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The imperative paradigm of Korowai, a Greater Awyu language of West Papua

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1. Introduction

Korowai is a Papuan language spoken by around 4000 people in the rainforest between the Eilanden and the Becking River of (Indonesian) West Papua. Korowai belongs to the Becking-Dawi branch of the Greater Awyu family (de Vries, Wester and van den Heuvel 2012). It is a synthetic language with agglutinating morphology and some fusion (van Enk and de Vries 1997). There are three open word classes, verbs, nouns and adjectives. Verb morphology is suffixing, with the exception of the negative circumfix. Verbal suffixes express person and number of the subject, mood, modality, negation, switch reference, temporality (sequence and simultaneity), tense and aspect. Nominal morphology is very simple compared to verbal morphology. There are three major clause types in Korowai, all of them predicate final and with nominative-accusative alignment: transitive, intransitive and copula clauses.

This chapter describes forms and functions of Korowai imperatives. First, there is an introduction to the Korowai verb system (§2). The imperative paradigm is the topic of §3. The chapter ends with some concluding reflections on Korowai imperatives (§4). The Korowai data are from van Enk and de Vries (1997) unless indicated otherwise. The unpublished Korowai language notes and extensive dictionary file of Rupert Stasch were very helpful to complete and verify my description and analysis.

2. Introduction to the Korowai verb system

The Korowai verb system follows the pattern of all Greater Awyu languages (Wester 2014; de Vries, Wester and van den Heuvel 2012): the realis-irrealis opposition is basic, there is

systematic conflation of second and third person in singular and plural and there are four basic verb types.

The first and most simple Korowai verb type are its medial same subject verbs (bare verb stem or stem plus same subject suffix –*n*è, for example *fu* and *bando-xe-nè* in (20c). In addition, there are three types of independent verbs. The most simple type are zero-forms that consist of a verb stem followed by just one suffix slot, a person-number slot, e.g. *xa-fén* in (7). The term zero-forms is from Drabbe (1959: 127) who called them zero-forms because their broad 'injunctive' mood is expressed by zero (see §4 for injunctive mood). This mood paradigm occurs in all Greater Awyu languages, with different but related ranges of meanings. In Korowai, the zero-forms are an imperative paradigm (see §3). The second type of independent Korowai verbs have two suffix slots: a person-number and modality slot (realis and irrealis), e.g. *la-xe-lé* in (1). The third type of independent verbs has three slots: they add a tense suffix or aspect suffix to two-slot realis/irrealis verbs, e.g. *dépe-mémo-xa-lé* in (3).

There are two sets of person-number suffixes. The suffixes used in (1), the irrealis paradigm of *lai-* 'to come', occur with all independent verb forms, except the imperative paradigm that has its own specific set of person-number markers, see §3):

(1)   sg   1   la-xe-lé

                                come-IRR-1sg

                        non1   la-xé

                                come-IRR[non1sg]

        pl   1   la-xe-lè

come-IRR-1sg

non1 la-xe-té

come-IRR-non1pl

Realis and irrealis verbs with two suffix slots may be expanded with either tense suffixes or aspect suffixes, creating independent verbs with three suffix slots. The same set of tense suffixes are attached to both realis and irrealis forms. When attached to realis forms, they are interpreted as past tense markers and when attached to irrealis forms, the suffixes have future tense readings. In other words, they express degrees of remoteness from utterance time irrespective of the time direction, e.g. –*mémo* means 'a moment ago/in a moment':

(2)   i-méma-lé

        see-IMMED-1sg[REAL]

        I saw a moment ago

(3)   dépe-mémo-xa-lé

        smoke-IMMED-IRR-1sg

        I will smoke in just a moment

Declarative mood is unmarked except for falling intonation towards the end of the utterance. Interrogative mood is characterized by a rising intonation towards the end and the optional presence of question clitics attached to the last word of the clause. There are two question clitics, *=xolo* and *=benè*:

(4)   lu-mbo=benè?

        enter-DUR[non1sg:REAL]=Q

        Is he entering?

