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TRAVAUX DE L'INSTITUT DE LINGUISTIQUE DE LUND 54

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*For all students of the imperative*

# Contents

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Extra special acknowledgement is due to my daughter and my wife.

# Conventions

*1. Interlinear glosses and translations*

The system of glossing is informed by but not in strict accordance with the Leipzig Glossing Rules.[1] A list of abbreviations is provided below. In the case of cited example sentences from languages with which the present author is not familiar, the original glossing is reproduced verbatim unless otherwise stated. In some cases, abbreviations in cited example sentences have been explicated. Explicated abbreviations do not appear in the list.

In the interest of simplicity, a full segmentation of Japanese language examples is not always provided. To illustrate, a verb form such as *ikanai* 'does/will not go' is segmented as *ika-na-i* (go-NEG-NPST) rather than as *ik-a-na-i* (go-MIZ-NEG-NPST), conflating the derived stem or *mizenkei* 'irrealis form' and the verbal root.

*2. Romanization*

Modern Standard Japanese has been transcribed using the modified Hepburn system of Romanization. The present usage differs from standard modified Hepburn in one aspect: doubled letters, not macrons, mark long vowels, except long *e*, which is written *ei*. Words of Japanese origin now considered part of the English lexicon, such as place names (Tokyo, Osaka) have been transcribed as is customary. Japanese personal names are given in Western order (given name, family name). Romanized Japanese material reproduced from other sources has been rendered in modified Hepburn for consistency. However, no attempt has been made to regularize the transcription systems used by previous authors for the representation of different varieties of pre-modern Japanese. The Romanization systems used for the rendering of other languages (e.g. Russian and Korean) are those used by the original authors.

[1] Version of May 31st, 2015. Available at https://www.eva.mpg.de/lingua/pdf/Glossing-Rules.pdf.

*3. Typographical conventions*

| | |
|---|---|
| **bolding** | emphasis |
| double quotes (“ ”) | quotations (of various types) |
| single quotes (‘ ’) | 1. translations of Japanese words and sentences in the running text and in example sentences |
| | 2. technical or semi-technical terms |
| hyphen (-) | morpheme boundary |
| *italics* | 1. Japanese words and sentences in the running text and in lists, tables, and block quotes |
| | 2. words and sentences from languages other than Japanese when discussed from a metalinguistic perspective |
| | 3. titles of books, movies, etc. |
| | 4. emphasis |
| underscore (_) | emphasis within italicized text |

*4. Symbols*

| | |
|---|---|
| ¬ | negation |
| ? | pragmatic oddity/unacceptability |
| ?? | extreme pragmatic oddity/unacceptability |
| * | semantic/syntactic unacceptability |

# Abbreviations

| | |
|---|---|
| 1PL | first person plural |
| 1PRS | first person |
| 1SG | first person singular |
| 2PRS | second person |
| 2SG | second person singular |
| 3SG | third person singular |
| ACC | accusative |
| ADN | adnominal |
| ADV | adverbial |
| ANTIHON | antihonorific |
| ASSUM | assumptive |
| CAUS | causative |
| COMP | complementizer |
| COND | conditional |
| CONJ | conjectural |
| COP | copula |
| DAT | dative |
| DEC | declarative |
| DEM | demonstrative |
| DESID | desiderative |
| FOC | focus |
| FP | final particle |
| GEN | genitive |
| GER | gerund |
| HON | (referent) honorific |
| HORT | hortative |
| HUM | humble |
| IMP | imperative |
| INF | infinitive |
| INS | instrumental |
| LOC | locative |
| NEG | negative |
| NIMP | negative imperative |
| NML | nominalizer |
| NOM | nominative |
| NPST | nonpast |
| OBJ | object |
| PART | particle |
| PASS | passive |

| | |
|---|---|
| PF | perfective |
| PL | plural |
| POL | polite (addressee honorific) |
| POT | potential |
| PST | past |
| QP | question particle |
| QUOT | quotative |
| SG | singular |
| SUPERPOL | superpolite |
| TOP | topic |
| VOL | volitional |

*Chapter 1.*

# Introduction

## 1. The topic

One way of getting people to do things is through language. A speaker of English or Swedish can tell their colleagues, friends, and even (in some cases) their manager to do something in the same way they would tell their family members: by using a construction we call "the imperative". We may not often think about it, but imperatives are often used for speech acts that are not really commands as such. In English, beyond commands in a strict sense (*Do it!*), imperatives can be readily used for actions such as requesting (*Please do it*), and offering (*Have a drink*). They can even express conditional meanings (*Go to Lund and you'll see bicycles everywhere*).

The present thesis focuses on four constructions within imperative clause type in Japanese.

(1) Mado o ake-ro.
window OBJ open-IMP
'Open the window.'

(2) Mado o ake-nasa-i.
window OBJ open.INF-do.HON-IMP
'Open the window.'

(3) Mado o ake-te kure.
window OBJ open-GER give.me.IMP
'Open the window.' (lit.) 'Give me [the favor of] opening the window.'

(4) Mado o ake-te kudasa-i.
window OBJ open-GER give.me.HON-IMP
'Please open the window.' (lit.) '[You, who are socially superior to me,] give me [the favor of] opening the window.'

In contrast to the relative versatility of English imperatives, the use of their basic Japanese counterpart, as in (1), will often lead to an utterance being interpreted as a command in a brusque or even military sense. Functions that can be performed by

the basic imperative constructions of English and Swedish are, in Japanese, often taken care of by an assortment of other linguistic strategies. These may or may not have any formal connection to the imperative. Referring to Samuel E. Martin's description of Japanese, Aikhenvald (2010:7) states the following: "In many languages an imperative is not the only way of telling people what to do. It may not even be the preferred way".

In this thesis I examine Japanese imperative constructions from a general linguistic perspective, investigating how they fit into the cross-linguistic scheme of things and, more importantly, whether and how they stand out. The goal is to advance our understanding, not only of imperatives in Japanese, but of imperatives in general.

## 2. Why imperatives? Why Japanese?

Unlike declaratives, imperatives do not appear to inform us about what the world is like. They are, in this sense, somewhat disconnected from it. However, imperatives certainly have communicative power: ignore them at your peril. Imperatives are the chief grammatical exponents of one of the basic types of utterance: statements, questions, and commands. They are, nonetheless, relatively understudied, although they are currently attracting attention within the field of semantic theory.

Japanese imperatives have occasionally been discussed outside of the indigenous linguistic tradition; for instance, as part of a general overview of the language (Martin 1988), in a typological context (Alpatov 2001) or from the perspective of a specific phenomenon such as embedding (Kaufmann 2012). However, it does not appear that a monographic treatment of the Japanese imperative has been undertaken within general linguistics. This thesis offers such a treatment, making use of a range of indigenous sources as well as recent developments in the typology and semantic theory of imperatives and directives.

There are a number of reasons why the Japanese imperative is a valuable object of investigation. Japanese is a non-Indo-European language with rich synchronic as well as diachronic documentation. Moreover, it has a complex system of grammatically expressed politeness, which is reflected in its array of directive strategies (see 3.3 below for a definition of this term). The diachronic and synchronic study of Japanese imperatives contributes to our knowledge about the relationship between imperatives, honorific systems, and processes of grammaticalization. It might also increase our understanding of imperatives in general. A detailed analysis of Japanese imperatives can be helpful in supporting or disconfirming proposals and assumptions made on the basis of data from other languages (typically centering on English).

# 3. Basic terms and concepts

A brief introduction to terms and concepts central to the thesis is provided here. These topics are discussed in greater detail in chapters 2 and 3.

## 3.1 Directive

The speech act category *directives* was described by Searle (1979:13) in terms of "attempts […] by the speaker to get the hearer to do something". For present proposes, we can view *directivity* as the communicative function or property of (constituting an attempt at) getting someone to do something.

*Open the window!* and *Mado o akero* 'Open the window' are (when uttered with the purpose of making someone open a window) examples of the directive use of imperatives. However, directive speech acts can be performed by means other than the imperative. *Could you open the window?* and (5) below are conventionally directive in function but do not (within the framework of this thesis) involve imperatives.

(5) Mado o ake-te kure-ru?
window OBJ open-GER give.me-NPST
'Will you open the window for me?'

To put it differently, when used in a communicative context, sentences such as *Mado o akero* and *Could you open the window?* are likely to be *directive utterances*. This we will define as any utterance (a piece of language produced by a language user on a specific occasion) that is associated with a directive interpretation, regardless of its linguistic form. Directive utterances can in turn be classified in terms of different *directive illocutionary categories* such as 'request', 'order', and 'advice'.

## 3.2 Imperative

In the present thesis, *imperative* is defined as a construction type the only prototypical function of which is the expression of directive speech acts. This definition makes reference to the functional criterion of having to do with getting someone to do something. However, as a term, 'imperative' refers to the level of linguistic form. Consequently, 'imperative' is here viewed as a grammatical category, not as a communicative function. *Could you open the window?* and *Mado o akete kureru?* 'Will you open the window for me?' are directive in function, but are interrogative rather than imperative in terms of their grammatical characteristics. Moreover, while the prototypical function of imperatives is the issuing of directive speech acts, imperatives are not confined to this function. *Go to Lund and you'll see bicycles everywhere* contains

an imperative clause but will typically function as a conditional statement, not as an attempt to make the addressee go to Lund. In (6) below, the imperative token functions as a concessive expression rather than as a directive.

(6) Kare ga donna kanemochi ni shi-ro sonna koto o
3SG NOM which rich.person DAT do-IMP such thing OBJ
su-ru kenri wa na-i.
do-NPST right TOP not.be-NPST
'No matter how rich he is, he has no right to do so.' (*Kenkyusha's New Japanese-English Dictionary*, 5th edition)

## 3.3 Directive strategy

*Directive strategies* are here defined as construction types associated with directive speech acts, regardless of whether the association arises from grammatical specialization (as in the case of imperatives) or conventionalized pragmatic usage (as in the case of interrogatives such as *Could you open the window?*). *Open the window!* and *Could you open the window?* exemplify two types of directive strategies in English. These are the bare imperative construction and the *Could you...* ability question, respectively. While the bare imperative is an 'imperative-based' directive strategy, ability questions belong to the category of 'non-imperative' directive strategies.

## 3.4 Directive system

In a language such as English or Japanese there are many ways of expressing directive speech acts. Two further examples from English are *You must open the window* and *You will open the window*. The range of directive strategies found in a language is here termed its *directive system*. This is a functionally oriented concept. It refers to the conventional means of performing directive speech acts available in a specific language.

Some directive speech acts do not involve directive strategies. When used to get someone to open a window, *It certainly is hot today* constitutes a directive utterance. However, the connection between linguistic form and communicative function is here more indirect and less conventional than in expressions such as *Could you...* and the bare imperative. Under the present approach, usages such as *It certainly is hot today* are not regarded as directive strategies, and are excluded from the directive system of English.

## 4. Theoretical and methodological approach

The subject matter of the present thesis relates to several areas of study, such as linguistic typology, semantics-pragmatics, and language change. Attention is given to indigenous work on imperatives, bringing the Japanese tradition into the fold of general linguistics. The methodologies used involve evaluation and synthesis of the previous literature, as well as a corpus study and elicitation sessions involving native speakers of Japanese.

As for the corpus study, a large-scale survey using the Balanced Corpus of Contemporary Written Japanese (BCCWJ) was carried out. Description of the methodology and results is found in chapter 6. Elicitation sessions with native informants took place in Lund and Malmö, Sweden. The main informant (female, 27 years of age, native of Saitama prefecture) participated in sessions totaling 26 hours of recorded material. Elicitation involved tasks such as grammaticality judgments and interpretation of the meaning of different types of imperative constructions in context. The sessions were complemented by Internet-based elicitation tasks. The intuitions of further informants were used to follow up on hypotheses formulated on the basis of the initial sessions. The additional informants comprised of four male speakers (36, 39, 49, and 55 years of age), and three female speakers (21, 35, and 40 years of age). Elicitation averaged two sessions of one hour each, performed on different occasions. An Internet-based task was assigned between sessions. The informants were of varying geographical origin, with the majority being from Eastern Japan. All had university level education and were fluent speakers of Standard Japanese.[2]

## 5. Structure of the thesis

The thesis can be divided into two parts. Chapters 2 to 5 mainly provide background information, summarizing and evaluating previous treatments of imperatives in general and Japanese imperatives in particular. Chapters 6 to 9 present studies that approach Japanese imperatives from different but interrelated perspectives.

As for the first part of the thesis, chapter 2 is an introduction to the topic of imperatives and other directive strategies. Previous literature on the imperative within linguistic typology is discussed, and the terms and concepts used in the present thesis are outlined. This basic orientation is followed by chapter 3, which discusses theoretical proposals as to the semantic properties of imperatives. It is argued that

[2] In one case, the non-standard native variety spoken by the informant (Osaka Japanese) appears to have had a clear influence on results.

data from Japanese imperatives may have implications for approaches that view imperative functionality as closely linked to potentiality. A model is presented which attempts to take these implications into account.

Having discussed imperatives in general linguistics, we turn our attention to the Japanese imperative itself. Chapter 4 provides a description of selected grammatical features of the Japanese language, followed by an overview of different types of imperatives and other directive strategies in Modern Standard Japanese. Chapter 5 is a literature review focusing on previous descriptions and analyses of Japanese imperatives within the indigenous tradition. Topics of discussion include the connections between general linguistics and the approach to imperatives found in Japanese descriptive linguistics.

With these preliminaries addressed, we begin our investigation. Chapter 6 outlines the result of a large-scale corpus study exploring the functional profiles of different imperative-based directive strategies in written Japanese. This sets the stage for the following chapter, which constitutes the central part of the thesis. Chapter 7 presents a layered model of semantics-pragmatics interaction in Japanese imperatives, inspired by the Japanese as well as the general linguistic traditions. Attention is also given to imperatives in reported discourse.

Whereas chapters 6 and 7 are mainly concerned with the synchronic and the language-particular, the following chapters focus increasingly on the diachronic and the general. Chapter 8 examines Japanese imperatives from the perspective of grammaticalization theory. Historical evidence in support of the model presented in chapter 7 is put forward, along with a discussion of how specific phenomena in Japanese can be connected to the cross-linguistic study of the formation of directive strategies. Chapter 9 looks at Japanese imperatives from the viewpoint of functionalist accounts of linguistic change. The focus is on identifying factors that have lead to their current functional profile, and on explaining the shifting realization of directivity in Japanese in terms of processes that underlie linguistic change in general.

The concluding chapter discusses the findings of the thesis in terms of their contribution to general and to Japanese linguistics. Future topics of research are also outlined.

*Chapter 2.*

# Imperatives and directive systems

## 1. Introduction

This chapter is concerned with terminological and conceptual issues relating to the study of imperatives and, more broadly, directive functionality in language. The focus is on functionalist-typological linguistics. Terms such as 'imperative', 'directive' and 'command' are discussed along with derived labels such as 'command strategy' and 'directive strategy'.

In the concluding statements of their history of modality and mood, van der Auwera and Zamorano Aguilar (2016:27) caution that "[…] no modern user of the terms "mood" and "modality" can take the terms for granted and […] one should always explain what one means". Regardless of whether we consider the subject to belong to modality (or to mood), the same advice certainly applies to 'imperative'. Linguistic research on imperatives and related constructions has historically lacked a standardized terminology for distinguishing between forms and functions, grammatical encoding and pragmatic usage, as well as between types and tokens when necessary.

In the present thesis, 'imperative' is defined as a construction type the only prototypical function of which is the expression of directive speech acts. 'Imperative' thus refers to the level of linguistic form, whereas 'directive' is reserved for the level of function. Form and function are distinguished in terms of four main levels: imperative verb form, imperative clause, directive utterance, and directive illocutionary category.

Further, the conventional manifestation of directive functionality in a language is termed its 'directive system'. Within a typical directive system, imperative constructions are complemented by 'non-imperative directive strategies' recruited from other functional domains. I will argue for the usefulness of these distinctions by illustrating how imperatives and other directive strategies (focusing on examples from Japanese) have been discussed in the typological literature.

# 2. What should 'imperative' mean?

## 2.1 Introduction

Any scholar of language will have a notion of what is signified by 'imperative' in a linguistic or, more broadly speaking, communicative context. This view may be colored both by theoretical and disciplinary backgrounds (such as philosophy vs. linguistics or formalist vs. functionalist linguistics) as well as by pretheoretical assumptions arising from different encounters with 'imperative' in school grammar and causal usage. The following listing by Kaufmann (2012:1, my emphasis) gives pause for thought.

> Some scholars think of particular *verb forms* in a paradigm (as often established by traditional grammarians), others think of a particular grammatical *type of sentences*, still others think of a particular grammatical *sentence type used for a particular function*, others again think of a particular *conversational act* (such as commanding), and yet others think of a *sentence used for a particular conversational act* (a concrete speech act). Clearly, the main parameter is whether the choice of what you call an imperative or not is a matter of *form*, of *function*, or of *both* […]

Notions can be quite different from person to person, even within the field of linguistics. For a fellow doctoral student, pointing towards an open door without saying anything (meaning 'Close the door') constituted an imperative. This can be contrasted with Samuel E. Martin's treatment of Japanese directive strategies, in which, out of a number of constructions that derive from imperative morphology and are typically used as directives, only the *–e* (*ro*) morphological variant itself is referred to as "the imperative" (1988:959-963, see also 2.3 below). In the interest of brevity we will not dwell on how 'imperative' has been conceptualized and defined in other fields, but rather focus our attention on recent linguistic typology.

## 2.2 The Xrakovskian approach

The functionally oriented approach developed by the St. Petersburg school of linguistic typology is represented in English by texts such as Birjulin and Xrakovskij (2001). This framework has influenced later typological treatments of imperatives, including van der Auwera, Dobrushina and Goussev (2004). The present discussion

will focus on problems that arise from the lack of form-function distinctions in the broad view of 'imperative' taken by the authors.[3]

To give some examples of the approach, Birjulin and Xrakovskij state that both direct and indirect directive speech acts are subsumed under their term "imperative sentence[s]" (2001:8).[4] Utterances ranging from *Paint well!* to *Shoo!* and *Boo!* count as imperative sentences, although the latter two are examples of "verbless imperative sentences" (2001:8-9). The authors provide the example sentences reproduced here as (1) and (2) when discussing Japanese "imperative verb forms" with semantics of "command" and "permission", respectively (2001:14, my glossing and translation).

(1) De-ro.
go.out-IMP
'Get out!'

(2) Doozo, hikooki de it-te mo i-i desu.
please airplane INS go-GER FOC good-NPST COP.POL
'You may go by airplane.' (lit.) 'Please, going by airplane is also good.'

The strategy or construction found in the first example, most often referred to in the present thesis as the 'naked imperative', is formed by suffixing *–e* (*ro*), the basic second-person imperative formative of Japanese, to the verb stem. It cannot be straightforwardly negated (a trait common in imperatives, on which see Aikhenvald 2010:165-197), typically occurs in utterances that cannot be said to be true or false, and is often used in situations in which the speaker is in a position of authority. It is also subject to restrictions in usage due to its perceived rudeness. The construction found in (1) thus matches up well, both formally and functionally, with any notions we might have of what a prototypical imperative is like.

On the other hand, the permissive construction *–te mo ii* is analytic, consisting of a converb, a focus particle, and an adjective (although *ii* '(is) good' is described as a verb by Birjulin and Xrakovskij (2001:22) and Alpatov (2001:114), it is most often considered an adjective in descriptions of Japanese). While *–te mo ii* can be used directively, it differs significantly from the naked imperative in its formal as well as functional properties. To exemplify, Larm (2006:222) notes that "[…] it can be put in the past tense; it can be questioned; and, it can occur in an adnominal position".

Aikhenvald (2010:3) states that "Imperative sentences can hardly be transformed 'directly into interrogative sentences'". Compare the following exchange:

---

[3] Much of the following criticism applies to other functionally oriented approaches as well. See De Clerck (2006:12-16) for a discussion.

[4] Their apparent classification of *Silence!* as having "specific grammatical marking whose only (or primary) function is to convey commands" and thus being a "direct directive speech act" indicates that their conception of what counts as a direct speech act is in itself quite broad.

(3) A: Tabe-te mo i-i?
eat-GER FOC good-NPST
'May [I] eat?'

(3b) B: Tabe-te mo i-i.
eat-GER FOC good-NPST
'[You] may eat.'

Lumping together the two constructions under the same heading seems at first to be a misrepresentation of Japanese grammar, as the nature of their association with directive speech acts is quite different. Of course, under an interpretation of "imperative verb form" as something along the lines of "a construction involving verbs, in a sentence that can be used in a directive speech act", such a classification will be justifiable within the conceptual framework itself. However, a conception of this kind is so broad as to be of questionable utility, and quite different from the definition of "imperative verb form" that would likely be assumed by a descriptively oriented linguist. The criteria stated by Birjulin and Xrakovskij are not quite as permissive as this. The authors explain that imperative verb forms "must be regularly built from lexemes whose semantics admit the formation of imperative verb forms", adding that they "must be recognizable within the sentence as units with imperative meaning" (2001:19). Still, they do not deny having "rather 'liberal' notional and formal imperative verb criteria" (2001:19).

To give a further example, Birjulin and Xrakovskij bring up *–te mo ii* again (2001:22), this time referring to it as a "special imperative permissive form" and comparing it with the morphological permissive *–gira/girla* in (the Amur dialect of) Nivkh. Such phrasings threaten to terminologically obscure an interesting comparison between two quite different strategies (i.e. analytic vs. morphological) used by the two languages for expressing the notion of permission. The description of Japanese negative interrogatives as "specialized verb forms that […] function exclusively as imperative markers" is similarly unfortunate (2001:40, see also Alpatov 2001:116).

The lack of a clear terminological form-function distinction is likely to present difficulties for researchers that rely on grammatical descriptions written within the framework. This is exacerbated when the reader lacks personal knowledge of the language(s) under discussion (as is often the case in linguistic typology), making approaches of this type less than ideal for linguistic description and comparison.

On a more general level, the lack of a form-function distinction also leads to unintuitive categories such as "imperative sentences with non-imperative verb-forms" (an oxymoron in terms of the approach used in the present thesis) and the use of expressions such as "imperatives *per se*" (2001:26-27). The need for such clarification seems to reflect the following consequence of the approach: while all imperatives are imperative (i.e. directive), some imperatives are more imperative than others.

## 2.3 Consequences for typological analysis

A researcher's conception of 'imperative' can influence typological statements made about the grammar of a language in general. Alpatov, using a Xrakovskian approach, states that "in Japanese, a personal paradigm is found only in the imperative". This is due to his classifying hortative/volitional *–(y)oo* as a first-person imperative form (2001:106, 113, 117), and quite different from how the form has typically been discussed in the Japanese tradition. While a classification as imperative may be warranted for *–(y)oo* in Modern Japanese (see Narrog 2009:154-157 and chapter 8 of the present thesis), it is difficult for a reader to evaluate the appropriateness of statements of this kind if they do not have previous experience with the language and an understanding of the definition of 'imperative' used.

Experienced typologists are not immune to the dangers of terminology. Although it is the best single English language resource on Japanese, the use of 'imperative' found in Martin's reference grammar leads Aikhenvald (2010:215) to make a problematic statement about Japanese imperatives.

> The systems of speech levels and honorifics in Korean is [*sic*] among the most complex in the world. In a number of other languages, including Japanese, *honorific distinctions are not made in imperatives* (Hinds 1986:47; Martin 1975:961-6) [my emphasis]. 'Circumlocutions' are used to reflect different politeness registers [...]

The issue here is that the constructions grouped under "circumlocutions" by Martin include *–nasai*, *–te kudasai* and *–tamae,* which derive from the *–e* (*ro*)-inflected forms of honorific verbs and certainly form part of imperative clause type.[5] Although it is true that imperative inflectional marking typically does not combine with honorification in the same manner as in earlier stages of the language, there are several senses in which contemporary Japanese can be indeed be viewed as having honorific distinctions in imperatives. Aikhenvald elsewhere equates Martin's "circumlocutions" with her own "command strategies" (2010:291). She describes "command strategies" as arising from the co-opting of an "essentially non-imperative form" for use in directive speech acts (2010:256). This usage corresponds to 'non-imperative directive strategy' as used in the present thesis. It does not seem to apply to *–nasai*, *–te kudasai* or *–tamae*, which derive from and arguably still incorporate imperative morphology. It is likely that Martin's use of 'imperative' in his description of Japanese is more restrictive than assumed by Aikhenvald.

To give another example, Jary and Kissine (2014:65), referring to Alpatov (2001), state that "[…] in spite of the existence of a large number of imperative verb forms in Japanese, permission is performed by using distinct and specific 'permissive' forms".

[5] It should be noted that Martin does refer to *–nasai* as an "imperative auxiliary" (1988:965).

As is done by Birjulin and Xrakovskij (2001:22), Jary and Kissine mention Japanese alongside Nikvh, which leads to the impression that the two languages encode permissives similarly. On a related note, Japanese imperative forms *can* be used when granting permission, but Jary and Kissine cannot be faulted for implying that they cannot. Alpatov's description of the usage ranges of different "imperative verb forms" (2001:212) is inaccurate.

## 2.4 Other approaches

Less radically functional approaches than that of Birjulin and Xrakovskij are found in the typological literature. Schalley (2008) deserves recognition as a large-scale survey of imperatives. In her discussion of how to define imperatives in a typological context (2008:1-2, 11-51) she raises many important points, such as the need for functional "definition[s] of imperatives that are independent of the formal characteristics of single languages […]" in combination with formal considerations (2008:2). Her formal definition of imperatives is as follows: "[V]erb constructions that are the primary means of expressing imperative illocutionary force in a given language" (2008:13). Schalley does not attempt a terminological form-function distinction as done in the present thesis, as exemplified by her use of "imperative illocutionary force" (2008:11).

Today's standard text on imperative typology is Aikhenvald's *Imperatives and Commands* (2010). In her glossary of terms she defines 'imperative' as "a mood used in commands" (2010:428). 'Mood' is itself defined as a "grammatical category expressing a speech act" which in the case of imperative is 'command' (2010:429). Although influenced by it, the present approach differs from that of Aikhenvald in avoiding 'mood' as a concept and by largely replacing 'command' with 'directive', due to reasons discussed in 3.2.

The approach taken by Jary and Kissine (2014, 2016) will here receive considerable attention. My use of 'imperative' is close to theirs in seeking to distinguish between imperative form and directive function (see 2014:14 for their "mission statement" on the topic). There are, however, differences in terms of terminology and scope, centering on my avoidance of 'mood' and 'sentence' and my frequent use of 'directive strategy' and 'directive system'.

## 2.5 The present approach

As illustrated above, a broad functional definition of 'imperative' carries with it the risk of confusion between grammatically encoded and pragmatically derived usages, while restrictive usages are problematic in their own way. Mauri and Sansò prefer 'directive(s)' over 'imperative' in their 2011 study of how directive strategies arise.

Although such an approach is in itself reasonable, as a whole the field of linguistics is stuck with 'imperative'. Since the term will be used both when descriptive linguists decide on what to call a phenomenon in a certain language (in the vein of the 'descriptive categories' described in Haspelmath 2010), and when typologists compare analogous phenomena in different languages (in the vein of Haspelmath's 'comparative concepts'), a typological version of 'imperative' should be made useful for both applications.[6]

Haspelmath (2010:678) states that "A clear distinction between descriptive categories and comparative concepts along [his lines] is drawn by Huddleston and Pullum (2002:31-33)". Huddleston and Pullum's 2005 general definition of 'imperative' reads as follows: "An imperative can be defined at the general [as opposed to language-particular] level as a construction whose PRIMARY or CHARACTERISTIC use is to issue directives" (2005:8, emphasis in original).

Definitions of 'imperative' as constructions primarily or prototypically associated with directive speech acts avoid circularity because "attempts […] by the speaker to get the hearer to do something" (Searle 1979:13) can also be accomplished using other linguistic means.[7] A potential weakness, however, is the exact meaning of words like "primary" and "prototypical". We are likely to feel that the constructions familiar to us as "imperative(s)" are mostly used for directive speech acts. This is corroborated by (to give an example) Van Olmen's survey of the usage profiles of English and Dutch imperatives (2011:498). But what determines if a construction is "prototypical"?

The question of how to identify constructions that display such a connection to directivity that they are profitably termed 'imperative' is discussed by Jary and Kissine (2014:14-20). In clarification of their statement that they view 'imperative' as applying to forms that are "prototypically and productively used for the full range of directive speech acts" (2014:25), they add that "if [an imperative] is found in a 'neutral context', then the most readily available interpretation is that a directive is being issued" (2014:25). They note that imperatives may also have non-directive functions, further stating that "[…] to characterise a form as 'imperative' in our sense, it is not sufficient for it to be prototypically employed to issue directive speech acts: it is also necessary that there be no other function – speech-act type – with which it is prototypically associated".

In a recent article, Jary and Kissine (2016:132) provide the following definition of 'imperative' as a comparative concept:

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[6] Haspelmath emphasizes the independence of the two applications, but also notes that the use of similar terminology for language-specific description and for comparison "seems unavoidable" (2010:674).

[7] Although questions are classed as directive by Searle (1979:14), I will exclude their prototypical information-seeking applications from my discussion of 'directive'.

> A sentence-type whose only prototypical illocutionary function is to provide the addressee(s) with a reason to act, that is suitable for the performance of the full range of directive speech acts, and whose manifestations are all morphologically and syntactically homogeneous with the second person.

We will discuss the elements of this intriguing proposal, beginning with the restriction that, in order to count as 'imperative', a construction must be "[…] suitable for the performance of the full range of directive speech acts". This addresses a weakness of Huddleston and Pullum's general definition in that it weeds out characteristically directive but intuitively non-imperative construction types such as English ability questions (*Can you open the door?*).

Jary and Kissine (2016:127) explain that "An important point about constructions such as *Can you_?* is that, despite their conventionality, they can only be used for a limited range of directives". This observation is useful for identifying imperatives in English, but I am uncertain as to its cross-linguistic applicability. I have no empirical counter-evidence to offer. However, it does not seem impossible that there exist, among the languages of the world, constructions that we would like to consider 'imperative' due to their general properties, but that do not fully meet the criterion "suitable for the performance of the full range of directive speech acts".[8] Two factors that might limit the illocutionary range of imperatives are sociolinguistic restrictions and paradigmatic competition (such as from specialized permissives or preventives, on which see Jary and Kissine 2016:122-123. See Aikhenvald 2010:201, 2016:148-149 for further discussion of specialized forms).

Due to issues such as the workability of a restriction in terms of "the full range of directive speech acts" and their use of 'hortative' (see 2.6), Jary and Kissine's proposal will not here be adopted in its entirety. However, we will, in later parts of the thesis, discuss how some of the constructions associated with directivity in Japanese line up with their comparative concept for the imperative (as can be imagined, the naked imperative is a better fit than *–te mo ii*).

While it would be desirable to define 'imperative' at the level of clause type (Jary and Kissine use "sentence-type"; my reservations about 'sentence' are discussed in 4.3), this would raise the issue of how to refer to ostensibly imperative verb forms that, in some languages, appear outside of imperative clauses (see 4.3 and chapter 8, section 3.2 for examples). In the present thesis, 'imperative' is thus defined as a construction type the only prototypical function of which is the expression of directive speech acts. The term is here restricted to the formal level of linguistic description (although the identification of imperative constructions in turn hinges on functional criteria). A sentence or utterance such as *Go to the store!* is not here considered to be an 'imperative' in its role of a (directive) speech act. Rather, *Go to the*

[8] Directives are in turn generously defined by Jary and Kissine (2016:124) as "illocutionary acts that provide the hearer with a (mutually manifest, in the sense of Sperber and Wilson 1995) reason to act".

*store!* is an imperative (clause) because it matches the formal features that define this construction type in English. As for the term 'formal' (referring to linguistic form, not formal theory), it here encompasses the morphological, syntactic, as well as phonological domains. See Aikhenvald (2010:17-88) for a rich illustration of the variety found in means of formally encoding imperatives.

