

Imperative Subjects and Vocatives in Modern Greek¹

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Abstract

In past research concerning Imperative Subjects (ISs) and Vocative Phrases (VocPs) one of the main findings was that in some way ISs and VocPs share the property of referring to the entirety of the Addressees or a subset thereof. However, only an IS can be in a subset relationship to the VocPs, an idea further explored and implemented in different ways (Zanuttini 2008, Zanuttini et al. 2012 amongst others). Additionally, if no such relationship holds between the IS and the Addressees (subset/superset relationship), a Control relationship is said to hold between the Addressee and the IS (Potsdam 1996, 1998) where the Addressee has potential control over the IS in some given domain (be it social, political, discourse-related or other). In this paper, I aim to present the possible combinations of ISs and VocPs as possible discourse-participant expressions in Modern Greek imperatives and account for their relationship in a systematic way based on their phi-features (namely number and person) and their semantic composition (definiteness and collectivity properties). More specifically, I argue that in order to fully capture the relationship between the Addressees and the discourse participants targeted by the imperative's phi-features and subjects to bring the imperative about, all their features must be taken into consideration.

Keywords: imperatives, subject, addressee, discourse participant, phi-features

1. Introduction: Imperatives, Imperative Subjects and Vocative Phrases

Imperatives, along with declaratives and interrogatives, define one of the three main clause types, and have specific properties and marking (Sadock and Zwicky 1985 and König and Siemund 2007). According to König and Siemund (2007: 303) imperatives are mostly *constructions dedicated to the expression of directive acts and the most widespread strategy for marking imperatives seems to be a special inflectional form of the verb* (ibid.). In general, imperatives are limited to a special 2nd person singular and 2nd person plural paradigm (see Aikhenvald 2010 and references therein). 1st or 3rd person commands have been given other names, like hortatives, adhortatives or jussives².

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² Imperatives do not always denote commands or directive speech acts, but they can also be extended to invitations, instructions and permissions inter alia. Examples and definitions for these functions can be found in Portner (2007), Charlow (2014) and von Stechow & Iatridou (2017) amongst others.

Furthermore, a distinction has been introduced in the literature between true imperatives, namely morphologically marked constructions with a separate paradigm usually restricted to 2nd person, and surrogate or suppletive imperatives, that is, syntactic constructions with directive force that draw from other inflectional paradigms. Isac (2015), based on Joseph and Philippaki-Warbuton (1987), Zanuttini (1991, 1994, 1997), Rivero (1994) and Rivero and Terzi (1995), reduces the differences between true and surrogate imperatives to the following points:

- (i) Morphological differences: True imperatives belong to a distinct morphological paradigm, while surrogate imperatives belong to another paradigm, most probably the infinitive or the subjunctive paradigm (hence the possibility of 3rd and/or 1st person features).
- (ii) Relative position with respect to clitics: Clitics precede surrogate imperatives, but appear after the true imperatives, because the true imperatives raise to a high functional head with the clitics remaining in a lower projection (e.g. Kayne 1994 has identified this projection as the Inflection Phrase (IP)).
- (iii) Negation: True imperatives cannot be combined with negative markers, while surrogate imperatives can be negated more easily (Rivero 1994, Rivero and Terzi 1995). Rivero and Terzi (1995) have accounted for the possibility of negating true imperatives and distinguished two classes of true imperatives with different structural properties that can explain their behavior with respect to negation using relativized minimality (Rizzi 1990 *et sequitur*).

