatives. Since the Adr-DP hosts a RoleP, it is banned from occurring in contexts such as mottos, which lack a specific hearer. Also, the ban on ‘somebody’ in the allocutive imperative can be explained. Lahiri (1995) in his work on

indefinites in Hindi-Urdu shows that they typically occur with an existential reading, as in (90a). A generic reading is also possible, but only with stress on the indefinite nominal, as in (90b)<sup>20</sup>.

(90) *Hindi-Urdu* (Lahiri (1995: 32b-c))

- a.      koi   ullu   cuuhoN-kaa   shikaar              kartaa              hai  
           some owl   mice-GEN   hunt              do.HAB.M.SG   be.PRS.3SG  
           ‘An owl hunts mice.’  
            $\exists x[x \text{ is an owl}] [x \text{ hunts mice}]$
- b.      koi   ULLUU cuuhoN-kaa   shikaar              kartaa   hai      (capitals = stress)  
           Gen<sub>x,s</sub>[x is an owl in s] [x hunts mice in an extension of s]

Similar facts obtain for the indefinite *koyii* in Punjabi, which has an existential/generic reading, and can never be used to pick an identifiable individual in a given context. Assuming a structural dependency between the imperative subject and the ADR-DP in the allocutive imperative, where the ADR-DP transmits its features to the subject to restrict it to the addressee, we can rule out the indefinite subject ‘somebody’ on grounds of pragmatic incompatibility.

In contrast with the ADR-DP, the Jussive head encodes the addressee via a 2<sup>nd</sup> person feature. Importantly, this instance of the 2<sup>nd</sup> person feature does not occupy the specifier of ADRP, and does not saturate the p-role of *addressee*. I claim that by virtue of its dissociation from the *addressee* p-role, there is no requirement for the Jussive head to encode pragmatic specificity. In other words, the representation of the addressee on the Jussive head may be impoverished in comparison to ADR-DP in the specifier of ADRP. While both encode a 2<sup>nd</sup> person feature, only the latter representation obligatorily encodes pragmatic specificity, deriving differences in the specific/generic readings of the addressee.

## 7 Conclusion

All imperatives have been claimed to be composed of the imperative-specific Jussive head. However, given the availability of an additional addressee representation, i.e. the ADR-DP in allocutive languages, this paper asked (a) if imperatives in allocutive languages can occur with ADR-DP, and (b) if so, can the ADR-DP replace the imperative-specific Jussive head to derive addressee-restriction on the subject? Employing novel data from Punjabi, I claimed that not only can the ADR-DP occur in imperatives, but it can also undergo agreement with the subject to restrict it to the addressee. In Punjabi, this analysis is determined by the composition of the C-T domain, which allows only one instance of the person feature. As a consequence, the presence of allocutivity in Punjabi imperatives disallows the co-occurrence of the Jussive head, and vice-versa.

I also substantiated the distinct addressee-locus in allocutive imperatives by presenting differences in (non)-specific addressee readings across the two imperative types. Only the allocutive imperative is restricted to contexts with a specific addressee; the standard imperative, in contrast, can refer to a generic addressee. Discussing the problems for a [status] based account, these interpretive facts were derived by the extra encoding of [specificity] in the ADR-DP.

<sup>20</sup> Lahiri (1995) reports that the generic reading in (90b) can also be obtained by stressing the indefinite (and not the noun). However, this is not possible for Punjabi, which requires that the noun be stressed.

The findings of this paper make two important contributions to our understanding of the addressee in (imperative) syntax. First, this paper shows that it is indeed the case that imperative subjects require licensing via agreement with a representation of the addressee in the clausal periphery, in keeping with Zanuttini (2008). However, this representation is not universally required to be construction-specific. The Adr-DP, which is not restricted to the imperative clause-type, can also derive addressee-restriction via agreement with the subject. Secondly, differences in specific/generic addressee readings across standard and allocutive imperatives further substantiate two distinct addressee-loci in syntax, i.e. the Adr-DP and Jussive head, which differ not only with regard to their argumental status and restriction to a clause-type, but also their encoding of pragmatic specificity. The two addressee-loci and their properties (in Punjabi) are summarized in Table II.

**Table II.** Two addressee-loci and their properties

		Jussive <sup>0</sup>	Adr-DP
1	Construction-specific	Yes	No
2	Argumental	No	Yes
3	Specificity	No	Yes

As regards (3) in Table II, Punjabi differs from Korean. Like Punjabi which differentiates (non)-specific addressee readings across standard and allocutive imperatives, Korean also differentiates its *-(u)la* imperatives from its *-ela/-ala* imperatives as regards generic and specific readings of the addressee respectively. However, in Korean, these differences result from the lack of a [status] feature on *c* in the *-(u)la* imperatives (as shown by Portner et al. 2019). This difference between Punjabi and Korean paves the way for a larger cross-linguistic investigation into the nature of addressee-oriented markers and consequently addressee-encoding. An open empirical issue at this point is whether allocutive markers in languages like Punjabi, and SSPs in languages like Korean underlie the same phenomenon, and if not, what are the dimensions of variation.

## Abbreviations

ACC = accusative, ALLOC = allocutive, CL = clitic, DAT = dative, DEC = declarative, DOM = differential object marking, ERG = ergative, F = feminine, FUT = future, GEN = genitive, HAB = habitual, HON = honorific, IMP = imperative, INF = infinitive, M = masculine, NEG = negation, NOM = nominative, OBL = oblique, PFV = perfective, PL = plural, POL = polite, POLQ = polar question, POSS = possessive, PROG = progressive, PRS = present, PST = past, Q = question, SBJ = subject, SG = singular, SUBJ = subjunctive, VOC = vocative

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