Out of context (4) may also mean 'Are you (sg)/is it/is she entering?'

3. Korowai imperatives

3.1 The meanings of the imperative paradigm

Korowai second person imperatives are an integral part of a single imperative paradigm (5) with first, second and third person imperatives, just as in Mauwake, another Papuan language of New Guinea (Berghäll 2010: 32-33). The distinction between first person, second person and third person forms, in singular and plural, makes the imperative paradigm of Korowai an extremely marked paradigm both in Korowai, and more generally in the whole Greater Awyu family where all verb paradigms have just four forms, based on the speaker/non-speaker (1st versus 2nd/3rd person) and singular/plural oppositions.

The meaning of the Korowai imperative forms can best be glossed in English by 'Let X do Y or be Y' where X can be of all grammatical persons and X can be animate or inanimate, with or without agency. This abstract, generalized grammatical signal is used in a wide range of different directive speech acts: to command, to advise, to wish, to pray, in exhortations and in the language used in rituals of magic. Body language, including facial expression, cultural context and social relationship between speaker and addressee are combined with the imperative grammatical signal to infer the nature and the force of the speech act intended by the speaker.

The imperative paradigm is not the only grammatical signal used by speakers and hearers to communicate and infer the directive intentions of the speaker. Other grammatical

signals used in the pragmatic domain of directive speech acts are intonation, the grammatical person of the subject, a closed class of imperative adverbs, exclamative vowel clitics and vocative forms of address. The term imperative is used in this chapter as a grammatical label for the Korowai imperative paradigm as a whole, not just for second person imperatives, a paradigm of verb forms with imperative, jussive, hortative, optative and other contextual readings.

3.2 Imperative morphology

The imperative paradigm is formed by adding a person-number suffix to the verb stem. The paradigm is different from all other verb paradigms of Korowai. This is not just because the imperative paradigm distinguishes three grammatical persons where all other Korowai verb paradigms distinguish just two grammatical persons but also because the imperative paradigm has its own set of person-number suffixes (5) while all other verb paradigms in Korowai share another set (1). This is the imperative paradigm of *lu-* 'to enter':

(5)   sg   1   *lu-p*

              2   *lu-m*

              3   *lu-n*

        pl   1   *lo-f-un*

              2   *lo-m-un*

              3   *le-tin*

3.3 Imperative adverbs

A closed set of mutually exclusive mood adverbs may occur in imperative clauses, and only in imperative clauses, with imperative verbs of all three persons. First, hortative *anè* that

always precedes the imperative forms. It functions to strengthen the persuasive force (6)-(7).
Second, the desiderative mood adverb *xolüp* (or shortened allomorphs: *xüp, xlüp* or *xup)*
optionally follows the imperative verb (8) and (9).

(6)   anè   lai-m

       IMP   come-IMP:2sg

       You must come!

(7)   anè   xa-fén

       IMP   go-IMP:1pl

       Let us go!

(8)   noxu ima-fon   xüp

       we   see-IMP:1pl   DESID

       We wish to see! Let us see!

(9)   xolo-xolo   aup   da-men   xup

       RECIP- RECIP   voice   listen-IMP:2pl DESID

       You should/must listen to each other!

       (from Stasch' field notes)

The adverb *xüp* also occurs in idioms of strong refusal when the speaker makes very clear that
he or she does not want to do something. The following example is from the field notes of
Rupert Stasch who describes the idiom as an oath-like formulaic expression that means 'I do
not want to' used in negative contexts of frustration. This analysis is supported by Stasch'

observation that the noun *wafol* 'worm' can be replaced by a number of other nouns with negative connotations (e.g. *laleo* 'after-death demon') or nouns referring to spiritual beings that are also used frequently as swear words (e.g. *xufom*!).