In Modern Greek (MG), both true and surrogate imperatives are attested. True imperatives are limited to a 2nd person singular and plural inflectional ending (as in (1)), whereas surrogate imperatives are formed periphrastically with the subjunctive modal particles *na* or *as* (negated via the subjunctive negative marker *mi(n)*), followed by the indicative paradigm (there is no separate morphological marking for MG subjunctives):³

- | | | | |
|-----|----|---|----------------------------|
| (1) | a. | Klise
close-2SG.IMP
'Close the door!' | tin porta!
the door.ACC |
| | b. | Kliste
close-2PL.IMP
'Close the door!' | tin porta!
the door.ACC |
| (2) | a. | Na klisis /klisete
PRT close-2SG/close-2PL
'You (singular) / you (plural) should close the door!' | tin porta!
the door.ACC |
| | b. | Na klisi /klisoun(e)
PRT close-3SG/close-3PL | tin porta!
the door.ACC |

³ The Leipzig Glossing Rules will be used to gloss the examples. The abbreviations used are as follows (in alphabetical order): 1: first person, 2: second person, 3: third person, ACC: accusative, GEN: genitive, IMP: imperative, NEG: negative marker, NOM: nominative, PL: plural, PRT: particle, SG: singular, VOC: vocative.

‘pro (= he/she/it) / pro (= they) should close the door!’

As we can see from (2), the subjunctive paradigm includes non-2nd person values, so we should take other participants into consideration, i.e. other than the Addressees. Concerning the relationship between person, number and the discourse participants, Potsdam (1996, 1998) has argued that person and number specifications on pronouns ‘point’ to discourse participants. Given that in pro-drop languages verbal phi-features have a pronominal character (see Rizzi 1982, Philippaki-Warbuttion 1987 and Roussou 2002 amongst others) and that MG is considered a pro-drop language, I expand his insight from full-fledged pronouns to person and number distinctions marked on the verb:

1SG → Speaker	2SG → Addressee	3SG → Other participant (excluding Speaker and Addressee)
1PL → Speaker plus one or more participants (excluding Addressee)	2SG → Addressee plus one or more participants (excluding Speaker)	3SG → Other participants (Excluding Speaker and Addressee)

Table 1: Number/person distinctions and discourse participants

Although vocatives form another class of expressions that refer to discourse participants, namely the Addressee(s), they have remained under-explained (Levinson 1983:71), an outlier or outsider case (Daniel & Spencer 2009), mostly outside the scope of grammatical investigation. In the last two decades or so, there has been extensive research on the structure and position of vocatives in the sentence, highlighting any correlations with the Addressee(s)⁴.

Hill (2014) differentiates between the internal and external licensing of vocatives; the former refers to their internal structure and the latter to their connection to the clause. Giusti (2006) and Wiltschko (2014) argue that the nominal and verbal domain are isomorphic or parallel, with their outermost layer being devoted to discourse-participant linking. When it comes to Hill’s internal licensing (i.e. their internal structure) we can assume that the structure is along the lines of figure 1, adapted from Hill (2014:75)

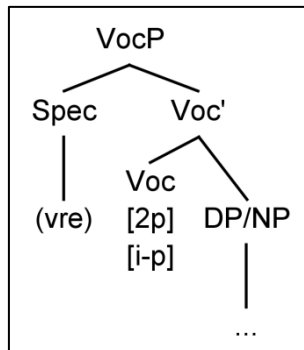


Figure 1: The internal structure of a Vocative Phrase

⁴ See amongst others: Moro (2003), Hill (2007, 2014), Zanuttini (2008), Espinal (2013), Haegeman & Hill (2013; 2014), Stavrou (2013), Slocum (2016) and Akkus & Hill (2017).

A VocP projects on top of the DP/NP and bears two features: [2nd person], encoding reference to the Addressee, and [i-p], encoding the inter-personal relation between the Speaker and the Addressee (relevant for some cases of agreement). As for the external licensing of the vocative, Hill (2007, 2014) assumes that a Speech Act layer projects on top of the CP, with the vocative phrase corresponding to the Addressee⁵.