## 2.6 Further issues

Beyond 'imperative', additional terms such as '(ad-, co-, ex-) hortative' (often used in the case of first-person addressees) and 'jussive' (often used in the case of third-person addressees) are found. Usages vary, but terms of this kind are typically used to distinguish between non-second person and second person forms. The question as to whether the use of 'imperative' should be restricted to constructions with second person addressees has been discussed at length in the literature, and the issue has been tackled in various ways. Sadock and Zwicky (1985:177) discuss distinguishing "hortative form[s]" and "separate imperative[s]" based on their formal distinctiveness. Birjulin and Xrakovskij (2001) go with 'imperative' across the board. While van der Auwera, Dobrushina and Goussev (2004, 2013) use 'imperative-hortative', Mauri and Sansò (2011) use 'directive' as a cover term. Aikhenvald (2010:17) states that "If [second-person and non-second-person imperatives] belong to different grammatical systems and paradigms, separate terms would be appropriate for distinct person values, and the term 'imperative' would be kept just for second person-oriented commands". Finally, Jary and Kissine (2016:132) propose that "Terms like *hortative* should […] be reserved for forms that are not morphologically and syntactically homogeneous with the second-person imperative but that otherwise fall under our definition of the imperative, like the English *let us* construction". For the final authors, hortatives are constructions that are dedicated to the expression of non-second-person directives (differing from non-dedicated usages, such as when an irrealis form is recruited to fill a gap in an imperative paradigm), but are formally distinct from imperatives proper.

The three-way distinction between non-dedicated forms, hortatives, and imperatives employed by Jary and Kissine is typologically valuable. Linguistic terminology should be able to accommodate the description of dedicated directive strategies (on which see 3.4) that are distinct from the main imperative paradigm. My personal view, however, is that labels such as 'hortative' and 'jussive', saddled as they are with the baggage of inconsistent usage, should be avoided outside of language-specific research traditions in which they are already established as referring to particular constructions. In the case of Japanese, these issues are relevant mainly when discussing the *–(y)oo* construction, traditionally termed a hortative in English-language treatments. In chapter 8 we consider whether it is more appropriately termed a first-person imperative.

A further issue is the choice of 'prohibitive' versus 'negative imperative' as a term for what can also be called dedicated negative directive strategies. Sadock och Zwicky (1985) use 'prohibitive' to distinguish a "special negative imperative type" with negation strategies different from those of other sentence types. "Straightforward negative imperatives", however, share the negation pattern of non-imperatives (1985:175). Similar approaches have also been used by others (e.g. Jary and Kissine 2014:32). Aikhenvald (2010:192), however, makes it clear that she uses 'negative imperative' and 'prohibitive' interchangeably, and considers the above-mentioned distinction to be overly simplistic. I am sympathetic to 'negative imperative' as a general cover term, with qualifications such as "exhibiting specialized imperative negation" used as needed. Because any distinctions made between 'prohibitive' and 'negative imperative' are not intuitively clear from the terms themselves, I will only use the term 'prohibitive' when referring to its use in the previous literature.

# 3. Commands, requests, and strategies

## 3.1 Introduction

We have seen that various interpretations of 'imperative' exist. This section focuses on other, similarly problematic terms. When reading about imperatives and related constructions, the precise significance of words such as 'command' and 'request' must often be gleaned from context (Form or function? Both?). A related issue is whether 'command' and 'request' are taken to refer to specific types of (directive) speech acts (as opposed to 'order', 'instruction', and 'advice'), or used as cover terms encompassing them all (equivalent to 'directive'). Useful companion terms to 'imperative', such as 'command strategy', are found in the literature. However, terms and definitions differ from author to author. Due to the potential ambiguity of 'command strategy' and 'imperative strategy', 'directive strategy' is here singled out as the best alternative.

## 3.2 Commands, requests, and directives

Some grammatical descriptions do not provide explicit definitions of 'imperative' and 'command'. However, statements such as "In language X, imperatives are perceived as rude" are of little use unless the reader can figure out which definition is intended. Are all directive utterances in language X associated with rudeness per se, or is the statement restricted to one or more dedicated constructions that can be considered imperatives *sensu stricto*? "Commands are perceived as rude" may be no better. Is the

rudeness associated with the use of specific formal patterns (i.e. directive strategies, whether imperative or non-imperative), with a prototypical type of directive speech act similar to 'order', or does it arise from general attitudes towards utterances that constitute directive speech acts?

The issue is more than terminological, as a lack of form-function distinctions may obscure relationships of causality: a certain construction is considered vulgar, and thus utterances which contain it are perceived as rude. Or vice versa: directive speech acts are avoided in general (as appears to be true of Malagasy, see Aikhenvald 2010:308-309), which leads to a reluctance towards using various directive strategies.

One of the reasons why the use of 'command' or 'request' is troublesome is the lack of consistency in the literature as to which of these two (if any) correspond to 'directive' as used here. In other words, 'command', 'request', 'invitation' and so forth are described both as different kinds of requests (requests being the broader category) or as different kinds of commands (commands being the broader category). The issue has been discussed in further detail by De Clerck (2006:14). The solution employed here is to use 'directive' as a term for the larger category that subsumes e.g. 'requests' and 'invitations', as is done by Huddleston and Pullum (2005:8):

> The typical definition of 'imperative' is that it is a form or construction used to issue a command. To begin with, notice that 'command' is in fact far too narrow a term for the meaning usually associated with imperatives: we use lots of imperatives in talking to friends and family and co-workers, but not (mostly) as commands. The broader term **directive** [emphasis in original] is more suitable; it covers commands (*Get out!*), offers (*Have a pear*), requests (*Please pass me the salt*), invitations (*Come to dinner*), advice (*Get your doctor to look at it*), instructions (*To see the picture click here*), and so on.

## 3.3 Compound terms

Various compound terms are found in the literature on imperatives and directives. Examples include 'command strategy' (Aikhenvald 2010), 'imperative strategy', and 'directive strategy/construction' (Mauri and Sansò 2011). Other variants such as 'manipulative construction' (Givón 1993:265) and the use of 'functional synonym' in a directive context (Birjulin and Xrakovskij 2001:42) are not discussed here.

In her discussion of functional alternatives to imperatives, Aikhenvald uses labels such as 'command strategy' (2010:256), 'imperative strategy', and 'directive strategy' (2010:265). Although a definition of 'command strategy' is not found in her glossary, on page 203 conventionalized "command strategies" are equated with Huddleston's "non-imperative directives" (2002:939-942). In other words, they are not imperatives.

I will here single out 'imperative strategy' for discussion. König and Siemund (2007) discuss different "strategie[s] for marking imperatives" (2007:303) in the sense of ways to form "constructions dedicated to the expression of directive speech acts". They use the exact collocation "imperative strategy" only twice in their chapter, but both usages refer to forms included under the heading of "imperatives". To exemplify, the English imperative is referred to as a "genuine imperative strategy" (2007:304). By contrast, Schalley (2008:17) uses the term in the following manner:

> This term [=imperative strategy] will be used as a cover term to refer to all verb constructions that (can) convey the imperative meaning in the first, second or third person regardless of whether these constructions will be considered to constitute imperative paradigms or not.

Her use of 'imperative strategy' thus includes both imperatives proper and constructions that correspond to 'non-imperative directive strategy' as defined in this chapter. Still more differently, Aikhenvald uses it as a term for "a form other than that of imperative mood employed as a command in lieu of the imperative mood", i.e. for non-imperatives only (2010:428). "Imperative strategies" have thus been defined both as ways of marking imperatives and replacing them.

## 3.4 The present approach

Mauri and Sansò (2011:3489) provide the following definition of 'directive strategy': "By directive strategies we mean constructions and markers that encode positive directive speech acts, i.e. situations in which the speaker orders someone to do something". We will follow them in adopting 'directive strategy' as a term subsuming both imperatives and non-imperatives. A further distinction between "dedicated" and "non-dedicated" directive strategies (understood in the present chapter as essentially equivalent to 'imperative' and 'non-imperative') will also be used here.

> Dedicated directive strategies are those whose primary function is to encode the directive situation by either morphological or syntactic means, i.e. they are specialized constructions. Non-dedicated strategies, on the other hand, are those whose primary function is to encode some other situation (e.g. optatives, futures, etc.) and which are exploited to express also directive situations. (Mauri and Sansò 2011:3492) [9]

[9] Although Mauri and Sansò provide a definition of the concepts, they also add that "the distinction between dedicated and non-dedicated directive constructions will not be adopted in the following discussion" (2011:3492).

The definitions used by Mauri and Sansò are connected to the parameters of a specific survey, such as limiting strategies to positive polarity. No such restriction is needed here. While Mauri and Sansò refer to "morphological or syntactic means", we will here allow for other means of encoding directive strategies (see Aikhenvald 2010: 22, 78 on the tonal marking of imperatives).

Imperatives can be said to represent the grammaticalization of directive functionality (although they can also perform other functions, and likely do not encode directivity itself). By contrast, the definition of 'directive strategy' that I now propose is broader: "Construction types used as conventional means (whether grammatically encoded or pragmatically derived) of expressing directive speech acts".[10] In my conception of the terms, 'imperative' and 'dedicated directive strategy' are largely synonymous (although constructions such as the Nivkh morphological permissive discussed in 2.2 should perhaps be viewed as examples of the latter but not the former). 'Directive construction' and 'directive strategy' can be viewed as synonymous. When alternatives to imperatives are singled out, 'non-imperative directive strategy' will be used.

# 4. Levels of imperativity/directivity

## 4.1 Introduction

We will now discuss different levels of 'imperativity/directivity', here understood to mean something like "the property of having to do with getting people to do things using language".

Most linguists will likely agree that the sentence/utterance *Go to the store!* can be termed an 'imperative' in English. Calling it a 'directive speech act' should also be fairly uncontroversial. A more complex question is: On how many levels can *Go to the store!* be said to constitute an imperative/directive? The lack of specificity found in established terms such as 'command' is one of the reasons why more explicit terms are desirable. While further distinctions can be made, I have singled out four levels that I feel should be minimally distinguished. These are the levels of *verb form*, *clause*, *utterance*, and *illocutionary force category*. My reasons for leaving out the level of sentence are discussed in 4.3.

The different levels are illustrated in Figure 2-1. An English language sentence is used as a matter of convenience, although this is not ideal when discussing the level of verb form.

[10] This includes verbless constructions (see Aikhenvald 2010:280-282 for examples).

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| | [**Go**] to the store! | = Imperative verb form |
| **Form** | [**Go to the store!**] | = Imperative clause |
| **Function** | [**Go to the store!**] > Order | = Directive utterance |
| | Go to the store! > [**Order**] | = (Directive) illocutionary force category |

Figure 2-1.
The form-function divide

The different levels can be distinguished though their oppositions.

1. **Imperative verb form**: opposed to other verb forms in the morphology of the language (but not always: see 4.2)
2. **Imperative clause**: opposed to other varieties of clause and syntactic constructions (declarative and interrogative clauses are typical examples)
3. **Directive utterance**: opposed to other utterances in general (both in terms of type and token), most relevantly to other ways of fulfilling the same directive communicative purpose
4. **Directive illocutionary category**: opposed to other illocutionary force categories such as 'statement' and 'apology', but most relevantly to different directive categories such as 'demand' and 'request'

Here three levels are intended to refer to types, and only one, directive utterance, to tokens. The related issue of whether illocutionary force categories should be viewed as distinct types rather than points on a continuum is discussed in chapter 6.

## 4.2 The levels of 'imperative verb form' and 'imperative clause'

1. [**Go**] to the store! = Imperative verb form
2. [**Go to the store!**] = Imperative clause

The notion 'imperative' is relevant on the level of clause or sentence type as well as on the level of verb form. Due to the conflicting usages of 'mood' in the previous literature (see van der Auwera and Zamorano Aguilar 2016) and potential ambiguity in terms of sentential vs. verbal mood, I will follow authors such as van der Auwera and Plungian (1998:84), De Clerck (2006:20-21) and Larm (2006:23) in avoiding the term.

Such issues aside, *go* is not a very good example of an imperative verb form. English uses the base form of the verb (compare *They go* and *I will go*) as part of an imperative clause construction, a more distinct property of which is the typical lack of an overt

subject. While Huddleston and Pullum hold that "there are no imperative verb-forms in English" (2002:29), from a comparative perspective we can consider the English base form to be a 'non-dedicated imperative verb form' when used in an imperative construction. Imperative verb forms can also consist of an imperative marker (such as a verbal affix) and a root or stem.[11] As previously illustrated in (1), a dedicated imperative verb form incorporating such a marker is found in Japanese (here displaying the allomorph *–e*):

(4) Ik-u / Ik-e!
go-NPST go-IMP
'[I will] go.' / 'Go!'

Although not included in the four main levels, 'imperative marker' represents the smallest formal unit that can be described as 'imperative' within this framework. Use of '(the) imperative' without further qualification will generally refer to the clausal level, which, in Japanese, typically incorporates dedicated imperative verb forms as part of its defining characteristics.

It bears emphasizing that the levels discussed here are associated with linguistic form, not necessarily with directive function. Imperative verb forms and clauses can be part of non-directive utterances, such as in the case of conditional usages (*Give him a donkey and he'll beat it all day*).

## 4.3 The absence of 'imperative sentence'

Although the collocation 'imperative sentence' is frequently used in the literature, the level of sentence has here been left out, as it is problematic in different respects. One of these is the association of 'imperative' with terms such as 'sentence type' and 'clause type', which are not always clearly distinguished (see Dixon 2010:75-76 for a brief discussion of sentence vs. clause). The framework presented here is close to Huddleston's view of English, in which the sentence *Come with us by all means but you may find it hard work* contains an imperative and a declarative *clause*, but "as a whole may not be assigned to any of the four [clause] types [in English]" (1984:350). We can say that Huddleston's *Come with us* […] *contains* an imperative main clause and will *function* (in most contexts) as a directive utterance, but the concept 'imperative' is not here employed at the sentence level. 'Utterance' is here understood as a unit of language produced by a language user on a specific occasion, as opposed to 'sentence' and 'clause' which are abstract grammatical entities (types) disconnected from context.

[11] In view of the various imperative marking strategies found in the languages of the world, 'imperative marker' should be understood in a broader sense than just affixes.

The question of when to use 'imperative sentence' in multiclausal contexts and usages involving non-directive functionality is perhaps the strongest argument against its use. Is *Go to the store and I'll cook* (given an interpretation as directive/commissive) as much of an imperative sentence as monoclausal *Go to the store*? How about conditional examples such as *Give him a donkey and he'll beat it all day*?[12] Similarly troublesome is a phenomenon seen in Russian and other Slavic languages, variously termed the 'historical' or 'narrative imperative', in which ostensibly imperative verb forms occur in structures that lack a directive interpretation and mainly function as declarative sentences (see Fortuin 2000, Gronas 2006, van der Auwera 2006:565, Schalley 2008:46-50, Aikhenvald 2010:248-249).

(5) I vdrug togda, v tu sekundu, kto-to i
and suddenly then in that.ACC.SG second.ACC.SG someone.NOM.SG and
šepni mne na uxo.
whisper-IMP.PF.2SG 1SG.DAT on ear.ACC.SG
'And suddenly then, in that second, someone whispered (something) in my ear.'(Schalley 2008:47, originally in Fortuin 2000:134)

While from one standpoint they could perhaps be described as imperative sentences, this does not match up well with the conventional understanding of the term.

## 4.4 The levels of 'directive utterance' and 'illocutionary force category'

Having discussed the formal levels of imperativity/directivity, we will now focus on the functional levels.

3. [**Go to the store!**] > Order = Directive utterance

4. Go to the store! > [**Order**] = (Directive) illocutionary force category

The four different levels illustrated in Figure 2-1 can also be regarded as two (formal vs. functional level), in the sense that while level 2 (imperative clause) can have level 1 (imperative verb form) as one of its defining characteristics, level 3 (directive utterance) is defined by level 4 (illocutionary force category).

In the literature, the functional side of imperatives and directive strategies is terminologically variegated, with phrasings such as "overtones", "nuances", "connotations", "speech acts", and "imperative meanings" being used. To narrow things down, we will focus on terminological aspects that relate to the use of a directive strategy in context, rather than discussing meanings that have a more stable association with specific constructions (such as 'permission' in the case of *–gira/girla*

[12] Note the possible reply *That's not true, he would never be cruel to animals*. An important property of imperatives is that their content cannot be judged true or false.

in Nivkh). For a cross-linguistic overview of semantic distinctions made in imperatives, see Aikhenvald (2010:198-233). We will also not discuss functions that different grammatical categories (such as aspect) take on when combined with imperative marking. These are discussed by Aikhenvald as "imperative-specific meanings/overtones" (2010:97-109).

A verb form or clause can be "imperative" in the sense of belonging to a construction type that has a prototypical association with directivity. However, a verb form or clause cannot make an addressee do something merely by existing in the grammar of a language. The formal elements termed 'imperative' are thus not directive per se. Conversely, utterances that contain imperative linguistic material are not, strictly speaking, imperative *qua* utterances. Rather, they are (on most occasions) directive. We will define 'directive utterance' as any utterance that is associated with a directive interpretation, regardless of restrictions on form. *The store!*, *I am hungry!* and *Food!* can all be directive utterances fulfilling the same function as *Go to the store*. Directive utterances are here primarily understood as *tokens*, i.e. as specific instantiations of, for instance, imperatives or other directive strategies. They are not equated with instantiations of (conventionalized) directive strategies per se, since essentially any utterance can have a directive interpretation depending on context. Far from all directive utterances contain imperatives, and, as in the case of the Russian historical imperative exemplified in (5), not all imperative constituents occur in directive utterances.

The use of 'directive utterance' is helpful when distinguishing imperatives (as grammatical entities) from their typical function in context. However, there are problems on the level of discourse. A directive communicative act can be accomplished through a talk exchange involving several turns, without any utterance being made that can be specifically distinguished as directive. This relates to the general limitations of traditional speech act theory (such as the focus on individual utterances). These limitations are touched upon in the literature on imperatives and directives by, among others, De Clerck (2006:91) and Van Olmen (2011:34). Another question to consider is whether 'directive utterance' should be viewed as encompassing both linguistic form (such as the string *Go to the store*) as well as the directive illocutionary force (type) assigned to it in a specific speech situation. In the present thesis, the term is intended to refer primarily to the formal element, not to the directive force itself.

All linguistic terminology carries with it theoretical assumptions about language. That being said, some facets of language are perhaps less amenable to "theory-netural" discussion than others. The functional aspects of imperativity/directivity are abstract in nature. This leads to the need for relatively specific assumptions (with theoretical underpinnings) if they are to be discussed in any detail. Although established terms such as 'directive' and 'illocutionary' are used here, the concerns of speech act theory

are not the focus of the present discussion.[13] We will therefore bypass the particulars of the framework, such as the concept of 'propositional content'. For present purposes, utterances, depending on context, can have different types (or categories) of *directive illocutionary force*. It can be useful to distinguish these categories using names such as 'request', 'order', and 'advice'.[14] This essentially amounts to saying that utterances can perform different communicative functions, some of which, such as ordering and requesting, may be grouped together as 'directive'. The terminology used in this thesis is primarily influenced by De Clerck's (2006) and Van Olmen's (2011) illocutionary taxonomies based on the concept of 'hybrid illocutions'. Details are given in chapter 6, in which an alternative, scalar approach used by Takahashi (2012) is also discussed.

## 4.5 Conclusion

In this section we have considered different levels on which imperatives and their functions can be discussed.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| | [**Go**] to the store! | = Imperative verb form |
| | Better example: morphologically distinct [**ik-e**] (go-IMP) in Japanese | |
| | [**Go to the store!**] | = Imperative clause |
| **Form** | Distinctive grammatical properties (typically no subject in English, etc.) | |
| **Function** | [**Go to the store!**] > Order | = Directive utterance |
| | Other directive utterances: "You *will* go to the store." "The store! Now!" | |
| | Go to the store! > [**Order**] | = (Directive) illocutionary force category |
| | (as opposed to 'request', 'advice', etc.) | |

Figure 2-2.
The form-function divide revisited

The distinctions outlined here are tools for distinguishing between levels when necessary rather than rules to be followed. In the interest of readability I will use 'imperative(s)' without further qualification unless there is a danger of ambiguity. When 'directive' is used without further qualification, it refers to directive utterances rather than to specific constructions or types of illocutionary force. As used in this thesis, 'imperative utterance' does not refer to directive utterances per se, but rather to

[13] For a Searlean discussion of directives, see Searle and Vanderveken (1985:39, 55-56, 60, 100-101, 198-205).

[14] The more theory-neutral 'directive (functional) category' can also be substituted.

an utterance (which may or may not be directive in function) that contains one or several imperative constructions as defined in the present chapter.

# 5. Directive systems

## 5.1 Introduction and definition

When considering how to ask someone to go to the store, speakers of English can pick and choose from a variety of constructions, including imperative (*Go to the store!*), interrogative (*Will you go to the store?*), declarative (*You will go to the store*), and verbless (*The store! Now!*) strategies. These and other alternatives are here conceived as making up the *directive system* of English. This term refers to the sum total of construction types in a language that have a conventional association with directive functionality. This includes imperatives (when present) and various strategies typically described as indirect speech acts. Non-imperative strategies can incorporate a variety of means, such as deontic modals (*You must go!*) and futures (*You will go!*).

While the primary use of imperatives is to express directive speech acts, the primary way(s) of expressing directive speech acts in a language need not be imperatives. Reports of languages that lack dedicated imperative constructions are brought up by Schalley (2008:21), Aikhenvald (2010:43-44), and Jary and Kissine (2014:41-46, 49, 2016:135-137).

A directive strategy may occupy a functional niche within the greater system. Examples of specialized constructions include the Japanese *–ta* directive strategy, which typically involves iteration of the verb and is restricted to situations in which an action must be immediately performed by the addressee (note that non-specialized strategies such as the naked imperative can also be used under such circumstances).

(6) Doi-ta, doi-ta!
move.away-PST move.away-PST
'Get out of my way!' (lit.) '[You] got out of [my] way!'

Another example is a Swedish strategy involving a negated infinitive, used only when addressing children. It exists alongside a regular negative imperative.

(7) Inte ät-a! / Ät inte!
NEG eat-INF Eat.IMP NEG
'Don't eat!'

The terminological and conceptual framework of imperatives, directive strategies, and directive systems outlined in this chapter can be considered a way of defining appropriate topics of investigation for the field. How do languages grammatically

provide for directive functionality, and how do they conventionalize it in more general terms? Two main targets for typological comparison are desirable, one more restrictive and formal-functional in nature: 'imperative (paradigm)', and one broader, more functionally oriented: 'directive system'. Although 'directive system' has previously been used within linguistics in discussing the expression of deixis in Tibeto-Burman languages (DeLancey 1985), the odds of confusion are low. DeLancey's term is conceptually distinct and does not appear to be often used.

## 5.2 Descriptive and conceptual forerunners

Mauri and Sansò (2011:3491) describe the focus of their cross-linguistic study of grammaticalization patterns for directive strategies in the following manner:

> [...] we are mainly concerned with those [directive] strategies that reach a high degree of conventionalization and can be argued to constitute one of the most rooted ways of expressing requests and commands in a given language, leaving the range of possible, less conventionalized, indirect ways of expressing commands aside.

Although the context is fairly different, their discussion of singling out conventionalized directive strategies is an inspiration for my conception of 'directive system'. I will here take a broad view of "conventionalized", ranging from fully grammaticalized and dedicated markers to conventional patterns for expressing indirect speech acts.

Information on the expression of directive functionality is often scattered throughout a grammatical description, to the inconvenience of both the language learner and the comparative linguist. However, useful overviews corresponding to various degrees to a full-fledged description of a directive system are sometimes found in sections with titles like "Commands and Requests" (Martin 1988:959, Adachi 2002:42) or "Imperatives and Directives" (Huddleston and Pullum 2002:924).

Mentions of notions reminiscent of 'directive system' also exist in the previous literature, such as in the following statement by Sadock and Zwicky (1985:188): "In English, the free noun phrase is, among other things, a request subtype of the imperative family". The concept also has precursors within Japanese indigenous linguistics. The phrase *kooi yookyuu no taikei*, used by Adachi (2002:77) to describe a range of expressions associated with directive functionality in Japanese, translates directly into English as 'directive system'.

## 5.3 The scope of 'directive system'

De Clerck (2006:16) hints at an idealized version of a (description of a) directive system when mentioning the notion of "chart[ing] all different formal possibilities by means of which one can aim at getting the addressee to do something". Although individual languages may lack ways of issuing directives that are found in others (see Aikhenvald 2010:288-290), the variation found within a language can still be great. To make 'directive system' useful as a target for linguistic description and comparison it is necessary to constrain it.

The restriction that directive strategies be describable as conventional types is a useful constraint on both 'directive strategy' and 'directive system'. Some realizations of directive speech acts cannot easily be described in terms of conventional types. These can arise from particularized conversational implicature. One example is *The dog is back*, intended to mean "Give the dog a bath". Directive speech acts of this type are excluded from both strategies and systems.

## 5.4 Concluding remarks

No psychological reality is claimed for 'directive system', which is presented here as a functional label. Nonetheless, as discussed above, speakers are no doubt aware of the different conventions available for expressing themselves in a directive situation, and make their choice depending on the circumstances. The concept thus is not without empirical basis. Finally, there is nothing new about the observation that there are various means of expressing directive speech acts in a language, and that these means may complement each other. The contribution I aim at making here lies in supplying a term for, and to an extent, formalizing the notion as part of a larger terminological apparatus with descriptive and comparative applications. Throughout the present thesis, 'directive system' will also prove useful when discussing how imperatives fit into the overall expression of directivity in Japanese.

# 6. Summary

In this chapter I have discussed terminological and conceptual issues relating to imperatives and directive strategies in general. I have argued that a lack of form-function distinctions in terminology can be problematic for linguistic description and comparison, and presented a set of conventions intended to remedy this problem. *Imperative* has been discussed in terms of a construction type the only prototypical function of which is the expression of directive speech acts (i.e. a *dedicated directive strategy*). *Directive strategies* have been defined as construction types associated with directive speech acts, regardless of whether the association arises from grammatical specialization or conventionalized pragmatic usage. The array of directive strategies found in a language was defined as its *directive system*. I consider this final term a useful way of referring to something that can be felt to be an important object of study for the field: the larger functional entity to which imperatives and other directive strategies belong.

*Chapter 3.*

# Imperatives in semantic theory

## 1. Introduction

> The time is out of joint. O cursèd spite,
> That ever I was born to set it right!
> Hamlet, Act 1, Scene 5

Having laid out a terminological apparatus for the study of imperatives and other directive strategies, we may wish to augment it with a theoretical component that accounts for *how* imperatives do what they do.

There are a variety of proposals as to the semantics of the imperative, many of which originate in the field of formal semantics (e.g. Portner 2007, Kaufmann 2012). This chapter will focus on a subset of treatments in which the functionality of imperatives derives from core properties that, while leading to directivity in many contexts, do not directly encode directivity. As has been argued by Jary and Kissine (2014) among others, this approach is warranted in view of the non-directive functionalities that imperatives can fulfill.

The chapter begins with an overview of previous proposals, concluding with the claim that Japanese imperatives may offer problems for theories that view potentiality as a semantic constraint on the content of imperatives. A non-formalized treatment is then sketched out in which the underlying functionality of imperatives is described in terms of the creation of a 'world gap' between mental representations. Directivity is in turn posited to derive from psychosocial pressure towards the rectification of a mismatch between a representation that relates to the social and the abstract ('world A'), and a representation that relates more closely to sensory perception and awareness of the "actual" world ('world B').

# 2. Previous approaches

Whereas Aikhenvald (2010) is the main compilation of descriptive-typological data on imperatives, Jary and Kissine (2014, chapters 4 to 6) is the main theoretical summary. This section does not attempt an overview in the vein of the latter. Discussion is here restricted to approaches that are helpful in contextualizing the present proposal.

## 2.1 Some earlier approaches

The idea that (the function of) getting people to do things using language constitutes the literal meaning of imperative constructions can be considered the default stance as to their semantics. In its simplest form, such a conception is not dissimilar to school grammar definitions along the lines of "the imperative expresses a command". Within general linguistics, any discussion of the imperative is likely to involve the illocutionary act category 'directives', which, as previously mentioned, was characterized by Searle (1979:13) in terms of "attempts […] by the speaker to get the hearer to do something". While their approach to the relationship between form and meaning is far more sophisticated than that found in traditional school grammar, Searle and Vanderveken (1985:61) do state that "[t]he most natural way in English to express the primitive directive illocutionary force is with the imperative mood".

The felicity conditions or, viewed differently, defining characteristics of a directive illocutionary act are presented by Searle as follows.

Table 3-1.
The felicity conditions of a directive (adapted from Searle 1979:44)

| | **Directive (Request)** |
|---|---|
| **Preparatory condition** | H[earer] is able to perform A[ct]. |
| **Sincerity condition** | S[peaker] wants H to do A. |
| **Propositional content condition** | S predicates a future act A of H. |
| **Essential condition** | Counts as an attempt by S to get H to do A. |

An additional feature is the world-to-word 'direction of fit'. Roughly put, when a directive utterance is made, the world must change to fit the content of the utterance if the directive is to count as having been complied with. By contrast, assertive speech acts (e.g. *The sky is blue*), which are prototypically performed by means of declarative clause type, have the word-to-world direction of fit. The state of the world determines that which can (truthfully) be uttered.

As it turns out, it is possible to use imperatives under circumstances that violate the felicity conditions of Searlean directives. Examples are given below.

| | |
|---|---|
| Preparatory condition | *Go to hell!* (imprecation) |
| Sincerity condition | *I personally do not want you to go,*<br>*but go if you feel you must.* (reluctant permission) |
| Propositional content condition | *Show up yesterday and you'd have had a real surprise.*<br>(conditional statement) |
| Essential condition | *Take bus number 171 if you want to get to Lund.* (advice) |

Note that conditional usages can violate all four at once.

Jary and Kissine (2014:9) state that "[...] if a form encodes a function, then no literal and serious use of that form is possible without its performing the function at hand, so that comprehension of that form is nothing more than relating it to its typical function". If the relationship between linguistic form and function is viewed in this fashion, the notion that imperative meaning is directivity (whether in specifically Searlean terms or otherwise) becomes problematic. This is one of the main topics of our discussion of Japanese imperatives in chapter 7. For a discussion of the workability of defining imperative meaning in terms of directivity, see Jary and Kissine (2014) in general, and (2014:169-175) for a critique of the Searlean approach.

If directivity itself is not what imperatives encode, what might it be? In order to capture the various usages of the English imperative under a single umbrella, Davies (1986) proposes that the semantics of the imperative are not directive but "presentative":

> The contrast between the assertive and presentative propositional types can be related to that between actuality and potentiality. While a declarative can be said to assert a proposition which may or may not be true, an imperative can best be described as presenting a proposition which may or may not become true. (1986:48)

That is to say, imperatives signify (but do not truth-conditionally assert) that a state of affairs, while not currently true, might become true.[15] Davies theorizes that declaratives and imperatives are, moreover, governed by certain conventions of usage:

[15] Truth-valueless 'state(s) of affairs' and true/false 'proposition(s)' are at times treated as distinct categories in the literature. The distinction is not emphasized in the present thesis. 'State of affairs' can here be viewed as a cover term encompassing the content of imperatives as well as that of declaratives. 'Proposition' is used mainly with reference to the content of declaratives as distinct from that of imperatives.

> While the speaker who utters a declarative which asserts a proposition p is conventionally assumed to accept that p is true, the speaker who utters an imperative which presents a proposition p is conventionally assumed to accept [i.e. consent to] p's being made true. (1986:48)

The conventions generate the prototypical functionalities of declaratives and imperatives (assertions and directives) but can also be contextually suspended, such as in the case of embedding (1986:51) and when imperatives appear in conditional constructions (1986:194).

