Arapaho Indirect Imperatives and Agreement

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Outline

- Recent work casts imperatives as 'agreement' between a covert operator bearing an interpretable imperative force feature and an imperative marker carrying the corresponding [uImp].
- Theoretically, agreement with multiple imperative markers should be an option, but is unattested so far.
- Arapaho can combine two imperative markers in a non-iterative way, filling the typological gap.

Medeiros (2013) and the Typological Gap

- Medeiros (2013): Imperatives involve agreement for imperative force with an operator:

  (1) 'Walk!':

  $$\text{ImperativeP}$$
  ImperativeP → Imperative$_{[iImp]}$ vP; vP → pro VP; VP → walk$_{[uImp]}$
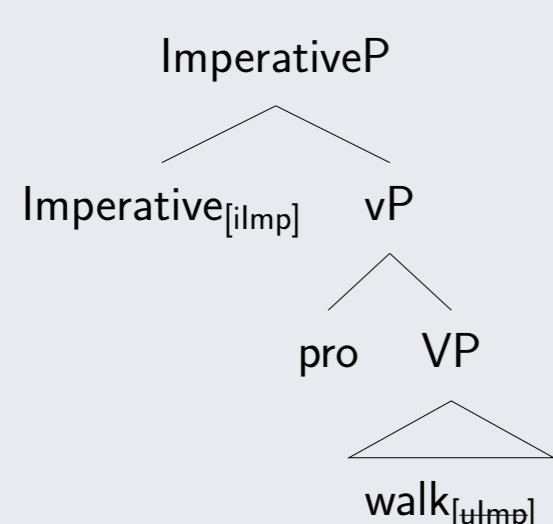
- This separates imperative morphology (on the verb) and imperative meaning (on the operator)
- Any number of uninterpretable features can agree with an interpretable one in the correct position.
- **Theoretical possibility:** Multiple imperative-marked items in the same utterance.
- **Problem:** Imperatives are associated with inflected verbs– only one per phase/syntactic unit!
- **Goal:** Multiple imperative marking within the same phase as evidence for multiple imperative agreement.

Some Imperatives from Arapaho

- Arapaho has a complex system of imperatives, multiple ways of marking them (Cowell & Moss Sr 2011).
- This poster focuses on prohibitives and indirect imperatives, which are marked with a prefix and a suffix, respectively.
- **Prohibitives:**

  (2) ciibéhcihnóóhowú!
  ciibeh-   cih-   noohow -i
  PROHIB-   to here- see.2S.TA -1S
  'Don't look at me!'

  - Verbal prefix.
  - Marks a prohibition: Imperative over Negation.

- **Indirect Imperatives:**

  (3) bii3(i)híhee!
  bii3(i)hí   -hee
  eat.3S$_{AI}$ -INDIR.IMP
  'Make him/her eat!'

  - Verbal suffix.
  - Marks a deferment of the action associated with the imperative on a contextually salient third person.

- Prohibitive prefix and indirect suffix can appear **on the same verb**:

  (4) ceebéhniitonéí3i, heebéh'ésnonéé!
  ceebeh-   niiton   -ei3i   eebeh-
  PROHIB-   hear(TA)   -3/2S.INDIR.IMP POTENT-

  esinonee
  angry.AI
  'Don't let her hear you; she might get angry.'

  - No iterative reading of two imperatives:

    (5) # (IMP(¬(IMP(she-hear-you)))) = "it is imperative that it is not imperative that she hear you"

  - Even if the lower imperative marker moves above the negation, the correct reading does not obtain:

    (6) # (IMP(IMP(¬(she-hear-you)))) = "It is imperative that it is imperative that it is not the case that she hear you"

  - Only available reading: **single imperative**:

   (7) (IMP(¬(she-hear-you))) = "It is imperative that she not hear you"

  - **Thus, (4) yields a non-iterative reading for the two iterated negative markers.**

Medeiros-style Analyses for Arapaho Imperatives

- The prohibitive marker is a negative marker that only occurs in imperative contexts (van der Auwera 2006).
- Such items carry [iNeg] as well as [uImp].
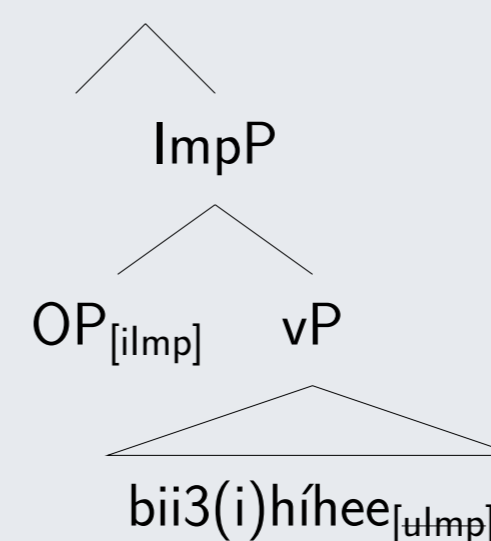- **Prohibitives:**

  (8) ciibéhcihnóóhowú!
  ciibeh-   cih-   noohow -i
  PROHIB-   to here- see.2S.TA -1S
  'Don't look at me!'