(10)   wafol   xüp

      worm   DESID

      No way! (lit. worms would be good)

The third mood adverb is the prohibitive adverb *belén* (see §3.5 for negative imperatives):

(11)   golo-m   belén=é

      be.afraid-IMP:2sg   NEG.IMP=EXCL

      Don't be afraid!

      (from Stasch' field notes)

Like the desiderative adverb *xüp,* the prohibitive adverb *belén* always occurs immediately after the verb. The desiderative *xüp* also occurs with negative imperative constructions that consist of a negated infinitive (see §3.5):

(12)   dodu-n-da=xup

      split-INFIN-NEG=DESID

      don't split!

      (from Stasch' field notes)

3.4 The imperative paradigm, tense and aspect

Just like other independent verb paradigms, imperative verb forms can be expanded with the

tense suffixes *–mémo* 'a moment removed from now' and *–lulo* 'a day removed from now' to

create delayed imperatives, e.g. *dépemémom* 'smoke in a moment!' from *dépo-* 'to smoke'

(13)   sg   1   dépe-mémo-p

           2   dépe-mémo-m

           3   dépe-mémo-n

       pl   1   dépe-méma-f-on

           2   dépe-méma-m-on

           3   dépe-méma-tin

Korowai derives habitual-iterative verbs by reduplicating verb stems and adding the verb stem

of *mo* 'to do'. Such derived habitual-iterative verbs also have imperative forms:

(14)   sabu=ngga   xoxa   molo=xa   xoxa

       soap=CONN   thing   diving.glasses=CONN   thing

       fo-fo-ma-fon=o

       get-get-HAB-IMP:1pl=EXCL

       Let us get/We want to get things like soap and diving glasses regularly/repeatedly!

3.5 Prohibitives

The opposition irrealis and imperative is neutralized under negation and the forms of (15) are

used both as negative imperative and as negative irrealis forms. The negative circumfix

be-...-da is used with all independent verb paradigms in Korowai:

(15)   sg   1   *be-dépo-pe-lé-da*

                   Non1   *be-dépo-n-da*

       pl   1   *be-dépo-pe-lè-da*

                   Non1   *be-dépa-tin-da*

But Korowai also has dedicated negative imperative forms, all second person prohibitives. The first type of dedicated second person prohibitive verb forms is derived from the irrealis negative paradigm (15) by deleting the negative prefix *be-*, making the imperative verb shorter, and by addition of the negative imperative adverb *belén*:

(16a)   dépo-n-da   belén

        smoke-IMP:2sg-NEG   NEG.IMP

        Do not smoke!

(16b)   dépa-tin-da   belén

        smoke-IMP:2pl-NEG   NEG.IMP

        Do not smoke!

The second way to create prohibitive verb forms is by deriving infinitives and modify them by the negative imperative adverb.

(17)   dépo-n   belén

        smoke-INFIN   NEG.IMP

Do not smoke!

(18) dépo-ŋga   belén

smoke-INFIN.CONN   NEG.IMP

Do not smoke!

The negative infinitive also occurs without *belén* to signal strong and forceful prohibitive

intentions (*noxu ülmexo-ngga-da* in (19b)). Example (19a/b) is part of a story published by

van Enk and de Vries (1997: 186-205) that tells how Korowai people reacted to the first

Dutch missionary worker who tried to contact them in 1979:

(19a) anè xe-nè   ülmexo-fon   de-té

IMP go-SS   shoot-IMP:1pl say-non1pl[REAL]

(19b) sé   mbolo-mbolop   lefu-lon   de-té

next   grandfather-grandfather   some-FOC   say-non1pl[REAL]

él   noxu   ülmexo-ngga-da

well   we   shoot-INFIN.CONN-NEG

noxu   wola-lelo-xai   de-nè   de-té

1pl   world-be[non1sg]-IRR   say-SS   say-non1pl[REAL]

Let us shoot them, they said, but the elders said 'Well, we must not shoot them, lest

our world ends'.