The notion of potentiality as a core element of imperative meaning has since been used by various scholars (e.g. Wilson and Sperber 1988, Kissine 2013, Jary and Kissine 2014, 2016, in press; see Fortuin and Boogart 2009:649-650 for critical discussion and further references). Jary and Kissine (2014:263-268) view Davies's approach in generally favorable terms, although they, among other misgivings, consider the notion of "acceptance" too weak to account for the association of the imperative with forceful directives (2014:267).

While Davies seeks to explain the imperative by means of a property that is common to all its usages, Asher and Lascarides (2003) appear to gear their theory towards accounting for specific phenomena that relate to the integration of imperatives into discourse. For example, in the case of directions such as *Go to the traffic lights. There's a roundabout to your right* (Asher and Lascarides 2003:5), the concluding statement makes little sense unless the state of affairs presented by the preceding imperative (that the addressee goes to the traffic lights) somehow counts as realized.

We will here only touch upon Asher and Lascarides's basic intuition. As summarized by Jary and Kissine (2014:219), this is that "[t]he effect of an imperative is to 'shift the world parameter' so that a subsequent assertion will be evaluated not relative to the world as it stands, but in that world after it has been updated by compliance with the directive". This approach can be used to account for various discourse phenomena, but Jary and Kissine do not consider "world shifting" plausible as a mechanism for deriving the general functionality of imperatives. They note that "[...] at the semantic level, all the imperative does is switch the set of possible worlds that are compatible with the discourse" (2014:223). Moreover, Kaufmann (who refers to personal communication from Portner) notes that the "deictic recentering" performed by the imperative in the above example can also be accomplished by means of other forms, as in *There's a traffic light at the corner, and then there's a roundabout to your right* (2012:50). While this may be the case, it is still interesting that, regardless of addressee compliance, imperatives can occasionally influence the following discourse as if their state-of-affairs content has been realized.

Portner (2007) theorizes that while declaratives convey propositions that are added to a Stalnakerian common ground[16], imperatives convey distinct objects termed 'properties' that are added to a separate domain, the 'To-Do List' belonging to each conversational participant. This list "[...] is a set of properties, and the participants in the conversation mutually assume that [a participant] will try to bring it about that he or she has each of these properties" (Portner 2007:352). Portner's use of "property" should not be interpreted in terms of stative predicates; rather, properties normally represent actions that the owner of the To-Do List will attempt to perform.

Much of Portner's account has to do with explaining how imperatives govern the use of modals, as in the following exchange: A: *Go present this proposal to our bankers today!* B: *I should take the 7 a.m. flight to New York then* (Portner 2007:353). In Portner's approach, To Do-Lists constitute part of the 'ordering source', one of the two conversational backgrounds that determine the interpretations of modals within the framework of Kratzerian modal semantics (on which see Portner 2009:47-85). Briefly summarized, propositions contributed by declaratives (the Common Ground) and the properties contributed by imperatives (the To-Do List) make up part of the background information relative to which evaluation in terms of (deontic) necessity and possibility is made. The fact that imperatives do not modify the Common Ground helps to explain why they cannot be used truth-conditionally like modals (2007:363).

Portner's approach has been subject to criticism, such as from Kaufmann (2012:54-56) and Jary and Kissine (2014:271-277). It is brought up here as an important example of what Kaufmann (2012) terms 'split representationalism', defined by her as follows:

> [...] any [...] approach to the semantics-pragmatics interface that makes use of particular storage sites for different sorts of information, for example for epistemic and deontic information. [...] Split representationalist models of utterance contexts are particularly attractive for the analysis of non-declarative clause types because they offer immediate possibilities for linguistic objects to interact with the context differently from the way declaratives would interact with it. (2012:31)

Kaufmann uses 'uniform representationalism' (which her own theory is an example of) to refer to approaches in which the content contributed by, for instance, declaratives and imperatives ends up in the same box: "what is commanded and what is permitted is considered information about the world just like ordinary, non-

[16] "Background information that is taken for granted or presupposed in making a speech act. [...] The common ground is formalized as a set of possible worlds, that is, formally, the set of all possible worlds in each of which all of the propositions in the common ground are true" (Allott 2010:33).

modalized facts" (2012:33). We will later discuss whether the present proposal is amenable to a classification in these terms.

As for her own view of the imperative, Kaufmann (2012) claims that its semantics reduces to a necessity modal. In order to account for the ostensible differences between imperatives and modals (the main issue being their respective relationship to truth and falsehood), she posits a set of presuppositional constraints that derive the surface functionality of imperatives as we know them from a modalized propositional core. While Jary and Kissine describe the theory as ingenious (2014:247), they also comment on its complexity (2014:241). In his discussion of Kaufmann, Starr (2012) refers to the modal analysis of imperatives as a "conspiracy theory, but a clever and gripping one". The complex nature of Kaufmann's proposal (which, due to its formal orientation, we will not here describe in any detail) appears to be at least partly due to the fact that, on the assumption that imperatives are not what they seem, some of their core features become problems to be explained away rather than assumptions from which to proceed.

Finally, much as the concept 'directive system' (presented in chapter 2) has antecedents in Japanese linguistics, so does my proposal that imperatives function by way of a 'gap'. The notion is found in Shirota (1977). His view is that hortative/epistemic *–(y)oo* and imperative *–e* (*ro*) share the basic meaning of representing a state of affairs as distinct from reality. This conception is likely to fall under the umbrella of 'irrealis'. Directive usages of *–(y)oo* and *–e* (*ro*) further share the property of tasking the addressee(s) with resolving a *gyappu* 'gap' between this unreal state of affairs and reality (1977:38, see also 1998:44, 47-48, 51). Shirota's analysis is brought up again in chapter 8. It is worth mentioning that although his approach represents a source of inspiration for the basic metaphor of resolving gaps between worlds, it is far less elaborate than the model presented here.

## 2.2 Jary and Kissine: potentiality revisited

In a series of recent publications (Kissine 2013, Jary and Kissine 2014, 2016, in press), Jary and Kissine advocate a semantically non-directive and non-modal approach to imperatives. In their opinion, it is useful to view the imperative as comprising a "suite of semantic features" (2014:101) that typically leads to directive interpretations. A further element of their stance is their view of imperatives as non-modal: "Modals say something true or false about the actual world; what is necessary or possible given [a] set of propositions. Imperatives can simply not be used to make claims about the state of the world" (in press: 15). The authors identify a number of "semantic characteristics" or usage restrictions that are frequently seen in imperatives (2014:76-77):

1. The referent of the subject of an imperative sentence must be an addressee of the utterance.
2. The addressee must be the agent of the act described by the utterance.
3. The situation type denoted by an imperative sentence must be dynamic: statives are not permitted.
4. The imperative has no assertoric potential, which impacts on its logical properties.
5. The imperative is limited to representing potential states of affairs (given some information set against which potentiality can be established).

When a construction with features of this kind is used, "[d]irective force could then be argued to result from pragmatic considerations: the hearer seeks to identify the point of a non-assertoric utterance which presents him as the agent of an action" (2014:101).

However, all of these restrictions may not apply to the imperative as instantiated in a specific language (2014:54). Jary and Kissine describe imperatives as "inherently potential" (2016:137) and consider potentiality to be the "only [semantic] feature that is likely to be universal" (2016:144).[17] While various constructions across the languages of the world will fit their comparative concept for the imperative as presented in chapter 2, the only semantic feature common to all of them might thus be a potentiality constraint.

According to Jary and Kissine, propositional content is potential when it is "neither part of, nor ruled out by, the common ground" (2016:139). They consider this implementation of the notion to be an improvement over previous approaches to potentiality in imperatives, such as those of Davies (1986) and Wilson and Sperber (1988). A consequence of the potentiality restriction is that "[i]mperative use is constrained by how the world is (or how it is believed to be), and this constraint applies even in non-directive usages" (2014:262). To give one example, *Don't have done that* cannot be used counterfactually in the sense of *If only you hadn't done that* (2014:100).

Jary and Kissine (2014:100-101) note that imperatives can target states of affairs that are "objectively settled" (such as past events), as long as the issue is unresolved from the perspective of the speaker. They refer to an example from Dominicy and Franken (2002) in which an archaeologist examining a tomb needs a long-deceased king to have been born at a certain time for his (the archeologist's) theory to work out. The age of the king is not yet known to the archaeologist, who can therefore utter the following:

[17] See also Kissine (2013:52): "The only claim relative to the imperative mood is that the content of utterances of imperative sentences is always potential".

(1) Please, have been born 4000 years ago![18]
(Dominicy and Franken 2002:273)

This past-oriented imperative fits within the frame of potentiality, but some usages appear to be more problematic. Jary and Kissine speculate that in non-main-clause usages, imperative content need not be potential relative to the common ground in a prototypical sense, but "may instead be potential given a contextual salient set of assumptions" (2016:141). In (2) the imperative presents a counterfactual past state of affairs, but the potentiality constraint is here "relaxed" and "the proposition expressed by the imperative clause is potential in relation to some historic information state" (2016:141).

(2) Turn up yesterday and you'd have got a real shock.[19]
(Jary and Kissine 2016:141, originally in Davies 1986:165)

The authors state that "Reference to generic or non-actual past events is permitted in [imperative-like conditionals], and this distinguishes them from main-clause imperatives" (2014:143). By contrast, the following main-clause use is impossible:

(3) *Turn up yesterday. (Jary and Kissine 2014:142)[20]

In my view, Jary and Kissine's work represents an important contribution to the study of imperatives. However, there are possible counterexamples to the empirical claim that potentiality is a universal semantic constraint on the content of imperatives. Due to lacking personal knowledge of most of the languages involved, I will discuss in detail only the Japanese examples, which (as far as I am aware) have yet to enter the general linguistic literature.

Kissine (2013:52) briefly mentions the Russian historical imperative (exemplified below) in conjunction with his claim about imperative mood.

(4) I vdrug togda, v tu sekundu, kto-to i
and suddenly then in that.ACC.SG second.ACC.SG someone.NOM.SG and
šepni mne na uxo.
whisper-IMP.PF. 2SG 1SG.DAT on ear.ACC.SG
'And suddenly then, in that second, someone whispered (something) in my ear.'
(Schalley 2008:47, originally in Fortuin 2000:134, repeated from chapter 2)

He makes reference to Gronas (2006), who analyzes the phenomenon as having developed from the Indo-European optative. Gronas (2006:92) explains that the

[18] Jary and Kissine's version reads as *Please, be born before 4000 AD!* (2014:100). Presumably "4000 BC" is meant.

[19] Davies's original reads as *have had* instead of *have got*.

[20] The asterisk is here used by Jary and Kissine to indicate "syntactic unacceptability" (2014:vii).

historical imperative does not display verbal agreement in the manner of prototypical Russian imperatives, as the verb remains second person singular in form regardless of the subject. Kissine refers to Gronas without further comment, but an argument might be made on diachronic and morphosyntactic grounds that the historical imperative is not a member of imperative clause type in Russian. Jary and Kissine (2014:143) are more explicit in their discussion of Russian counterfactual conditional imperatives, in which they state that "it may be disputed that [they] really have an imperative clause proper" due to their similar lack of verbal agreement.

While discussing finiteness in imperatives, Jary and Kissine (2014:262) refer to Mastop's (2005) discussion of past tense imperatives in Dutch, but do not address the phenomenon further.

(5) Reed dan ook niet zo hard. Je wist toch dat de politie aan het
Drove PART PART not so fast. You knew PART that the police on the
controleren was!
check-INF was
'You shouldn't have driven that fast. You knew the police was surveilling.'
(Mastop 2005:79, glossing as in original)

Since they do not bring it up from the perspective of potentiality, one can speculate that they ultimately view (5) and other variants as non-imperative due to formal considerations. Dutch past tense imperatives might otherwise be accommodated as "potential in relation to some historic information state" (2016:141) in the manner of (2). Since past tense imperatives show up in main clauses, this would likely entail revising the assumptions of their approach. Dutch is not the only language in which imperative(-like) expressions targeting the past can be used to express reproach. Aikhenvald (2010:132-133) provides examples from Syrian Arabic and Estonian.

As for Japanese, *Kenkyusha's New Japanese-English Dictionary* (5th edition) provides the following example sentences (my glossing, non-literal translations as in original):

(6) Ototoi ki-yagar-e/ oide.
two.days.ago come-ANTIHON-IMP / come/go.HON.IMP
'Get out of here and never come back!' (lit.) 'Come two days ago!'

(7) Watashi ga nando tanom-i ni it-te mo kare wa
1SG NOM how.many.times ask-INF DAT go-GER FOC 3SG TOP
ototoi ko-i to it-ta taido dat-ta.
two.days.ago come-IMP COMP say-PST attitude COP-PST
'I went again and again to ask him, but he just told me never to come again.'
(lit.) '[...] he was of the attitude that come two days ago.'[21]

[21] Chapters 4, 6, and 7 discuss Japanese imperatives in reported discourse.

The expressions *ototoi kiyagare* / *koi* / *oide* (lit. 'come two days ago') offer a direct counterexample to Jary and Kissine's stance on past tense reference in imperatives. Unlike the case of *Please, be born* [...] the issue is clearly settled, and the explicit non-potentiality of the content appears to trigger the inferences that underlie conventional interpretation as a negative directive. This is illustrated by the following excerpt from an Internet thread in which the meaning of *ototoi koi* is discussed:

(8) Ototoi ni ko-i→ ko-rare-na-i→ ku-ru na![22]
two.days.ago DAT come-IMP come-POT-NEG-NPST come-NPST NIMP
'Come two days ago [means] [You] can't come [means] Don't come!'

Some readers might here object that a few conventionalized phrases in Japanese (one does not, for instance, say **Kinoo koi* 'come yesterday') do not constitute a genuine counterexample to the universality of a potentiality constraint on imperatives. We will consider whether this is so. While discussing imperative good wishes (e.g. *Have a nice day, Get well soon*), which they consider a "genuine problem [for] the view that the imperative mood encodes directive force" (2014:72), Jary and Kissine argue that "although in English the use of the imperative in good wishes is not productive, one still needs to explain the source of such idiomatic uses" (2014:67). That is to say, regardless of the current productivity of a usage, the fact that it developed in the first place is important for determining what imperatives can and cannot do. It can be added that the *Nihon Kokugo Daijiten* (henceforth also the *NKD*) lists further variants found in pre-contemporary Japanese (e.g. *ototoi gozai*: two.days.ago be/go/come.HON-IMP). This might indicate that the pattern was originally more productive.[23]

There are other possible arguments against the validity of *ototoi* [...] as a counterexample. Relevant here is an indigenous hypothesis according to which the function of *ototoi* in *ototoi koi* derives from the compositional meaning of a predecessor to the current adverb. This was along the lines of 'a day or time distant from the present'. From what I can determine, the reasoning is that originally the addressee was directed to come not two days ago but at a distant time, which meant the far future, i.e. never.[24] If true, this might explain the non-potentiality of the expressions. However, the evidence appears slim. *Ototoi* is not ambiguous in this sense in Modern Japanese. Moreover, upon examining pre-modern attestations of *ototoi* and its variants in the *Nihon Kokugo Daijiten*, I cannot find any usages that have future reference. The hypothesis may be based on the *a priori* assumption that an imperative cannot target the past.

[22] http://oshiete.goo.ne.jp/qa/3834903.html, retrieved 2016-02-08.

[23] Moreover, *ototoi* [...] is not the only Japanese example of imperatives that appear to target the past. See chapter 7, section 2.5.2 for further discussion.

[24] The hypothesis is referred to on the following webpage: http://gogen-allguide.com/o/ototoi.html, retrieved 2016-02-29.

The *NKD*, in which an attestation of *ototoi koi* from 1681 is found, discusses the expression in terms of impossibility and does not bring up the etymological hypothesis. A further argument in favor of genuine past time reference is the existence of the similar expression *ototoi usero* 'get lost' (two.days.ago disappear-IMP). The earliest example in the *NKD* dates from 1802. In the case of *ototoi usero*, the inference underlying conventionalization is likely that although the state of affairs presented by way of the imperative (disappearance prior to utterance time) is non-potential, the closest approximation available to the addressee is to disappear as quickly as possible. Interpretation as 'get lost' seems to make little sense if *ototoi* refers to the distant future. Since speakers of contemporary Japanese interpret *ototoi koi* in terms of impossibility due to past time reference, the simplest explanation is that this is also the historical origin of the expressions.

Another conceivable argument is that *ototoi koi* represents a non-serious or pretend speech act in which the impossible is presented as possible. In his discussion of imprecations such as *Get a brain* and *Go fuck yourself*, Kissine notes that while the content is not potential in a literal sense, "[the speaker] pretends that [the shared information state] does not rule out the possibility for [the addressee] to get a brain or to have sexual intercourse with himself" (2013:124). My view is that the inferences underlying *ototoi koi* and its variants hinge on the explicit, *a priori* non-potentiality of the compositional content (we recall that Jary and Kissine consider the main clause use of *Turn up yesterday* in English to be syntactically unacceptable). In the case of *Get a brain* the prescribed state of affairs is contextually impossible. *Get a brain* is nonetheless a standard use of the imperative in the respect that the prescription relates to the future actions of the addressee. Demanding that the addressee realize a state of affairs that takes place in the past (in a context in which, unlike in (1), the issue is already settled) appears to me to be a more serious deviation from potentiality. There are also differences in terms of desirability. Perhaps the following stance can be taken: In imprecations such as *Get a brain*, the realization of an impossible situation is inferentially represented as desirable to the speaker and/or addressee. By contrast, the *ototoi* + 'come'-based expressions involve negative speaker desire (the speaker does not want the addressee to come at all), along with a lack of potentiality. On a scale of potentiality/desirability, *ototoi koi* would thus rank lower than *Get a brain*, which in turn ranks lower than e.g. *Open the window*.

To sum up, there is reason to believe that Japanese provides a counterexample to the claim that across the languages of the world, imperatives are semantically restricted to presenting that which is potential. The only definite prediction made by Jary and Kissine (2016) in their terminological-typological paper might thus be falsified. As a consequence, they may be left without a universal "semantic-pragmatic core" (2016:137) at the center of their comparative concept. Still, this does not appear to be an insurmountable problem. As conceived by Haspelmath, comparative concepts "cannot be right or wrong [and] can only be more or less well suited to the task of permitting crosslinguistic comparison" (2010:665). A solution might be to

treat potentiality in terms of a constraint that is conventional in some languages and encoded in others. The theoretical consequences of such a move are, however, beyond the scope of the current discussion.

# 3. The world gap model

## 3.1 Introduction

Jary and Kissine (2014:293) end their survey of the imperative by expressing their hope that the book will help the reader come up with their own approach. The remainder of this chapter presents a model inspired by insights from the previous literature. What follows is not a theory of the imperative integrated in an established framework within formal or cognitive semantics (although it can perhaps be expanded into such). It is, rather, an attempt at capturing in relatively informal terms an intuition as to how a form that does not encode directivity might interact with interactional conventions to generate the range of usages that we see in imperatives.

As touched upon in the previous section, it may be that imperatives are fit for directive use because of an overlap between their (non-directive) core meaning and the situational and interactional properties that define directive speech acts. One approach is to view certain ostensible features of imperatives as being semantically encoded and others as arising from pragmatically determined directive functionality. The property or properties that are singled out as constituting its semantic core may differ. Whereas Jary and Kissine focus on the potentiality of the imperative, I will instead focus on the non-assertoric way in which it presents its content (as we have seen, it appears that non-potential content can be conveyed by means of the imperative in at least one language).

I do not make any claims as to the universality of imperative clause type, nor dare I here assume that all of the constructions that fall under the definition of 'imperative' presented in chapter 2 can be described in terms of the mechanism outlined here (although such an outcome would be desirable). The model attempts to account for the range of imperative usages seen in languages such as English and Japanese, on which substantial data is available (see chapters 6 and 7 for an illustration of the parallels between the illocutionary range of English and Japanese imperatives). To the extent that imperatives across the world's languages resemble those of English and Japanese (and Swedish, etc.) in terms of illocutionary potential, the model is likely to accommodate them.

## 3.2 Worlds A and B

The present approach is similar to Kaufmann's uniform representationalism (2012:33) in the sense that the content contributed by imperatives and declaratives goes into the same domain, 'world A' (which might also be called the 'schematic world' or 'consensus world'). However, imperatives and declaratives differ in terms of their connection to another domain, here called 'world B' or the 'actual world'. Despite the use of the term "actual", worlds A and B are both mental constructs. An element representing the objective physical world as distinct from perception and cognition is not included in the model.

World A, as defined here, is intended to be broadly compatible with established approaches to the interaction between cognition, language, and the world. The basic assumptions are as follows: A simplified representation of the world, geared towards or at least suitable for language use, exists in the mind of a speaker. The representation is not static and unchanging. It can be updated by linguistic as well as non-linguistic input. Elements of it must be intersubjectively shared in order to allow for efficient communication. Additionally, world A is here conceived of as containing social and conventional facts and statuses with a relatively low connection to sensory experience.

By contrast, world B is more directly connected to our (private) perceptual access to the world, and to our subjective experience and conception of actuality. Worlds A and B can further be viewed as differing in terms of the degree of abstraction. World A is here assumed to be generally more schematic in nature; less of the complexity of sensory experience is represented in world A than in world B. The relationship between the worlds can thus be seen as obtaining between two distinct mental representations, removed at different intervals from the objective physical universe.[25]

In the world in which we live, entities exist in various states. A window, for instance, can be "open" versus "closed". A human being can be "greeted", "insulted", "the president of France" or "it" in a game of tag. These states (or descriptions of states) can all be viewed as deriving from the mapping of uniquely human concerns onto a physical universe made up of uncaring atoms and quarks. However, some states are more strongly connected to (what we perceive as) actuality than others. I will illustrate the potential disconnect between the state of the world as social convention and as sensory experience by way of the following authentic exchange (originally in Swedish). The context is as follows: Axel is sitting next to an empty chair in an otherwise crowded lecture hall. Lars-Olof approaches and looks at the empty chair.

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[25] Beyond concepts from linguistics such as 'common ground' and 'discourse stage', Worlds A and B are also inspired by the 'conceptual' vs. 'sensual' worlds of McCloud (1993).

(9) Lars-Olof: Is anyone sitting here?
Axel: (examines chair carefully) Not as far as I can see.
Lars-Olof: (laughs politely, sits down)

The (meager) humor lies in Axel's use of *see*, which leads to a purposely ambiguous response. Lars-Olof's inquiry has to do with the realm of social convention; although no one is bodily sitting in the chair at the moment, it may still count as "occupied" if someone, for instance, just got up to go to the bathroom. However, Axel's response can also be taken as referring to the actual or physical realm as perceived by the interlocutors, highlighting the inherent strangeness of asking whether anyone is sitting in an empty chair (although asking such a question is perfectly conventional). In terms of the present model, Lars-Olof intended to ask whether anyone was sitting in the chair in Axel's world A. However, the manner of Axel's reply leads to ambiguity as to whether the reply makes reference to Axel's world A or to his world B.

The overlapping content of a pair of interlocutors' A (and, less saliently, B) worlds can be thought of as performing a function similar to that of the common ground within formal semantics/pragmatics. However, the process by which the content of worlds A and B influences discourse is represented here in a more simplistic manner than is done within formal approaches that make use of the common ground. The present account does not, for instance, involve formalizations in terms of 'possible worlds'.

The content of worlds A and B should not be regarded as wholly distinct in kind, with social conventions inhabiting world A and physical facts inhabiting world B (although e.g. direct perception is viewed as outside the purview of world A). If I, for instance, see that a pen is on the table, and I further see that you see that a pen is on the table, and you have seen that I have seen the pen (and so forth), the fact that the pen is on the table will be part of our respective A as well as B worlds.

The concept of worlds A and B is ultimately an attempt to schematize a continuum of mental phenomena ranging from the mental correlates of direct sensory perception (less abstract, more actual) to schematic representations of actual physical states of the world, to representations of e.g. wishes and desires (more abstract, less actual). As envisioned here, the power of imperatives lies in their ability to create a disconnect between the state of the world at a more abstract level and at a less abstract one.

## 3.3 Features of the imperative

In 2.2 we discussed Jary and Kissine's listing of various features or functional restrictions of the imperative, as well as their emphasis on the role played by potentiality. In this section we consider which features to select as central to the present account, and which to consider "optional" or pragmatically derivable. I will argue that the main features of imperatives are 'non-retroactivity', 'addressee-

orientedness', and, most crucially, a lack of connection to world B, which sets them apart from declaratives.

In order to account for the functionality of imperatives, I will here introduce the concept 'chain of influence' along with the abovementioned 'non-retroactivity'. Both of these terms are used to describe the way in which imperatives feed data into mental representations of the world. I will, further, use 'specification' as my term for the basic function of the imperative. The notion of specification can be summed up as "predication minus assertion". We can define 'specification' as the function of updating a representation of the world (world A) without being constrained by the "actual" state of the world (world B).

We begin by considering directions of fit in terms of the exercise of influence. In the word-to-world direction of fit (such as in Searlean representative speech acts), the words must fit the state of the world. The same relationship can be expressed in terms of the (state of the) world constraining or influencing the words that can be used to (truthfully) describe it. Rather than *word-to-world* we thus have *world* > *words*. Similarly, in the case of (successful) directive speech acts, the *world-to-word* direction of fit can be described as a *word* > *world* 'direction of influence'. When a speaker communicates something to an addressee about the state of the world and awareness of that state causes the addressee to take action and change the world, the process can be represented as a 'chain of influence':

1. word > (addressee's conception of) world > addressee > world

Or, integrating the concepts of the A and B worlds as outlined in the previous section:

2. word > world A > addressee > world B

The objective or physical world is not included in the model. The act of changing the physical world (as in e.g. opening a window) is here represented in terms of the addressee changing his or her world B. Because world B is linked to the physical world through perception, this is likely to entail changing the physical world. The chain can be further elaborated (by adding the speaker, the mental state that caused the speaker to communicate something in the first place, the addressee's A world correlate to his or her realization of a state of affairs in the B world, etc.), but this basic schema will serve as a frame upon which to build our account.

As we have seen in 2.2, there are restrictions on the use of imperatives. One of these is that imperatives typically cannot be used when their content already holds. If speaker A says

(10) Eat your breakfast.

to someone who is eating their breakfast, the addressee might assume one of the following:

1. (10) is intended to mean *Finish your breakfast.*
2. (10) is intended to mean *Continue eating your breakfast.*
3. Speaker A is of the opinion that what the addressee is doing does not count as eating breakfast.
4. Speaker A is suffering from visual or cognitive dysfunction.

While this constraint can be accommodated in terms of potentiality (i.e. the imperative forces an interpretation of its content as being neither ruled in nor ruled out by what is known about the world at utterance time), I will handle the phenomenon by positing a prohibition against retroactive input, here termed 'non-retroactivity'. On this view, the imperative can only be used to input a state of affairs that is consequent to the current state of world A (which, as in (1), need not correspond to the flow of time in the "actual" world). More simply put, while declaratives allow us to change the way things were, imperatives can only change the way things are – or will be. Consider the following examples:

(11) $X^1$: He went.
(time passes)
$X^2$: Actually, he didn't go.
$X^3$: I'm hungry.

(12) $Y^1$: Go!
(time passes)
$Y^2$: Actually, don't go.

When $X^2$ is uttered and its content accepted by the addressee, the content of $X^1$ is retroactively made false. That is to say, at the time of $X^3$ it is not the case that *He went* was true between $X^1$ and $X^2$. Note that the historical fact that an assertion was made at $X^1$ is still true.[26] By contrast, when consecutive imperatives are used, neither the historical fact that an imperative/directive was uttered, nor the fact that its content was in effect, can be made false. In more specific terms, after $Y^2$, the fact that the specification that [*Addressee*] *go* was in effect between $Y^1$ and $Y^2$ has not changed. The subsequent update cancels out $Y^1$ but does not retroactively make $Y^1$ invalid during the interval of time between $Y^1$ and $Y^2$.

As briefly illustrated above, imperatives (typically) contribute only non-retroactive updates to world A, whereas declarative-based assertions can directly modify previously established information. In terms of the present approach, the fact that declaratives are potentially retroactive is the flip side of their double accountability. Declaratives hold the speaker accountable to a world of socially and linguistically relevant information (=world A). However, they also hold the speaker accountable to

[26] In Stalnakerian terms, this constitutes a "manifest event" (Jary 2007:212).

(our conception of) an "actual" world. Within this "actual" world, states of affairs can hold or not hold independently of our awareness of them. The non-retroactivity of imperatives relates to their lack of double accountability.

We now move on to the matter of the addressee. Apart from the grammatical encoding of person, or person restrictions on imperative subjects (which I will later argue that the basic Japanese second-person imperative construction does not possess in a strict sense: see chapter 7, section 5), imperatives can be viewed as having a more subjective characteristic that I will term 'addressee-orientedness'. In paradigmatically second-person imperatives, the addressee is typically the subject (whether overt or covert) of the imperative clause. Even when this is not the case (as in some conditional imperatives), the imperative content may still carry the feeling of being oriented towards the addressee in a manner distinct from content presented by means of declaratives. Further, in the case of the English (second-person) imperative, third person subjects are acceptable to some speakers when "the motivation for addressing an order to someone other than the intended agent seems to be to get the addressee to report the directive to the third persons concerned" (Davies 1986:140-141). One example reads as follows: *Those children of yours keep out of my garden, or I'll set the dog on them* (Davies 1986:141).[27] Analogous examples from Japanese are provided in chapter 7.

However, imperatives can be used in ways that depart from prototypical addressee-orientation. In the following example from Japanese, the "addressee" or entity towards which the content of an imperative orients need not be the actual hearer of the utterance.

(13) Beigun wa Okinawa kara tettai se-yo!
US.armed.forces TOP Okinawa from withdrawal do-IMP
'The US armed forces should withdraw from Okinawa!' (protest sign/slogan)
(lit.) 'As for [the] US armed forces, withdraw from Okinawa!'[28]

Slogans of this type are best translated into English using deontic modals. They can be used when no member of (in this instance) the US armed forces is physically present. The likely hearers or recipients of the message (e.g. politicians, members of the general public, fellow protesters) are distinct from the ostensible addressee *beigun* 'US armed forces'.

In paradigmatically third-person imperatives, the hearer of the utterance and the target of prescription (=imperative subject) are typically construed as distinct entities. However, the literature indicates that third-person imperatives often function similarly to second-person imperatives in that an appeal is made to someone who is

[27] See Jary and Kissine (2014:84, 187) for related discussion, and Fortuin and Boogart (2009:653-654) on "hearer-directedness" in conditional imperatives.

[28] Note that *tettai suru* 'withdraw' is intransitive.

present at utterance time (see van der Auwera, Dobrushina and Goussev 2004:56, Nikolaeva 2016:76). Much like *Those children of yours* [...], third-person imperatives can be used to communicate the speaker's desire that the hearer convey a directive to a third party. Alternatively, the speaker's intention may be that the hearer will act (or refrain from acting) directly upon the imperative subject. The following example is from Shor (Turkic, Siberia):

(14) Aɣaš anda qal-zýn, kes-pe!
tree there stay-IMP:3SG cut-NEG
'Let the tree stay there, do not cut it!'
(Nasilov et al. 2001:214, glossing as in original)

Further candidates for semantic features of the imperative include desirability (see Wilson and Sperber 1988 for a non-Searlean take), restriction to dynamic situation types (see Jary and Kissine 2014:87-89) and agentivity (see 2014:84-87). Kissine (2013:108-111) argues convincingly that desirability is probably not a necessary component of imperative semantics. As for the restriction to dynamic situation types, it is in the present model handled through non-retroactivity along with the cooperative principles that govern the use of the imperative, as outlined in 3.4. Because of non-retroactivity, content contributed by means of the imperative always leads to a discrepancy between the prior state of the world and the newly specified state (although, as discussed in 3.5, the discrepancy is at times automatically resolved). This typically rules out content that cannot be conceived of in terms of change.

