# Bantu Plural Addressee Suffixes and Speech Act Projections

**Overview.** Many Bantu languages have a verbal P(lural) A(ddressee) S(uffix). Kiswahili's PAS *-eni* is typical in encoding only features of an argument -- whether an internal argument (IA) as in (1) or the null subject of an imperative or exhortative (2). The argument-only restriction illustrated in (2)c contrasts with a more familiar pattern of addressee agreement in languages such as Basque, exemplified in (3) and captured in (4). Nonetheless I argue for a unified account. In all cases, an Addr(essee)Agr must be valued in a local Agree relation; whether the valuer must be an argument depends upon its location.

(1)     Tu-li-wa-on-**eni**          wewe  na  Rajab.                    [addressee agreement with DO]
        1plSA-PST-2pl.OM-see-PAS    you      and Rajab
        'I saw you and Rajab.'

(2) a.  Tw-end-e!                              b.  Tw-end-e-**eni**!                    [Exhortative]
        1 pl-go-SBJ                                1PL-go-SBJ-PAS
        'Let's go!' *singular addressee*           'Let's go!'  *to plural addressees only*

    c.  Chakula ki-me-pik-w-(***eni**).
        7-food   7SM- PERF-cook-PAS
        'Food is cooked' (to any number or status of addressees)

(3)  Pette-k     lan      egin       di-**n**.                          [Basque; Oyharcabal 1993:92-3]
     Peter-ERG   work     do.PFV     3.ERG-FEM
     'Peter worked.' (said to a female friend)

(4)  [$_{SpkrP}$ Pro $_{i\phi1}$ Spkr [$_{AddrP}$ Pro$_{i\phi2}$ Addr [$_{TP}$ Subject$_{i\phi N \dots}$]]]        [Adapting Zu 2018]

The crucial evidence for a unified approach to the PAS and allocutive agreement exists in the Kenyan Bantu language Kîîtharaka, where Muriungi (2008) shows that the same PAS may encode features of a plural addressee argument of the verb as in Swahili (1)-(2) **OR** features of a non-argument, as in (5).

(5)  I-rio          i-bi-bî-îr-e-**ni**.                          [Kîîtharaka: Muriungi 2008:132]
     8-food FOC-8SM-cook-PERF-NI
     'Food is cooked' (√a mother addressing her three children)

**Analysis.** I propose that the bearer of Addressee Agr heads a projection distinct from that which houses the Addressee argument. In Kiswahili this agreeing head selects VP or JussiveP of imperatives and exhortatives, but not AddrP or TP; in Basque it selects only AddrP; in Kîîtharaka, all of these.

Internal argument as valuer: When PAS encodes an IA's features, an agreement analysis is well-motivated: PAS always cooccurs with Kîîtharaka's [2$^{nd}$ plural] pronominal clitic OM (6)a. In general, OMs cannot double a lexical internal argument (see (6)b) because OM bears the iPhi and θ-role.

(6) a.  I-ba-*(bû)-thok-ir-i-e(-**ni**).       b.  I-ba-(*ga)-tûm-ir-e          ka-ana.       [Kîîtharaka]
        FOC-2SM-2PL.OM-invite-PERF-PAS             FOC-2SM-12.OM-send-PFV-FV  12-child
        'They invited you guys.'                   'They sent the child.'

• PAS is a head with unvalued 2$^{nd}$ plural agreement features, here selected by *v**. Trapped within *v**P's phasal spell-out domain in (6)a,b/(7), PAS is too distant to agree with a left-periperal *pro* Addressee '
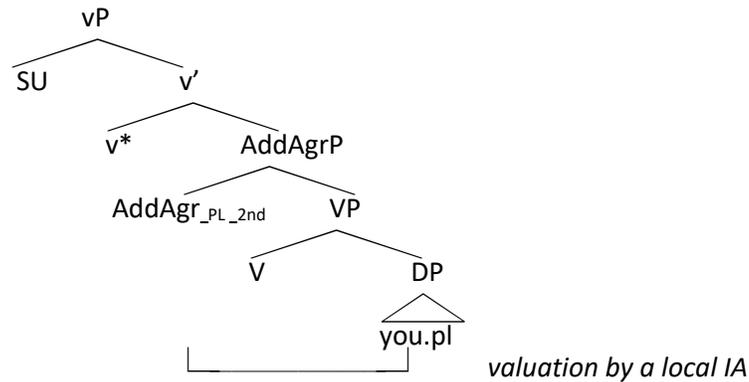
as it does in Basque. Its features require valuation from an internal argument.

(7)    Agree (Addr, $DP_{2,pl}$)

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                        vP
                      /    \
                    SU      v'
                          /    \
                        v*      AddAgrP
                              /        \
                    AddAgr_PL _2nd      VP
                                      /    \
                                     V      DP
                                             \
                                            you.pl
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*valuation by a local IA*

PAS in exhortatives: Following Zanuttini et al (2012) the null subject of an exhortative like (2) merges without *i*person features. Zanuttini et al propose that the Jussive head provides these: inclusive [1⊕2].

(8) $[_{JussiveP}$ Jussive$_{[person:1⊕2]i}$ $[_{vP}$ *pro*$_{[person:1⊕2]u…}]]$

But the plurality of the addressee in (2)b is crucially additional to the core [1st inclusive] features of an exhortative subject. This fact provides important, novel evidence that features of speaker and addressee are active in Bantu syntax and cannot be bundled as they are in (8) but rather must be unpacked. Adapting Zu (2018) a *pro* encoding the discourse addressee in (2)b is [*i*2, *i*Pl]. Its features combine with the speaker's [*i*1sing] to yield the [1st inclusive, PL addressee] interpretation of the exhortative null subject in (3)b; AddAgr Agrees with it by downwards probing.

(9) $[_{SpkrP}$ Pro$_{i\phi1}$ Spkr $[_{AddrP}$ Pro$_{i\phi2.Pl}$ Addr [Add.Agr~~u2, uPl~~ $[_{JussiveP}$ *pro*~~u1;u2, uNum:PL~~ …$]]]]$   = (2)b

PAS with non-arguments: Kîîtharaka AddAgr shares with that of Basque the ability to select AddrP directly, agreeing with the syntactic representation of the addressee:

(10) $[_{SpkrP}$ Pro$_{i\phi1}$ Spkr [Add.Agr~~u2, uPl~~ $[_{AddrP}$ Pro$_{i\phi2.Pl}$ Addr $[_{TP}$ Subject$_{i\phi N}$ …$]]]]$   = (5)b

In support of the unified account, only AddAgr agreeing with an IA may embed as shown in (11), (12).

(11)  Ez  di-na-t         nahi    [gerta di-aki-o-(*na)-n
       not AUX-1SG.ERG-F  want    happen AUX-3SG.ABS-3SG.DAT-(*F)-COMP
       'I don't want it to happen to him.'          *Agreement in the addressee's gender impossible*

(12) Kîîtharaka : *no embedding of PAS without an internal argument goal*                [Muriungi 2008]

       N-a-ku-irir-a(✓ni)      atî  mû-nene  n-a-tangac-ire(*ni)         atî   ba-ka-bû-gwat-a-(✓ni).
       FOC-1SM-regret-FV-PAS that 1-boss   FOC-1SM-announce-PERF-PAS that 2SM-FUT-2pl.OM-arrest
       'He regrets that the boss announced that they will arrest you.'

**Summary.** Comparing Bantu PAS with other addressee agreement systems reveals that PAS is unusual only in selecting JussiveP and VP rather than AddresseeP. Further, the role of PAS in exhortatives strongly argues that the loci of speaker and addressee features are always syntactically distinct.