THE SYNTAX OF IMPERATIVES

The imperative clause is one of three major sentence types that have been found to be universal across the languages of the world. Compared to declaratives and interrogatives, the imperative type has received diverse analyses in the literature. This cutting-edge study puts forward a new linguistic theory of imperatives, arguing that categories of the speech act, specifically Speaker and Addressee, are conceptually necessary for an adequate syntactic account. The book offers compelling empirical and descriptive evidence by surveying new typological data in the critical assessment of competing hypotheses towards an indexical syntax of human language. An engaging read for students and researchers interested in linguistics, philosophy, and the syntax of language.

ASIER ALCÁZAR is Associate Professor of Spanish at the University of Missouri. His research interests include generative syntax and its interfaces with semantics and morphology, corpus linguistics, and typology.

MARIO SALTARELLI is Professor of Spanish at the Dornsife College of the University of Southern California. His research and teaching includes publications in Romance and Basque linguistics, with recent emphasis on deixis in a context-sensitive theory of syntax.
In this series

106. SHARON INKELAS and CHERYLL ZOLL: Reduplication: Doubling in Morphology
107. SUSAN EDWARDS: Fluent Aphasia
108. BARBARA DANCYGIER and EVE SWEETSER: Mental Spaces in Grammar; Conditional Constructions
109. HEW BAERMAN, DUNSTAN BROWN and GREVILLE G. CORBETT: The Syntax-Morphology Interface: A Study of Syncretism
111. SAMUEL D. EPSTEIN and T. DANIEL SEELY: Derivations in Minimalism
112. PAUL DE LACY: Markedness: Reduction and Preservation in Phonology
113. YEHUDA N. FALK: Subjects and Their Properties
114. P. H. MATTHEWS: Syntactic Relations: A Critical Survey
115. MARK C. BAKER: The Syntax of Agreement and Concord
116. GILLIAN CATRIONA RAMCHAND: Verb Meaning and the Lexicon: A First Phase Syntax
117. PIETER MUYSKEN: Functional Categories
118. JUAN URIAGEREKA: Syntactic Anchors: On Semantic Structuring
119. D. ROBERT LADD: Intonational Phonology second edition
120. LEONARD H. BABBY: The Syntax of Argument Structure
121. B. ELAN DRESHER: The Contrastive Hierarchy in Phonology
122. DAVID ADGER, DANIEL HARBOUR and LAUREL J. WATKINS: Mirrors and Microparameters: Phrase Structure Beyond Free Word Order
123. NIINA NING ZHANG: Coordination in Syntax
124. NEIL SMITH: Acquiring Phonology
125. NINA TOPINTZI: Onsets: Suprasegmental and Prosodic Behaviour
126. CEDRIC BOECKX, NOBERT HORNSTEIN and JAIRO NUNES: Control As Movement
128. M. RITA MANZINI and LEONARDO M. SAVOIA: Grammatical Categories: Variation in Romance Languages
129. BARBARA CITKO: Symmetry in Syntax: Merge, Move and Labels
130. RACHEL WALKER: Vowel Patterns in Language
131. MARY DALRYMPLE and IRINA NIKOLAeva: Objects and Information Structure
132. JERROLD M. SADOCK: The Modular Architecture of Grammar
133. DUNSTAN BROWN and ANDREW HIPPISLEY: Network Morphology: A Defaults-Based Theory of Word Structure
134. BETTELOU LOS, CORRIEN BLoom, GEERT BOOJT, MARION ELENBAAS and ANS VAN KEMENADE: Morphosyntactic Change: A Comparative Study of Particles and Prefixes
135. STEPHEN CRAIN: The Emergence of Meaning
136. HUBERT HAIDER: Symmetry Breaking in Syntax
137. JOSÉ A. CAMACHO: Null Subjects
138. GREGORY STUMP and RAPHAEL A. FINKEL: Morphological Typology: From Word to Paradigm
139. BRUCE TESAR: Output-Driven Phonology: Theory and Learning
140. ASIER ALCÁZAR and MARIO SALTARELLI: The Syntax of Imperatives

Earlier issues not listed are also available
CAMBRIDGE STUDIES IN LINGUISTICS

General Editors: P. AUSTIN, J. BRESNAN, B. COMRIE,

The Syntax of Imperatives
THE SYNTAX OF IMPERATIVES

ASIER ALCÁZAR

University of Missouri

MARIO SALTALELLI

University of Southern California
Contents

List of figures xi
List of tables xii
List of abbreviations xiii

1 Introduction 1
1.0 Chapter overview 1
1.1 Imperatives in generative grammar 2
  1.1.1 The imperative clause 2
  1.1.2 Earlier analyses 5
1.2 Proposal 11
  1.2.1 The “light” performative hypothesis (LPH) 11
1.3 Preview of following chapters 12

2 Imperatives across languages 14
2.0 Chapter overview 14
2.1 Part I: Confirmed generalizations 15
  2.1.1 The universality of the imperative clause 15
  2.1.2 Predicates excluded from the imperative clause 18
  2.1.3 The subject of the imperative clause vs. vocatives 19
  2.1.4 Optionality of the imperative subject 21
2.2 Part II: Generalizations in need of review 23
  2.2.1 Imperative verb forms and morphological complexity 23
  2.2.2 Tense in imperative clauses and imperative verb forms 26
  2.2.3 Imperative clauses and generalized clause structure 28
2.3 Part III: Different interpretations of the typological evidence 31
  2.3.1 The imperative as a dependent clause 31
  2.3.2 Beyond second person imperatives: hortatives 35
2.4 Part IV: Further similarities/differences in imperatives-hortatives 40
  2.4.1 A markedness hierarchy in imperative-hortative paradigms 40
  2.4.2 A person-markedness reversal 41
2.5 Part V: The semantics of imperatives in root clauses 45
  2.5.1 Paradigmatic choices subdividing imperative meaning 46
  2.5.2 What counts as an indirect speech act for imperatives? 48
## Contents