Agentivity (which does not appear to be present in all usages of the imperative: see Jary and Kissine 2016:143-144) is here viewed as likely to be derivable from the cooperative principles that lead to the typical interpretation of imperatives as directive in function.

Presented in terms of chains of influence, the basic functionality of declaratives and imperatives is as follows:

1. **Declaratives**: [world A, world B] (condition: true) > word > world A
2. **Imperatives**: world A (condition: non-retroactive) > word > world A ( > addressee > world B)

In the case of declaratives, the speaker's A and B worlds both constrain updates to world A in terms of truthfulness. Differently put, the speaker's belief that the declarative content holds true in worlds A and B is a prerequisite for the prototypical use of declaratives: feeding (true) information into the addressee's world A. Imperatives are not accountable to world B, but are bound by the restriction that their updates cannot retroactively modify world A. The two final links in the imperative chain, ( > addressee > world B), describe the perlocutionary effect of prototypical directive speech acts, and do not always apply. While not represented in

the chain, a further salient difference between the two clause types is the addressee-orientedness typically associated with imperatives.

This does not pretend to be an exhaustive model of clause type (or speech act) functionality in general. However, it will suffice in illustrating how our conception of the state of things influences our use of imperatives and declaratives in discourse. The conditions are here viewed as communicative conventions rather than grammatical restrictions, but the consequences of violation differ between declaratives and imperatives. In the case of declaratives, the violation of (condition:true) habitually leads to scenarios that deviate from prototypical assertion, such as dishonesty and sarcasm, but – assuming well-formedness – not necessarily to communicative failure. By contrast, violation of non-retroactivity in the case of imperatives can lead to utterances that are so strange as to skirt the edges of ungrammaticality, such as when the addressee is told to do something in the past (see 2.2). But this is not an absolute. Past-oriented imperatives such as found in Japanese do seem to violate the condition of retroactivity, and achieve their conventional effect thereby.

As for what constitutes the purely semantic distinction between declaratives and imperatives, I will hypothesize that the core lies in the imperative's lack of connection to world B. Addressee-orientedness can perhaps be viewed as a semantic feature of some (although maybe not all) instantiations of imperative clause type. I further believe that the account presented here can do without semantically governed agentivity. However, I do not dismiss the possibility that there are languages in which imperatives encode agentivity (see Aikhenvald 2010:151 for possible examples).

## 3.4 World gap functionality

The present approach rejects directive and modal accounts of imperatives, and considers their lack of evaluability in terms of truth or falsehood to be central to their meaning. How can we account for their functionality under these assumptions? The concept of 'specification' first encountered in 3.3 can be viewed as predication minus the truth-conditional element of assertion. On this view, upon saying *Open the window*, a speaker is presenting an addressee with a non-actual state of affairs (in broader terms, a new world) in which the addressee opens the window. The speaker does not (semantically) present the addressee's opening the window as true, necessary, or possible.

I theorize that the directive function of imperatives derives from a mismatch or 'world gap' between intersubjectively shared elements of a world model relating to social interaction (world A) and the facts of the actual world of which we are simultaneously aware (world B). When saying *Open the window*, on the assumption that the addressee has comprehended the utterance, the speaker has input the state of affairs (henceforth also SoA) that the addressee open the window into the addressee's world A. Loosely paraphrased, the interactional effect of an imperative is thus

something like "As for you, it hereby counts as if you [are going to] open the window". The update and subsequent mismatch[29] produced by an imperative can be ignored (rejected) or objected to, but not denied on the basis of falsehood. This is partially due to the fact that imperatives are not associated with the convention that their content be true, and partially due to their lack of connection with the actual world as perceived by the speaker or the addressee. The speaker is not held accountable for the state of world B.

Imperative-induced mismatch between worlds A and B typically but not inevitably leads to pressure (thus generating directive illocutionary force) on the addressee to be cooperative and rectify the situation through 'world matching'. Notions such as necessity, possibility, and agentivity might thus derive inferentially – if someone has deliberately placed you in a situation in which something doesn't add up, it is probably up to you to do something about it.

Our first topic is the interactional conventions needed to put the addressee in a position in which there is psychosocial pressure on him or her to realize the state of affairs specified by means of the imperative. We will not enumerate principles or maxims governing communicative behavior proposed in the literature, but rather content ourselves with the observation that humans generally try to be cooperative (see Davies 1986:54). A subtype of cooperativity that relates to maintaining correspondence between worlds A and B is here termed 'accountability'.

There are different levels of accountability. Being truthful is better or more cooperative than being mistaken about something due to ignorance. However, being mistaken is generally viewed as more pardonable than being guilty of purposeful falsehood, i.e. dishonesty. In the table below, X and Y represent two alternative states of the world that differ in a contextually salient way. Q and P are conversational agents.

Table 3-2.
The accountability statuses of a conversational agent

| Scenario | World(s) A | World(s) B | Q's contribution | P's contribution | Result |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | Y | Y | Asserts that Y | (irrelevant) | Q is truthful |
| 2 | Y | X | Asserts that Y | (irrelevant) | Q is mistaken |
| 3 | Y | (irrelevant) | Asserts that X | (irrelevant) | Q is dishonest |
| 4 | Y | Y | (irrelevant) | Specifies that X (for Q) | No term available for Q's status, but it is potentially problematic |

[29] In the addressee's world B, the addressee is not currently opening, and, in fact, might never open the window.

We will use the example of a window being open (Y) or closed (X) to illustrate the different scenarios.

Scenario 1: Q believes and perceives that the window is open. He states that the window is open, and he is truthful.

Scenario 2: Q believes that the window is open. He states that it is open. However, we can see that it is closed. We therefore determine that Q is mistaken.

Scenario 3: Q believes that the window is open. He states that it is closed, and is therefore dishonest (even if the window is actually closed).

Viewed in world A and B terms, a dishonest person is one whose private world A (here: their view of how things are or what the state of things counts as being) and truth-conditional input into the addressee's world A by means of language do not match. The state of world B (here: the "actual" world as independent from beliefs and conventions) is less important in determining whether someone is dishonest.

Scenario 4: Q believes and perceives that the window is open. P says "Close the window".

When a speaker says *The window is closed* although the hearer sees that it is open, this gives rise to a tension between reality as represented in communication and as experienced. The effect of saying *Close the window* when the window is open is not entirely dissimilar. There are two main differences between the two scenarios. The first difference lies in the identity of the conversational agent for whom the resulting situation is problematic in terms of accountability. In the case of *The window is closed*, the position of the speaker becomes problematic. In the case of *Close the window*, there is instead pressure on the addressee. The second difference lies in the nature of the problem. In the case of *The window is closed*, the speaker is guilty of untruthfulness. In the case of *Close the window*, the addressee is canonically placed under some kind of obligation. An addressee who is in an "imperativized" state (e.g. a state in World A in which they open the window) that does not match that of the actual world is in a potentially troublesome position, although it is the speaker who put them there. Such is the power of imperatives.

We will illustrate the usefulness of semantic non-truth conditionality through the following scenario. In the context of (15, 15b, 15c), the addressee is not currently eating a carrot.

(15) Speaker: You are eating a carrot. (assertion)
Addressee: That's not true.

(15b) Speaker: You will eat a carrot. (directive)
Addressee: I am afraid you are mistaken.

Even when used directively, I would argue that declaratives are susceptible to what Ariel calls "wise-guy" interpretations.[30] They can be uncooperatively interpreted in terms of their fundamentally descriptive character rather than the directive intent of the utterance (see also Jary and Kissine 2014:240-241 on the interpretation of performatively used deontic modals as descriptive). When presented with a directive issued by means of an imperative, this avenue is closed to the addressee. Rejection of a specification means rejection without the same recourse to the state of the actual world.

(15c) Speaker: Eat a carrot! (directive)
Addressee: ?That's not true/ ?I am afraid you are mistaken/ No, I won't!

The use of the imperative rules out the possibility that an utterance describes that which is currently true. This helps to guide interpretation towards directivity. What's more, rejection of a proffered joint conception of the world is potentially face-threatening. This applies regardless of whether a state of affairs is asserted to be accurate (as in *The window is closed*) or presented by means of the imperative (as in *Close the window*). In the case of declaratives, rejection with reference to the epistemic state of the speaker (i.e. ignorance or delusion) may be less than ideal. However, it is still possible to frame rejection in such a way that a direct clash of intentions is avoided. Speaker Q was doing his best to be informative when he mistakenly informed you that the window was closed. Conversely, you are doing your job as a cooperative human being by pointing out to Q that he is mistaken. By contrast, in the case of imperatives, a frequent inference (unless other circumstances hold) is that the contribution arises from the will of the speaker rather than having its origin in "the way things are". The desires of speaker and addressee might therefore clash in the case of rejection. Specifications cannot be denied through interpretation as assertions (removing one avenue of escape), only explicitly rejected (which is face-threatening to various degrees) or ignored (also potentially uncooperative and face-threatening, depending on the reasons underlying the specification).

Because rejection is uncooperative, pressure typically arises for the addressee to play along with the new world created for him or her by the speaker: i.e., to accept the world A update. While there are various possible strategies of compliance, the following two examples will suffice. On one hand, the addressee can verbally commit to realizing the state of affairs: *Yes, I will eat a carrot.* In terms of accountability, this puts the onus on the addressee to ensure that the A and B worlds match (in this case, partially because of the truth conditional nature of the addressee's answer). In English and Swedish, if the addressee replies *Yes* to a directive phrased using the imperative, instead of merely committing himself to the possibility that he *may* realize the state of affairs (thus affirming its potentiality), he in fact commits himself to realizing the

[30] "[...] only the (coded) semantic meaning can be imposed by (uncooperative) interlocutors in an inappropriate context" (Ariel 2008:14).

specified SoA. This is perhaps an argument against potentiality as the core of imperative functionality. In any case, the addressee of *Eat a carrot!* can also match the A and B worlds through action alone by silently eating a carrot, thus acknowledging the speaker's update. Note that the speaker need not actually be aware that the addressee has eaten a carrot for the world gap to be filled.

With the basic concept in place, we will now briefly address the relationship between imperatives and modals. As discussed by Kaufmann (2012) among others, imperatives have effects on discourse that are similar to those of modals. Even if non-modal semantics for the imperative itself are posited, the reasons for specifying something will typically derive from the speaker's view of what is necessary, desirable, and possible, which can in turn be viewed as a modal base.[31] However, on the view that modality is concerned with evaluations of states of affairs in terms of necessity and possibility, I do not believe that this is an issue for proposals of non-modal imperative semantics (at least in the conceptual realm; we will here disregard the issue of how to integrate non-modal imperatives into frameworks primarily concerned with modeling the function of declaratives).

A typical property of evaluations is that an evaluation can, in turn, be evaluated or commented on as accurate or unfounded, just or unjust (A: *All pigeons must die*. B: *That's so unfair!*) It may at times appear as if imperative utterances are evaluated in a similar fashion (A: *Go to the store!* B: *Why should I have to go?*). However, B is here implying that it is not appropriate for A to specify that B go to the store. What is being evaluated is the inferred or reconstructed rationale for the act of specification, not the act of specification itself. Before and after specification, there may, in the mind of speaker and addressee, exist representations of affairs in terms of necessity and possibility that serve as the underlying reason behind (speaker) and inferred motivation for (addressee) the use of imperatives. But imperatives themselves need not encode notions of necessity and possibility.

We will now consider the states of affairs specified by means of the imperative in their role as objects within world A. I will restrict myself to a few speculations. It is likely that, due to their manner of input, imperative-contributed SoAs lack the connection with the world that make the SoAs (or propositions) contributed by declaratives evaluable as "true" or "false". Imperative-contributed SoAs are thus different in kind. While imperative-contributed SoAs are not "the case" in the sense of declarative-contributed ones (until realized by the addressee), we will later discuss scenarios in which imperative-contributed SoAs effectively count as true, or can become so regardless of the addressee's compliance. A further speculation is that, in the case of imperative constructions that do not encode tense[32], the temporal

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[31] The issue was brought to my attention by Hans-Martin Gärtner and Valéria Molnár (personal communication).

[32] See Aikhenvald (2010:129-133) on tensed imperatives.

properties of imperative-contributed states of affairs may be underspecified (other than typically being interpreted as nonpast due to non-retroactivity). That is to say; they are not fed into world A as future events per se.

It has here been claimed that an imperative inputs a state of affairs into the addressee's world A. This raises the question of whether a corresponding state of affairs (that the addressee do something) is simultaneously specified in the world A of the speaker, thus resembling an update of the joint common ground. I will here claim that this need not be the case. If a speaker says *Go! Don't go! Why haven't you gone yet?*, they are likely to be viewed as guilty of contradiction. How might this effect come about? Speaker accountability in the case of imperatives can perhaps be accounted for by means of cooperative conventions and theory of mind (i.e. the speaker knows that if their use of the imperative was successful, something now counts as being the case for the addressee) rather than being enforced by the update mechanism of the imperative itself.

If imperatives are viewed as creating a disconnect between the perceptual and the non-perceptual, it may be a problem that imperatives can be used to specify that the addressee perform mental activities (*Think about your thesis*)[33] or achieve states that are within the realm of social convention (Davies 1986:58: *Be elected chairman*). Although mental operations can be argued to be within the sphere of perceptual experience, the second example is more troublesome. However, it was previously stated that the concept of worlds A and B is ultimately an attempt to schematize a continuum of mental phenomena, reaching from direct sensory perception to representations with various degrees of abstraction. The imperative can be seen as triggering a construal in which the specified SoA is on a more abstract level of representation than the "ground" (e.g. the fact that one is not currently elected chairman) with which it is in a state of disconnect. Under some circumstances, the power of imperatives to change things is in fact greater within the dimension of the conventional and abstract, as we will see in the next section.

## 3.5 Imperatives in context

Imperatives do not describe the world. However, we can view the imperative as encoding the somewhat magical act of creating, and presenting someone with, a new world. Its effect can vary from merely showing you a new world (advice: *If you want to learn about imperatives, study linguistics*) to offering it to you (invitation: *Come visit me this summer*) to imposing a world, thrusting it into your hands (order: *Stand up and face the judge*). In this section examples are given of how the world gap mechanism interacts with content and context to generate the functionalities seen in imperatives.

[33] The observation is due to Verner Egerland.

As exemplified above, imperatives specify states of affairs with respect to the addressee with varieties of strength that range from showing to offering to forcing. Somewhat apart from the dimension of strength, three main categories can be distinguished in terms of the imperative's power to influence the world.

1. The imperative is used to present states of affairs without imposing obligations on the addressee (advice, curses, good wishes)
2. The imperative is used to change the world through the cooperation of the addressee by imposing an obligation on him/her (canonical directives)
3. The imperative is used to change (a restricted subset of) the world without the need for the addressee's cooperation (greetings, expository directives, conditionals)

First on the agenda are prototypical usages of the imperative in its directive function. As a term for this type of functionality, I will use 'canonical directive', which I define as follows:

> An illocutionary act which fulfills the essential condition of Searlian directives (1979:44) *sensu stricto* in counting as a genuine attempt by the speaker to, by means of an utterance, get the addressee to realize the state of affairs represented by the utterance content.

That is to say, 'canonical directive' here refers to usages that not only provide an addressee with reason to act (in the sense of Jary and Kissine 2016:124), but genuinely constitute attempts at getting him or her to realize the SoA conveyed by means of the utterance. Beyond excluding clearly non-prototypical usages of the imperative (conditionals, good wishes, etc.), this also rules out various usages often considered to be directive, such as non-willful directives (on which see below).

Illustrated below is a scenario in which a canonical directive speech act is successfully performed by means of the world gap functionality.

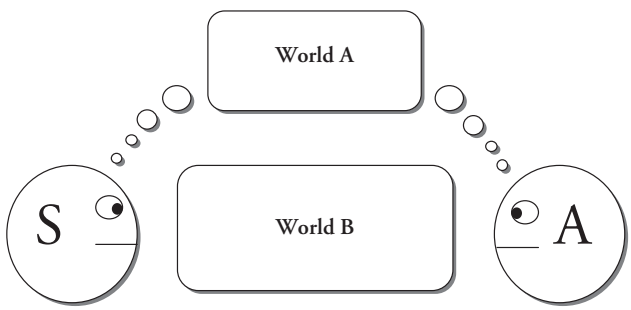


Figure 3-1.
Worlds A and B

The speaker (S) and addressee (A) have access to their respective worlds A and B during interaction, elements of which can be assumed to intersubjectively overlap.

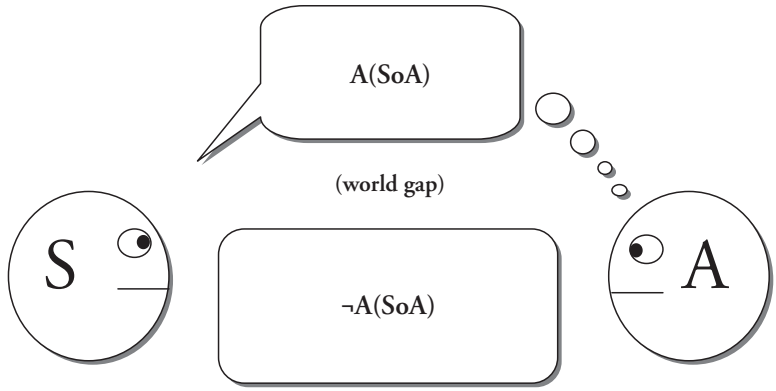


Figure 3-2.
Specification and world gap

In Figure 3-2, S uses the imperative to input a state of affairs pertaining to A into A's world A. The SoA does not match the state of A or S's B worlds. A world gap now exists between worlds A and B, giving rise to psychosocial pressure on A due to factors such as cooperative conventions, A's inferences as to S's motivation for performing the act of specification, and power relations between S and A.

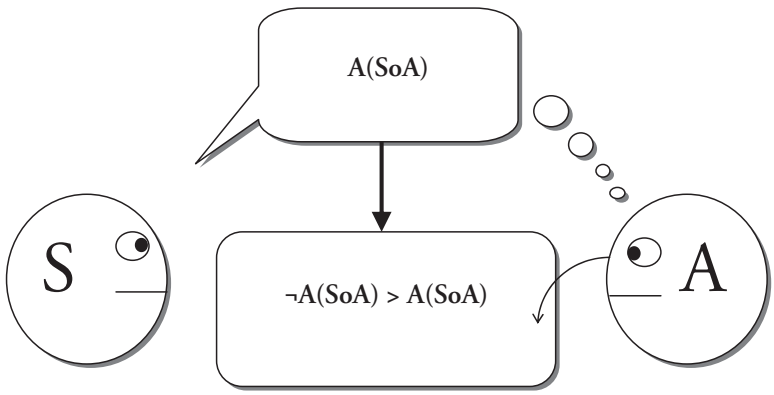


Figure 3-3.
World matching

In Figure 3-3, A identifies a way to change world B in such a way that the state of world A becomes true (the path to doing so is represented by the arrow connecting worlds A and B). A then changes world B so that the world gap is resolved.

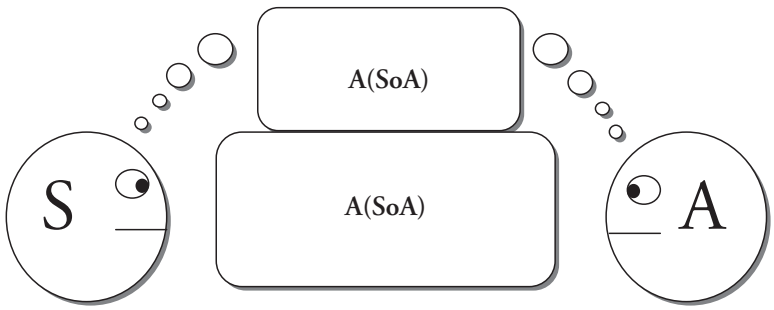


Figure 3-4.
The world gap resolved

In Figure 3-4, A's accountability status is no longer problematic, and S's directive speech act is successful.

The functionality that makes imperatives suitable for use as canonical directives can also be exploited for other purposes, such as presenting addressees with situations for which the rectification of mismatch is not necessarily in the interest of the speaker (typically analyzed as non-willful or addressee benefit directives: advice, instructions, suggestions, permission, etc.). Von Fintel and Iatridou (submitted) endorse a version of Portner's theory of imperatives modified to account for less than prototypically strong usages:

> [T]he addressee-restricted property that the imperative denotes is put on the table as a *possible* [my emphasis] addition to the addressee's [To-Do List]. How strongly the speaker endorses this addition is variable. Surely, strong speaker endorsement is the default, but weaker levels of endorsement all the way down to begrudging acquiescence are possible in the right circumstances. (submitted: 27-28)

They note that "[...] an assertion may just float a proposition, without much or any indication that the speaker believes it, and expect the hearer to decide whether it should be added to the common ground [...] and an imperative may just be put out there without speaker endorsement, leaving it fully to the addressee whether to add it to their [To-Do List]" (submitted: 28).

An imperative utterance such as *Close the window* can function as an order as well as a suggestion. In the present model, non-willful or addressee benefit directives can be represented by means of the same schema as canonical ones. The main difference

lies in the context, which need not lead to psychosocial pressure on A to accept the world as specified by S. To give an example, the addressee may reject a proposed model of the world (that differs from the previous one in terms of activity specified of the addressee), based on the inference that rejection does not clash with the interests of the speaker. Usages such as advice and instructions need thus not be understood as attempts at getting anyone to do anything, but rather as proffered models or scripts for future activity that the speaker thinks would be useful for realizing the addressee's goals.

We will now discuss a class of less-than-productive usages here termed 'self-resolving'. Imperatives are here used to uncontestably feed states of affairs into world A in a manner similar to that of explicit performatives.

(16) Var hälsad! (Swedish)
be.IMP greeted
'Greetings!' (lit.) 'Be greeted!'

(17) Let the value of P be 10. Half of P is 5.

(18) Many animals have distinctive features. Take the elephant as an example. It has a long trunk.

The specified SoAs are automatically evaluated as true for the purposes of the following discourse, without any need for addressee cooperation. The world gap can thus be considered to be instantly resolved; their effects are analogous to those of the declarative-based declarations *You are hereby greeted (by me)*, *The value of P is hereby 10*, and *Our topic is hereby the elephant*. Interpreting the "expository directive" in (18) as an actual directive (such as by answering ?*Please sir, I don't want to take the elephant as an example*) would be very strange. The usages do not fulfill the essential condition of Searlean directives, since they are not *attempts* at getting the addressee to change the world. They are, rather, world-changers in and of themselves.

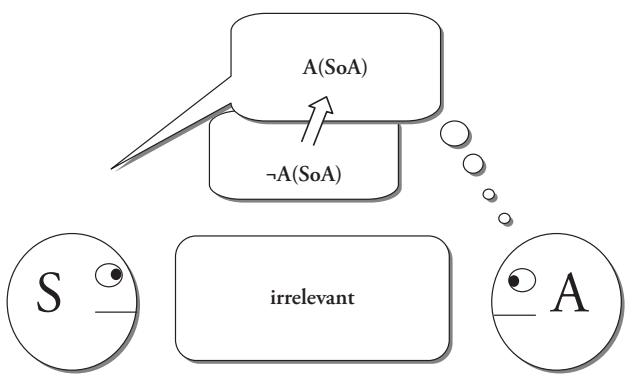


Figure 3-5.
Self-resolving specification

Davies (1986:58) states that in the case of supernaturally employed imperatives (as in faith-healing: *Be healed*) it is assumed that "[the] utterance of a presentation is sufficient to bring about the possibility presented". This, I contend, is roughly what happens in self-resolving specifications, although I do not consider that which is being presented to be on the level of a possibility. Searle (1979:18) claims that while declarations generally depend on extralinguistic institutions and the roles of speaker and addressee within them, two exceptions are the realm of the supernatural ("When, e.g., God says 'Let there be light' that is a declaration") and declarations of a linguistic nature ( "I define, abbreviate, name, call, or dub").

Within the domain of the lecture, the lecturer has the authority to change the topic of the discourse. Within the domain of a math problem, the writer of a textbook has the power to assign values to variables. I will here suggest that the power of imperative utterances to function as declarations is governed by the domain-specific authority of the speaker, as well as the nature of the domain (although the formulaic nature of usages such as *Take* [...] *as an example* should also be noted). Within domains sufficiently remote from the "actual" world, such as the discourse structure of a lecture and the realm of social convention, imperatives can at times have the power to change the way things are without the addressee's assistance. The division between greeted and ungreeted individuals is not salient in the world of perception (although the transition can be physically represented by way of a handshake, presenting someone with a *lei*, etc.), but on the level of social convention, it very well may be. If the speaker has the authority to issue a greeting, the act of assigning someone the status of "greeted (by Speaker)" within world A can (in archaizing Swedish, at least) be performed in full by means of the imperative.

We now turn to scenarios in which the speaker specifies a state of affairs in the knowledge that the addressee cannot or will not volitionally realize it. Usages of this type can be said to primarily have expressive rather than directive functionality. They include wishes or audience-less directives (*Moon, do not shine! Stupid computer*, *don't crash!*), good wishes (*Get well soon! Have a nice day!*) and imprecations or curses: (*Go to hell! Die!*). In the case of human addressees, most of these usages can be analyzed as specifications in which no obvious path to changing world B is evident, as represented in Figure 3-6. This can occur when, for instance, the specified state of affairs is perceived as beyond the control of the addressee. Other than the conventional usages listed above, Figure 3-6 also captures various infelicitous usages of the imperative, such as ??*Please fossilize a bit*.

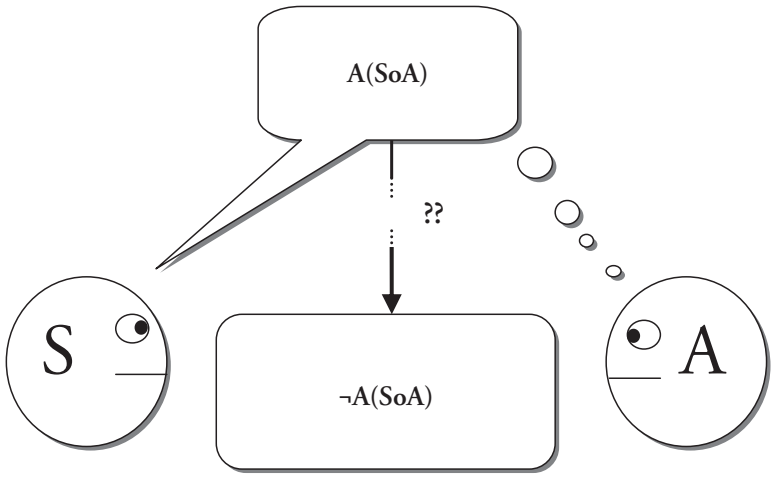


Figure 3-6.
No obvious path to world B

Jary and Kissine (2014:173) make reference to the hypothesis that imperative-based wishes are purposely unsuccessful directives in which the speaker's sincerity condition of desire is foregrounded: "whenever a directive speech act is blatantly infelicitous but not insincere, the addressee opts for the weaker meaning, namely that [it] constitutes a mere expression of a desire or of a wish". In their terminological-typological article they associate good wishes with the potentiality of the imperative, stating that "because the felicity of good wishes relies on potentiality just as much as the felicity of directives, imperatives are ideal candidates for this function, as long as they can be relieved of the agency constraint" (2016:144).

I will argue that neither potentiality nor desire need be posited as the primary mechanism underlying these functionalities. In the present proposal, good wishes such as *Have a nice day* achieve their effect by counting, for conventional purposes, as the speaker's attempt to change the world in such a way that the addressee has a nice day. This is achieved through the speaker's inputting a state of affairs the propositional equivalent of which can be paraphrased as "[Addressee] has a nice day" into the addressee's world A. Note that the speaker cannot be held accountable by the addressee in the event that their specification fails to live up to subsequent developments in world B (unlike someone who utters *You will henceforth have a nice day*). Similarly, specifying a world for someone in which they are dead (although they are currently alive) counts as imprecating or cursing them, and specifying a world for someone in which they get well soon may count as attempting, through the power of words alone, to speed their recovery. Potentiality and desire thus constitute part of the speaker's inferred rationale for specifying that such SoAs apply.

Past-oriented usages, such as the examples from Japanese and Dutch discussed in 2.2, can be described as the purposeful violation of (condition: non-retroactive) in order to set an impossible task, thus guaranteeing world-matching failure on the part of the addressee. The effect of the retroactive and thus self-defeating specification is to place the addressee in a cooperatively suboptimal situation without any hope of resolving it. This might account for cross-linguistic attestations of past-oriented imperatives that express reproach, thus rendering problematic the position of the addressee.[34]

There are also scenarios that appear to be the inverse of wishes in that, while a state of affairs is volitionally realizable, speaker desire is absent. Examples include expressions of defiance, threats and dares (*Mock me all you like! Just you try!*). These "rhetorical" usages can here be treated as specifications that aim to inferentially demonstrate that A's actions have or will have no negative effect on S and/or that S in fact desires further confrontation (likely due to S's belief that things will then turn out badly for A). Jary and Kissine (2014:60) are of the opinion that, to the extent that they can be analyzed as non-literal directive speech acts, threats and dares "should arguably not be given much weight in the examination of imperative semantics".

We now reach what are among the most non-prototypical usages of the imperative: conditional and concessive functionalities.

(19) Stand on your head and I will give you ten dollars.

(20) Take one step closer and I'll do you in.

(21) Eat a hamburger at that restaurant and you'll be sick for days.

While the theoretical literature has focused on English, conditional-like uses of imperatives for functions like promises, warnings and threats are also seen in other languages (see Jary and Kissine 2014:111-112 for examples). Restrictions in terms of agentivity, subject properties and tense that typically apply to imperatives need not always hold in the case of conditional and concessive usages, as the following examples demonstrate. (25) and (26) illustrate Japanese conditional and concessive imperatives, respectively.

(22) Be ten foot tall and you'll end up in the Guinness Book of Records.

(23) Get themselves organised and they'll soon start making a profit. (Davies 1986:165)

(24) Make any trouble and you got the sack. (Davies 1986:165)

[34] An apparent English language example is found in the webcomic *Achewood* (uploaded 2016-05-06, accessed 2016-05-14): *What in hell is the matter with you, man?! Never have said this stuff!*

(25) Moshi sore ga mitsukat-te mi-ro, 1PL wa oshimai da.
if that NOM be.found-GER see-IMP we TOP end COP.NPST
'If that is found [by them], that will be the end of us.'
(Shinzato 2004:2, my glossing)

(26) Dansei de.ar-e, josei de.ar-e, ningen to.shite no kenri wa
male be-IMP female be-IMP human as GEN rights TOP
onaji hazu da.
same ASSUM COP.NPST
'Whether one is a man or a woman, one's rights as a human being should be the same.' (Makino and Tsutsui 2008:70, my glossing)

Conditional usages have been a major source of interest in the discussion of imperatives from a semantics-pragmatics perspective. See Takahashi (2012:137-171) for a discussion centering on cognitive and relevance theoretic approaches. Jary and Kissine (2014:110-161) provide an overview from the perspective of the significance of conditional imperatives for a theory of non-directive imperative semantics. The final authors state that the potentiality of imperatives can be argued to facilitate their occurrence in conditionals.

> [...] on the view of radical semantic underdetermination held by Relevance Theorists and others (e.g. Carston 2002; Recanati 2004), it would be reasonable to argue that a form specified for describing potential states of affairs could be coerced into expressing the antecedent of a conditional through conjunction with a declarative that expresses a consequence of that potential state of affairs being made true. (Jary and Kissine 2014:288)

I will not provide a detailed analysis of conditional imperatives. This is partially due to the complexity of the topic, and partially due to the fact that discussion tends to center on the intricacies of a specific set of constructions in English (see Davies 1986:161-228 for a description). The Japanese equivalent, exemplified in (25) above, is morphosyntactically different (the syntactic relationship between antecedent and consequent is, for instance, looser than in English) and appears to be comparatively infrequent. A brief discussion is found in chapter 8.