  ImpP → OP$_{[iImp]}$ NegP; NegP → ciibeh-$_{[iNeg, uImp]}$ vP; vP → cihnoohowi
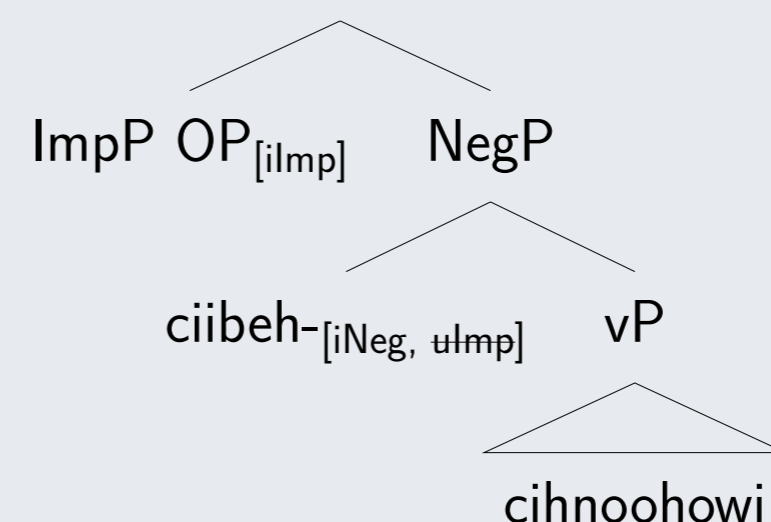
- **Indirect Imperatives:**

  (9) bii3(i)híhee!
  bii3(i)hí   -hee
  eat.3S$_{AI}$ -INDIR.IMP
  'Make him/her eat!'

  ImpP → OP$_{[iImp]}$ vP; vP → bii3(i)híhee$_{[uImp]}$

- **Multiple Imperatives:**
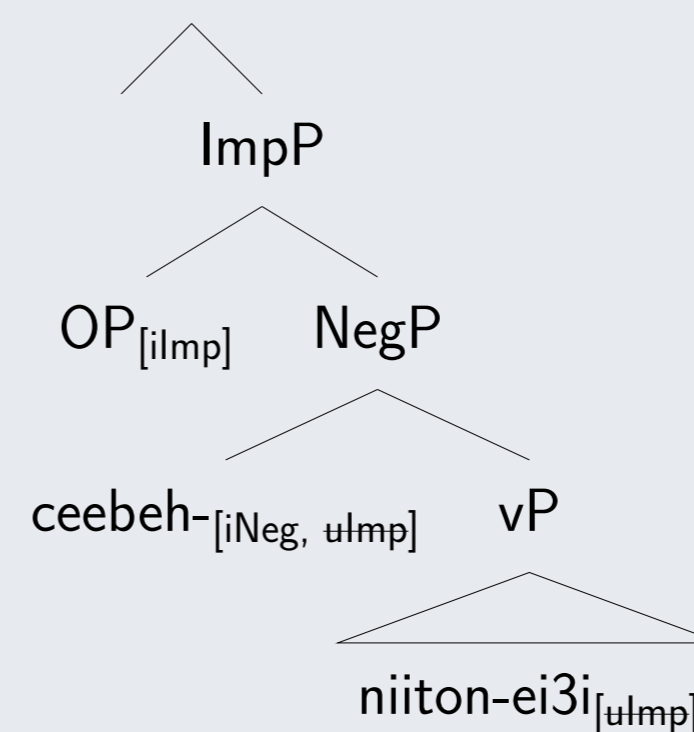
  (10) ceebéhniitonéí3i, heebéh'ésnonéé!
  ceebeh-   niiton   -ei3i   eebeh-
  PROHIB-   hear(TA)   -3/2S.INDIR.IMP POTENT-

  esinonee
  angry.AI
  'Don't let her hear you; she might get angry.'

  ImpP → OP$_{[iImp]}$ NegP; NegP → ceebeh-$_{[iNeg, uImp]}$ vP; vP → niiton-ei3i$_{[uImp]}$

Imperative... Concord?

- Non-iterative reading of multiple iterated markers as agreement ("Concord"): Negative Concord (Zeijlstra 2008a), Sequence of Tense (Zeijlstra 2008b)
- Agreement also offers a good formal account for prohibitives as negative imperative markers (van der Auwera 2006): negative markers tend to c-command any imperative morphology on the verb, but the operator c-commands both.
- **Why only Arapaho?**
  - Arapaho allows multiple imperative markers on the same verb.
  - Complex (portmanteau-style) person agreement allows flexibility in handling the "directedness" of the utterance.

Conclusions

- Arapaho provides an example of a non-iterative reading of multiple iterated markers, filling the gap suggested by Medeiros (2013).
- Crucially, the imperative operator provides a single source of imperative force, accounting for the non-iterative reading.
- This makes it another instance of Zeijlstra-style concord-as-agreement.
- Imperative agreement interacts closely with person agreement. How this bears out in Arapaho remains to be seen.