This book focuses on the form and the function of commands—directive speech acts such as pleas, entreaties, and orders—from a typological perspective. A team of internationally-renowned experts in the field examine the interrelationship of these speech acts with cultural stereotypes and practices, as well as their origins and development, especially in the light of language contact.

The volume begins with an introduction outlining the marking and the meaning of imperatives and other ways of expressing commands and directives. Each of the chapters that follow offers an in-depth analysis of commands in a particular language. These analyses are cast in terms of ‘basic linguistic theory’—a cumulative typological functional framework—and the chapters are arranged and structured in a way that allows useful comparison between them. The languages investigated include Quechua, Japanese, Lao, Aguaruna and Ashaninka Satipo (both from Peru), Dyirbal (from Australia), Zenzontepec Chatino (from Mexico), Nungon, Tayatuk, and Karawari (from Papua New Guinea), Korowai (from West Papua), Wolaitta (from Ethiopia), and Northern Paiute (a native language of the United States).

Alexandra Y. Aikhenvald is Distinguished Professor, Australian Laureate Fellow, and Director of the Language and Culture Research Centre at James Cook University.

R. M. W. Dixon is Adjunct Professor and Deputy Director of the Language and Culture Research Centre at James Cook University.
Commands
EXPLORATIONS IN LINGUISTIC TYPOLOGY

GENERAL EDITORS: Alexandra Y. Aikhenvald and R. M. W. Dixon
Language and Cultural Research Centre, James Cook University

This series focuses on aspects of language that are of current theoretical interest and for which there has not previously or recently been any full-scale cross-linguistic study. Its books are for typologists, fieldworkers, and theory developers, and designed for use in advanced seminars and courses.

PUBLISHED
1 Adjective Classes
   edited by R. M. W. Dixon and Alexandra Y. Aikhenvald
2 Serial Verb Constructions
   edited by Alexandra Y. Aikhenvald and R. M. W. Dixon
3 Complementation
   edited by R. M. W. Dixon and Alexandra Y. Aikhenvald
4 Grammars in Contact
   edited by Alexandra Y. Aikhenvald and R. M. W. Dixon
5 The Semantics of Clause Linking
   edited by R. M. W. Dixon and Alexandra Y. Aikhenvald
6 Possession and Ownership
   edited by Alexandra Y. Aikhenvald and R. M. W. Dixon
7 The Grammar of Knowledge
   edited by Alexandra Y. Aikhenvald and R. M. W. Dixon
8 Commands
   edited by Alexandra Y. Aikhenvald and R. M. W. Dixon

PUBLISHED IN ASSOCIATION WITH THE SERIES
Areal Diffusion and Genetic Inheritance
Problems in Comparative Linguistics
   edited by Alexandra Y. Aikhenvald and R. M. W. Dixon
Commands

*A Cross-Linguistic Typology*

Edited by

ALEXANDRA Y. AIKHENVALD and
R. M. W. DIXON

Language and Culture Research Centre
James Cook University

OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS
Contents

Preface   x
Notes on the contributors   xii
Abbreviations   xvii

1  Imperatives and commands: a cross-linguistic view   1
   Alexandra Y. Aikhenvald
   1  Preamble   1
   2  Imperatives and commands   2
   3  Canonical and non-canonical imperatives   5
   4  Non-imperative forms in lieu of imperatives   8
   5  Imperatives, their grammar, and meanings   11
   6  Negating an imperative   18
   7  The limits of imperatives   20
   8  Imperatives which do not 'command'   23
   9  Command strategies   24
  10  Imperatives in language history   30
  11  Understanding imperatives   33
  12  About this volume   37
      References   40

2  Imperatives and commands in Quechua   46
   Willem F. H. Adelaar
   1  Preliminary information on Quechua   46
   2  Nature of the sources   50
   3  Expression of imperatives   50
   4  Imperative and Future tense   51
   5  Negative commands   53
   6  Prohibitive adverb ama   53
   7  The copula construction in an imperative environment   54
   8  Grammatical categories of imperatives   55
   9  Politeness   56
  10  Pre-imperatives   56
  11  Special imperatives   57
  12  Postverbal clitics   57
  13  Imperative in quotations   58
14 Vocatives 58
15 Imperative strategies 58
16 A final word 59
   References 59