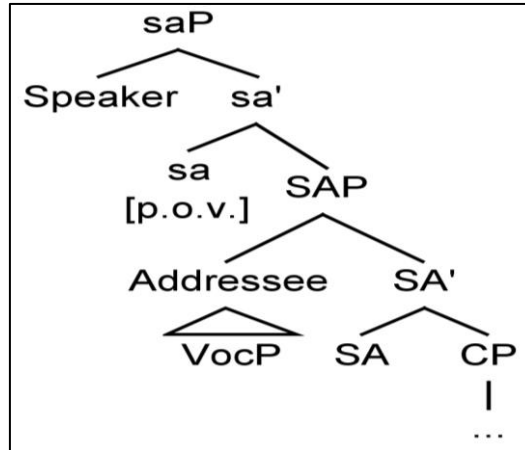


Figure 2: The position of a Vocative Phrase in the clause

It is worth pointing out that in earlier approaches to imperatives, vocatives were considered subjects of imperative clauses. Jensen (2003), Iatridou (2008), Zanuttini (2008) and Zanuttini et al. (2012) and the references therein show that there are some differences between VocPs and imperative subjects. More specifically for MG, VocPs are not restricted to imperatives but can be present in questions as well, as in (3), coexist with an imperative subject, inflectionally provided as in (4), have different prosodic properties (a pause intonation, orthographically represented with a comma) and are marked overtly with different inflectional morphemes (5) vs. (6).

- (3) Θoma, perpatises simera?
 Thomas.VOC walk-2SG.PAST.PERF today
 ‘Thomas, did you walk today?’
- (4) Θoma, na perpatisete/perpatiste oli simera!
 Thomas.VOC PRT walk-2PL walk-2PL.IMP all today
 ‘Thomas, all of you should walk today!’
- (5) Θoma, pare ti bala!
 Thomas.VOC take-2SG.IMP the ball.ACC
 ‘Thomas, take the ball!’

⁵ There have also been other analyses for encoding the discourse participants in the syntactic component, mostly with respect to person agreement e.g. Bianchi (2003), Speas and Tenny (2003), Sigurðsson (2004) and Miyagawa (2010; 2012; 2017).

- (6) O Thomas ce o Takis pekste bala!
 The Thomas.NOM and the Takis.NOM play-2PL.IMP ball.ACC
 ‘Thomas and Takis play football!’

The common property that seems to unite VocPs and imperative subjects is that they prototypically refer to the Addressee(s) or a subset thereof. Hence, Portner, Zanuttini and their colleagues have argued in a series of publications that we should postulate a special head responsible for licensing the Addressee above the IP in imperatives (e.g. Portner 2005, Mauck & Zanuttini 2005) called the Addressee Phrase, later renamed as a Jussive Phrase (Pak et al. 2008a, 2008b; Zanuttini 2008 and Zanuttini et al. 2012 amongst others).

In this study, I will offer some data from Modern Greek imperatives, both true and surrogate, and argue that we can dispense with such a specialized head (namely the Jussive Phrase), if we consider both the Speaker and Addressee heads as parts of the Speech Act layer and the imperative subjects’ reference when we need to account for the participants that will act according to the imperatives content with respect to the Speaker and Addressee (i.e. the relationship between the Addressees in the VocP and the phi-features of the imperative and the imperative’s subject).

In this section, I offered some general information on imperatives, ISs and VocPs and my working definitions for the main subjects of my analysis and I presented the theoretical foundations upon which I will base it. The next sections will be devoted to the presentation of the data I will use for my analysis, where I will give different combinations of VocPs and ISs both for true and surrogate imperatives and expand on the relationships that are manifested in these combinations. My aim is to give a preliminary distinction amongst the different combinations of ISs and VocPs, and formulate some generalizations for their syntactic and semantic properties. The discussion will be devoted to summarizing my findings and offering some suggestions for further research.

2. Vocatives and Imperative Subjects in interaction

2.1. Second person imperatives

Starting with true imperatives, their subjects, being marked for 2nd person, are expected to refer to the Addressee(s) (depending on number) or quantify over them. This insight is borne out as long as other features are taken into consideration. In the examples below, I also include vocatives, in order to show whether there are restrictions with respect to their combinations and where they deviate.