That being said, due to its prominence in the literature, the phenomenon should be addressed. In the case of conditional usages, the imperative can be used to specify that states of affairs (which may or may not involve the addressee) hold in a joint representation of reality without being committed to their actuality, nor necessarily imposing the necessity to realize them. We will here concern ourselves with hypothetical conditionals as distinct from e.g. promises. In a fashion similar to that of the self-resolving usages discussed earlier, the speaker has authority over a (non-actual) domain of content, so that he or she can present a state of affairs as holding true for the purposes of the following contribution. A paraphrase of *Eat five hamburgers and*

*you'll have a stomachache* would thus be: "For the purposes of the following statement it hereby counts as if you eat five hamburgers. [Addressee eats five hypothetical hamburgers] You'll have a stomachache".

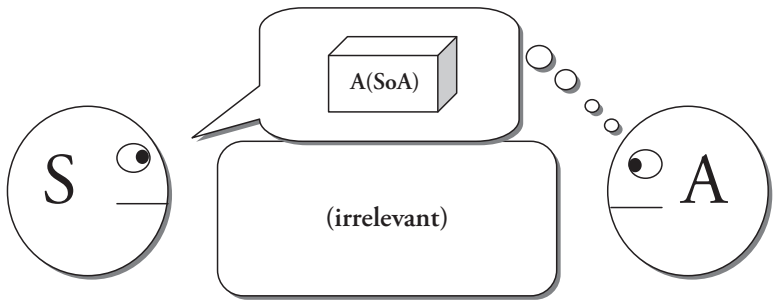


Figure 3-7.
Specification within a hypothetical domain

Note that the subsequent contribution need not be restricted to declarative clauses: *Eat twenty hamburgers and say goodbye to your waistline*. A full analysis of how the specificatory functionality is constrained (so that the addressee is not understood as having eaten five or twenty hamburgers for the remainder of the discourse) will not be attempted here. The effect likely relates partially to awareness of the hypothetical orientation of the discourse segment, as well as to the fact that, since the content of the following clause assumes that the specification is realized, the speaker has effectively resolved the gap between specification and (hypothetical) realization him/herself. In the case of promises (*Stand on your head and I will give you ten dollars*), the initial specification does not target a hypothetical domain, and the following statement describes the consequences of realization without counting as such. A treatment of Japanese concessive imperatives from a specificatory perspective is provided in chapter 8.

## 3.6 Other directive strategies

It has here been argued that imperatives function as directives by way of 'world gaps', but what about other strategies? Much can be said about the functionality of e.g. explicit performatives as contrasted with imperatives, but I will here restrict myself to commenting on two particular phenomena.

While definitions vary, the general sense of the concept 'irrealis' is that of representing a state of affairs as distinct from actuality. It is tempting to argue that irrealis constructions are often used directively (see Aikhenvald 2010:143, Mauri and Sansò 2011:3515, Jary and Kissine 2014:48-50) because they can create world gaps in

a manner similar to imperatives. The distinction between irrealis constructions and imperatives might then be hypothesized to derive from an element or elements particular to imperatives, such as addressee-orientedness. However, things are not so simple. In their survey of the relationship between realis/irrealis and directivity, Mauri and Sansò (2012:147) state that "[i]n languages in which there is an opposition between realis and irrealis markers, [imperatives] happen to be encoded by irrealis markers, by realis markers, by both, or they may be neutral with respect to this distinction". As for how (ir)realis forms come to be used directively, they make the following conclusion:

> [...] the extension of a source construction to the coding of directive situations is not motivated by the logical irreality shared by the source and the target function, but is based on more local semantic similarities between the source and the target construction that are independent of the notion of (un)actualized state of affairs as such. (2012:147)

Van der Auwera and Devos (2012) and Jary and Kissine (2014:48-50, 2016:138) discuss the less-than-clear relationship between imperatives and irrealis, as well as the less-than-clear status of 'irrealis' itself. Ultimately, in view of critiques of the utility of 'realis/irrealis' such as offered by de Haan (2012), one is left with the impression that the relationship between the imperative and irrealis is best addressed at the language-specific level.

Leaving irrealis aside, it is interesting to note that some declarative-based directive strategies (e.g. Japanese directive *–ta*) appear to derive their functionality through presenting a non-realized state of affairs as actual.

(27) Doi-ta, doi-ta!
move.away-PST move.away-PST
'Get out of my way!' (lit.) '[You] got out of [my] way!' (repeated from chapter 2)

In (27), the addressee is represented as having gotten out of the way although he or she has yet to do so. Pressure to comply with the speaker's version of reality (and to do so as quickly as possible) may arise through a cooperative mechanism similar to that posited here for imperatives.

## 3.7 Towards a world gap semantics for the imperative

I have argued that imperatives input a state of affairs, which typically centers on the addressee, into a shared representation of the world (thus updating it), without the speaker being held accountable for the fact that this state of affairs does not match the state of the "actual" world B or the previous state of world A. Interactional principles

may put pressure on the addressee to make the realm of actuality conform to the imperative content, although is not always what happens.

At its core, this proposal is an attempt to articulate an intuition about imperatives that, while simple, is relatively abstract. The content contributed by imperatives attains its power by counting as "the case" in a manner not entirely different from that of declarative content. However, imperative-contributed content counts as being "the case" in a distinct, less concrete manner. This relates to what can be termed the "vertical" partitioning of a (non-theory specific) common ground – or, more broadly, a representation of the world – into more real and less real domains. The partitioning is vertical in terms of analogy with the atmosphere, with reality being "denser" at the lower level of world B. For illustrative purposes, this conception can be contrasted with a simplistic rendition of split representationalism (see 2.1), which we can here call "horizontal". In a horizontal approach, declaratives prototypically convey facts and imperatives convey distinct objects (here termed 'obligations') that go into a separate compartment.

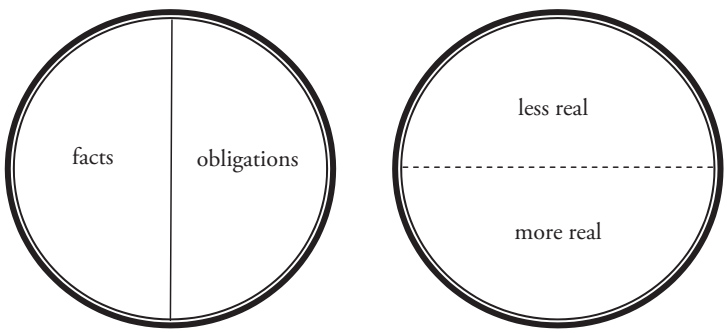


Figure 3-8.
Horizontal versus vertical partitioning

It is my hope that the idea of a vertical partitioning represents an innovation that might inspire future treatments of the imperative.

As noted by Jary and Kissine (2014:258), some semantic models for imperatives "offer accounts of the imperative that are elements of ambitious theories of linguistic communication". Although the present model carries with it some assumptions, it is not part of any such approach. While independent of larger enterprises, it is inspired by proposals within formal semantics but expressed in terms that also hark back to cognitive semantics and traditional speech act theory.

On the negative side, the current approach begs many questions as to the exact nature and psychological plausibility of worlds A and B, as well as to their relation to linguistic functionality beyond the imperative. Moreover, as presented here it does not address various aspects of imperatives (such as conditional, discourse-related and

logical phenomena) on the level of detail expected of a treatment within contemporary semantic theory. Finally, the following comment by Van Olmen (2014:868), originally used with reference to Takahashi's (2012) proposal, may apply: "[The proposed semantics] may run into the same problem as anti-force accounts and monosemist approaches in general (e.g., Davies 1986) in being too broad to fit *only* all of its instances". It is likely, however, that the addition of cross-linguistically variable constraints to a specificatory core can mitigate this problem.

# 4. Summary

In this chapter reference was made to various treatments of imperative semantics, concluding with a discussion of Jary and Kissine's potentiality-based approach. While I am in line with the position that the non-assertory nature of imperatives underlies their functionality, evidence indicates that a semantically encoded restriction to potentiality may not be shared across all languages. This observation could serve as an empirical constraint on proposals of universal semantic properties for the imperative. A solution might be to treat the potentiality constraint as – at least in languages in which the imperative can accommodate non-potential content – a convention that can be contextually suspended.

Beyond discussing previous proposals, I have here attempted my own take on the imperative. The non-modal, non-directive approach, one variant of which is the world gap model presented here, constitutes an intuitively appealing way of handling imperative semantics. While in its present form the world gap model leaves many questions unanswered, the ideas presented here might be further refined, and can perhaps inspire future researchers.

The remainder of the thesis assumes a non-modal, non-directive semantics for imperatives. My analysis of Japanese does not, however, hinge on the specificatory model presented here. Japanese directive strategies will at times be viewed from a world gap perspective, but an alternative account in terms of potentiality-based imperative functionality will also receive attention. We now delve into the world of Japanese imperatives.

*Chapter 4.*

# Imperatives and other directive strategies in Japanese

## 1. Introduction

The terminological and theoretical tools presented in the introductory chapters are now applied to the description and analysis of imperative constructions in a specific language. We begin by acquainting ourselves with the object of study. This chapter provides an introduction to imperatives and other directive strategies in Modern Standard Japanese. We will first discuss properties of the Japanese language that are relevant to understanding its directive system in general. The four imperative-based directive strategies that constitute the main topic of investigation are then described. The chapter concludes with an introduction to imperatives in reported discourse, and a brief overview of non-imperative directive strategies.

## 2. General properties

### 2.1 Introduction

This section introduces a set of grammatical categories that can be seen as the building blocks of different constructions within imperative clause type in Japanese. We will also discuss features of the language that are relevant to the expression of directivity in general.

Japanese is an accusative-nominative, pro-drop language with SOV constituent order. The syntax is robustly head-final, and the roles of different arguments are typically indicated by means of postpositional particles. A notable feature, shared with its geographical neighbor and suspected relative Korean, is the grammaticalization of social deixis. One example is the addressee honorific auxiliary *–mas*(*u*) (stem: *–mas–*),

which indicates a degree of politeness or social distance between speaker and addressee.

(1) Taroo wa Hanako ni ringo o age-mashi-ta.
Taroo TOP Hanako DAT apple OBJ give-POL-PST
'Taroo gave an apple to Hanako.'

Particularly relevant to the discussion of directive strategies is the verbal morphology, which is suffixing with agglutinative tendencies. Two main conjugational classes are found in Modern Japanese: vowel stem (also called *–ru* verbs due to the form of the nonpast inflectional ending) and consonant stem or *–u* verbs. Inflected examples of *tabe-* 'eat' and *nom-* 'drink' are shown below.

(2) Tabe-ru. / Tabe-ta. / Tabe-na-i.
eat-NPST eat-PST eat-NEG-NPST
'[I will] eat / ate / [will] not eat.'

(2b) Nom-u. / Non-da. / Noma-na-i.
drink-NPST drink-PST drink-NEG-NPST
'[I will] drink / drank / [will] not drink.'

When citing verbs, the nonpast or 'dictionary form' (e.g. *taberu*) will henceforth be used.

## 2.2 Honorification and benefactivity

In Japanese, the domain of honorification can be broadly divided into exalting and humble language. Our focus will be on exalting rather than humble language (the latter being means of downplaying the relative status of a referent, typically the speaker), as the former category is more relevant to imperatives. Exalting language can in turn be divided into referent and addressee honorifics. Referent honorification expresses respect (whether heartfelt or conventionally mandated) towards one or several referents within a linguistic message. Addressee honorification expresses politeness or social distance towards the recipient of the message: the addressee.

In contemporary Japanese, the two principal means of addressee honorification are the abovementioned *–mas*(*u*) and *desu*, the polite form of the copula *da*.

(3) Hon da.
book COP.NPST
'It is a book.'

(3b) Hon desu.
book COP.POL
'It is a book.' (Deference towards the addressee of 3b)

(4) Otoko no hito ga i-ru.
male GEN person NOM be-NPST
'There is a man here.'

(4b) Otoko no hito ga i-mas-u.
male GEN person NOM be-POL-NPST
'There is a man here.' (Deference towards the addressee of 4b)

Lexical substitution is an important means of referent honorification, with honorific predicates replacing non-honorific vocabulary. Examples include *irassharu* for *iru* 'be, exist', *kuru* 'come' and *iku* 'go', *ossharu* for *iu* 'say, speak', *nasaru* for *suru* 'do', and *kudasaru* for *kureru* 'give (towards) me'.

(5) Sensei ga irasshar-u.
teacher NOM be.HON-NPST
'The teacher is here.' (Deference towards the referent of *sensei*)

(5b) Sensei ga irasshai-mas-u.
teacher NOM be.HON-POL-NPST
'The teacher is here.' (Deference towards the referent of *sensei* as well as towards the addressee of 5b)

Although referent and addressee honorification are distinct dimensions, they frequently overlap in discourse. To give an example, (5c) can be used to remind one's teacher that he or she was present at some event.

(5c) Sensei mo irasshai-mashi-ta yo.
teacher FOC be.HON-POL-PST FP
'You were there too.' (lit.) 'Teacher, too, was [there].'

The teacher thus becomes the target of referent as well as addressee honorification. See Hasegawa (2014:255-281) for a comprehensive introduction to Japanese honorification and politeness phenomena.

While addressee honorifics generally do not embed in contemporary Japanese, embedding is possible for referent honorifics. This is relevant for our later discussion of the embedding of imperatives that incorporate honorification.

(6) *Koko ni i-mas-u hito [...]
here DAT be-POL-NPST person
(intended to mean) 'The people who are here'

(7) Koko ni irasshar-u o-kata [...]
here DAT be.HON-NPST HON-person.HON
'The people who are here'

A further way in which Japanese makes explicit interpersonal relations in discourse is by encoding benefactivity. This function is mainly performed by a set of verbs of

giving and receiving, here exemplified by *morau* 'recieve', *kureru* 'give (towards) me', and *ageru* 'give (away from me)'.

(8) Hanako ni hon o morat-ta.
Hanako DAT book OBJ receive-PST
'I got a book from Hanako.'

(8b) Hanako ga hon o kure-ta.
Hanako NOM book OBJ give.me-PST
'Hanako gave me a book.'

(8c) Hanako ni hon o age-ta.
Hanako DAT book OBJ give-PST
'I gave a book to Hanako.'

When used as auxiliary verbs, *morau* and *kureru* characterize a state of affairs in terms of benefit "moving towards" the speaker (ingroup), whereas *ageru* typically portrays benefit as "moving away" from the speaker (ingroup).

(9) Mado o ake-te morat-ta.
window OBJ open-GER recieve-PST
'I received the favor of having the window opened for me.'

(9b) Mai-nichi mado o ake-te kure-ru.
every-day window OBJ open-GER give.me-NPST
'(S)he opens the window for me every day.'

(9c) Mado o ake-te age-ta.
window OBJ open-GER give-PST
'I opened the window for him/her.'

Verbs of giving and receiving have honorific counterparts, such as referent-exalting *kudasaru*, which replaces *kureru*, and subject-humbling *itadaku*, which replaces *morau*.

(9d) Mado o ake-te kudasat-ta.
window OBJ open-GER give.HON-PST
'(S)he [towards whom I am expressing respect] opened the window for me.'

(9e) Mado o ake-te itadai-ta.
window OBJ open-GER receive.HUM-PST
'I [who am humbling myself] received the favor of having the window opened for me.'

As with honorification (with which it overlaps), the expression of benefactivity is complex. See Hasegawa (2014:164-174) for a general description.

## 2.3 Illocutionary modification

A speaker of Japanese can constrain the interpretation of a directive utterance by collocational means in the vein of, for instance, English *please.* In Japanese, sentence-final particles make non-propositional contributions to the content of a sentence. Their use relates to factors such as the management of illocutionary force (see Larm 2006 and Narrog 2009). Narrog in particular provides a discussion of 'illocutionary modulation' by way of sentence-final particles (2009:159). In the case of imperatives, the particles most commonly encountered are *yo*, *ne*, and the compound *yo ne*.

(10) Mado o ake-ro yo!
window OBJ open-IMP FP
'Open the window!'

(11) Chanto tabe-nasa-i ne / yo / yo ne!
properly eat.INF-do.HON-IMP FP/ FP/ FP FP
'Eat properly!'

Although their meanings are difficult to pin down, both *yo* and *ne* can generally be said to mitigate the degree of directive force of an utterance. Their functionality and the restrictions on their use are discussed in chapter 7. I will use 'collocational modification' and 'illocutionary modification' as synonymous terms for the function of sentence-final particles in directive utterances. As used in the present thesis, these terms also encompass the functionality of a group of adverbs, many of which have been described as modal, that collocate with directive strategies. As an example, *doo ka*, which is roughly comparable with English *please*, typically signals that an utterance functions as a request or a plea.

(12) Doo.ka mado o ake-te kudasa-i!
please window OBJ open-GER give.me.HON-IMP
'Please open the window!'

See Narrog (2009:76) for a listing of modal adverbs. As with sentence final particles, adverbial collocations are discussed further in chapter 7.

Prosody serves as another important means of facilitating or constraining interpretation. There are some references to intonation in Japanese imperatives and directives in the general linguistic literature (e.g. Alpatov 2001:122-123, Aikhenvald 2010:90, 2010:193, Jary and Kissine 2014:47) as well as studies that touch on the topic of intonation and Japanese imperatives/directives (some examples being Abe 1966, Inoue 1993, and Moriyama 1999). However, based on perusal of the literature and contact with scholars, my impression is that no detailed treatments of the interaction between the directive functional domain and the prosodic dimension of language exist for Japanese. Murakami (1993:114, my translation) states that "Many things are still not known about the intonation of imperative sentences (*meireibun*) [...]". As far as I can determine, this may still be the case. While Murakami

(1993:114) states that the interaction between the particle *yo*, the imperative, and intonation is especially poorly understood, this now appears to be the area for which the most detailed treatments are available (Inoue 1993, Moriyama 1999, Adachi 2002:54-57, Davis 2011:147-180). The phenomenon is discussed in chapter 7. Apart from the apparent dearth of literature, another issue is the difficulty of collecting recordings of Japanese imperatives in authentic discourse (on which see chapter 6). As a consequence, very little will be said about prosodic matters here.

### 2.4 Sociolinguistic aspects

Finally, different directive strategies have their own sociopragmatic connotations and usage restrictions in terms of appropriateness. These will be explored in some detail in the case of the four main imperative-based strategies under study. Failure to use strategies that incorporate honorification and benefactivity when appropriate carries with it interactional consequences. In certain contexts, even "polite" imperative-based strategies may be inappropriate. There are also gender differences; as an example, the use of the naked imperative (described in 3.2. below) is often described as being restricted to men. As a general rule it is normative for male speakers to use more direct modes of expression than female speakers. However, such expectations, as with all gender distinctions in Japanese language usage, do not align perfectly with reality. See Okada (2008) on the use of the naked imperative by a female boxing coach and Saito (2009, 2011), who provides examples of the non-stereotypical use of directive strategies by male superiors in a working environment.

## 3. Imperative-based directive strategies

### 3.1 Introduction

The members of the first category of strategies to be discussed all derive from imperative clause type as encoded by the verbal suffix *–e* (*ro*). The focus of the present discussion lies on their formal properties, although their functional characteristics will also be touched upon. Many of the statements made about the naked imperative apply to other imperative variants as well (see Murakami 1993:103-104 on the general similarity between the properties of the naked imperative and those of *–nasai*). The naked imperative will therefore receive the most detailed description. Due to issues of space, the present thesis does not deal with negative directive strategies. However, in the interest of descriptive completeness, examples of negative imperatives are provided in 3.7.

## 3.2 The naked imperative

The linguistic entity instantiated by (13) can be discussed on several different levels.

(13) Mado o ake-ro!
window OBJ open-IMP
'Open the window!'

1. Imperative clause type. Can be contrasted with the other two basic clause types: declarative (*Mado o akeru*: window OBJ open-NPST) and interrogative (*Mado o akeru?*).
2. A formative with the two main allomorphs *–e* and *–ro*. The inflectional suffix *–e* (*ro*) attaches to the verbal root or to complex stems consisting of the root and one or several derivational or auxiliary morphemes.[35] It exists alongside other morphological formatives, such as the hortative formative –(y)*oo* and the nonpast formative –(*r*)*u*.
3. A basic form (e.g. *akero*) within the inflectional paradigm of the Japanese verb. The main identifying feature of imperative clause type in the clauses in which it occurs. It is paradigmatically opposed to e.g. hortative *akeyoo* (open-HORT) and declarative nonpast *akeru* (open-NPST).
4. When the basic imperative form (e.g. *akero*) occurs in discourse, it typically functions as a strategy within the functional paradigm of directive strategies (i.e. the directive system). It exists alongside many different conventional linguistic means of expressing directivity: other imperative-based directive strategies (e.g. *–te kure, –te kudasai*), as well as non-imperative directive strategies (e.g. *–ta hoo ga ii*, *–te kuremasen ka*).

We will use 'naked imperative' as our main term for verb forms that result when *–e* (*ro*) is suffixed to a verb stem without the addition of honorific or benefactive material. This term is primarily used to refer to this basic imperative verb form in its functional role as a directive strategy; i.e. to level 4 as presented above. However, this general characterization of the naked imperative is not without its caveats. It can be regarded as a prototype, with matrix clause usages of e.g. *akero* (open-IMP), and *tabero* (eat-IMP) as quintessential examples, rather than a definition. One issue arises

[35] Segmentally transparent combination with complex stems was more conspicuous in pre-contemporary Japanese. Imperative morphology then combined with honorific marking as in *ake-nasar-e* (open.INF-do.HON-IMP) and *ake-mas-e* (open.INF-POL-IMP). In contemporary Japanese, the imperative forms of honorific verbs and auxiliaries are typically phonologically reduced. The question of whether they should be analyzed as still instantiating the *–e* (*ro*) morpheme is discussed in chapters 7 and 8. However, the basic imperative formative still combines with complex stems in some contexts (e.g. *ake-sase-ro*: open-CAUS-IMP).

when considering whether the imperative inflections of lexically specified honorific and/or benefactive verbs: *nasai* (do.HON-IMP), *irasshai* (come/go/be.HON-IMP) *osshai* (say.HON-IMP), *kudasai* (give.me.HON-IMP), and *kure* (give.me.IMP) should be treated as "naked". While they constitute the basic imperative forms of the respective verbs, they are "non-naked" in the sense that they do incorporate honorification and/or benefactivity.[36] Because they form a closed class that does not sort under any of the other strategy types established here, they are introduced here along with the naked imperative proper. The imperative inflections of non-honorific benefactive verbs of giving and receiving: *morau* (*morae*), *ageru*, (*agero*) and *yaru* 'give' (*yare*), both as main verbs and as auxiliary verbs, are easier to include as "naked", as they are in line with the sociolinguistic characteristics of the naked imperative in general and, unlike *nasai*, *kure* and *kudasai*, lack a formal connection to other imperative-based directive strategies.

A second issue is whether basic imperative verb forms that deviate to various degrees from sentence-final position and directive function – concessive (14), conditional (15), and indirect reported imperatives (16) – should be considered members of the naked imperative.

(14) Futsuu no ningen wa, ishikiteki ni se-yo muishikiteki ni
normal COP.ADN human TOP conscious DAT do-IMP unconscious DAT
se-yo, fukai na koto o sake-yoo to su-ru.
do-IMP unpleasant COP.ADN thing OBJ avoid-HORT COMP do-NPST
'Whether they do it consciously or unconsciously, ordinary people try to avoid unpleasant things.' (Makino and Tsutsui 2008:420, my glossing)

(15) Moshi sore o yon-de mi-ro, omae to wa zekkoo
if that OBJ read-GER see-IMP 2SG with TOP end.of.relationship
da.
COP.NPST
'If you try to read it, I will [end my] relationship with you'.
(Shinzato 2004:2, my glossing)

(16) Michiko wa Jiroo ni Oosaka e ik-e to it-ta.
Michiko TOP Jiroo DAT Osaka to go-IMP COMP say-PST
'Michiko told Jiroo to go to Osaka.'

The same question applies to lexicalized, non-productive usages (e.g. *ganbare*: be.tenacious-IMP 'hang in there'). As a general rule, I consider less than productive usages to be part of the naked imperative if their formal features match its profile.

[36] A second issue is whether they compositionally incorporate the *–e* (*ro*) morpheme on a diachronic level, as discussed in chapter 8.

Concessive, conditional, and indirect imperatives are, strictly speaking, distinct from my conception of the naked imperative, although they will occasionally be lumped together with it, as in the corpus study presented in chapter 6. A final issue concerns the imperative inflections of adjectives (seen in fixed expressions such as *osokare hayakare*: soon-IMP late-IMP 'sooner or later'). They will not be considered members of the naked imperative.

### *3.2.1 Morphological properties*

The imperative marker *–e* (*ro*) is an inflectional suffix which attaches to the verbal root (or stem). The suffix exhibits allomorphic variation. In Modern Standard Japanese it is realized as *–e* in consonant stem verbs and as *–ro* in vowel stem verbs.

(17) Tabe-ro!
eat-IMP
'Eat!'

(18) Nom-e!
drink-IMP
'Drink!'

In the case of vowel stem verbs, the alternative form *–yo* is also found. In the contemporary language it is most often encountered in the formal written register.

(19) Tabe-yo!
eat-IMP
'Eat!'

A relatively small set of verbs have irregular imperative inflections, most of which incorporate a fourth allomorph, *–i*. The most common are *suru* 'do' (*shiro* / *seyo*) and *kuru* 'come' (*koi* / *koyo*). In the imperative, the two pattern similarly but not identically to vowel stem verbs. A fuller listing comprises of the honorific verbs *irassharu* (*irasshai*), *ossharu* (*osshai*), and *nasaru* (*nasai*), the benefactive verbs *kureru* (*kure*) and *kudasaru* (*kudasai*), as well as *keru* (stem: *ker-*) 'kick', which becomes *kero* instead of the expected **kere* (Martin 1988:960).[37] For information on the accentual properties of the basic morphological imperative verb form, see Martin (1988:959-960).

### *3.2.2 Syntactic properties*

The English imperative is formally individuated mainly through syntactic properties such as subject drop and a distinctive pattern of *do*-support (see Aikhenvald 2010:66-67 and De Clerck 2006:16-36). By contrast, in Japanese the main distinctive feature is the morphological form of the verb.

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[37] Shinichiro Ishihara (personal communication) finds both *kero* and *kere* acceptable.

(20) Tabe-ru / Tabe-ro!
eat-NPST / eat-IMP
'(He) eats.' / 'Eat!'

Distinctive syntactic behavior is also present, such as a lack of tense distinctions, a typical (but not universal) feature of imperatives. Distributional restrictions on morphological imperative verb forms include the inability to occur in basic relative clauses in the manner of declaratives, as well as the inability to occur directly in interrogative clauses outside of a metalinguistic context (at least in Standard Japanese: see chapter 8 for discussion of a possible counterexample).

(21) Tabe-ru hito
eat-NPST person
'A person who eats'

(21b) *Tabe-ro hito
eat-IMP person
(lit.) 'A person who eat-IMP'

(22) *Tabe-ro ka.
eat-IMP QP
(lit.) 'Eat-IMP?'

A trait often found in (second-person) imperatives is the absence of overt subjects (Aikhenvald 2010:92). This characteristic, while present in Japanese imperatives, is not as distinctive as in a non-pro drop language such as English or Swedish. Nonetheless, it does appear that overt subjects of Japanese imperatives are marked in comparison with declarative subjects. Murakami (1993:77-78) states that the occurrence of overt subjects in imperative sentences is limited to situations in which there is a need to explicitly designate the agent of an action.

(23) Ore ga i-u kara, omae ga kak-e.
1SG NOM speak-NPST because 2SG NOM write-IMP
'I'll talk, so you write.' (Murakami 1993:76, my glossing and translation)

This is not dissimilar to Davies's (1986:145) characterization of the English imperative subject: "An overt subject will be required only where it provides some information which is not conveyed by the corresponding subjectless imperative". As for other ways of indicating the target of the utterance, specific as well as (under some circumstances) non-specific addressees can be designated through vocative phrases.

(24) Taroo / dare.ka, mado o ake-ro!
Taroo / someone window OBJ open-IMP
'Taroo / someone, open the window!'

*Wa*-marked (topicalized) agents and objects as well as *ga*-marked imperative subjects also appear.

(25) Omae wa / ga mado o ake-ro.
2SG TOP / NOM window OBJ open-IMP
'You open the window!'

(26) Gomi wa chanto sute-ro.
garbage TOP properly throw.away-IMP
'Dispose of garbage properly.'

This includes agents that are unlikely to occur as imperative subjects in English:

(27) Gendaijin wa taue o se-yo![38]
modern.person TOP rice.planting OBJ do-IMP
(lit.) 'Modern people plant-IMP rice!'

Agents and objects can also be marked by the focal particle *mo*.

(28) Omae mo nom-e.
2SG FOC drink-IMP
'You drink, too.'

Finally, ostensibly third-person subjects and topicalized agents occasionally occur.

(29) Taroo ga ik-e.
Taroo NOM go-IMP
'Taroo go.'

(30) Monku ga ar-u yatsu wa de-te ik-e!
complaint NOM be-NPST person TOP go.out-GER go-IMP
'Anyone who has a problem with that can get lost!' (lit.) 'As for person(s) who has/have complaint(s), get lost!'

Informants tend to accept (29) only under the condition that Taroo is present at utterance time, such as being singled out from among a group of addressees. More interesting deviations from the second-person orientation of *–e* (*ro*)-based imperatives are discussed in chapter 7.

On the topic of scopal properties in imperatives, multiple imperative clauses are in Swedish necessary in compound sentences such as (31).

(31) Åk och köp lite mat.
go.IMP and buy.IMP some food
'Go and buy some food.'

By contrast, Martin (1988:962) notes that in Japanese, "[t]he domain of an imperative may include sentences conjoined by the gerund or the infinitive". He provides the following example (my glossing):

[38] http://ytrsdijun/archives/2605, retrieved 2016-04-17.

(32) Uchi e kaet-te gohan o tabe-ro.
home to return-GER food OBJ eat-IMP
'Go home and eat / Eat after you get home.' (Martin 1988:962)

The question of whether the syntactic status of imperative clauses in sentences such as (33) constitutes a case of embedding is relevant from a general linguistic perspective, as it has often been argued (by e.g. Platzack and Rosengren 1997) that imperatives do not embed.

(33) Hanako wa Jiroo ni ik-e to it-ta.
Hanako TOP Jiroo DAT go-IMP COMP say-PST
'Hanako told Jiroo to go.'

For an introduction to Japanese imperatives in reported discourse, see 3.7 below. Chapter 7 provides an extensive treatment in which the position is taken that Japanese imperatives can embed.

Nitta (1991b) notes that Japanese imperatives tend to resist passivization. The topic has recently been discussed by Takahashi (2012:208-216). However, this tendency appears to relate to contextual factors involving controllability (see Figure 3-6 in the previous chapter) rather than to any syntactic restriction. As noted by both Nitta and Takahashi, passive imperatives do occasionally occur. One example is the following imprecation:

(34) Inu ni de.mo kuw-are-ro!
dog by or.something eat-PASS-IMP
'[I hope you] get eaten by a dog!'

Claims of lexical restrictions on the formation of imperative verb forms in Japanese have also been made (see Martin 1988:961, Larm 2006:183-185). However, as with passivization, such restrictions appear to be pragmatic (relating mainly to the factor of controllability in the case of non-volitional verbs) rather than formal in nature.

Finally, an interesting collocational property of the naked imperative is that it co-occurs with the particle *yo* but not with *ne*. This is a true formal restriction, and is discussed further in chapter 7.

(35) Mado o ake-ro yo /*ne.
window OBJ open-IMP FP / FP
'Open the window.'

