The morphological realisation of the Addressee: Evidence from the Latin future imperative

1. The proposal in a nutshell. In this paper we adduce morphological support for the activation of a Speech Act layer, more in particular of a layer ADDRESSEE in the syntax of imperatives (see also Isac 2015 and Zanuttini 2008). Evidence comes from a comparison of present and future imperatives in Latin. The Latin data point to the fact that ϕ-morphology, dedicated to the lexicalisation of the subject, and Addressee morphology, need to be distinguished. While ϕ-morphology is absent in core imperatives, which can be characterized by the fact that they deal with a (set of) individual(s) that corresponds to the Addressee(s) (Zanuttini 2008), it surfaces when the subject and the Addressee do not correspond, as is the case in the future imperative in Latin. We provide an analysis couched in Nanosyntax.

2. The data. Latin features two types of imperatives: the present imperative (henceforth PRS.IMP) and the future imperative (henceforth FUT.IMP). The PRS.IMP has two forms, a 2SG and 2PL form. The forms are given in (1a-b) for the five Latin verb classes. The 2SG form consists of the stem and the theme vowel, with theme vowel *-i* lowering to *-e* word finally and before *-r* (Halle 2019:8, van der Spuy 2020). There is no other marking in the singular, just like in many other languages: this has led to the idea that the imperative is impoverished (Zhang 1990). For comparison, 2SG indicative and subjunctive are shown in (1c, e), respectively. Crucially, the imperative 2PL makes use of a dedicated ending, *-te*, which does not appear in any other tense of the indicative or subjunctive verbal paradigm.

(1)

		amāre	**monēre**	**tĕgĕre**	**audīre**	**capĕre**
a.	2SG.PRS.IMP	am-ā	mon-ē	teg-ĕ	aud-ī	cap-ĕ
b.	2PL.PRS.IMP	am-ā-**te**	mon-ē-**te**	teg-i-**te**	aud-ī-**te**	cap-i-**te**
c.	2SG.IND.PRS	am-ā-s	mon-ē-s	teg-i-s	aud-ī-s	cap-i-s
d.	2PL.IND.PRS	am-ā-tis	mon-ē-tis	teg-i-tis	aud-ī-tis	cap-i-tis
e.	2SG.PRS.SBJV	am-ē-s	mon-e-ā-s	teg-ā-s	aud-i-ā-s	cap-i-ā-s
f.	2PL.PRS.SBJV	am-e-tis	mon-e-ā-tis	teg-ā-tis	aud-i-ā-tis	cap-i-ā-tis

We argue that the dedicated imperative endings reflect a difference between subject marking (IND and SBJV), and Addressee marking (IMP). More support comes from the Latin FUT.IMP, which has distinct markers for subject agreement and Addressee marking. The FUT.IMP form can be used both in 2P (2) and 3P (3), each time both SG and PL. The 2SG form features the ending *-to:* without any other marking, as in (2a), while in the 2PL *-to:-* is used in combination with the plural ending that we know from PRS.IMP, i.e. *-te*, (2b).

(2) a. Si in Formiano non erimus,   si nos amas,   in Pompeianum
          if in Formiae not be.IND.FUT.1PL if us   love.IND.PRS.2SG to Pompeii
          veni-to
          come-FUT.IMP.2SG
          'If we won't be in Formiae, please, come to Pompeii!' (Cic.Att.24.6)

     b. Vos huc decima **veni-to-te**!
          you here at-four come-FUT.IMP.2PL
          'Come here at four!' (Rh.Her.4.64.LI)

In the 3P forms, 3SG has the same *-to:* ending, but 3PL has *-nto:*.

(3) a. Uxor mea heres <ne> **es-to**   . . .
          wife my heir   NEG   be.IMP.FUT.3SG
          'Let my wife not be my heir . . .' (Sen. Con. 2.7.9)

     b. Primum verbi   genus hoc "**conserva-nto**,"   quo   magis in legibus quam in
          firstly   of-word form   this preserve.IMP.FUT.3PL which rather in laws   than in
          foederibus uti   solemus,   imperantis   est,   non precantis.
          treaties   use.INF be-used-to.IND.PRS.1PL order.PART.PRS AUX.3SG NEG ask.PART.PRS

'In the first place, this form of words, "Let them uphold," which we are in the habit of using in laws rather than in treaties, implies a command, not an entreaty.' (Cic, Pro Balbo, 36)

3. Interpretation of the data

If we compare the 3P forms with the rest of the verbal paradigm in Latin (4), we see that the regular ϕ-morphology for 3PL is *-nt*. It thus seems fairly straightforward that the 3PL.FUT.IMP *-ntoː* could be decomposed as consisting of the regular ϕ-morphology for 3PL, followed by the marker of the FUT.IMP, i.e. *nt-toː*. The attested form *-ntoː* can be considered a consequence of degemination.