3.6 Scope of imperative forms, clause chaining and switch reference

In clause chaining, clauses with dependent verbs are under the scope of the imperative verb of the final clause. For example the medial verb *bando-xe-nè* in (20a) receives an imperative reading under the scope of the imperative verb in the final clause. The following examples are taken from the a text that contains a (reported) prayer-like call that is directed at the ancestors after a pig sacrifice (van Enk and de Vries 1997: 159-162):

(20a) wof-e=xa   mbolow=è   ge-mba-mbam-pexo

      there-TR=CONN   ancestor=VOC   your-child-child-COMIT

if-e=xa   bando-xe-nè lé-m=é

this-TR=CONN   bring-go-SS   eat-IMP:2sg=EXCL

 Oh forefather over there, with your children, you should take this and eat it!

(20b) lé-m=daxu   noxup   dél=o   füon=o

       eat-IMP:2sg=SS   1pl   bird=COORD   marsupial.species=COORD

gol=o   fédo-m=do   le-fén=è

pig-COORD   give-IMP:2sg=DS   eat-IMP:1pl=EXCL

Eat and give birds and marsupials and pigs for us to eat!

 (20c) damol fo   fe-nè   fu

        back get[SS]   get-SS   put[SS]

woto=fexa   mbolo=fexo   ge-mambüm=pexo

sacred.place=one   grandfather=COORD   your-children=COORD

ge-yano=fexo   ge-ni-xül=fexo   if-e=xa

your-people=COORD   your-wife-pl=COORD   here-TR=CONN

bando-xe-nè   le-mén=é

bring-go-SS   eat-IMP:2pl=EXCL

And having presented the back (part of the sacrificial pig) (they say), 'hey, you forefather of

that certain sacred place, with your children, your people and your wives, you should take this

and eat it!'

(20d)   le-mén=daxu   [noxu lép-telo-xai=xa]   noxu

        eat-2pl:IMP=SS   we   ill-be[non1sg]-IRR=CONN   1pl

mano-pa-mon=do   xi-telo-fon=è

good-CAUS-2pl:IMP=DS   healthy-be-1pl:IMP=EXCL

'You must eat it and if we fall ill, cure us and let us be healthy'.

The whole prayer is in imperative mood, with first and second person imperative verbs. Tail-

head linkages (de Vries 2005) link the final imperative clause of chain (20a) to (20b), and

(20c) to (20d). The subordinate clause *noxu lép-telo-xai* in (20d) is a peripheral argument of

the clause *manopamon*. Therefore it is not under the scope of the imperative mood of the

clause chain. The embedded clause does not contains an imperative verb but an irrealis verb.

The clause can be glossed as 'given that we fall ill'/ 'if we fall ill'.

Notice that (20d) also shows that first person plural forms of the imperative paradigm can be used in contexts where the addressee is excluded: you (ancestors) must help us and we (your descendants) must be healthy (*xitelefon*) (cf. Nungon, Hannah Sarvasy, chapter X). But the first person plural inclusive reading is the more usual one.

3.7 Relationships between irrealis modality and imperative mood

The close synchronic relationship between the imperative and irrealis in Korowai is shown by the fact that the negative forms of the irrealis paradigm also function as prohibitive forms, i.e. the opposition irrealis vs. imperative is neutralized in the negative forms (15). It is not uncommon for irrealis forms to be used in polite directive speech acts in Papuan languages (Roberts 1990). The use of Korowai negative irrealis forms as negative imperatives fits this pattern. Second, by shortening the 2nd person forms of the negative irrealis paradigm and adding an imperative negative adverb, dedicated prohibitive forms are derived from the negative irrealis (16a/b).