### *3.2.3 Usage properties*

Although Wierzbicka (2003:36) characterizes the use of the bare imperative in English as "more offensive than swearing", large-scale surveys (such as by De Clerck 2006 and Van Olmen 2011) show that this is far from always the case. Takahashi (2004:241) notes that "[i]n actuality, the imperative in English is used far more

widely than Wierzbicka seems to assume".[39] However, Wierzbicka (2003:30) also acknowledges that the imperative-avoiding nature of English is relative to (what she considers to be) non-avoiding languages such as Polish. She argues that the use of imperatives in English can in turn be considered liberal when viewed from the perspective of still more restrictive languages such as Japanese (2003:30-31).

It is true that the Japanese naked imperative can be inappropriate in circumstances under which the English bare imperative is inoffensive. As an example, the English imperative can occur in addressee-benefit directives or wishes such as *Have a cookie* and *Take care* without any necessary face threat. An idiomatic translation of the latter parting phrase into Japanese will make use of (among other alternatives) the gerund rather than the morphological imperative form.

(36) Ki o tsuke-te!
spirit OBJ attach-GER
'Take care!'

When represented in isolation on the page, *Ki o tsukero* (spirit OBJ attach-IMP 'Watch out!') is interpreted as a strong directive, such as an urgent warning or an admonition.

To give another example, while in English bare imperatives can be used when giving road directions to strangers (*Go to the main building and then turn right*), the use of the Japanese naked imperative in the same situation might give the feeling that the speaker is giving orders rather than road directions.

Outside of special cases such as reported discourse and stop signs in traffic, the naked imperative connotes bluntness or rudeness. Takahashi (2004:190) states that "There is a general consensus among Japanese linguists that the bare command as in *hayaku s*[*h*]*iro* 'Do it quick' can sound rude and harsh, and Japanese speakers tend to avoid it in everyday conversation". The naked imperative is commonly viewed as inappropriate for use in all but restricted contexts, such as in situations where a speaker is issuing orders from a position of authority (see Murakami 1993:101, Adachi 2002:48).[40] Its face-threateningness can be somewhat reduced by appending *yo*, although this usage is still, broadly speaking, appropriate only in informal contexts in which a male speaker addresses intimates or inferiors.

This, however, does not mean that one never encounters the naked imperative in daily life. While spending a few days walking around Tokyo, the present author heard the naked imperative being used twice, once by a father addressing a son around the age of four: *Miro* (see-IMP 'look') and once by boys playing in the street: *Shine!* (die-IMP 'die').

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[39] See also Takahashi (2012:101-104).

[40] A further common observation is that the use of the naked imperative (and that of *–te kure*) is restricted to men. However, as touched upon in section 2.4, this is not an absolute.

Why does the naked imperative have these sociolinguistic characteristics? The Japanese literature generally offers the explanation that the meaning or function of the naked imperative is *meirei* (translatable as 'order' or 'command'), a directive illocutionary category that involves a lack of possibility of refusal on the part of the addressee. However, within the contexts in which it does occur, the naked imperative is in fact used across an illocutionary range comparable to that of the English imperative, ranging from orders to less prototypically directive usages such as advice, instructions, permissions, wishes, and curses.

(37) Tetsu wa atsu-i uchi ni ut-e.
iron TOP hot-NPST duration DAT strike-IMP
'Strike while the iron is hot.' (proverb, advice)

(38) Kaze yo, fuk-e!
wind FP blow-IMP
'Wind, blow!' (wish)

The empirical viability of the *meirei* approach is examined in chapters 6 and 7.

## 3.3 *–nasai*

### *3.3.1 Formal properties*

From a diachronic perspective *–nasai* constitutes the irregular imperative inflection of the referent honorific auxiliary *–nasar*(*u*).[41] This in turn derives from the corresponding honorific verb, *nasaru* (do.HON 'do').[42] A taxonomic distinction can be made between *–e* (*ro*), which may attach to the verb root, and imperative-based auxiliary constructions such as *–nasai* and *–tamae* (see 3.6), which attach to a stem variously called the infinitive, infinitival form, or, in Japanese, the *ren'yookei* 'adverbial form'. In consonant stem verbs the infinitive ends in *–i*, whereas in vowel stem verbs it is not segmentally distinct from the verbal root.

(39) Mado o ake-nasa-i.
window OBJ open.INF-do.HON-IMP
'Open the window.'

(40) Chanto yom-i-nasa-i.
Properly read-INF-do.HON-IMP
'Read properly.'

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[41] The regular form (*nasar-e*) does not occur in contemporary Standard Japanese. See chapter 8 for discussion.

[42] The synchronic compositionality of *–nasai* is discussed in chapters 7 and 8.

*Nasai* also occurs as the imperative inflection of *nasaru* (do.HON) as an independent verb, as in (41b). While very close to auxiliary *–nasai* in functional terms, it is formally distinct and therefore not treated as part of *–nasai* for the purposes of this thesis.

(41) Soo shi-nasa-i.
so do.INF-do.HON-IMP
'Do it.'

(41b) Soo nasa-i.
so do.HON-IMP
'Do it.'

Unlike the naked imperative, *–nasai* collocates with *ne* as well as with *yo*.

(42) Mado o ake-nasa-i yo / ne / yo ne.
window OBJ open.INF-do.HON-IMP FP / FP / FP FP
'Open the window.'

A variant strategy in which *–nasai* is phonologically reduced to *–na* also occurs. It is touched upon in chapters 8 and 9 from the perspective of grammaticalization.

(43) Motto tabe-na!
more eat-HON.IMP
'Eat more!'

*3.3.2 Usage properties*

Although *–nasai* is typically used by speakers in a position of authority relative to the addressee, it is less harsh in tone than the naked imperative. *–Nasai* is called "the polite imperative" by Larm (2006:189) and a "polite form" by Takahashi (2012:199). This appellation recurs in the indigenous literature; Murakami (1993:103) calls it *teinei* 'polite'. I take the stance that, strictly speaking, speakers, not linguistic constructions are polite (unless 'politeness' is used as a pure synonym for addressee honorification). In Japanese, the use of honorification can be interpreted as impolite (e.g. emotionally cold or mockingly insincere) depending on context. In any event, the "politeness" of *–nasai* is only relative. As with the naked imperative, it is unsuitable for use in many contexts, and falls under the category of directive strategies termed *meirei hyoogen* 'order/command expressions' in the Japanese descriptive tradition. Two prototypical examples of its usage are parents addressing their children and teachers addressing their students (see Adachi 2002:48). *–Nasai* is used by females as well as by males (Murakami 1993:104), and connections are at times drawn between *–nasai* and female speech (e.g. Smith 1992:77-78).

## 3.4 *–te kure*

### *3.4.1 Formal properties*

The gerund or '*–te* form', which incorporates the non-finite verbal suffix *–te*, is one of the most frequently used inflectional forms of Japanese. It has functions such as adverbial subordination:

(44) O-mise ni it-te, tabako o kat-ta.
HON-store to go-GER tobacco OBJ buy-PST
'I went to the store and bought cigarettes.'

and forms part of the *–te iru* progressive construction (*tabe-te i-ru* eat-GER be-NPST 'is eating'). *–Te kure* is an analytic directive strategy consisting of the gerund followed by the irregular imperative form of the benefactive verb of giving, *kureru.*

(45) Mado o ake-te kure.
window OBJ open-GER give.me.IMP
'Open the window.' (lit.) 'Give me [the favor of] opening the window.'

The stacking of *–te* form verbs is also possible, as in the following example involving multiple beneficiaries.

(46) Kai-te yat-te kure.
write-GER give-GER give.me.IMP
'Write it for him/her.' (lit.) 'Give me [the favor of] giving him/her [the favor of] writing.' (Masamune 2000:117, my glossing and translation)

*–Te kure* constitutes the imperative version of the *–te kureru* benefactive construction exemplified by (9b). Segmentally, *kure* is identical to the root (and infinitive) of the verb *kureru*.[43] The regular form *kurero* occurs in dialectal (Martin 1988:960) and pre-modern material (see chapter 8).

Aside from its use as part of the benefactive construction, *kure* can also occur as the imperative form of *kureru* as a main verb.

(47) Mizu o kure.
water OBJ give.me.IMP
'Give me water.'

As in the case of *nasai* and *kudasai* (see 3.5 below), this usage will here be considered distinct from *–te kure* itself. In the corpus survey found in chapter 6, tokens of *kure* that do not follow the gerund are treated as belonging to the naked imperative.

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[43] Shirota (1998:44) presents an analysis in which *kure* derives through the suffixation of *–e* to a truncated root *kur-* that is specific to the imperative, as in *kur-e* (give.me-IMP) vs. *kure-ru* (give.me-NPST).

–*Te kure* can collocate with *yo* but not with *ne* (although the usage has been attested: see chapter 7).

(48) Mado o ake-te kure yo / *ne.
window OBJ open-GER give.me.IMP FP / FP
'Open the window.'

### *3.4.2 Usage properties*

In Japanese indigenous linguistics, –*te kure* is, along with –*te kudasai,* typically described as an *irai hyoogen* 'request expression'. However, it is generally restricted to informal, male speech, and is inappropriate when addressing superiors or elders (see Satoo 1992:153-157). Satoo (1992:157) reports that –*te kure* does not combine with honorific verbs that express respect towards the listener.

(49) *Osshat-te kure.
speak.HON-GER give.me.IMP
'Speak.'

Freedom of refusal on the part of the addressee is typically seen as one of the definitional criteria for the illocutionary category 'request'. As discussed in chapters 6 and 7, –*te kure* is, at least in fiction, frequently used in contexts in which genuine freedom of refusal appears to be absent.

## 3.5 –*te kudasai*

### *3.5.1 Formal properties*

–*Te kudasai* is an analytic directive strategy consisting of the gerund followed by the irregular imperative form of the honorific benefactive verb of giving, *kudasaru.*[44]

(50) Mado o ake-te kudasa-i.
window OBJ open-GER give.me.HON-IMP
'Please open the window.' (lit.) '[You, who are socially superior to me,] give me [the favor of] opening the window.'

The synchronic compositionality of –(*te*) *kudasai* is discussed in chapter 8. As for its syntactic profile, multiple –*te* forms may occur:

(51) Biiru kat-te ki-te kudasa-i.
beer buy-GER come-GER give.me.HON-IMP
'Please go buy some beer.'

[44] The regular form (*kudasar-e*) does not occur in contemporary Standard Japanese. See chapter 8 for discussion.

As in the case of *–nasai*, *–te kudasai* collocates with *yo* as well as with *ne*.

(52) Mado o ake-te kudasa-i yo / ne.
window OBJ open-GER give.me.HON-IMP FP / FP
'Please open the window.'

*Kudasai* occurs independently as the imperative form of the verb *kudasaru* (give.me.HON). In the chapter 6 survey, such occurrences of *kudasai* are not treated as part of the *–te kudasai* directive strategy.

(53) Biiru kudasa-i.
beer give.me.HON-IMP
'Beer, please.'

### *3.5.2 Usage properties*

In comparison with the previous three strategies, the use of *–te kudasai* is sociolinguistically acceptable in a wide variety of contexts. Adachi et al. (2003:71, my translation) state that there are "few restrictions as to its users" (see also Satoo 1992:157). *–Te kudasai* typically (but not always) occurs in linguistic registers that involve the *desu-masu* style of addressee honorification, and is used by both men and women. However, depending on factors such as the degree of imposition and the relative social status of the addressee, the use of *–te kudasai* may not always be appropriate. In the quantitative survey of *–te kudasai* presented in chapter 6, addressee-benefit directives (instructions, advice) were found to be more common than requests. The possible phasing out of *–te kudasai* as a "request strategy" in favor of interrogative-based directive strategies is discussed in chapter 9.

## 3.6 Other variants

Beyond the four main types discussed above, various other imperative-based directive strategies exist. Two are brought up here due to being topics of discussion later in the thesis.

### *3.6.1 Directive –te*

The gerund or *–te* form sees frequent use as a directive strategy.

(54) O-mise ni it-te!
HON-store to go-GER
'Go to the store!'

(55) Mado o ake-te (yo / ne / yo ne).
window OBJ open-GER FP / FP / FP FP
'Open the window.'

It is less face-threatening than the naked imperative. Although directive *–te* is not restricted to occurrence in requests, it is often classified as a "request expression" (see Adachi 2002:44, Adachi et al. 2003:74-75). In the realm of fiction it appears to be especially common in female speech (see Smith 1992:70 for an example), but it is used by male as well as female speakers in spontaneous spoken Japanese.

Directive *–te* does not contain any trace of the *–e* (*ro*) morpheme at the surface level, but is often viewed as an elliptical variant of the benefactive imperative constructions *–te kure* and *–te kudasai*. A discussion of its synchronic and diachronic status is found in chapter 8. Although a corpus study of the strategy was not attempted due to the issue of homonymy (it is difficult to filter out directive *–te* from among non-directive instantiations of the form), the strategy is highly frequent in spoken language. This is echoed in the literature. Adachi et al. (2003:74) state that while it can be difficult to use towards superiors, directive *–te* sees wide use in other contexts. In a study of directive speech acts performed by (male) managers in a dental company, *–te* was the most frequently attested strategy, constituting 37% of the total directive count, while the naked imperative was the eighth most frequent at 3.3% (Saito 2009:325).

### *3.6.2 –tamae*

Historically *–tamae* constitutes the imperative form of the honorific auxiliary *–tamau*, which in turn derived from the corresponding honorific verb *tamau* (give.HON).

(56) Mado o ake-tama-e.
window OBJ open-HON-IMP
'Open the window.'

While it once played an important role within the Japanese directive system, it has essentially been phased out of spoken Japanese (see Adachi 2002:46). Although the form apparently still occurs in actual speech (Satoshi Kinsui, personal communication), the main use of *–tamae* in present day Japanese is likely in the fictional register of role language, in the speech of male characters in positions of authority (see Kinsui 2003:116-118 et passim for a discussion of the origins of this usage).

## 3.7 Negative imperatives

The negative paradigmatic equivalent of the naked imperative is *–(r)u na*. Its functional characteristics broadly parallel those of the naked imperative.[45] The

[45] For general discussion, see Murakami (1993:69, 94-101), Adachi et al. (2003:79-80), Larm (2006:186-188) and Narrog (2009:153-154). Ozaki (2007) provides a more detailed study.

negative imperative is formally distinct from both *–e* (*ro*) and the basic morphological means of negation for declarative clauses, *–na*(*i*).

(57) Mado o ake-na-i.
window OBJ open-NEG-NPST
'[I will] not open the window.'

(58) Mado o ake-ru na.
window OBJ open-NPST NIMP
'Do not open the window.'

It thus constitutes an example of specialized imperative negation, and corresponds to type 4 in the taxonomy employed by van der Auwera, Lejeune, and Goussev (2013) in consisting of "a verbal construction other than the second singular imperative and a sentential negative strategy not found in (indicative) declaratives". It is, in a common use of the term (see chapter 2), a 'prohibitive' as distinct from a 'negative imperative'. At the time of writing, WALS appears to classify the Japanese prohibitive as belonging to type 2, in which "the prohibitive uses the verbal construction of the second singular imperative [...]".[46] The specific construction type singled out as the Japanese prohibitive is not made explicit, but based on the references given it can be assumed that it is *–(r)u na*.

The construction *–(r)u na* is often discussed as comprising of a particle following the nonpast form of the verb (see Martin 1988:942). However, in his grammar of (Western) Old Japanese, Vovin (2009:660-664) argues that Ryukyuan provides comparative evidence for considering Old Japanese *–una* a suffix in its own right. If the stance is taken that the negative imperative is encoded by means of a suffix in contemporary Japanese, it can be said to display formal symmetry with its positive polarity and hortative counterparts, all three being inflections.

By contrast, *–te kure* and *–te kudasai* are negated by means of their gerunds. Negative gerunds also occur in isolation as the counterpart of directive *–te*. In contemporary Japanese, *–nasai* lacks a negative counterpart.

(59) Mado o ake-nai-de kure.
window OBJ open-NEG-GER give.me.IMP
'Do not open the window.' (lit.) 'Give me [the favor of] not opening the window.'

(60) Mado o ake-nai-de kudasa-i.
window OBJ open-NEG-GER give.me.HON-IMP
'Please do not open the window.'

(61) Mado o ake-nai-de.
window OBJ open-NEG-GER
'Do not open the window.'

[46] This was originally pointed out by Nyberg (2012:23-26).

## 3.8 Imperative-derived constructions

Aside from imperative variants that constitute productive directive strategies, there are also those which, through conventionalization for use in specific contexts, have become less imperative-like. These will here be divided into concessive, conditional, and lexicalized imperatives. Examples of concessive and conditional imperatives were provided in 3.2. They are discussed further in chapter 8. Lexicalized imperatives, as can be exemplified by *irasshai*(*mase*) 'welcome' and *itterasshai* 'see you', are referred to in chapter 6.

## 3.9 Reported imperatives

Reports of directive communicative acts make up a significant share of the functional profile of Japanese imperatives. This is especially true in the case of the basic imperative form. In this section, issues and concepts relevant to understanding the role of Japanese imperatives in reported discourse are introduced.

A primary opposition is that of direct versus indirect speech or direct versus indirect quotation. Hasegawa (2014:344) describes the distinction in the following terms: "[I]n direct speech, original expressions are faithfully reproduced in both form and content, whereas in indirect speech, reporters only commit themselves to the accurate rendering of the content". The following sentences exemplify the difference.

(62) Taroo told Hanako yesterday: "You have to go to Tokyo tomorrow". (direct speech)

(62b) Taroo told Hanako yesterday that she had to go to Tokyo today. (indirect speech)

In this thesis, "original speaker" and "original addressee" are used to refer to the parties involved in the directive speech act being reported on through the use of direct or indirect speech. In the above sentences, Taroo is the original speaker and Hanako is the original addressee. "Reporting speaker" and "current" or "matrix addressee" will be used to refer to the reporter (the person who writes or utters *Taroo told Hanako* […]) and the addressee of the report, respectively. Whereas indirect speech is a grammatically integrated ("genuinely embedded") part of the surrounding sentence, prototypical direct quotations are discrete linguistic objects, independent from the reporting sentence in terms of features such as speech style and deixis.

However, distinguishing between direct and indirect speech in Japanese is not trivial. The function word *to* (and the more informal *tte*) can mark both directly quoted and indirect/embedded content. The following sentence thus has two possible interpretations.

(63) Taroo wa Hanako ni Tookyoo e ik-e to it-ta.
Taroo TOP Hanako DAT Tokyo to go-IMP COMP say-PST
'Taroo said to Hanako: "Go to Tokyo."' / 'Taroo told Hanako to go to Tokyo.'

The presence of features such as sentence-final particles[47] and addressee honorification increases the probability that a report is a direct quotation (Maynard 1998:137). A common stance in the literature is nonetheless that "[i]n Japanese, direct speech and indirect speech are not formally distinguishable" (Hasegawa 2014:345). There exists a quotative strategy, *yoo ni* (*to*) + [verb of quotation] that is more or less unambigously indirect.[48] However, the use of more ambiguous means of quotation is very common.

(64) Tookyoo ni ik-u yoo.ni iw-are-ta.
Tokyo to go-NPST QUOT say-PASS-PST
'I was told to go to Tokyo.'

In spoken language, prosodic clues as to whether an imperative is quoted or embedded may be present (see Kaufmann 2012:199). Intonation is in any event absent in the written medium, with consequences for e.g. written language corpus studies. Due to the non-prosodic orientation of the present thesis and lack of detailed treatments of imperative prosody, no attempt has been made here to distinguish between imperatives in prototypical embeddings and in constructed quotations (see below) based on their intonational properties.

The situation is further complicated by Japanese orthographical conventions and the frequent use of "constructed speech". While there are orthographical means (square brackets or *kakko*) of distinguishing direct from indirect quotes in Japanese, directly quoted material may appear without orthographical indications of quotation (Maynard 1998:136). Moreover, even material that is orthographically marked as a direct quote and contains linguistic features characteristic of direct speech is not always "direct" in the sense discussed above, as it may never have been produced by the original speaker.

In a glossary of quotation-related terms found in Buchstaller and van Alphen (2012), 'constructed dialogue' is defined as follows: "A term used to refer to reported speech or direct quotation in storytelling or conversation that has (probably) never been (and often could not have been) actually produced, instead being 'constructed' by the storyteller" (2012:282). The following example is found in an English-language blog post: *My computer was like "fuck you, how dare you order a new computer to replace me?!" when I started trying to get all of my files off of it.*[49]

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[47] As in *Ike yo to itta* (go-IMP FP COMP say-PST).

[48] See Martin (1988:998) for a description.

[49] http://curiousmittenkitten.tumblr.com/post/77484179524/my-computer-was-like-fuck-you-how-dare-you-order, retrieved 2015-06-27.

Constructed direct quotations have various usages, such as summarizing the content of a conversation and vividly representing attitudes and situations. The term 'constructed dialogue' derives from the work of Deborah Tannen. While Tannen's stance is that all reported dialogue is constructed by the reporter (see Tannen 2007:112), we will use the more restrictive definition given above.

Contrasting with constructed dialogue and indirect speech, the term 'verbatim quotation' is here used to refer to direct-style quotations that appear to be attempts at reproducing exactly the wording of utterances which can be thought to have actually been made. Note that the distinction between "verbatim" and "constructed" is blurred in the case of fiction, in which, in a strict sense, the author is the source of all dialogue. In such cases, "verbatim" is taken to mean dialogue presented as having been uttered word for word by one of the characters within the world of the narrative, whereas constructed dialogue is a part of the descriptive content of the narrative (or part of a non-verbatim description given by a character within the narrative world as to what someone has said, thought, etc.). We will use 'reported imperatives' as a term subsuming both "real" (verbatim) quoted imperative clauses, quoted imperatives in constructed dialogue, and what appear to be embedded, unambiguously indirect (in the sense that the original utterance cannot have had that form) imperative clauses.

Beyond the distinctions presented above, other concepts have been used in the analysis of reported imperatives in Japanese. Kuno (1988) describes certain types of reported speech containing both directly and non-directly quoted elements as "blended discourse".

(65) Taroo ga yatsu no uchi ni sugu ko-i to
Taroo NOM guy GEN house to immediately come-IMP COMP
denwa o kake-te ki-ta.
telephone OBJ call-GER come-PST
'Taroo called me up and said that (lit.) 'Come right now' to his house.'
(Kuno 1988:76, my glossing)

In the above sentence, *yatsu* 'that guy' stands in for a first person pronoun, having been adjusted to match the deictic viewpoint of the current speaker. It therefore matches the characteristics of indirect speech. However, *koi* (come-IMP) is in Kuno's view an example of "quasi-direct speech". This is "[…] 'direct' in that it retains the original syntax (imperative […]) of the quoted speech, but 'quasi-' in that there is an obligatory adjustment of speech levels" (Kuno 1988:96). The "adjustment" relates to the fact that certain types of honorification do not embed in Japanese. Taroo may actually have said *kite kudasai* 'Please come'. However, the notion of quasi-direct speech becomes less useful if one considers the imperative itself to be capable of genuine embedding. Kuno's stance has been challenged by Oshima (2006:12) and Saito (2012:155), who suggest (in the case of Oshima, with reference to Portner's imperative semantics) that elements such as *koi* above are simply indirect.

Maier (2009) has used the concept of "mixed quotation" to account for the behavior of reported imperatives in Japanese. In the form presented in Maier (2009), the analysis is not borne out by the data, as has been discussed by Kaufmann (2012:202). However, the concept is worthy of mention. Mixed quotation, in general terms, refers to material presented as verbatim but integrated in the surrounding sentence to a degree not seen in prototypical direct quotation. An example from English reads as follows: *Ann said that she 'could care less' about spelling* (Maier 2014:2).

To sum up, Japanese exhibits formally ambiguous marking of directly quoted versus indirect, genuinely embedded material, flexible conventions for the orthographic marking of direct quotations, and widespread use of constructed quotations that paraphrase thoughts, messages, and intentions. These factors combine to make it less than simple to disentangle verbatim quotations, indirect reports, and constructed dialogue, with consequences for the corpus-based survey of the imperative presented in chapter 6.

# 4. Non-imperative directive strategies

Aside from imperative-based strategies, Japanese offers many other means of issuing directive speech acts. Masamune (2000) provides a listing of ca. 120 formal variations of "command/request expressions", which nonetheless does not capture all of the directive strategies found in contemporary Japanese. A valuable overview of the system is provided by Adachi (2002:42-77). Martin (1988:959-967) is perhaps still the best English-language descriptive resource.[50] The range of conventional directive strategies should not be understood as a rigid paradigm in which a specific interactional situation requires the use of one and only one strategy. Nonetheless, strategy types do have their own characteristics in terms of stylistic value and illocutionary profile. Not all of these strategy types will be discussed in the following chapters. However, the overview serves to illustrate the "paradigmatic environment" in which Japanese imperatives exist. The following abridged listing also demonstrates important characteristics of the system, such as the role of benefactivity and honorification, as well as the use made of non-imperative clause types and modal expressions.

[50] See also Makino and Tsutsui (1995:706-724), which, however, lacks Romanized example sentences.

## 4.1 –(*y*)*oo*

We begin by introducing a form often referred to in English as the "hortative" (e.g. Larm 2006:192, Narrog 2009:154) or "volitional" (e.g. Frellesvig 2010:390). It is distinguished by the suffixation of the inflectional morpheme –(*y*)*oo* to the verbal root or stem. The morpheme is realized as –*yoo* in vowel stem verbs (*ake-yoo* open-HORT 'let's open') and as –*oo* in consonant stem verbs (*ik-oo* go-HORT 'let's go'). The –(*y*)*oo* form has various applications in contemporary Japanese. It can be used in attempts to instigate joint activity involving both speaker and addressee (hortation):

(66) Ik-oo.
go-HORT
'Let's go.'

as well as when declaring or reporting the intentions of the individual speaker (volition).

(67) Boku ga ik-oo.
1SG NOM go-HORT
'I'll go.'

(68) Boku wa ik-oo to omot-te i-ru.
1SG TOP go-HORT COMP think-GER be-NPST
'I think I will go.'

It further has pragmatic usages that do not actually include the speaker (cf. *Let's open our mouth* as uttered by an English-speaking dentist).

(69) Chanto sooji o shi-yoo.
properly cleaning OBJ do-HORT
'Let's clean properly (=Clean properly.)'

Although now only seen in archaizing registers, it can also express the speaker's conjecture about a future event.

(70) Ame ni nar-oo.
rain DAT become-HORT
'It will probably rain.' (archaic)

–(*Y*)*oo* is discussed further in chapter 8.

## 4.2 Interrogative strategies

Interrogative-based directive strategies, which typically include a benefactive component, form a large class. The phrasings (which can be grouped into more

abstract types, and out of which the following examples form only a subset) display various gradations of politeness and formal elaboration.

(71) Mado o ake-na-i ka! (falling intonation)
window OBJ open-NEG-NPST QP
'Why on Earth won't you open the window?'

(72) Mado o ake-te kure-ru?
window OBJ open-GER give.me-NPST
'Will you open the window for me?'

(73) Mado o ake-te kure-na-i?
window OBJ open-GER give.me-NEG-NPST
'Won't you open the window for me?'

(74) Mado o ake-te kudasa-i-masen ka.
window OBJ open-GER give.me.HON-INF-POL.NEG QP
'Won't you open the window for me?'

(75) Mado o ake-te mora-e-masen ka.
window OBJ open-GER recieve-POT-POL.NEG QP
'Could I receive the favor of your opening the window?'

(76) Mado o ake-te itadak-e-na-i deshoo ka.
window OBJ open-GER receive.HUM-POT-NEG-NPST CONJ.POL QP
'Might it be possible for me to receive the favor of your opening the window?'

## 4.3 Evaluative strategies

Another large class is constituted by evaluative directive strategies, most of which fall under the heading of deontic modality (see Larm 2006, Narrog 2009). Evaluative strategies can in turn be divided into further sub-categories. Evaluative permissives (77), evaluative conditionals (78), and evaluative nominalizations (79) are illustrated below.

(77) Mado o ake-te mo i-i.
window OBJ open-GER FOC good-NPST
'You may open the window.' (lit.) 'Opening the window is also good.'

(78) Mado o ake-tara i-i.
window OBJ open-COND good-NPST
'You should open the window.' (lit.) 'If [you] open the window it is good.'

(79) Mado o ake-ta hoo ga i-i.
window OBJ open-PST alternative NOM good-NPST
'You should open the window.'

## 4.4 Other strategies

Below is given an example of desiderative-based strategies incorporating benefactives.

(80) Mado o ake-te mora-i-ta-i.
window OBJ open-GER recieve-INF-DESID-NPST
'I want you to open the window.'
(lit.) 'I want to receive [the favor of your] opening the window.'

A similar strategy is the following:

(81) Mado o ake-te hoshi-i.
window OBJ open-GER desirable-NPST
'I want you to open the window.'
(lit.) '[Your] opening the window is desirable [to me].'

A category of assertion-based strategies can also be distinguished.

(82) Mado o ake-ru!
window OBJ open-NPST
'Open the window!' (lit.) '[You will] open the window!'

(83) Ake-ta, ake-ta!
open-PST open-PST
'Open it, open it!' (lit.) '[You] opened [it], [You] opened [it]!'

There are, moreover, nominalization-based strategies.

(84) Mado o ake-ru no da.
window OBJ open-NPST NML COP.NPST
'Open the window.' (lit.) 'It is that [you will] open the window.'

(85) Mai-asa kanarazu mado o ake-ru koto.
every-morning unfailingly window OBJ open-NPST NML
'Make sure to open the window every morning without fail.'
(lit.) 'The matter of opening the window every morning without fail.'

Explicit performative directives also exist in Japanese (although the example given below is unlikely to occur in spoken language).

(86) Mado o ake-ru koto o meiji-ru.
window OBJ open-NPST NML OBJ order-NPST
'I order you to open the window.'

Beyond construction types conventionally associated with directivity, there are in addition ways of phrasing indirect directives that are here viewed as outside the system.

(87) Kono mado, ak-u daroo ka.
DEM window open-NPST CONJ QP
'I wonder if this window opens?' (Yutsudo 1992:69, my glossing and translation)

# 5. Summary

This chapter has provided a description of the main imperative-based directive strategies of Japanese. It has also hinted at the richness of the surrounding directive system. Many of the topics will be returned to throughout the thesis. The basic descriptive facts presented here will now serve as a background for our discussion of how Japanese imperatives have been approached in the previous literature.

*Chapter 5.*

# The imperative in Japanese linguistics

## 1. Introduction

Japanese is a well-described language with a rich history of research. While a number of English-language treatments of Japanese imperatives are available (Alpatov 2001, Takahashi 2004:185-238, 2012:197-219, Larm 2006:180-192, Narrog 2009:150-154), this chapter has as its topic the more extensive and less accessible native research tradition. Within indigenous Japanese linguistics, some treatments (such as Adachi 2002) discuss imperatives and directives as part of a general description of Japanese. However, there is also a reasonably extensive literature focusing specifically on imperative constructions (three examples being Satoo 1992, Murakami 1993 and Ishikawa 2008). There are also studies that discuss directive strategies in general (one example being Masamune 2000). Finally, there are studies of specific features of imperatives, such as Nakano (2009) on the role of the sentence-final particle *ya* in imperative utterances, Suga (1995) on subject drop in imperatives, and Nakazaki (2012) on imperatives with first person subjects. The present chapter brings up only a selected subset of studies. The aim is to acquaint the reader with some of the terminological and conceptual characteristics pertaining to research on the imperative within Japanese linguistics. The indigenous approach to imperative semantics constitutes a topic of particular interest.

## 2. Terminology and concepts

As discussed in chapter 2, English-language terms such as 'imperative' and 'command' have been used in various ways by different scholars. When Japanese is added to the discussion, matters become still more complex. Japanese linguistics does not have any generally used, straightforward equivalents to the terms 'imperative' and 'directive' as defined in chapter 2. Frequently encountered terms are discussed below. The use of

these terms is not uniform. As can be expected, there are differences between informal and technical usage, and discrepancies between authors in the case of technical usage.