- (7) Maria, anikse Ø/ esi tin porta!
 Maria.VOC open-2SG.IMP Ø/ you.NOM the door.ACC
 ‘Maria, (you) open the door!’
- (8) Maria, anikste Ø/ esis tin porta!
 Maria.VOC open-2PL.IMP Ø/ you.NOM.PL the door.ACC
 ‘Maria, (you) open the door!’

In (7), the singular vocative picks out the Addressee that has to bring about the event described by the imperative. The subject is either overtly realized with the pronoun ‘you’ (*esi*) or is null (*pro*). If overt, it can receive an emphatic/contrastive reading. In (8) the singular vocative refers to a member of the set of Addressees that are possible ‘door-openers’, but the IS is not defined clearly.

- (9) Maria, anikste opja θeli tin porta!
 Maria.VOC open-2PL.IMP whoever.FEM want-3SG the door.ACC
 ‘Maria, whoever (of you girls) wants open the door!’

Something similar happens in (9), where the vocative is in a subset relationship to the rest of the Addressees; the gender of the vocative *Maria* and of the free relative pronoun *opja* restricts the Addressees to female participants only.

In examples (10)–(12) the interpretive restrictions that hold in (7)–(9) remain the same, given that the vocative is singular and that the surrogate imperatives are 2nd person.

- (10) Maria, na aniksis Ø/esi tin porta!
 Maria.VOC PRT open-2SG Ø/ you.NOM the door.ACC
 ‘Maria, you should open the door!’
- (11) Maria, na aniksete Ø/esis tin porta!
 Maria.VOC PRT open-2PL Ø/ you.NOM.PL the door.ACC
 ‘Maria, you should open the door!’
- (12) Maria, na aniksete opja θeli tin porta!
 Maria.VOC PRT open-2PL whoever.FEM want-3SG the door.ACC
 ‘Maria, whoever (of you girls) wants open the door!’

In the previous examples, a singular vocative can combine with either a singular or plural (true or surrogate) 2nd person imperative and the interpretation is calculated based on the features of the two. If the VocP is plural, the available options are a plural IS that either coincides with the VocP (13), quantifies over the VocP in some way (14), or is in a subset relation with respect to the VocP (15), as a collective noun like ‘taksi’ (i.e. class) can include both boys and girls:

- (13) Ayorja, kliste Ø/esis ta paraθira!
 Boys.VOC close-2PL.IMP Ø/ you.PL the windows.ACC
 ‘Boys, (you) close the windows!’
- (14) Ayorja, kliste merici/ i brostini ta paraθira!
 Boys.VOC close-2PL.IMP some.NOM/ the front.NOM the windows.ACC
 ‘Boys, (some / the front ones) close the windows!’
- (15) Ayorja, kliste oli/ ?oli i taksi ta paraθira!
 Boys.VOC close-2PL.IMP all.NOM/all the class.NOM the windows.ACC
 ‘Boys, (everybody / all the class) close the windows!’

The sentences in (16)–(18) are surrogate imperatives, so in principle they are not restricted to 2nd person but can have a 3rd person subject as well. As such, they pattern with the ones in (13)–(15) (vis-à-vis examples with singular VocPs). In (16), the VocP

and IS overlap in reference, in (17) the VocP is a superset of the IS, whereas in (18) it is the exact opposite.

- (16) Ayorja, na klisete Ø/esis ta paraθira!
Boys.VOC PRT close-2PL Ø/ you.PL the windows.ACC
'Boys, (you) close the windows!'
- (17) Ayorja, na klisete merici/i brostini ta paraθira!
Boys.VOC PRT close-2PL some.NOM/the front.NOM the windows.ACC
'Boys, (some / the front ones) close the windows!'
- (18) Ayorja, na klisete oli/?oli i taksi ta paraθira!
Boys.VOC PRT close-2PL all.NOM/all the class.NOM the windows.ACC
'Boys, (everybody / all the class) close the windows!'