Diachronically, irrealis paradigms and imperative paradigms are also closely linked within the Greater Awyu family. In the Awyu-Dumut branch there is, just like in the Becking-Dawi branch (Korowai, Tsaukambo), an irrealis paradigm but whereas in the Becking-Dawi branch there is both an irrealis paradigm and an imperative paradigm, the languages of the Awyu-Dumut branch have just an irrealis paradigm that is used in all contexts of unactualized events, including directive contexts (hortative, jussive). Only for 2nd person subjects there is a dedicated imperative paradigm in the Awyu-Dumut branch, formally distinct from the irrealis paradigm, with an imperative prefix and (often) suppletive imperative stems.

This will be illustrated with data from Yonggom Wambon. Yonggom Wambon, like other Awyu-Dumut languages, has suppletive imperative stems. It derives imperative stems by prefixing an element *na-* or *n* – and suffixing *–n* to a primary or secondary stem (Drabbe

1959: 130; de Vries, Wester and van den Heuvel 2012: 287). An alternative way is to add the imperative stem *nok* of the auxiliary verb *mo* 'to do' to a (secondary) verb stem. By adding a plural suffix *–nin,* plural imperatives are formed. There are many irregularities in the formation of imperative forms. Some examples:

(21) *Verb stems*   *Imperative sg*   *Imperative pl*

      mba-, mbage- 'to sit'   na-mbon   na-mbon-in

                                 mbage-nok

      en- ande- 'to eat'   n-an   n-an-in

                                 ande-nok

Prohibitives are formed by adding the prohibitive suffix *–tit* to a secondary verb stem. The plural suffixes *-na* and *–an* surround *–tit* to pluralize the prohibitive (Drabbe 1959: 141). Notice that the systematic conflation of second and third person, a defining characteristic of the Greater Awyu family, absent in the neighboring Asmat, Marind and Ok families, occurs also in these Yonggom Wambon negative imperatives. Some examples of prohibitive forms:

(22) jo-tit

      call-PROHIB

      you (sg) must not call/let him/her not call!

      (Yonggom Wambon, Drabbe 1959: 141)

(23) jo-na-tir-an

      call-pl-PROHIB-pl

      you (pl)/they must not call, do not call'/'do not let them call

(Yonggom Wambon, Drabbe 1959: 141)

Irrealis forms of Yonggom Wambon are zero-forms, formally unmarked for TAM and used for events or actions that have not (yet) been actualized. Interestingly, the irrealis forms may also have directive mood meanings (adhortative, optative, desiderative, jussive). Consider this irrealis paradigm of Yonggom Wambon, Drabbe 1959: 128-129):

(24)   irrealis of *majo* 'to come down'

       1sg   majo-p

                      come.down-1sg[IRR]

       non-1sg   majo-n

                      come.down-non1sg[IRR]

       1pl   majo-p-an

                      come.down-1-pl[IRR]

       non-1pl   majo-n-an

                      come.down-non1-pl[IRR]

Example (25) shows three irrealis verbs expressing directive mood with first and second person subjects:

(25)   Mbage-p   ka-n   werepmo-j-ip

sit-1sg[IRR]   go-non1sg[IRR]   be.healthy-TR-1sg[IRR]

Let me stay until I am recovered! (Lit. Let me stay and let it (the illness) go away and I

want to be healthy/let me be healthy/I must be healthy)

(Yonggom Wambon, Drabbe 1959: 135)

There is not only functional overlap between Awyu-Dumut irrealis and Becking-Dawi

imperative paradigms (both may be used in directive contexts with first and third person

subjects) but the two paradigms are also cognate. Compare the Korowai imperative paradigm

(5) with the Yonggom Wambon irrealis paradigm (24). Notice that the Yonggom Wambon

irrealis has the normal paradigm with four forms based on the first person versus non-first

person opposition that we find in all Greater Awyu languages, except in Becking-Dawi

imperative paradigms (Korowai, Tsaukambo). Korowai imperative *lu-p* (1sg) corresponds to

Yonggom Wambon *majo-p* (1sg), the 1pl forms are also cognate (in both languages

intervocalic /p/ becomes a voiced continuant in morpheme sequencing). Finally, the non-1sg

Korowai *lu-n* and Yonggom Wambon *majo-n* correspond. Crucially, both paradigms are zero-

forms, only marked for person-number. But the grammatical place of the zero-forms is

overlapping but different in both branches: it is an dedicated imperative paradigm in Korowai

and an irrealis paradigm in Yonggom Wambon (that includes imperative readings with first

and third person subjects, second person imperatives have their own distinct paradigm).