A notion central to the discussion of imperativity/directivity in Japanese is *meirei* ('order, command'). The first definition of *meirei* found in the *Nihon Kokugo Daijiten* reads as follows: "[The phenomenon of] a superior telling an inferior [to do something], or the content [of that communicative act]" .[51] The second heading of the *NKD* notes that the term *meirei* applies especially to military contexts. The *Nihongo Bunpoo Daijiten* (2001) states that *meirei* refers to "the speaker telling the addressee to realize an action that the speaker desires". It is added that *meirei hyoogen* 'order expressions' are distinguished by the fact that they do not attempt to win the agreement of the addressee (i.e. do not concern themselves with the addressee's desires), and are peremptory (lit. *ippooteki* 'one-sided') in nature. The definitions presented above may give the impression that *meirei* refers to a specific, forceful type of directive speech act. However, as with English 'command', *meirei* is on occasion used to refer to (typically: second-person-oriented, willful) directive speech acts in general. More detailed definitions, formulated in terms of the usage conditions underpinning *meirei*, are discussed in section 4.

Beyond *meirei*, other illocutionary terms or categories include *irai* 'request', *kinshi* 'prohibition' and *kan'yuu* (lit. 'persuasion, invitation'). This final term is within Japanese linguistics typically used to refer to directive speech acts, often involving the hortative *–(y)oo*, that aim to bring about joint activity involving both speaker and addressee. In a comparison of Japanese *irai* and English *request*, Sasaki (1995:61) states that although the range of interactional scenarios covered by the respective descriptors is not identical, *irai* and *request* can be viewed as occupying a similar space of meaning. According to Sasaki, they have in common the properties of speaker benefit and optionality on the part of the addressee. The nature of *meirei* and *irai*, as well as the language-specificity of the concepts, is discussed further in chapters 6 and 7.

As briefly referred to in the previous chapter, it is common practice within Japanese linguistics to discuss directive strategies in terms of the categories *meirei hyoogen* and *irai hyoogen*, translated here as 'order expressions' and 'request expressions', respectively (additional categories such as *kan'yuu hyoogen* 'invitation expressions' also occur). The naked imperative and *–nasai* are prototypical examples of *meirei hyoogen*, whereas *–te kure* and *–te kudasai* (and the majority of interrogative directive strategies) are *irai hyoogen*. As for the descriptive adequacy of this distinction, the following observation by Hamblin (1987:7) illustrates a potential shortcoming:

[51] My translation. The original reads as *Jooi no mono kara kai no mono ni mooshitsukeru koto. Mata, sono naiyoo.*

> Some languages – Hindi, Japanese – have systematically different verb-forms or verbal constructions for 'polite' and 'abrupt' imperatives. But even these do not reliably discriminate requests from COMMANDS, because the 'polite' ones would often be used for polite COMMANDS and the abrupt ones for REQUESTS in informal situations.

The question of whether it is empirically justifiable to divide Japanese imperative constructions into 'order expressions' and 'request expressions' is addressed throughout chapters 6 and 7.

The Japanese term *meireikei* ('imperative form', lit. 'order/command form') is more specific in terms of reference than 'imperative' or 'imperative form' in English. In the majority of its usages, *meireikei* refers to the sixth and final inflectional form (or stem type) of inflecting verbals within the *katsuyookei* 'inflectional form' system of Japanese traditional grammar.

Table 5-1.
The *katsuyookei* of Classical Japanese (adapted from Shibatani 1990:222)

| **Verb form** | ***shinu* 'die'** |
|---|---|
| *Mizenkei* (Irrealis) | *shina* |
| *Ren'yookei* (Adverbial) | *shini* |
| *Shuushikei* (Conclusive) | *shinu* |
| *Rentaikei* (Attributive) | *shinuru* |
| *Izenkei* (Realis) | *shinure* |
| *Meireikei* (Imperative) | *shine* |

See Shibatani (1990:221-225) and Frellesvig (2010:114-118) for description and critical discussion of the system. As a concept, *meireikei* more or less corresponds to level 3 ("A basic form [...] within the inflectional paradigm of the Japanese verb") as presented in chapter 4, section 3.2. It can, however, be noted that within the *katsuyookei* system, the imperative form is presented alongside both finite verb forms (such as the *shuushikei,* which in the nomenclature of the present thesis corresponds to the nonpast form: *shin-u* die-NPST) as well as non-finite stems (such as the *ren'yookei*, which, as noted in chapter 4, corresponds to the infinitive: *shin-i* die-INF).

While *meireikei* is occasionally used to refer to imperative verb forms in languages other than Japanese, this is not its typical application. Moreover, the term does not encompass the negative imperative *–(r)u na*. As touched on by Ishikawa, the fact that *meireikei* literally translates as 'order/command form' is interesting in view of the standard description of the meaning of the *meireikei* as centering on the illocutionary category of *meirei*. Ishikawa speculates that the lack of detailed investigation, within

Japanese linguistics, of the semantics of the imperative form (see section 4) is due to the influence of terminology (2008:25, 2010:688).

Another term frequently seen is *meireibun* (lit. 'order/command sentence'). Although this term is often rendered as 'imperative' in e.g. English-language abstracts of Japanese-language linguistics papers, there is variation in the degree to which it refers to the functional vs. formal dimension of language. As such, *meireibun* does not always correspond to 'imperative (clause/utterance)' as used in the present thesis. The *Nihongo Bunpoo Daijiten* defines *meireibun* as a type of sentence "classified based on its meaning", stating that it expresses commands (*meirei*) or requests (*irai*) and that it uses the *meireikei* or negative imperative (the latter being discussed in terms of a sentence final particle). It is, however, added that forms such as the infinitive and the *shuushikei* can also occur sentence-finally in *meireibun*.[52] The earlier *Nihon Bunpoo Daijiten* (1971) states that the distinction between *meireibun*, *heijobun* 'declarative sentence' and *kantanbun* or *kandoobun* 'exclamative sentence') derives from the English grammatical tradition.

The *NKD* similarly defines *meireibun* as a sentence type (*bun no shurui*) contrasted with declarative, interrogative, and exclamative sentences, with the characteristic of expressing speech acts such as commands (*meirei*) and prohibitions (*kinshi*). The *NKD* further states that in *meireibun*, the *meireikei* of inflecting words is normally used, although declarative sentences ending in the *shuushikei* can also express *meirei*. Whether such declarative sentences count as declarative (*heijobun*) or *meireibun* is not made entirely clear.

Murakami (1993:68) states that sentences in which the verbal predicate takes the form of the naked imperative or *–nasai* express the modal meaning of ordering or strongly demanding that the addressee realize an action. He adds that sentences with this meaning are normally termed *meireibun* (1993:68), and includes the negative imperative *–(r)u na* in this category (1993:69). Murakami views *meireibun* as a subtype of *sasoikakebun* (for which he provides the English translation *hortative sentence*) with *iraibun* 'request sentence' (e.g. *Itte kudasai* 'Please go') and *kan'yuubun* 'invitation sentence' (e.g. *Ikoo* 'Let's go') as the two other members. His version of *meireibun* basically refers only to Japanese constructions defined as imperative in the present thesis (although, among these, it encompasses only constructions whose prototypical meaning is described by him as *meirei*).

Adachi (2002:42-43) provides a formally oriented conception of *meireibun* as a sentence type (*bunruikei*) defined by way of the *meireikei*, with the result that imperative-based "request expressions" such as *–te kure* and *–te kudasai* are *meireibun,* but declarative-based "order expressions" (such as instantiated by *Mado o akeru!* 'You will open the window!') are not. While perhaps less than optimal from a terminological perspective, the approach is consistent. Adachi's *meireibun* can be

[52] The directive infinitive is discussed in chapter 8. *Mado o akeru!* ('You will open the window!') is an example of the directive usage of the *shuushikei*.

straightforwardly translated as 'imperative sentence type' (although the negative imperative is treated as a separate category, *kinshibun* 'prohibition sentence').

The term *meireihoo* 'imperative mood' is also encountered in the literature. In its first definition of the term, the *NKD* states that *meireihoo* derives from a translation of English *imperative mood*, and describes it as being used with reference to "[...] the use of a specific word form to express orders and demands towards an addressee". The second definition simply states that the meaning is the same as that of *meireikei*. The definition found in the dictionary *Koojien* (6th ed.) also refers to English *imperative mood*. It adds that *meireihoo* refers to "a mood of the verb in Indo-European and other languages that expresses [functions] such as orders, invitations, and wishes", making no reference to Japanese grammar. To give one example of the use of *meireihoo*, it can be found in Japanese-language academic papers that discuss the imperative constructions of languages such as English and German. The possible historical influence of *meireihoo* on the concept of *meireikei* is discussed in 4.2.

Finally, various terms are within Japanese linguistics employed with reference to the broader categories of linguistic functionality that encompass *meirei* and *irai*. Discussing how the concepts are used by different authors and evaluating to which extent they line up with 'directive' as used here would unduly lengthen the account. Examples include *hatarakikake* 'influence, instigation' (Nitta 1991a:229), *sasoikake* 'enticement' (Satoo 1992:109, Murakami 1993:68, 70), *kooi shiji* 'action instruction' (Kumatoridani 1995:14, Mori 2010), *kooi yookyuu* 'demand for action' (Adachi 2002:42, Adachi et al. 2003:66) and *shidoo kooi* 'act of instruction' (Ishikawa 2008:96, presented as a translation of Searle's term *directives*).

# 3. Early approaches

Ishikawa (2008:22-34, 2010) and Endoo (2013) have examined how the basic imperative verb form is described in early grammars of Japanese. Endoo discusses Edo-era treatments of the imperative, noting that descriptive categories that correspond to modern *meireikei* at times encompassed directive strategies other than the morphological imperative (2013:77). Ishikawa's focus lies on the historical development of the category *meireikei* within Japanese linguistics. She describes the concept as arising through a confluence of elements from traditional as well as Western-influenced approaches to the grammatical description of Japanese.

As previously stated, the *katsuyookei* system is an element of traditional Japanese language studies. The *meireikei* is now part of the system as the sixth and final form, but it is a late arrival. The reason for this is likely to be found in the structure of the language itself. Although it was originally distinct, the imperative form of consonant stem verbs has since Early Middle Japanese (ca. 800-1200) been segmentally identical

with the fifth *katsuyookei* form, the *izenkei* 'realis form'.[53] The imperative form could thus be analyzed as a special use of the *izenkei*. In the case of vowel stem verbs, the imperative verb form could be analyzed as the addition of the particle *yo* to the first *katsuyookei*, the *mizenkei* ('irrealis form') which for present purposes corresponds to the verb stem.[54] It was only during the third decade of the Meiji era (around the beginning of the 1900s) that approaches incorporating the imperative verb form as one of the *katsuyookei* saw wide adoption (Endoo 2013:78). Prior to this time, even when a sixth form was recognized, the term *meireikei* was not used to describe it.

On the topic of the term *meirei*, Ishikawa (2008:28-29) hypothesizes that it was adapted for use in the description of Japanese following its use in (Japanese translations of) English grammars during early Meiji. She describes a process in which the terminological construct *meireikei* resulted from the integration of *meireihoo* (as a translation of *imperative mood*), used in Western-influenced grammars of Japanese, into the *katsuyookei* system. Fumihiko Ootsuki's 1890 grammar aimed at a compromise between the traditional and Western-influenced traditions, and included a sixth form of the verb under the name *meireihoo* (2008:32-33). This was an important step towards *meireikei* as we know it.

As for the first use of *meireikei* proper, Endoo (2013:66) states that a 1998 article by Takashi Hattori provides an attestation in a grammar dating to 1897. Neither the article nor said grammar is available to the present author. The first attestation of *meireikei* given by the *NKD* dates to 1904, where it is used in a grammar written by Yaichi Haga, and refers to the sixth *katsuyookei*. The term *meireikei* also occurs in the *Nihon Bunpooron* (1908:269-270), written by the influential (albeit politically controversial) linguist Yoshio Yamada. Although it appears alongside the other *katsuyookei* in Yamada's inflectional chart, Ishikawa (2010:698) states that the imperative form was not yet recognized by him as a *katsuyookei* (cf. Yamada 1908:269). The term appears again in Yamada's later grammar *Nihon Bunpoo Koogi* (1922), in which it is presented as the name of the sixth *katsuyookei* (Ishikawa 2008:34). According to Ishikawa (2008:34), the final establishment of the *meireikei* within the standard *katsuyoo* system was effected through Shinkichi Hashimoto's influential school grammars, published during the 1930s.

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[53] The *izenkei* or, in Modern Japanese, *kateikei* 'hypothetical form' is traditionally analyzed as occurring in a conditional construction: compare *kake-ba* (write-COND) 'if [someone] writes' and *kak-e* (write-IMP).

[54] Compare *mizenkei* + negation: *mi-na-i* (see-NEG-NPST 'does not see') and the formal written language imperative form: *mi-yo* (see-IMP 'Look!').

# 4. Modern approaches

## 4.1 Nitta (1991a)

The 1990s and early 2000s saw the publication of various studies on Japanese imperatives. Many if not most of them were influenced by the work of Yoshio Nitta, one of the leading contemporary figures within Japanese modality studies. According to Ishikawa (2008:38), Nitta was the first scholar to attempt a systematic treatment of non-*meirei* usages of Japanese imperatives. Other than the account given here, an English-language summary of the major points of Nitta's analysis is provided by Takahashi (2004:193-197).

Nitta's main focus when discussing the *meireikei* is the speech act category *meirei* itself. *Meirei* is in turn viewed as a subtype of the larger category *hatarakikake* 'influence, instigation'. Nitta describes *hatarakikake* as a type of "utterance-transmission modality" (see Larm 2006:92 and Narrog 2009:29) in which the speaker attempts to make the addressee realize the speaker's desires. We will here treat *hatarakikake* as meaning 'willful directive speech act(s)'. In the case of *meirei*, the speaker does not appeal to the addressee's desires or goodwill when directing the addressee to realize a state of affairs (Nitta 1991a:230). This distinguishes it from *irai* 'request', in which such an appeal is made. The usage conditions of *meirei* are divided into three categories (Nitta 1991a:238-240, my translation):

I. Conditions pertaining to the speaker:

Ia. The speaker is in a position in which he or she can perform a directive speech act [*hatarakikake o okonaiuru*] towards the addressee.

Ib.1. The speaker desires that the addressee realize a certain action.

Ib.2. The state of affairs that the addressee will realize is desirable to the speaker.

II. Conditions pertaining to the addressee:

IIa. The addressee to whom the directive is addressed exists as a hearer of the utterance.

IIb. The addressee can volitionally attempt and carry out the realization of the action.

III. Conditions pertaining to the state of affairs:

III. The commanded state of affairs is as yet unrealized.

Nitta characterizes non-prototypical or non-*meirei* usages of the (naked) imperative in terms of deviations from these conditions. Lack of fulfillment of one or more of the conditions can make a *meirei* less than prototypical, cause it to become a speech act other than *meirei*, or render it infelicitous (Nitta 1991a:240).

The conditions are reminiscent of Searle's felicity conditions for directives, which were discussed in chapter 3. The influence of speech act theory on Nitta's treatment of *meirei* has been noted by Ishikawa (2008:15, 40, 44). Nitta has in turn closely influenced Adachi (2002:47), whose approach is discussed in 4.3.

The property of being able to volitionally attempt and carry out the realization of an action (see IIb above) is termed *jikoseigyoosei* 'self-controllability' by Nitta (1991a:239). Scenarios in which an addressee capable of realizing the directed state of affairs is not present or does not exist, such as exemplified by (1) and (2), fulfill condition Ib.1 but not conditions IIa or IIb.

(1) Ashita tenki ni naar-e!
tomorrow weather DAT become-IMP
'Become [good] weather tomorrow!'
(Nitta 1991a:240, my glossing and translation)

(2) Ame, ame, fur-e, fur-e.
rain rain fall-IMP fall-IMP
'Rain, rain, fall, fall!' (Nitta 1991a:240, my glossing and translation)

(1) and (2) are thus not *meirei*, but rather wishes (*ganboo*) that express the speaker's desire. A related category is that of curses (*noroi*), in which the state of affairs presented is neither controllable by, nor desirable to the addressee (Nitta 1991a:247-249). Usages that do not fulfill Ib.1 and Ib.2, such as *Uso* (*o*) *tsuke* 'Liar!' (lit.) 'Tell lies!' are termed *hango meirei* 'ironic order(s)' (1991a:249-250).

Nitta further uses the notion of self-controllability to distinguish two classes of directive illocutionary acts, *tassei meirei* and *katei meirei*. These are translated by Takahashi (2004:196) as 'achievement command' and 'process command', respectively. To exemplify, some states of affairs can be brought to completion through deliberate action (e.g. opening a window). Others (such as falling asleep or being elected the President of the United States of America) can only be accomplished by indirect means (e.g. by taking a sleeping pill or participating in televised debates, etc.). Final realization is not itself under the agent's control, although actions that may lead to the desired outcome can be deliberately undertaken. A third category is constituted by states of affairs that are wholly beyond the control of a conscious agent (examples given by Nitta 1991a:243 include *akireru* 'to be taken aback', *akiru* 'to be fed up', and *awateru* 'to lose one's composure').

In (3) below, the prescribed activity can be voluntarily controlled from beginning to end. The addressee is commanded to achieve the goal of stopping, and it is thus a *tassei meirei* 'achievement command'. By contrast, in (4) the addressee only has control over the initialization of a process which may lead to the realization of the

desired state of affairs. From this perspective, the addressee is not being commanded to cheer up, but rather to make efforts towards cheering up. (4) is thus an example of *katei meirei* 'process command'.

(3) Oi, untenshu, koko de tome-ro.
hey driver here LOC stop-IMP
'Hey driver, stop here.' (Nitta 1991a:244, my glossing and translation)

(4) Genki o das-e.
vigor OBJ bring.out-IMP
'Cheer up.' (Nitta 1991a:245, my glossing and translation)

This type of analysis is not unique to Nitta. To give an example, similar discussion is provided by Birjulin and Xrakovskij (2001:18, 37-38).

Nitta also notes that negative imperatives can be used in situations that violate condition III ("The commanded state of affairs is still unrealized"). When *Sono isu ni suwaru na* 'Don't sit on that chair' is addressed to someone who is already sitting on the chair, the imperative utterance constitutes a directive to stop sitting on it. However, the same utterance can also be addressed to someone who has yet to sit on the chair, constituting e.g. a warning. This violates condition III, since it is already the case that the addressee is not sitting on the chair. This type of usage is nonetheless felicitous.[55] The two scenarios are distinguished by Nitta as *zokkoo soshi* 'prevention of continuation' and *mizen booshi* 'pre-realization prevention', respectively (1991a:251-252). Analogous distinctions are made by later authors. Nitta's analysis corresponds to Murakami's distinction between *seshitekina kinshi* 'restraining prohibition' and *yobootekina kinshi* 'preventive prohibition' (1993:94), Adachi's distinction between *soshitekina kinshi* 'obstructive prohibition' and *yobootekina kinshi* 'preventive prohibition' (2002:74), as well as (within non-Japanese linguistics) to De Clerck's distinction between "retrospective" vs. "prospective" negative directive utterances (2006:107).[56]

[55] From a theoretical perspective, the observation raises the question of how this property of negative imperatives can be reconciled with the view that imperatives are restricted to presenting potential rather than actual states of affairs. If an additional semantic restriction to dynamic situation types is assumed (see Jary and Kissine 2014:77, 88) the present example could perhaps be handled by arguing that its meaning is along the lines of *Make sure you don't sit on that chair*.

[56] See also Birjulin and Xrakovskij (2001:34).

## 4.2 Murakami (1993) and Satoo (1992)

Takahashi (2012:217) refers to Murakami (1993) and Satoo (1992) as providing "the most comprehensive descriptive account of Japanese imperatives" for "command forms" and "request forms", respectively. Chronologically the second of the two, Murakami (1993) is a descriptive account of the naked imperative, *–nasai* and *–(r)u na*. The study is richly supplied with examples, which appear to derive exclusively from written fiction. Murakami's view of the naked imperative can be summarized as follows:

> The forms *shiro* and *shinasai* [the naked imperative and *–nasai*] fundamentally carry the meaning of "unconditional order, one-sided coercion disregarding the intentions of the addressee", but depending on the context of utterance or the lexical meaning of the verb, they can take on nuances such as *chuukoku* [advice], *susume* [offer], *hagemashi* [encouragement] and *kyoka* [permission]. (Murakami 1993:68, my translation)

Murakami discusses deviations from prototypical *meirei* mainly in terms of a wide variety of *fukumi* 'connotation(s)' or *imiai* 'implication(s), nuance(s)'. These arise due to contextual variables, such as when the beneficiary of the prescribed state of affairs is the addressee rather than the speaker (1993:78). The range of illocutionary descriptors used by Murakami to describe the different nuances is reminiscent of a taxonomy of the functions of the English imperative. However, even when such nuances are present, Murakami (1993:83) states that the fundamental meaning of *meirei* inherent to *meireibun* formed using the naked imperative cannot be wholly eliminated (lit. 'wiped away'). This is said to be demonstrated by the sociolinguistic restrictions surrounding the use of the naked imperative.[57] Even so, Murakami also lists seven categories of "non-*meirei* usages of *meireibun*" (1993:107-113) in which the illocutionary function of *meirei* is absent. These include conditional and concessive usages, wishes, and self-addressed imperative utterances.

Satoo (1992) provides a detailed description of *–te kure* and *–te kudasai*. The study is part of the same series as Murakami (1993). As such, her treatment is generally in line with that of Murakami, both in terms of descriptive approach and her discussion of semantics-pragmatics interaction. In Satoo's view, *–te kure* and *–te kudasai* express the modal meaning of *irai* 'request' (1992:109). In sentences formed using the two strategies, different *fukumi* 'connotation(s)' or *nyuansu* 'nuance(s)' may arise with the "modal meaning of *irai* as [their] base" (Satoo 1992:123, see also 1992:144). As for more fundamental deviations from the prototypical illocution of *–te kure* and *–te kudasai*, Satoo notes that "a change might have occurred in the modal meaning of *irai* itself" (1992:123) in some usages involving non-volitional verbs.

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[57] Murakami's description of these restrictions (1993:101) is discussed in chapter 7, section 3.3.

## 4.3 Adachi (2002)

Adachi provides what can be considered an overview of the directive system of Japanese, touching on a variety of strategies. We will here focus on elements of his description that relate to the function of the imperative itself.

The definition of *meireibun* used by Adachi was discussed in section 2. His treatment of the functional side of imperatives is clearly influenced by Nitta, whose works are referred to throughout the text. The naked imperative and *–nasai* are brought up by Adachi as the primary examples of expressions that express *meirei* (2002:46). A description of the felicity conditions for prototypical *meirei* is also provided (2002:47, my translation). It follows Nitta's version (see 4.1) quite closely:

1a. The speaker is superior to the addressee.

1b. The speaker desires that the addressee perform the act.

2a. An addressee who is the [intended] performer of the act exists.

2b. Unless prompted by the speaker, the addressee will not perform the act.

3a. The act is volitional on the part of the addressee.

3b. At the point at which the directive is given, the act has not yet been performed.

Adachi adds that *meirei*, unlike *irai*, does not leave the addressee the option of deciding whether to comply with the directive (2002:48). He also notes that other than the requirement that the speaker be superior to the addressee, the conditions governing *meirei* can be taken as constituting the felicity conditions of (willful) directive speech acts[58] in general (2002:47). Much like Nitta and Murakami, Adachi discusses various functionalities of the imperative (such as permissions and encouragements) in terms of *nyuansu* 'nuance(s)' that arise in less than prototypical *meirei* due to departures from the abovementioned felicity conditions. The illocutionary category *meirei* can also fail to materialize, as in infelicitous uses of the imperative (2002:52).

Depending on the addressee's degree of volition (see condition 3a above), Adachi distinguishes three types of *meirei* (or, more broadly, directive illocutionary acts in general). *Meirei* that are prototypical in the respect that their directed state of affairs can be voluntarily performed, such as illustrated by *Kotchi e koi* 'Come here!' are termed *jikkoo meirei* 'performance command' (2002:51). This category corresponds to Nitta's 'achievement command'. Less prototypical scenarios, in which the directed state of affairs can be attempted but not brought to completion by volitional means, such as illustrated by *Shinpai shiro* (worry do-IMP 'Worry about [...]') are termed

[58] The original term is *kooi yookyuu* 'demand(s) for action'.

*doryoku meirei* 'effort command'. This corresponds to Nitta's use of 'process command'. A third category is represented by scenarios in which volitionality is completely absent, as in the case of wishes and certain infelicitous directives (2002:52).

Adachi also provides a classification in terms of prototypicality based on condition 3b ("At the point at which the directive is given, the act has not yet been performed"). Prototypical *meirei*, in which the directed activity is not realized at the time of utterance, are termed *hatsudoo meirei* 'activity command' (2002:52). However, there are also scenarios such as (5) below, in which the prescribed state of affairs already holds.

(5) Koko ni i-nasa-i.
here DAT be.INF-do.HON-IMP
'Stay here.' (lit.) 'Be here.' (Adachi 2002:53, my glossing and translation)

These are termed *jizoku meirei* 'continuation command'. In such usages, the addressee is being directed to maintain the prescribed state of affairs rather than initiating it (2002:53). On the topic of negative directives, Adachi states that the phenomenon of *soshitekina kinshi* ('obstructive prohibition', corresponding to Nitta's *zokkoo soshi* 'prevention of continuation') illustrates the distinctive nature of *kinshi* 'prohibition'.[59] Unlike most directive speech acts, which require that a state of affairs is unrealized, *soshitekina kinshi* assume the preexisting realization of a state of affairs which they in turn aim at discontinuing (2002:74-75).

## 4.4 Ishikawa (2008)

The descriptively oriented, illocution-based approach to the imperative taken by the previous authors can be contrasted with the approach taken by Ishikawa (2008). Ishikawa criticizes previous researchers for failing to distinguish between pragmatic meaning and the inherent function of the imperative (2008:5, 16). She argues that listing various usages of the *meireikei* (and the felicity conditions under which they occur) amounts to a superficial treatment of the imperative, as this does not address the question of what the imperative form itself contributes in terms of linguistic meaning (2008:16, 41).

As previously described, Nitta (1991a:240) puts forward the requirement that "the commanded state of affairs is as yet unrealized" as one of the felicity conditions under which the use of the imperative form is interpreted as *meirei* 'order'. Ishikawa claims that this property in fact holds regardless of the function of the imperative utterance. It is thus also in effect in non-*meirei* illocutions such as the following wish:

[59] A previously mentioned example is *Don't sit on that chair* as addressed to someone who is already sitting on the chair.

(6) Kare-ra no zento ni sachi ar-e.
3SG-PL GEN future DAT luck be-IMP
'I wish them all the best.' (lit.) 'Luck be in their future.'
(Ishikawa 2008:69, my glossing and translation)

The characterization of a state of affairs as unrealized, Ishikawa argues, is not a condition needed for the illocution *meirei* to arise, but rather results from the functionality of the imperative form itself (2008:69). In her view, the intrinsic meaning of the *meireikei* is as follows: "The speaker intends that the addressee volitionally realize an [as of yet] unrealized action" (2008:69). As a result of these properties, regardless of the content of the imperative utterance, the imperative forces an interpretation in which the addressee is an agent and the action performed by the addressee is volitional and as of yet unrealized (2008:69). Ishikawa claims that usages such as *ganboo* 'wish', which can involve non-volitional verbs and inanimate addressees, thus have the same underlying functionality as *meirei*. In the following example of a wish, the speaker is addressing a piece of jelly.

(7) Katamar-e!
harden-IMP
'Congeal!' (Ishikawa 2008:56, my glossing and translation)

Ishikawa states that due to the function of the imperative, the addressee (the jelly) is characterized as an agent, and the action (congealing) as volitional (2008:56). A usage that in earlier approaches was termed a "wish" and classified as a non-directive use of the imperative thus derives from an underlying directive-like functionality.

Ishikawa's concept of 'unrealizedness' (*mijitsugensei*) serves a role similar to that of potentiality as employed by e.g. Jary and Kissine (2016). The following two utterances are addressed to a child who is eating his or her breakfast.

(8) *Tabe-ro.
eat-IMP
'Eat.' (Ishikawa 2008:71, my glossing and translation)[60]

(8b) Haya-ku tabe-ro.
quick-ADV eat-IMP
'Eat quickly.' (Ishikawa 2008:71, my glossing and translation)

The use of *Tabero* 'eat' in isolation is described by Ishikawa as unacceptable when addressing someone who is already eating breakfast. By contrast, in (8b) *hayaku* and *tabero* combine to denote an as of yet unrealized state of affairs. (8b) is thus acceptable. Although Ishikawa's 'unrealizedness' and potentiality are similar in terms of the restrictions imposed on the use of the imperative, they do not always overlap. In the case of a scenario in which (9) is addressed to someone who has arrived late,

[60] The asterisk is Ishikawa's.

Ishikawa takes the position that the framing of the telephone call as "unrealized" underlies the effect of the imperative as expressing reproach (2008:74).

(9) Okure-ru toki wa denwa shi-ro yo.
be.late-NPST time TOP telephone do-IMP FP
'[You should] call when you're late.'
(Ishikawa 2008:74, my glossing and translation)

As it is already too late to make the call, the directed state of affairs is unrealized but no longer potential. *Pace* Ishikawa, my view is that the imperative is in this particular instance used to establish a general behavioral norm, and need not target a specific past situation. Narrog (2009:152) argues that usages of this type might include "the next (future) instance" of the scenario as part of their reference. This would ensure a connection with the prototypical non-past orientation of imperatives.[61]

While Ishikawa is critical of earlier treatments of the imperative within Japanese linguistics, her own theory is clearly influenced by previous approaches. Ishikawa's proposed meaning for the imperative form ("The speaker intends that the addressee volitionally realize an [as of yet] unrealized action") can be described as a modified version of Nitta's directive felicity conditions for *meirei*, albeit reclassified as semantic properties. Her approach thus runs into the problems associated with any attempt to equate the meaning of the imperative with (the defining properties of) a directive illocutionary act.[62] To give an example, scenarios in which the speaker does not personally intend that the imperative content be realized (e.g. instructions, reluctant permissions, and rhetorical usages such as *uso tsuke* 'Liar!' (lit.) 'Tell lies!') offer difficulties for her theory.[63] Ishikawa suggests that in *uso tsuke*, the imperative characterizes an activity that has already occurred (telling lies) as unrealized (2008:75). This, however, does not amount to an explanation of the usage. A characterization as "unrealized" would seem to convey the message that the addressee has not yet lied. This is the opposite of the actual meaning of the phrase. Such issues aside, Ishikawa deserves recognition for emphasizing the need to distinguish between illocutionary force and semantic meaning in Japanese imperatives.

[61] That being said, the literature does provide examples of past-oriented "reproachful imperatives" that are perhaps harder to explain in these terms. See chapter 7, section 2.5.2.

[62] See chapter 3 for general discussion.

[63] See Kitazaki (2016:160) for related discussion.

# 5. Summary

The present chapter has provided an overview of selected approaches to the imperative within Japanese indigenous linguistics. Although I have used the term "indigenous", Western linguistics has influenced how the imperative has been conceptualized and described within Japanese language studies. The influence of speech act theory is noteworthy, as is the tendency to discuss the meaning of the imperative in terms of its illocutionary function in context.

One aim of this thesis is to uncover notions and insights from Japanese linguistics that can fill the needs of general linguistics, as in the case of 'directive system' as presented in chapter 2. Moreover, an approach informed by contemporary general linguistics can further our understanding of Japanese imperatives. The first half of this thesis has dealt with terminological, theoretical and descriptive matters concerning imperatives in general and Japanese imperatives in particular. We are now ready to begin our survey.