Based on the examples (7)-(18) we can reach some generalizations concerning the combination of VocPs and ISs for true and surrogate imperatives. When it comes to 2nd person singular imperatives, true or surrogate, the VocP and the IS have the same point of reference, namely a given Addressee, hence only emphatic / contrastive 'you' subjects may arise, and plural VocPs are disallowed. So, an example like (19) is not permitted.

- (19) *Ayorja, klise/ na klisis ta paraθira!
Boys.VOC close-2SG.IMP/PRT close-2SG the windows.ACC
'Boys, you (singular) should close the windows!'

In 2nd person plural imperatives, the VocP acts as a subset or superset of the IS, as expected from the 2nd person feature of the VocP and the properties of the IS (i.e. collectivity and quantificational properties).

If the features of the VocP are not compatible with the ones of the IS (i.e. gender and formality) ungrammaticality ensues, as in (20), or some interpretations are excluded, as in (21) vs. (22):

- (20) *Ayorja, kliste oles ta paraθira!
Boys.VOC close-2PL.IMP all.FEM the windows.ACC
'Boys, you (singular) should close the windows!'
- (21) ?Vre Panajotaci, peraste ekso!
vre Panagiotis.DIM.VOC go-PL.IMP outside
'My dear/little Panagiotis, you should go outside!'
- (22) Cirie Papaðopule, peraste ekso!
Mr. Papadopoulos.VOC go-PL.IMP outside
'Mister Papadopoulos, you should go outside!'

In (20), ungrammaticality arises because the quantifier 'oles' has an interpretable +fem feature, whereas 'ayorja' might be marked for neuter gender but has an interpretable +masc feature. (21) is not ungrammatical but only has the interpretation where 'little Panagiotis' is part of a set of Addressees. On the contrary, (22) can have two kinds of interpretation, the one in (21), where Mr. Papadopoulos is considered a member of a set of Addressees, and an additional one, where he is the only member of the set but a

formal plural is used for the imperative (in this case the honorific ‘cirie’, i.e. Mister, triggers this interpretation).

2.2. First and third person imperatives

In the previous subsection, the Speaker assigned bringing the imperative about to one or more of the Addressees (this is considered to be the prototypical function of an imperative, be it true or surrogate). Despite the fact that there are no true imperatives for 1st or 3rd person, MG has a full paradigm for all persons in both numbers for surrogate imperatives. Such imperatives are usually referred to as ‘hortatives’, ‘exhortatives’, or ‘adhortatives’ when in 1st person; the term ‘jussives’ or ‘injunctives’ is used for 3rd person commands (Aikhenvald 2010). For present purposes, I will use ‘imperative’ for all cases.

Using the person and number distinctions of Table 1, we can calculate which discourse participants will bring the imperative about, including or excluding the Speaker and Addressee, so the IS-discourse participant relationship is transparent. Nonetheless, contrary to the previous cases where the VocP/Addressee or a set related to the VocP/Addressee was supposed to bring the imperative about, we will need additional distinctions to capture the role of the VocP in 1st and 3rd person imperative.

It seems that the remaining person combinations can reduce to an alternative version of what Potsdam (1996:236-237) calls the *Control Relationship* (between the Addressee and the Imperative Subject)⁶:

Control Relationship: x is in a control relationship with y if x has potential control over y in some domain z (where z may range over social, military, political, economic, discourse, or other situations).

Relationship between Addressee and Imperative Subject: The Addressee must be in a control relationship over the referent of the imperative subject.

The Speaker does not necessarily need to control the IS immediately, as in 2nd person imperatives. On the contrary, using a VocP, the Speaker can assign control to the Addressee(s), who in turn mediate(s) between the Speaker and other discourse participants. This means, that in the cases that follow, the Addressee(s) mentioned in the VocP must not act themselves but make sure that some other participant (i.e. other than themselves or the Speaker) acts accordingly:

- (23) Maria, na aniksi o Tacis/ o telefteos tin porta!
 Maria.VOC PRT open-3SG the Takis/ the last.NOM the door.ACC
 ‘Maria, Takis / the last one (should) open the door!’