| (4)		3SG	3PL		(5)	FUT.IMP	SG	PL
	PRS.IND	mon-e-**t**	mone-**nt**			2P	mon-ē-**toː**	mon-ē-**toː**-**te**
	PST.IND	monē-ba-**t**	monē-ba-**nt**			3P	mon-ē-**t**-**toː**	mon-e-**nt**-**toː**
	FUT.IND	mone-bi-**t**	monē-bu-**nt**					
	PRS.SBJV	mone-a-**t**	mone-a-**nt**					
	PST.SBJV	monē-re-**t**	monē-re-**nt**					

Along the same lines, for the 3SG FUT.IMP the regular ϕ-ending *-t* (see (4)) could also be argued to be underlyingly present and hence *-toː* could be analysed as *-t-toː*, followed by a degemination of the *t*. The pattern with the analysis for FUT.IMP of *monēre* is summarized in (5).

4. The analysis

Putting the data for PRS.IMP (1a-b) and FUT.IMP (5) together, leads to a functional sequence of the core (i.e. present tense) imperative and future imperative. Closest to the verbal root is the theme vowel (eː- for a *monēre* class verb), which at least lexicalizes default grammatical aspect and default mood. The theme vowel is followed by the ϕ-endings, which mark the subject, and which appear in IMP when subject and Addressee are distinct. Then follows the FUT.IMP morphology *toː*, which can either remain without ending, or be followed by a dedicated imperative morpheme *-te* in 2PL, when the subject and the Addressee coincide. This yields the (imperative) sequence in (6):

(6)   Plural > Addressee > Fut$_{imp}$ > ϕ > Mood > Asp > VP

We argue that the dedicated imperative morphology *-te* does not lexicalize subject-related ϕ, but the Addressee-related Plural feature. The morpheme *-toː* lexicalises Plural, Addressee and Fut$_{imp}$, as shown in (7). *-nt* realises subject-related ϕ. The theme vowel is a portmanteau which can lexicalize the Addressee feature in 2SG.PRS.IMP, together with Mood and Asp features, as shown in (8). Since the bottom feature of *-toː* is Fut$_{imp}$, it is absent from PRS.IMP, and *-te* is needed to lexicalise the Addressee-related Plural feature. The paper will also provide evidence from the interaction with negation showing that Tense and ϕ are absent from the structure of the PRS.IMP, i.e. the PRS.IMP is defective, as shown by the tree in (8) (Zanuttini 1994), while a future tense layer and ϕ layer must be present in FUT.IMP, as shown in (7).
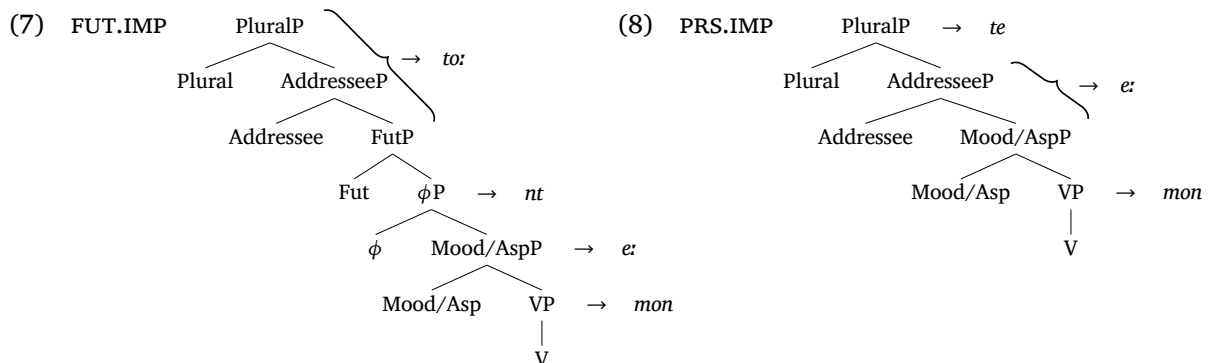
Halle, Morris. 2019. Aspects of the morphophonology of the verb in Latin and in German and English. *Linguistic Inquiry* 50(1). 3–12.
Isac, Daniela. 2015. *The morphosyntax of imperatives*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
van der Spuy, Andrew. 2020. The theme vowels of Latin verbs. *Lingua* 243.
Zanuttini, Raffaella. 1994. Re-examining Negative Clauses. In *Paths towards Universal Grammar. Studies in Honor of Richard Kayne*. 427–451. Georgetown University Press.
Zanuttini, Raffaella. 2008. Encoding the addressee in syntax: evidence from English imperative subjects. *Natural Language & Linguistic Theory* 26(1). 185–218.
Zhang, Shi. 1990. *The status of imperatives in theories of grammar*. Arizona: University of Arizona dissertation.