What may have happened in the Awyu-Dumut branch (exemplified by Yonggom

Wambon) is that from the original zero-form paradigm, inherited from proto Greater Awyu (3

persons, 2 numbers), the second person zero-forms were dropped after the formation of

separate, dedicated imperative second person forms. This resulted in a zero-form paradigm

with 4 forms that conforms to the Greater Awyu standard of speaker versus non-speaker.

Kombai (de Vries 1993), the eastern Awyu-Dumut neighbor of Korowai, also dropped second person forms of the proto Greater Awyu zero-paradigm, but in addition Kombai dropped the third person zero-forms. Kombai uses non-1 future forms to express imperative meanings with 3rd person subjects. This means that Kombai has just 1st person zero-forms left. The same is true for Digul Wambon where de Vries and de Vries-Wiersma (1992: 31) only found first person zero-forms in texts. In other words, we see the inherited zero-form paradigm in reduced forms in the Awyu-Dumut branch. The other branch (exemplified by Korowai) retained the complete zero-form paradigm of proto Greater Awyu. The reason that only first person imperative forms survived in Kombai and Digul Wambon is their very high frequency. The high frequency of first person zero-forms is caused by the fact that quotative framing of emotion, thoughts, intention requires first person zero-forms in all Greater Awyu languages (26).

(26)   Yarimo   xo   fera-f-e-ne

garden   go.SS   see-lsg:IMP-CONN-QUOT.sg

He wants to go and see his garden.' (Lit. He says 'Let

me go and see the garden)

(Kombai, de Vries 1993)

3.8 Limits of imperatives

Given the right context, any Korowai verb seems to be able to have imperative forms. In my corpus of Korowai texts, I found examples of imperatives with both volitional and non-volitional verbs where the subject has no control over the action of the verb and with both inanimate, low-agency subjects and high-agency human subjects. The examples of imperatives with involitional verbs and low-agency subjects are from the *Gom* song (van Enk

and de Vries 1997: 220). Both the young boys and the sago palms of various species are the subjects of the second person imperative forms of the intransitive and involitional verb *melu* 'to grow':

(27a) xofél   gabüm-gun mbolop   gabüm-gun

       boy   knee-group grandfather   knee-group

xofé   manop pelu-m=é=o

boy   good   grow-2sg:IMP=EXCL=EXCL

Knee-dancing boys' group, knee-dancing older people's group, boy, grow well!

(27b) xaxül   melu-m=o   lahial   melu-m=o

    xaxül.sago grow-2sg:IMP=EXCL   lahial.sago   grow-2sg:IMP=EXCL

lé   melu-m=o   amo   melu-m=o

kind.of.sago.tree   grow-2sg:IMP=EXCL   amo.sago   grow-2sg:IMP=EXCL

Xaxül sago, grow! *Lahial* sago, grow! *Lé* sago, grow! *Amo* sago, grow!

(27c)   xofé   manop pelu-m=é=o

      boy   good   grow-2sg:IMP=EXCL=EXCL

      Boy, grow well

3.9 Imperative verbs, politeness and egalitarian cultural practices

The anthropologist Stasch (2014: 87) writes that 'Korowai are intensely egalitarian in their political ethos. For example, they historically lacked any named roles of political leadership, and in the present as in the past they are quick to rebuke any person who tries to tell others what to do.' But Stasch (2014: 87) also makes clear that 'the absence of stable roles of political authority is not the same as absence of social subordination as such. On the contrary, Korowai have a clear idea of the possibility of subordination in social life. They often marvel approvingly at it when it occurs, as a realization of values of relatedness and coordination.'