⁶ In this context “control” is not to be understood as the relationship between the null subject of an embedded infinitival clause and one of the arguments in the superordinate clause as in the examples that follow:

- i) John_k started [PRO_k running again].
- ii) Leonard convinced Mary_j [PRO_j to leave tomorrow].

- (24) Maria, na δjavasun oli/ i perisoteri to arθro!
 Maria.VOC PRT read-3PL everybody/ most.NOM the paper.ACC
 ‘Maria, everybody / most of the class (should) read the paper!’
- (25) Koritsia, na aniksi o Taxis/ o telefteos tin porta!
 Girls.VOC PRT open-3SG the Takis/ the last.NOM the door.ACC
 ‘Girls, Takis / the last one (should) open the door!’
- (26) Koritsia, na δjavasun oli/ i perisoteri to arθro!
 Girls.VOC PRT read-3PL everybody/ most.NOM the paper.ACC
 ‘Girls, everybody / most of the class (should) read the paper!’

A different situation (that may seem slightly counterintuitive) arises in 1st person singular imperatives, as the Speaker can assign the Addressee(s) control over her / his actions. This means that, on the Speaker’s command, the Addressee must make sure that the Speaker brings the imperative about:

Context: Professor X has forgotten his watch at home and is about to give a lengthy lecture. He needs to take his pills at 6 o'clock. Before he starts the lecture he says:

- (27) Maria, na paro ta xapja mu stis eksi!
 Maria.VOC PRT take-1SG the pills.ACC clitic.POSS at 6 o'clock
 ‘Maria, I should take my pills at 6 o'clock!’
- (28) Koritsia, na paro ta xapja mu stis eksi!
 Girls.VOC PRT take-1SG the pills.ACC clitic.POSS at 6 o'clock
 ‘Girls, I should take my pills at 6 o'clock!’

Something similar happens in 1st person plural imperatives, where the Addressee designated through the VocP has control over a set including the Speaker (i.e. the Speaker includes himself / herself in bringing the imperative about, but is not the only discourse participant expected to act). The participation of the designated Addressee is not specified (as MG does not manifest aclusivity distinction in 1st person plural verbs), but both an inclusive and exclusive reading can arise:

Context: Maria is responsible for giving a talk’s handouts to her classmates, her colleague Takis knows that she did not give handouts to all the class (29) or all the boys (30) last time, so he tells her:

- (29) Maria, na parume oli mas handout simera!
 Maria.VOC PRT get-1PL all-of-us.NOM handouts today
 ‘Maria, we should all get handouts this time!’
- (30) Maria, na parume ola ta ayorja handout simera!
 Maria.VOC PRT get-1PL all the boys.NOM handouts today
 ‘Maria, we boys should all get handouts this time!’

As is the case in (20), in (30) the VocP cannot overlap with the IS, as they have different values for gender and they are not compatible; so the 1st person cannot include the Addressee. As we can see from this section, if there is a person difference between

the VocP and the IS, the VocP gets assigned the role of the Controller by the Speaker and regulates bringing the imperative about without necessarily contributing.

3. Towards an analysis

The data I offered in the previous section are summarized in the table that follows, so that some patterns and generalizations that arise can become more obvious (for reasons of simplicity the additional abbreviations used in this table are as follows: A: Addressee, S: Speaker, OP: Other Participants (Excluding A and S), > : Direction of control):

	1SG	2SG	3SG
SG VocP	Control (A > S)	Null / Emphatic use	Control (A > OP)
PL VocP	Control (A > S)	Set function	Control (A > OP)
	1PL	2PL	3PL
SG VocP	Set function / “Control”	Set function	Control (A > OP)
PL VocP	Set function / “Control”	Null / Emphatic use	Control (A > OP)

Table 2: The readings of the interaction between VocPs and ISs based on number and person