3 The grammatical representation of commands and prohibitions
   in Aguaruna 61
Simon E. Overall
   1 Introduction 61
   2 Typological profile 62
   3 Formal marking of directives 67
   4 Commands in grammar 76
   5 Commands in interaction 79
   6 Final comments 82
      References 82

4 Imperatives in Ashaninka Satipo (Kampa Arawak) of Peru 83
Elena Mihas
   1 Community background 83
   2 The language 84
   3 The canonical imperative construction 88
   4 First person cohortative construction 89
   5 Third person jussive construction 90
   6 Summary of the imperative paradigm 91
   7 Restrictions on the formation of imperative 91
   8 Prohibitives and preventives 94
   9 Specification of the action’s temporal, spatial, and phasal parameters 95
   10 Adjusting the force of commands 96
   11 Command strategies 98
   12 Responses to commands 100
   13 Mock-up commands 101
   14 Calling people and other spiritual entities 102
   15 Commands given to pets and domesticated animals 102
   16 Conclusions 103
      References 105

5 Commands in Zenzontepec Chatino (Otomanguean) 106
Eric W. Campbell
   1 Introduction 106
   2 Basic information about Zenzontepec Chatino and the
      data in this study 107
   3 Grammatical sketch 108
Contents vii

4 Canonical imperatives: the Imperative Mood 112
5 Prohibitives and non-canonical imperatives 118
6 Other addressee-directed command strategies 121
7 Conclusion 124
References 125

6 What Dyirbal uses instead of commands 127
R. M. W. Dixon
1 Preface 127
2 Introduction 127
3 Background 130
4 Verbal structure 133
5 Potentiality inflection 137
6 Caution inflection 142
7 Conclusion 144
References 145

7 On the heterogeneity of Northern Paiute directives 146
Tim Thornes
1 Introduction 146
2 Exploring directive speech 146
3 The language and its speakers 147
4 Preliminaries: Northern Paiute grammatical properties 148
5 Note on sources 151
6 Commands in Northern Paiute 151
7 Command strategies 153
8 The prohibitive construction 157
9 Development of the prohibitive construction 158
10 Non-canonical directive: first person (ex)hortative 159
11 Non-canonical directive: third person optative 161
12 Historical considerations 162
13 Summary and conclusion 165
References 166

8 Imperatives and commands in Japanese 169
Nerida Jarkey
1 Preliminary information 169
2 Cultural parameters, commands, and discourse 171
3 Expression of imperatives and prohibitives 173
4 Semantics of imperatives 176
5 Grammatical categories of imperatives 178
6 Non-command meanings of imperatives 179
viii Contents

7 Command strategies 181
8 Conclusion 187
   Sources 188
   References 188

9 Linguistic expression of commands in Lao 189
   N. J. Enfield
   1 Preliminary information 189
   2 Expression of imperatives 191
   3 Negative imperatives 196
   4 Semantic distinctions in commands 197
   5 Social hierarchy and commands 202
   6 Conclusion 204
   References 205

10 Imperatives and command strategies in Tayatuk (Morobe, PNG) 206
   Valérie Guérin
   1 The language 206
   2 Canonical imperatives 209
   3 Non-canonical imperatives 211
   4 Negative imperatives 213
   5 Commands strategies 214
   6 Concluding notes 218
   References 222

11 Imperatives and commands in Nungon 224
   Hannah S. Sarvasy
   1 Introduction to Nungon 224
   2 Imperatives overview 227
   3 Imperative forms in other clause types 238
   4 Imperative strategies 242
   5 Origin of imperative forms 246
   6 Acquisition of imperatives 247
   7 Dog commands 248
   References 248

