The morphosyntax of imperatives in Chuj (Mayan): Support for encoding the addressee in the syntax

 Syntactic analyses of verbal predicates (Coon et al. 2014) and non-verbal predicates (Armstrong 2017) have been provided for Mayan languages, but an account of the syntax of imperatives, a topic with little attention in Mayan, has not yet been proposed. Using my original data on Chuj and Zanuttini's (2008) framework, I will provide a syntactic analysis of imperatives.

 As Zanuttini (2008) proposes, the addressee is encoded into the syntax of imperatives in the JussiveP. The JussiveP accounts for phenomena observed cross-linguistically that result in the unique structure and characteristics of second person imperatives when compared to their declarative counterparts. For instance, 2SG imperatives in Chuj do not have subject-verb agreement morphology. While declaratives require either an ergative prefix or an absolutive clitic on the verb root, 2SG imperatives consist of a nearly bare verb root, shown in (1) below. This is possible since Jussive^o contains a second person ϕ-feature.

(1) a. Declarative
  tz=**ach**=b'itn-i   (735C)
  IMPF=B2S=sing-STAT
  'You sing.'

 b. 2SG Imperative
  b'itn-anh   (731C)
  sing-IMP.INTRNS
  'Sing.'

 Like 2SG imperatives, 2PL imperatives in Chuj do not have the typical ergative or absolutive agreement markers. Instead, the plural marker *ek* is used. Since this morpheme appears regardless of the case of the subject, it is not marked for case like other subject-agreement morphemes (see (2)). It is used to provide the plural feature that is not available in Jussive^o, since only a numberless second person feature is present (Jensen 2004). *Ek* is also unique from other subject-agreement morphemes in Chuj in that it always occurs post-verbally.

(2) a. Intransitive 2PL imperative (absolutive subject)
  wa-anh=**ek**   (446C)
  eat-IMP.INTRNS=IMP.PL
  'Eat.'

 b. Transitive 2PL imperative (ergative subject)
  koltj=in=**ek**   (369D)
  help=B1S=IMP.PL
  'Help me.'

 Unlike declarative sentences in Chuj, imperatives cannot be marked for aspect. I propose that Jussive^o takes as its sister InflP$_{imp}$. This InflP must have a null aspect marker head. I conclude that an InflP is present in Mayan imperatives because Chontal, another Mayan language, allows aspect marking in imperatives (Knowles-Berry 1987), shown in (3) below. Observe the imperfective aspect marker *eʔ*.

(3) Chontal Imperative
  toh-**eʔ**-on   (Knowles-Berry 1987:334)
  pay-IMPF-B1S
  'Pay me.'

 Chuj also allows 1PL imperatives. These, on the other hand, require overt, case-marked, subject-agreement morphology. As noted by Jensen (2004), in second person imperatives, the addressee is the same as the intended agent, which seems to predict the lack of overt subject morphology. Therefore, the difference between 1PL and second person imperatives is that in 1PL imperatives, the addressee and the intended agent are not the same. The addressee is still second person, but the intended agent includes the speaker as well as the addressee. Because the first-person information is not included in the jussive head, 1PL imperatives are marked with ergative/absolutive agreement morphemes like declarative sentences are (4). Like second person imperatives, 1PL imperatives still do not have aspect marking, showing that they still have the null aspect marker provided by InflP$_{imp}$.

(4) a. Intransitive 1PL imperative
  b'ey=**konh**
  walk=IMP.1PL
  'Let's walk.'

 b. Transitive 1PL imperative
  ki-man=Ø   lok'salte'   (263C)
  A1P-buy=B3S   fruit
  'Let's buy fruit.'

 Additional evidence for *ek* being a plural addressee marker is found in a specific form of 1PL imperatives. While *konh*, present in (4a), is used for 'me and you (singular)', *koyek*, shown in (5) below, indicates 'me and you (plural)'. Thus, *konh* indicates first person and a singular addressee, and *koyek* indicates first person and a plural addressee, ending in the morpheme *ek* described above. *Ek* can also be

used along with the ergative 1PL prefix *ki* (5b). Now that the structure of imperatives in Chuj has been established, an initial derivation of (2b) *koltj=in=ek* is provided in Figure 1 below.

(5) a. b'atx=koy=**ek** b. ki-koltj=ek
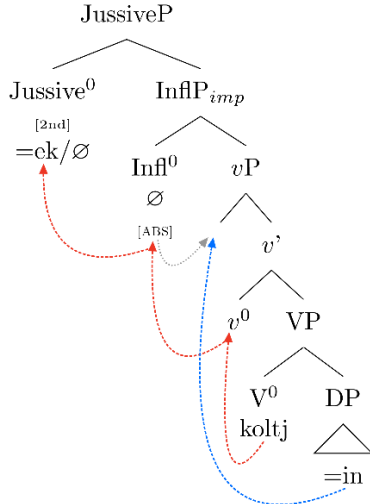   jump=1PL=PL A1P-help=PL
    'Let's (me and you (plural)) jump.' 'Let's (me and you (plural)) help him'

Figure 1. Derivation of (2b) *koltj=in=ek*

On the other hand, Platzack and Rosengren's (1997) previous analysis of imperative structure does not account for all the data from Chuj or from languages such as Romance. First, their analysis does not accept surrogate imperatives or 1PL imperatives, despite the fact that these typically exhibit characteristics unique to imperatives, such as lack of aspect markers in 1PL imperatives in Chuj or post-verbal pronominal clitics in Spanish. Next, Platzack and Rosengren propose that imperatives lack TP and subjects. In Chuj, absolutive case, which is assigned in $Infl^0$, the Mayan equivalent of T^0 (Coon et al 2014), is necessary in imperatives, such as in the objects of second person transitive imperatives. The separation of addressee and subject or intended agent that is possible in Zanuttini's proposal accounts for the 1PL agreement morphology along with the plural addressee morpheme *ek* in Chuj.

In conclusion, there is ample evidence in Chuj (Mayan) for Zanuttini's (2008) encoding of the addressee in the syntax via the JussiveP. I thus support the claim that the JussiveP is present cross-linguistically by applying it to another, typologically distinct language family. This structure accounts for the morphosyntax of imperatives in Chuj, explaining phenomena such as the lack of subject-agreement morphology in second person imperatives and the presence of subject-agreement morphology in 1PL imperatives. Zanuttini's proposal can also easily accommodate surrogate imperatives cross-linguistically, which is not possible in Platzack & Rosengren's (1997) previous proposal.

References

Armstrong, G. (2017). La sintaxis de la predicación no verbal en maya yucateco. *Cuadernos de Lingüística de El Colegio de México*, *4*(2), 137.

Coon, J., Mateo Pedro, P., & Preminger, O. (2014). The role of case in A-bar extraction asymmetries: Evidence from Mayan. *Linguistic Variation*, *14*(2), 179–242.

Jensen, B. (2004). Syntax and Semantics of Imperative Subjects. *Nordlyd*, *31*(1).

Knowles-Berry, S. M. (1987). Negation in Chontal Mayan. *International Journal of American Linguistics*, *53*(3), 327–347.

Platzack, C., & Rosengren, I. (1997). On the subject of imperatives: A minimalist account of the imperative clause. *Journal of Comparative Germanic Linguistics*, *1*(3), 177–224.

Zanuttini, R. (2008). Encoding the addressee in the syntax: Evidence from English imperative subjects. *Natural Language & Linguistic Theory*, *26*(1), 185–218.