Both elements, of egalitarianism and subordination tied to specific relational dyads and cultural contexts, shape the way that Korowai speakers perform directive speech acts. In most contexts, it is completely acceptable to use just short imperative forms, including second person forms, without any negative politeness strategies (in the sense of Brown and Levinson 1987: 129-211) to reduce the imposition on the addressee. On the contrary, it is precisely the absence of such strategies that signals solidarity, harmony, trust and cooperation (cf. Karawari, Borut Telban, chapter X).

The following example shows such a short direct command in a cooperative context, where Korowai speakers work together to give visitors the idea that they meet 'stone age' people who never saw 'white people'. The Korowai dialogue has been filmed and occurs in a French documentary film with the title Path to the Stone Age (Stasch 2014: 83). The French cameraman asks some Korowai men through a Korowai interpreter whether they have ever seen white men. The Korowai interpreter is under titled as saying 'Have you ever seen white men?' but Stasch (2014: 83) reports what the Korowai interpreter is really saying during that film fragment: "Say 'No, none'. Say 'None at all'. Say 'I have not seen white-skinned people, this is the first time'". The Korowai interpreter in the film starts to 'translate' the question whether the interviewee has ever seen white people by giving the Korowai interviewee a short command:

(28)   *Mafem*   *di-m.*

      no   say-2sg:IMP

      Say 'no'!

Such short commands, without any redressive action in the domain of politeness, are very frequent. They are not seen or meant as rude. On the contrary, the absence of (elaborate) redressive politeness makes (28) a command that in the egalitarian Korowai context conforms to norms of pleasant behavior and that expresses smooth cooperation between speaker and addressee when they work together with a shared goal, in this case to adjust their answers to the primitivist' expectations and hopes of visitors that want to meet Korowai people in their pure, uncontacted state (Stasch 2014).

But egalitarian ideologies and practices do not imply that there are no relations or situations with elements of subordination and seniority, e.g. mother-child, husband-wife, ancestor-descendant (Stasch 2014: 83). Giving commands to outgroup members, especially foreigners, also demands tact and often require that the speaker makes clear that he does not want to force the foreign addressee in any way to do something that they do not desire to do. The speaker will adjust the linguistic form of the imperative speech act in such contexts to the situation or the relationship between speaker and addressee, for example by using a polite or honorific term of address before performing the imperative speech act, by adding imperative adverb *xup* DESID that may have the force of 'please' in English, by adding long exclamative vowels and pronounce these with a pleading tone, by using a polite, kind and cooperative intonation contour in the speech act as a whole, and by body language and facial expression.

Korowai and Kombai use the noun *yale* (Kombai, de Vries 1987: 114) and *yalé(n)* (Korowai) with the basic meaning 'old man' as an honorific form to address a respected male

person who has some form of seniority with respect to the speaker. They also add these nouns as a honorific seniority clitic to nouns referring to persons, especially personal names (e.g. *Xoləneləse=ale* 'honored Kornelis', from Stasch' notebook). Van Enk and de Vries (1997: 145) describe the Korowai *lebaxop* as the female honorific counterpart of *yalé(n)* (29).

Subjects are often left implicit in imperative clauses. In this respect, they are not different from other clauses types because the general tendency in Korowai is to prefer clauses with just a verb, or a verb with at most one nominal that conveys new or important information. Whereas overt subject phrases tend to be avoided to keep the syntax of the clause simple, extra-clausal themes that precede a clause but are not syntactically part of the clause, occur very frequently (de Vries 2006). Second person addressees may be expressed by a vocative phrase in this theme slot. The form of address in the theme slot has a major impact on the level of politeness of imperative speech acts with 2nd person subjects:

(29) Lebaxop,   gup   lai-m=do   noxup
      old.lady   you   come-2sg:IMP=DS   1pl

      ima-fon   xüp
      see-1pl:IMP   DESID
      Madam, you must come and let us see you!