12 The imperative paradigm of Korowai, a Greater Awyu language of West Papua 250
   Lourens de Vries
   1 Introduction 250
   2 Introduction to the Korowai verb system 250
## Contents

3 Korowai imperatives  252  
4 Summary and discussion  263  
   References  264  

13 Commands as a form of intimacy among the Karawari of Papua New Guinea  266  
Borut Telban  
1 Introduction  266  
2 The use of commands in Ambonwari  268  
3 Short non-verbal commands  269  
4 Canonical verbal imperatives marked with the suffix -ra or -nda  270  
5 Verbal imperatives/hortatives marked with the suffix -n  276  
6 Potential form used in mild commands  278  
7 A note on non-canonical commands  279  
8 Conclusion  280  
   References  281  

14 Commands in Wolaitta  283  
Azeb Amha  
1 Introduction  283  
2 Sentence-type distinction  285  
3 Imperative  287  
4 On the use and meanings of imperatives  297  
5 Concluding remarks  298  
   References  300  

15 Veiled commands: anthropological perspectives on directives  301  
Rosita Henry  
1 A question of command  301  
2 Directives in an intersubjective world  302  
3 Speech acts in the Western Highlands, Papua New Guinea  305  
4 Veiled words materialized  307  
5 Your wish is (not) my command  309  
6 Conclusion: veiled commands, egalitarian values, and language materiality  311  
   References  312  

Index of authors  315  
Index of languages, peoples, language families and areas  318  
Index of subjects  322
Preface

Every language has numerous means for getting someone to do something. These cover orders, pleas, entreaties, and other directives. They correlate with social conventions, existing hierarchies, and even kinship systems. This volume focuses on the form and the function of commands (or directive speech acts), their interrelationship with cultural stereotypes and practices, and their origins and development, especially in the light of language contact under different circumstances.

The volume starts with a typological introduction outlining the marking, and the meaning, of imperatives and other ways of expressing commands and directives, together with their cultural and social aspects and historical developments. It is followed by revised versions of fourteen presentations from the International Workshop 'Commands', held at the Language and Culture Research Centre, James Cook University, 28 September–3 October 2015. An earlier version of Chapter 1 had been circulated to the contributors, with a list of points to be addressed, so as to ensure that their detailed studies of individual languages were cast in terms of a common set of typological parameters. (This is the eighth monograph in the series Explorations in Linguistic Typology, devoted to volumes from International Workshops organized by the co-editors.)

The week of the workshop was intellectually stimulating and exciting, full of discussions and cross-fertilization of ideas. Each author has undertaken intensive fieldwork, in addition to experience of working on linguistic typology, historical comparative issues, and problems of areal diffusion. The analysis is cast in terms of basic linguistic theory—the cumulative typological functional framework in terms of which almost all descriptive grammars are cast—and avoids formalisms (which provide reinterpretations rather than explanations, and come and go with such frequency that any statement made in terms of them is likely soon to become inaccessible).

It is our hope that this volume will provide a consolidated conceptual and analytic framework. We aim at covering the major parameters of variation in the expression of commands and a plethora of directive speech acts in general across languages of the world.

We are grateful to all the participants in the Workshops and colleagues who took part in the discussion and provided feedback on presentations at various stages, particularly Grant Aiton, Yongxian Luo, Cassy Nancarrow, Colleeen Oates, Howard Oates, Ryan Pennington, Nick Piper, and Kasia Wojtylak. We are grateful to the Honourable Jan McLucas, Labor Senator for Queensland, for her official opening of the Workshop and support. We owe a special debt of gratitude to Amanda Parsonage
and Brigitta Flick, for helping us organize the Workshop in a most efficient manner. Brigitta Flick’s and Jolene Overall’s support and editorial assistance were invaluable.

The Workshop was made possible partly through the Australian Research Council Discovery Project ‘How languages differ and why’. We gratefully acknowledge financial assistance from the College of Arts, Education and Social Sciences, the Cairns Institute and the Division of Research and Innovation at James Cook University.