2.5.3 Core imperative meaning vs. minor sentence types 49  
2.6 Part VI: The negation of imperative clauses 50  
2.6.1 The negative imperative puzzle: the ban on true negative imperatives 51  
2.6.2 New typological data on the negation of imperative clauses 54  
2.6.3 Sources for split affirmative-negative paradigms 56  
2.6.4 An alternative morphological account 59  
2.7 Conclusion 60  

3 Foundations for an analysis of the imperative clause 62  
3.0 Chapter overview 62  
3.1 The Minimalist Program 64  
3.1.1 Toward a minimalist analysis of the imperative clause 68  
3.1.2 The SMT and the revised empirical base 69  
3.2 Encoding the context of utterance in syntax 70  
3.2.1 Sigurðsson (2004) 71  
3.2.2 Bianchi (2003) 74  
3.3 Supporting phenomena for representing indexicality in syntax 75  
3.3.1 Indexical shift 76  
3.3.2 Logophoricity 82  
3.3.3 Conjunct-disjunct person-marking systems 89  
3.4 Speas and Tenny (2003) 92  
3.4.1 Representing the context as Speech Act Mood Phrase 93  
3.4.2 Discussion 97  
3.4.3 Two-level representations 100  
3.5 Summary 101  

4 The syntax of imperative clauses: a performative hypothesis 103  
4.1 Functional v 103  
4.1.1 Antecedents of the performative hypothesis 103  
4.1.2 Imperatives as root clauses 105  
4.1.3 Speaker→Addressee"→ relation 106  
4.1.4 Imperatives as functional expressions: CP(vP) 107  
4.1.5 The performative hypothesis revisited 108  
4.1.6 Essential structure of the “light” performative hypothesis (LPH) 109  
4.2 A “light” performative hypothesis (LPH) 110  
4.2.1 Encoding the Addressee 110  
4.2.2 About the Speaker 110  
4.2.3 On the functional meaning of imperatives 111  
4.2.4 About the Performer 112  
4.2.5 Canonical and extended (hortative) imperatives 112
## Contents

5.5 Absence of allocutive agreement in imperative clauses 175  
5.6 Parallelisms between allocutive agreement and imperatives 176  
5.6.1 Allocutive licensing as a test of parataxis 177  
5.6.2 Imperatives in paratactic clauses 179  
5.6.3 Imperatives and allocutives in the protasis of conditional clauses 180  
5.6.4 Putative exceptions to the embedding ban in imperatives 181  
5.7 Conclusion 182  

Conclusion 183  
Notes 184  
References 200  
Index of languages 215  
Index of authors 217  
Index of subjects 220
Figures

4.1a Canonical imperatives  page 113
4.1b Extended imperatives      114
4.2a Person values in canonical imperatives  125
4.2b Person values in extended imperatives    125
4.3a Thematic identification in canonical imperatives  128
4.3b Thematic identification in extended imperatives   128
### Tables

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>Japanese imperative markers and the meanings they express</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.1</td>
<td>Arguments and roles</td>
<td>112</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.2</td>
<td>Arguments and roles in relation to person and number</td>
<td>124</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.1</td>
<td>Use of AA in yes/no-questions and wh-questions</td>
<td>170</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.2</td>
<td>Use of AA in relative clauses (suffixal complementizer: –n)</td>
<td>173</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.3</td>
<td>Use of AA in indirect questions (suffixal complementizers: –n (if) and –nentz (whether))</td>
<td>173</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.4a</td>
<td>Use of AA in completive clauses (suffixal complementizer: –la)</td>
<td>174</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.4b</td>
<td>Use of AA in completive clauses (suffixal complementizers: –nik, –n and –la)</td>
<td>174</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.5</td>
<td>Use of AA in temporal clauses (suffixal complementizers: –nean (when), –larik (while))</td>
<td>174</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.6</td>
<td>Use of AA in causal clauses (complementizers: bair-, –lako)</td>
<td>178</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.7</td>
<td>Use of AA in the protasis of conditional clauses (prefixal complementizer: ba-)</td>
<td>181</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Abbreviations

A Absolutive agreement
AA Allocutive agreement
ABS Absolutive case
ACC Accusative
AND Conjunction
AUX Auxiliary
COMP Complementizer
D Dative agreement
DAT Dative case
E Ergative agreement
ERG Ergative case
ETH.DAT Ethical dative
FEM Feminine
FUT Future
GER Gerund
IND Indicative
INF Infinitive
IMP Imperative
IMPF Imperfective
INSTR Instrumental
MASC Masculine
NEG Negation
NOM Nominative
PART Partitive
PAST Past
PER Perfective
PRED Pre-dative
PRES Present
PROG Progressive
PROH Prohibitive
PL Plural
Q Question marker
xiv  List of abbreviations

SG      Singular
SUBJ    Subjunctive
THV     Thematic vowel
VOSEO   Voseo form