The honorific form of address in (29) is respectful. The use of the desiderative imperative adverb in combination with this form of address turn (29) into a polite invitation. The vocative phrase preceding the imperative clause, the desiderative adverb and the pronominal subjects in the clauses make the imperative sentence longer and that also softens the intrusion on the autonomy of the addressee.

The vocative phrase is often pronounced in a relatively loud voice, with exclamative and vocative vowels cliticizing to the form of address (30). Exclamative interjections may precede the imperative utterance (30). The longer the exclamative or vocative vowel lasts, the more forceful the imperative speech act will be.

(30) hey   n-até=o

     EXCL   my-father=VOC

golo-m   belén=é

be.afraid-2sg.IMP   NEG.IMP=-EXCL

nu   kolufo-yanof=é

I   Korowai-person-EXCL

Hey, my father, do not be afraid! I am a Korowai person.

Example (30) is taken from the *Xenil-xenil* narrative (van Enk and de Vries 1997: 189). The situation in the story is tense because total strangers meet. The kinship term is used by the speaker as a polite form of address, adding that he is a (normal) Korowai person, not to be feared. Kinship terms or terms of friendship (friend, mate) are the preferred choice for the vocative slot. Kinship terms are dyadic terms evoking the duties and obligations, levels of distance or closeness, associated with the dyad.

4. Summary and discussion

Typologically, Korowai imperatives stand out in a number of interesting ways. The distinction canonical imperatives (2nd person) versus non-canonical imperatives (1st and 3rd

person) is not made in the Korowai imperative paradigm. Second, imperative clauses are used in tail-head linkage. Finally, first person plural imperatives of Korowai are used not only in addressee-inclusive contexts but also in addressee-exclusive contexts. The imperative paradigm not only expresses the same distinctions as the other independent verb paradigms but it makes more distinctions than the others, viz. in grammatical person. The imperative clearly is not the impoverished little sister of the declarative in Korowai. The role of the imperative forms in grammar and language use is very prominent because imperative verb forms are not just used for a broad range of directive speech acts but also in quotative framing in the domains of thought, emotion, cognition and perception. This makes forms of the imperative paradigm very frequent, as in many other Papuan languages (de Vries 1990; 2006)

Irrealis and imperative paradigms are closely related in the Greater Awyu family, both synchronically and diachronically, and Korowai is no exception. This is because they are zero-forms. The zero-paradigm, formally unmarked except for person-number, has the same set of person-number suffixes in the whole family (Wester 2014: 91). The zero-paradigm brings together irrealis, optative, imperative, hortative and desiderative meanings in different permutations in the two branches. In the Awyu-Dumut branch the zero-paradigm is used for both non-directive and directive speech acts in utterances with irrealis, optative, hortative and jussive readings. In addition, there is a dedicated canonical imperative paradigm with only second person forms in the Awyu-Dumut branch. However, in the other branch, at least in Korowai, the zero-paradigm is exclusively imperative, in three grammatical persons, and in contrast with an irrealis paradigm.

The Greater Awyu zero-paradigm is formally and functionally reminiscent of the injunctive paradigm of Proto-Indo-European, formally unmarked for tense and mood (Progovac 2015: 40; Kiparsky 1968). Progovac (2015: 40) points out how Indo-Europeanists like Kurylowicz (1964: 21) and Gonda (1956: 36-37) describe the injunctive paradigm as the

only mood in earliest Proto-Indo-European, moreover a mood that expressed a wide range of meanings in the domain of unactualized events including irrealis, optative and imperative. The type and range of directive speech acts that can be performed by the injunctive forms (I want X, I want you to do X, let us do X, I wish Y to happen) are basic, in many ways more basic than declarative speech acts, certainly in first language acquisition and perhaps also in the evolution of language, according to Progovac (2015: 170) who sees the imperative as the 'paradigm case of an unmarked mood form'.

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