- If the VocP and 2nd person IS have the same number value, the IS can be null (*pro*) or be overtly realized with an emphatic/contrastive reading.
- If the VocP and IS share the 2nd person feature but have different number values, a set function (superset/subset relation) arises between the VocP and IS (e.g. 2SG-PL VocP and 2PL-SG VocP).
- If the VocP occurs with and a 3rd person IS (singular or plural) the Addressee has control over another participant (or participants), excluding the Speaker.
- If the VocP occurs with a 1st person singular IS, the Speaker has assigned the Addressee(s) control over said Speaker.
- If a VocP is combined with a 1st person plural IS, a set function arises including the Speaker and other participants, but the Addressee might or might not be included, as there is no overt clusivity distinction in MG

If we take into consideration both the internal structure of the VocP and the feature values that comprise it (i.e. number, gender, interpersonal properties) and its relation with regard to the IS and its respective features, we can calculate the final interpretation and relationship between the Addressee and the discourse participant that implements the content of the imperative.

Even though this process is transparent, there are some instances where this mapping is opaque and this can happen either because of formality distinctions (honorifics), as in (22) repeated here as (31), or because of quantifiers and their features or absence of grammatical distinctions such as clusivity, as in (32) and (33) vs. (34) respectively.

- (31) Cirie Papaðopule, peraste ekso!
 Mr. Papadopoulos.VOC go-2PL.IMP outside
 ‘Mister Papadopoulos, you should go outside!’
- (32) Sotiri, peraste oli ekso!
 Sotiris.VOC go-2PL.IMP everybody.NOM outside
 ‘Sotiris, all of you should go outside!’
- (33) Maria, na parume kafe!
 Maria.VOC PRT buy-1PL coffee.ACC
 ‘Maria, we should buy coffee!’
- (34) Maria, na pjume kafe ce esis tsai!
 Maria.VOC PRT drink-1PL coffee.ACC andyou.PL
 tea.ACC
 ‘Maria, we (i.e. excluding the Addressee) should drink coffee and you tea!’

In (31) there is an ambiguity based on the presence of a formal plural in MG and in (32) the quantifier *oli* is marked for masculine gender but can include (i) all discourse participants, (ii) all male discourse participants based on gender agreement or (iii) a set including female participants and at least one male one. Example (33) might be ambiguous, since it may include or exclude the Addressee, but (34) only has a strong reading excluding the Addressee.

4. Concluding remarks

VocPs and ISs have both been thought to coincide, overlap or quantify over the Addressees, but languages like MG, where surrogate imperatives exist, can help us understand that the Addressee(s) may coincide with the participants that bring the imperative about, but this is not the only option available to the Speaker as the issuer of the imperative. The empirical evidence I have provided shows that we should clearly differentiate between the Addressee(s) expressed by VocPs and the IS licensed inside the CP and that their interaction can be reduced to the bundle of features they are made of, which allows them to match or differ.

This line of analysis could help us dispense with imperative-specific heads or phrases like the ones assumed by Portner (2005) and Zanuttini et al. (2012) in terms of an Addressee Phrase or Jussive Phrase for imperatives and related constructions like promissives and hortatives. More specifically, the combination of features present on imperatives and other verbal forms, their subjects and the VocPs present in the SAP would suffice to account for the interaction between the Speaker, the Addressee(s) and other discourse participants.

Furthermore, I argued that adopting a set-formation analysis along with Potsdam’s (1996 / 1998) Control Relationship can help us cover all VocP-IS combinations. The interaction of the VocP with the imperative person features and its subject must all be taken into consideration in order to account for the assignment and direction of control (Speaker > Addressee(s), Addressee(s) > Speaker etc).

Further research is needed for the interaction of VocPs and imperatives with formality distinctions, quantifiers and clusivity as hinted in examples (31)-(34) as well as a more fine-grained analysis of the interaction of discourse participants and

information structure (i.e. focalized or topicalized constituents in subject position introducing alternatives).

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