*Chapter 6.*

# Imperatives in written Japanese: a corpus-based view

## 1. Introduction

This chapter constitutes an attempt at a corpus-based survey of the functional range of the Japanese imperative. A total of 3500 tokens of the naked imperative, *–nasai*, *–te kure* and *–te kudasai* were extracted from the Publication Subcorpus of the Balanced Corpus of Contemporary Written Japanese (BCCWJ). These were analyzed using an illocutionary taxonomy inspired by the "Belgian school" of corpus studies as represented by De Clerck (2006) and Van Olmen (2011). The present survey is, to my knowledge, the only study focusing on imperatives to make use of the BCCWJ, as well as the only investigation of Japanese imperatives to employ this type of taxonomic framework. The aim of the survey is mainly exploratory, with the goal of investigating the illocutionary profiles of Japanese imperatives in written language. However, the survey also seeks to determine whether the practice of associating different Japanese imperative constructions with specific categories of illocutionary force is empirically warranted. The results indicate that Japanese imperatives have a wide range of illocutionary functions in context, and that the usage profiles of "order expressions" and "request expressions" are not dominated by orders and requests, respectively.

Beyond exploring the functional range of Japanese imperatives as represented by this subset of the BCCWJ, the chapter also functions as a critical examination of its own methodology. The notion that imperative tokens can be reliably classified into different illocutionary categories is itself problematic. While this, in my view, does not wholly invalidate the methodology used here, it does limit the conclusions that can be drawn from the present survey.

# 2. Methodology

## 2.1 Choice of data

Researchers undertaking large-scale empirical surveys of Japanese imperatives face several problems in terms of data. Although the preferred starting point would be spoken language material, Ono and Suzuki (2014:4) note that within linguistics "[…] the large corpora currently available are severely limited in everyday talk, the primary form [of] language, and instead made up mostly of various types of written sources, and, in some rather limited cases, monologues and speeches as well as conversations created for research purposes". They add that "Japanese is no exception to this overwhelming pattern". Due to related issues I have not made use of any of the existing corpora of spoken Japanese.

A further difficulty arises due to speaker avoidance of the imperative constructions themselves, which is problematic for spontaneous elicitation. In an unrelated research project in which the present author took part, group tasks assigned to pairs of Japanese-speaking informants (such as informant A telling informant B how to perform an activity) did not lead to any significant production of the four imperative-based strategies discussed here. A more effective method of elicitation might consist of role-play centering on scenarios which involve clear superior-subordinate relationships, urgency, and aggression. However, the elicited material might then be influenced by factors such as role language conventions governing the linguistic expression of power relations in a fictitious context. It is therefore not clear if it would hold a significant advantage in terms of authenticity over written fiction, which is far less time consuming to analyze.

A study of the imperative tokens occurring in a specific written work (e.g. an individual novel) or restricted selection of works has its own hazards in terms of the representativeness of the sample. In the words of McEnery and Hardie (2012:2), "we cannot (or can only with some caution) make general claims about the nature of a given language based on a corpus containing only one type of text or a limited number of types of text". For a discussion of this problem in the specific case of imperatives, see De Clerck (2013:147). Ultimately, neither role-play nor the analysis of a specific text can provide the range of usage contexts available to the researcher through the use of a large written language corpus.

The present study uses the Balanced Corpus of Contemporary Written Japanese, a 100 million word corpus compiled by the National Institute for Japanese Language and Linguistics (NINJAL) with the goal of providing a balanced sample of contemporary written Japanese.[64] The corpus is divided into three sub-corpora: the

[64] For general information on the corpus, see http://pj.ninjal.ac.jp/corpus_center/bccwj/en/.

Publication Subcorpus (approx. 35 million words), the Library Subcorpus (approx. 30 million words), and the Special-purpose Subcorpus (approx. 35 million words). Due to factors including the total size of the corpus and the different sampling techniques used to compile the various subcorpora (among which the Publication Subcorpus displays the highest degree of randomization: see Maekawa et al. 2014), the decision was made to include only the Publication Subcorpus (or PSC) in the present survey. It is composed of randomly sampled excerpts from all books, magazines, and newspapers published in Japan during the years 2001 to 2005 (Maekawa et al. 2014:348). The exclusion of the other subcorpora means that the complete linguistic variety of the BCCWJ (ranging from blog texts to the minutes of the National Diet of Japan) is not represented in the present study. The PSC nonetheless encompasses a variety of text types, such as different genres of fiction and non-fiction literature, textbooks, magazine articles, advertisements, and interview transcripts. It can be noted that even the BCCWJ as a whole does not cover the entire range of Japanese text types. Email and *manga* (Japanese comics) are not included (Maekawa et al. 2014:351). While not perfect in terms of coverage, the PSC allows us to gain a sense of salient functionalities of Japanese imperatives in (published) written Japanese. The large amount of dialogue found in fiction also gives us an indication (although indirect at best) of the different spoken language applications of the constructions under study.

One property of the PSC that should be brought up is the presence of translation literature, which provides ca. 15% of the tokens of the naked imperative analyzed in the study. This is an issue in terms of the potential influence of translationese. I will nonetheless take the position that, since translation literature is part of the domain of (published) written Japanese, excluding it would have a negative impact on the representativeness of the sample.

## 2.2 Data retrieval and processing

As with the BCCWJ itself, the Publication Subcorpus is too large to allow for the illocutionary analysis of every imperative token. The survey is therefore limited to a randomized sample of the imperative tokens found in the PSC. Moreover, the system of grammatical tagging used to extract tokens for analysis is less than completely reliable (see Maekawa et al. 2014:353-358), making manual processing of the search results necessary.

In order to derive the sample used for the survey of the naked imperative, all words tagged as *meireikei* 'imperative form' were extracted from the PSC using the Web interface *Chunagon*[65], producing a total of 36606 hits. The resultant data did not only

[65] https://chunagon.ninjal.ac.jp/.

include the naked imperative (which, against the background of our discussion in chapter 4, we will here define loosely as tokens representing the imperative inflections of non-honorific and non-benefactive verbs). The data also included *–nasai*, *–te kure* and *–te kudasai*, as well as the imperative inflections of honorific main verbs (e.g. *nasai*, *kudasai*). It further included imperative forms found in adjectives, and other imperative-based directive strategies (e.g. *–tamae*). There were also various types of parsing errors, such as the analysis of the *ren'yookei* form of potential verbs (e.g. *yom-e* read-POT) in the *chuushihoo* construction (see Svahn 2010:66) as imperative inflections. All hits other than those matching the profile of the naked imperative were excluded (see below for exceptions). This resulted in a total of 10662 remaining instances, out of which a random sample of 2000 was in turn extracted and analyzed. The occurrence of false positives raises the issue of whether valid imperative tokens have been excluded due to parsing errors in the corpus (for a related issue, see the discussion of concessive imperatives in 3.3). However, there does not seem to be any method, short of sifting through the entire subcorpus and manually extracting all imperative tokens, of guarding against this possibility.

Some tokens that do not match the definition "imperative inflections of non-honorific and non-benefactive verbs" were included in the sample. These include instances of *kure* (give.me.IMP) in its function as a main clause verb of giving. As a rule, occurrences of the imperative in an honorific context have been included in the case of specific lexical items that cannot be regarded as belonging to a productive non-naked strategy. Cases in point are the imperative inflections of certain honorific verbs: *irasshai* (come/go.HON-IMP), *osshai* (say.HON-IMP) and *meshiagare* (eat/drink.HON-IMP). This approach helps us capture some applications of the Japanese imperative (for example, greetings in the case of *irasshai* 'welcome') that otherwise might have fallen between the cracks, thus providing a more complete picture of its illocutionary potential. However, attestations of *kudasai* and *nasai* as main verbs have been excluded wholly from analysis. They cannot structurally be classified as belonging to the strategies *–te kudasai* or *–nasai*, but are functionally similar enough to them that they can hardly be lumped together with the naked imperative.

The strategies *–nasai*, *–te kure* and *–te kudasai* are represented by three samples of 500 attestations each, giving a total of 3500 imperative tokens. The data sets from which these samples were randomly extracted were generated as follows: In the case of *–nasai*, all words tagged as constituting the *meireikei* of *nasaru* (do.HON) were extracted, producing 2635 hits. Variant strategies (HON–[verb]–*nasai*, *–nasare*, etc.), and instances in which the string *nasai* represents the imperative inflection of a main verb rather than an honorific auxiliary were manually removed. For *–te kure*, all words analyzed as following the character string *te/de* and constituting the *meireikei* of *kureru* (give.to.me) were extracted, producing 2298 hits. Parsing errors and instances in which the gerund is negative in polarity (*–naide kure*) were manually removed. Similarly, all words tagged as following the character string *te/de* and constituting the

*meireikei* of *kudasaru* (give.to.me.HON) were extracted, producing 6439 hits. Variant strategies (e.g. *–te kudasare*) and instances in which the gerund is negative in polarity (*–naide kudasai*) were manually removed.

In addition to the processing described above, other types of manual selection took place before the final samples were extracted. This included the removal of tokens that, while arguably not parsing errors due to their incorporation of formal imperative features, were judged not to be imperatives.[66] Since the present study has as its focus the usage profile of the imperative in contemporary Standard Japanese, the age of the published texts was also taken into account. Although the texts that make up the PSC were published between 2001 and 2005, they include material that is not representative of contemporary usage. Examples include reprints of works originally published during the early 20th century, and texts which contain quoted passages written in Classical Japanese. In the present survey, all texts in which the author or translator into Japanese (if translated) were born earlier than 1910 (when such information was available) have been excised. Texts that make use of *rekishiteki kanazukai*, the *kana* orthography in use prior to 1946, have also been removed. Imperatives that occur in quotations written in pre-modern language styles (such as quotes from classical poems) have generally been excluded. However, contemporary literature in which the dialogue reflects older language features (such as historical fiction) was retained. As with translation literature, such attestations must be classed as part of the usage range of the imperative in written contemporary Japanese.

The width of textual coverage in a study of this type reduces the impact of individual language users or textual genres on the overall results. This gives a potential advantage in terms of representativeness when compared with less diversified approaches. However, one problem with this method is the lack of co-text available when determining the contextual (most importantly, interpersonal) parameters that govern the use of the imperative.

In order to analyze the role of imperative tokens in context, the 200 words preceding and following the imperative word form were extracted using *Chunagon* along with the tokens themselves. The analysis of the tokens is thus based on 400 word excerpts from the corpus (ca. 600 characters per excerpt). It can be added that since the subcorpus itself is composed of excerpts, the analysis of full texts is in most cases impossible.

This approach does not provide the detailed picture of the relationships and motivations of fictional characters available to someone who catalogues all imperative tokens found in a specific work or works of fiction (as is done by Takahashi in his survey of the English imperative). Nonetheless, it is my view that the use of corpus-derived excerpts rather than full texts is justifiable (for a differing view, see Takahashi 2012:22). Some uses of the imperative have relatively stereotyped properties and can

[66] One example is adjectivized *mottekoi* 'perfect (for something)', originally from *motte koi* (carry-GER come-IMP) 'Bring it!'

be identified based on short sequences of text (two examples being military orders and textbook instructions). One of the most frequent functionalities, that of the concessive, is typically identifiable based on formal features alone. Moreover, the Japanese language may be comparatively well suited to this approach, as its linguistic marking of social variables (such as the gender of the speaker, politeness level and presence of benefactivity/malefactivity) in written dialogue is fairly explicit when compared with e.g. contemporary Swedish or English. Frequently, much of the interpersonal context of an exchange can be deduced from the grammatical features of the utterances themselves. Finally, information on the plots of fictional works (and, in the case of translation literature, the whole text) is at times available online, allowing the researcher to acquire further information on interpersonal relationships within the narrative when necessary.

## 2.3 Illocutionary classification scheme

### *2.3.1 Introduction*

The illocutionary taxonomy used in this thesis is derived from what I will term the "Belgian" school of corpus-based research. Here represented by *The Imperative in English: a Corpus-based, Pragmatic Analysis* (De Clerck 2006) and *The Imperative in English and Dutch: A Functional Analysis in Comparable and Parallel Corpora* (Van Olmen 2011), it is an ambitious and comprehensive approach to the analysis of the imperative in authentic text.[67] However, in spite of the importance of corpus linguistics in functionalist semantics-pragmatics, the overall role of corpus methodology in the present thesis is limited. This is partially due to the practical issues surrounding any attempt at illocutionary classification, which are discussed in 2.3.5.

### *2.3.2 Taxonomical model*

Originally developed by De Rycker, the "taxonomical model of hybrid illocutionary types" (De Clerck 2006:6) attempts to capture the illocutionary hybridity exhibited by imperatives in context (see De Clerck 2006:95, Van Olmen 2011:37). Imperatives are prototypically used when getting people to do things (i.e. as directives), but the utterances in which they occur can simultaneously fulfill other functions. This includes conveying the attitude of the speaker (*Don't be so stupid, you idiot!*) or committing him or her to future action (*Eat your broccoli and I will be nice to you*). As discussed in earlier chapters, some usages of the imperative appear to lack directivity altogether.

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[67] The unpublished PhD thesis *Imperative Subtypes in Conversational British English: an Empirical Investigation* (De Rycker 1990) was not available to the author.

In the interest of space, a full presentation of the framework will not be provided. For discussions of the specifics of the taxonomy and the range of functionalities covered by it, see De Clerck (2006:95-152) and Van Olmen (2011:34-51). Japanese examples illustrating some of the illocutionary categories listed here are found in chapter 7.

Briefly summarized, the taxonomy hinges on a set of general types of functionalities that are in turn subdivided into what I will call illocutionary or functional categories. Van Olmen (2013:13) provides the following overview of (his version of) the framework. Examples are mine unless indicated otherwise.

Table 6-1.
Hybrid taxonomy (adapted from Van Olmen 2013:13)

| **Type** | **Description** |
|---|---|
| willful directive | strong appeal to [the addressee] to do what [the speaker] wants and what is usually to the benefit of the latter |
| | Examples: order (*Put your hands above your head*)<br>request (*Please pass the salt*) |
| non-willful directive | weaker appeal to A to do what S thinks is to the benefit of the former |
| | Examples: instruction (*Stir the dough gently*)<br>advice (*Don't look a gift horse in the mouth*) |
| commissive directive | commitment of S to do something which is often to the benefit of S and A and which usually also involves some action by A |
| | Examples: invitation (*Please do come*)<br>permission (A: *Can I do it*? B: *Go ahead*) |
| expressive directive | appeal to A in which S primarily expresses his or her attitude toward A |
| | Examples: challenge (*Don't be so stupid, you idiot*)<br>apology (*Forgive me*) |
| mixed expressive | 'appeal' [no actual directivity] through which S hopes to bring about a [state of affairs] that A does not control and that shows S's attitude toward A |
| | Examples: good wish (*Have a nice Christmas*)<br>imprecation, i.e. bad wish (*Drop dead*) |

| | |
|---|---|
| non-directive | general truths and beliefs or descriptions of certain habits and specific properties, i.e. representatives [=statements] |

The final type is used to handle a subset of the conditional usages of the imperative (Van Olmen 2011:40: [*S*]*hoot a gas tank and it explodes*).

The various illocutionary categories are in turn defined in terms of illocutionary dimensions (see De Clerck 2006:99-100, 150 and Van Olmen 2011:40-41). These include the following:

1. Degree of illocutionary strength (generally speaking, the intensity with which an attempt is made to make someone realize a certain state of affairs)
2. Volition (the degree to which the speaker desires that said state of affairs is realized)
3. Optionality (the degree to which the realization of a certain state of affairs is presented as being a matter of choice on the part of the addressee)
4. Relations of power/authority between speaker and addressee
5. Directionality (whether the prescribed course of action involves doing something or not doing something)
6. Benefit (whether it is the speaker, the addressee, or both parties that benefit from the realization of the prescribed state of affairs)

A further factor is the dimension of 'goal-specificness' (De Clerck 2006:104-106, Van Olmen 2011:40). This notion is used to distinguish categories that are used under specific circumstances, such as different types of commissive and expressive directives. To exemplify, "both mixed expressive types [good wishes and imprecations] can be said to have as their specific goal (or target) that the hearer will undergo or experience something" (De Rycker 1990:262 as quoted in De Clerck 2006:132).

Another distinction central to the approach lies in distinguishing between "major" and "minor" imperatives, the latter being "syntactically unproductive, lexically stereotyped, and insensitive to structural change" (De Clerck 2006:44). One English-language example is *Don't mention it* (2006:44, 86, 89, 136), which is used in a specific interactional scenario and restricted in terms of formal variation (*Don't*/**Do mention it*). While stating that "the difference between the two categories is not so clear-cut" (2011:35), Van Olmen restricts the use of the illocutionary taxonomy outlined above to the analysis of major imperatives, choosing to treat minor imperatives on a case-by-case basis (2011:36). A similar division into productive and lexicalized imperatives is applicable in the case of Japanese. Formally and contextually restricted examples include *irasshai*(*mase*) 'welcome', *ganbare* 'hang in there', *itterasshai* 'see you' and *uso tsuke* 'Liar!'. However, in the interest of simplicity I include stereotyped usages of the imperative in my general analysis.

*2.3.3 Use of English-based framework*

My categorization of Japanese imperative tokens is principally based on the English-language examples of illocutionary categories found in De Clerck (2006) and Van Olmen (2011), along with their discussion of the parameters which define them. This is a potentially controversial choice. Due to what she considers to be the culture-specific nature of speech acts, Wierzbicka (2003) rejects the use of English-based illocutionary frameworks in the analysis of other languages. Using Japanese as an example, she states that "[…] to describe speech acts which are characteristic of Japanese culture in positive terms, one needs a metalanguage which would not be derived from English speech-act labels such as *thank* or *apologise*" (2003:156). Before further detailing how the "Belgian framework" has been adapted to fit the approach of the present thesis, we may need to justify the choice to apply a taxonomy developed for the analysis of English (and Dutch) and centering on English-derived illocutionary descriptors (*request, warning*, etc.) to Japanese.

One source of justification is the arbitrary nature of any such classificatory enterprise. Leech states that "[…] we should no more assume that there are in pragmatic reality distinct categories such as orders or requests than that there are in geographical reality distinct categories such as puddles, ponds and lakes" (1983:177). Related issues are discussed by De Clerck (2006:94).

Language-specific sets of illocutionary descriptors certainly exist (see Wierzbicka 2003:150 on illocutionary "folk labels" and Aikhenvald 2010:306-307 for a discussion of directive labels in Ilongot). However, due to the complexity of human interaction, it is less certain that there is any way of slicing the illocutionary pie that will correspond to a "psychologically real" set of discrete categories. In every language a restricted set of grammatical relations (subject, object, indirect object, etc.) is forced to encompass the endlessly variegated states in which an entity can be conceived to exist (e.g. kicker of cans, victim of rumors, fulfiller of good intentions). In much the same way, a finite array of linguistic strategies and illocutionary descriptors must accommodate a range of interactional scenarios potentially infinite in variety (for related discussion, see Jaszczolt 2002:306-307).

Should categories derived from Japanese linguistic terminology or from folk labels (e.g. *tanomu* 'ask, request, beg') have been used in the present analysis? While there are overlaps in terms of terminology between different authors, the illocutionary classification schemes employed in the Japanese literature do not appear to reflect a consensus on intersubjectively shared, Japanese-specific "natural kinds" of categories. In this respect they do not differ from the taxonomies found in the English-language literature (see De Clerck 2006:77-87). Definitions of basic concepts such as *meirei* 'order' and *irai* 'request' are not wholly uniform, and, as in English (see Davies 1986:34-35), folk labels are not reliable indicators of illocutionary force categories as defined in a given taxonomy.

Moreover, parameters corresponding to the dimensions of power, benefit, and optionality in the hybrid taxonomy show up in analyses of directive functionality in

the Japanese literature. Two examples are the taxonomies used in Hara (2005:11) and Mori, Hiratsuka and Nakamura (2012). In the latter study, explicit reference is made to Leech's (1983) discussion of optionality (2012:6). Finally, we may recall that *meirei*, a term central to the discussion of directivity in Japanese, appears to derive from Western linguistics (see chapter 5).

The points raised above are not intended to imply that the choice of applying an English-based taxonomy to Japanese is unproblematic. Nonetheless, I believe that it is justifiable. No attempt to capture the complexity of linguistic interaction can be perfect, but the Belgian approach to illocutionary classification is well thought out and derives from a rich tradition of speech act studies. As it has (to my knowledge) not previously been applied to Japanese, it offers a different perspective on phenomena that have been analyzed mainly by indigenous linguists.

### *2.3.4 Adaptations*

The taxonomy used in the present thesis mainly derives from what Van Olmen (2011:34) terms his "slightly modified version of De Clerck's (2006) slightly modified version of De Rycker's (1990) taxonomy". While some of the usages listed as directive within this model are outside the sphere of canonical directivity (see discussion in chapter 3), in the interest of maintaining the integrity of the approach the overall organization has been retained. One exception is the class of non-directives, the expansion of which reflects the role of concessive imperatives in Japanese and the attempt to distinguish between descriptive and performative functionality in imperatives, as described in 3.2.

Table 6-2.
The illocutionary taxonomy used in the present survey

| Type | Category |
|---|---|
| **Willful directives** | Order[1] |
| | Order[2] |
| | Demand |
| | Plea |
| | Request |
| | Encouragement |
| | Wish |
| | Willful instruction |
| **Non-willful directives** | Advice |
| | Warning |
| | Instruction |
| **Commissive directives** | Invitation |
| | Greeting |
| | Promise |
| | Threat |
| | Proposal |
| | Self-deliberation |
| | Permission |
| | Acceptance |
| **Expressive directives** | Challenge |
| | Support |
| | Apology |
| | Wonder |
| **Mixed expressives** | Good wish |
| | Imprecation |
| **Non-directives** | Conditional |
| | Concessive |
| | Reported |
| | Other |
| **Discourse-oriented** | Discourse-oriented |
| **Indeterminate** | Indeterminate |

When carrying out an illocutionary survey, the researcher runs the risk of using a taxonomical scheme so fine-grained that it causes him or her to make inconsistent or arbitrary category assignments due to a lack of contextual information. However, too broad an approach may fail to capture interesting patterns in the data. In my attempt to mitigate the first of the two dangers I have simplified various distinctions made by De Clerck (2006) and Van Olmen (2011) while also making heavy use of the concept of indeterminacy. To give examples of the simplifications made, my use of 'advice' subsumes Van Olmen's 'recommendation' and 'suggestion' (2011:44-46), my 'warning' is merged with his 'reminder' (2011:46), and my 'invitation' incorporates his 'offer' (2011:47). As for indeterminacy, under circumstances in which, for instance, it is clear that a directive has speaker benefit and high directive strength but the choice between e.g. 'request' or 'plea' is difficult, I have analyzed it as "indeterminate willful". If ambiguous between two or several of the larger functional types (for instance, between a willful and a non-willful directive), it has been analyzed as wholly indeterminate and assigned to that type (see Table 6-2 above).

Simplifications have thus been made, but new categories have also been added to aid in capturing patterns in the Japanese data, to compensate for the lack of distinction between minor and major imperatives, and, finally, due to terminological concerns. As for the final point, De Clerck (2006:101) and Van Olmen (2011:41) employ a distinction between 'commands' and 'orders' earlier used by Searle and Vanderveken (1985:201). Whereas 'commands' are associated with formal authority on the part of the speaker (e.g. an unconditional directive given by a military officer) 'orders' need not be (e.g. an unconditional directive given by a criminal holding a gun). Due to the conflicting ways in which 'command' has been used in the previous literature I have excluded the term entirely, using 'order[1]' (= authoritative) and 'order[2]' (=non-authoritative) instead. While not present in the above table, the heading "indeterminate order" was used to accommodate forceful directives in which it is not contextually clear whether authority is involved. To enable a more fine-grained analysis of *–nasai*, the (perhaps inappropriately named) category 'willful instruction' was used to distinguish authoritative, sequential directives that assume rather than enforce compliance (e.g. in the vein of *Take out your pens. Now copy what I write on the blackboard* addressed to a class of grade school students). This is an oxymoron in terms of the original hybrid taxonomies, as instructions are defined in part by their non-willfulness and lack of directive strength.

In the absence of a major-minor imperative distinction, I have added the category 'greeting' to capture the function of fixed phrases such as *irasshai* 'welcome', and the type 'discourse-oriented' to describe a usage of the verb *matsu* 'wait' (the frequently self-addressed phrase *mate yo* 'hang on, hold on') that is functionally similar to a discourse marker but not comfortably integrated under the heading 'non-directive'. De Clerck (2006:136) and Van Olmen (2011:50-51) appear to treat concessive uses of the imperative as instances of 'acceptance' (i.e. acts of permission in which desire on the part of the speaker is absent). Due to the distinctive features and high

frequency of imperative-derived concessives in Japanese, they here inhabit their own category as part of the non-directive family.

Before discussing the weaknesses of classificatory approaches in general, some issues concerning the Belgian approach as implemented here will be discussed. Despite the adaptations listed above, the hybrid taxonomy does not capture the totality of the interactional nuances found in the Japanese data. To give an example, connotations reminiscent of 'challenge' (a category discussed by Van Olmen 2011:48 as "[…] a manifestation of the speaker's psychological state of disdain for or anger with the hearer and his or her behavior as well as a call on him or her to change it") can arise in tandem with functionalities such as 'order', as in phrasings of the type *Chanto* [verbal noun] *shinasai!* 'Do [activity] properly!' There is no doubt that feelings such as anger and disdain can influence the choice of whether to phrase a directive using potentially face-threatening strategies such as *–nasai* and the naked imperative. However, I have not classified tokens as 'challenge' unless expressive, rather than directive, functionality can be assumed to be the primary goal of the utterance (for related discussion, see De Clerck 2006:129). The additional connotations that these utterances carry are thus excluded from the analysis for the purpose of fitting them into the two-tier scheme of types and categories. On the other hand, allowing for illocutions such as "order-challenges" belonging simultaneously to willful and expressive directives would be unworkable. In the present survey, individual tokens are not classified as instantiating multiple illocutionary categories.

Finally, one should not expect the interactional scenarios occurring in the Japanese data to match up perfectly with examples of the categories as used by De Clerck and Van Olmen. For instance, while De Clerck discusses 'acceptance' (exemplified by utterances such as *Do as you please*) in terms of the powerlessness of the speaker (2006:126), the category in the present study encompasses illocutionary acts that are in the indigenous tradition termed *hoonin* (lit. 'non-interference'), in which the speaker can hold authority (see chapter 7, section 2.2 for discussion).

### *2.3.5 Issues*

Criticism of the illocutionary approach to the analysis of directives is provided by De Clerck (2006:91-94) and Takahashi (2012:57, 68-70, 77), the latter author stating that: "[…] in actual data, the great majority of imperatives are indeterminate as to illocutionary act categories" (2012:57). We will here address some of the issues surrounding the classificatory approach and their consequences for the presentation and interpretation of the results of the present survey.

Most usages of imperatives cannot be classified in terms of force categories unless the context of utterance is known. However, a fundamental problem for category-based classificatory approaches is that a given communicative situation can resemble many different illocutionary scenarios. For example, a forceful directive (='order'?) may be issued that implies a critical attitude towards the addressee (='challenge'?) while also having the purpose of steering him or her away from an unwise course of

action (='warning'?). The decision must thus be made, at times based on limited clues, as to which prototype in terms of illocutionary dimensions the situation matches most closely. Illocutionary analysis outside of stereotyped contexts with limited need for interpretation (e.g. cross-references in textbooks, greetings) is thus likely to involve approximations and educated guesses. This relates to the fact that the communicative intentions of others are ultimately inaccessible (see De Clerck 2006:93).

In order to remedy the weaknesses of earlier approaches to the analysis of directive functionality, Takahashi proposes a model based on numerical values in terms of the six parameters DESIRE, CAPABILITY, POWER, COST, BENEFIT, and OBLIGATION (2012:5 et passim), eschewing categorization in terms of discrete illocutionary categories. To give an example, the parameter DESIRE (corresponding to the degree to which the user of an imperative construction desires the realization of a state of affairs), has the possible values "[+2] (high), [+1] (low), [0] (zero), [-1] (minus low), and [-2] (minus high)", with negative values indicating the desire that a state of affairs should not be realized (2012:79). Roughly speaking, different illocutionary categories such as used in the Belgian approach correspond to different total scores in terms of parameters (2012:85). I am sympathetic to much of Takahashi's criticism of previous analyses. However, the use of numerical values does not resolve the issue of imperfect knowledge as to communicative intentions.

Adherents of classificatory methodologies might argue that if sufficient data (such as corpus annotation providing information on social factors relevant to interaction; see De Clerck 2006:157 for an example) is available, the problems surrounding the approach can be adequately mitigated (see De Clerck 2013:147, Van Olmen 2014:866). Nonetheless, De Clerck (2006:92) states that "[a] weakness of speech act theory is to pretend that the speaker's illocutionary intentions can be precisely pinned down". Regardless of the best efforts of researchers, this is a serious issue. Fundamental epistemological problems threaten any analysis that ultimately hinges on reading the minds of authors, fictional characters, or conversational participants in transcripts. Even when information on factors such as sex, gender, and the communicative role of interlocutors is available, I cannot see how the dangers of arbitrariness and guesswork, however educated, can be eliminated. Numerical rigor as introduced by Takahashi is not likely to remedy this problem. Whether category-based or numerical, the more ambitious and specific the system of classification, the more pronounced the epistemological issue becomes.

Even within a study of one specific text, for which detailed knowledge of the plot and interpersonal relationships is available to the researcher, there are likely to be occasions on which (to give an example) a minor character appears, issues a directive, and disappears from the narrative without the researcher being able to gain adequate knowledge of his or her mental state. Moreover, no matter how rigorous the framework, to the extent that categories are not determinable strictly based on grammatical or lexical criteria, analysis will involve the intuitions of the researcher as to what constitutes a directive situation with certain interactional parameters. Corpus

data can thus be regarded as stimuli, with the researcher being the informant. The difference between this type of corpus analysis and the currently controversial practices of elicitation and introspection can therefore be viewed as a matter of degree.

A final problem worthy of mention is the vulnerability to error that affects any activity involving thousands of individual judgments performed on the basis of imperfect information. In the present survey a range of excerpts from the corpus were shown to native informants in order to verify the extent to which my classifications matched their intuitions. However, determining whether the intuitions of a native speaker (articulated without the benefit of a systematic terminology) match a classification based on the hybrid taxonomy is not an easy task.

The criticism raised in this section does not imply a wholesale rejection of corpus methodology based on illocutionary or parametric analysis. The acknowledgement that not all usages of the imperative are alike is a prerequisite to the serious study of imperative and directive functionality. However, as a consequence of the issues discussed in the present section, the statements I am willing to make on the basis of this survey concern broad tendencies in the data, preferably traceable to unambiguous contextual or formal patterns. My view is thus, perhaps at odds with the zeitgeist within functionalist linguistics, that corpus data is here best used as a complement to qualitative, elicitation-based data. The results presented throughout the following sections should be interpreted with this point in mind.

# 3. Analysis and results

## 3.1 Preliminaries

During analysis the 3500 imperative tokens were tagged for illocutionary properties, but also for other variables:

1. presence/absence and type of sentence final particles,
2. presence/absence and type of other illocutionary modifiers (such as the adverbs discussed in chapter 4, section 2.3),
3. presence/absence and type of imperative subjects/vocative phrases,
4. status as lexicalized/idiomatic vs. “major” imperative.

Due to space constraints and the limited role that corpus methodology plays in the overall approach of the present thesis, only the illocutionary results will be discussed in this chapter.

Far from presenting a clear view of the functional profiles of the different imperative-based strategies in Japanese as a whole, the present study provides, at best,

a fuzzy picture of their usage within the Publication Subcorpus of the BCCWJ. Potential issues affecting representativeness and accuracy include the mixture of fiction and non-fiction as well as native and translation literature, the classificatory methodology itself, and the extent to which the tagging of the corpus may have excluded valid imperative tokens from the sample. Because the methodology (and most of the problems) are consistent across the different strategies, there is, in my opinion, a certain basis for comparison between them. Still, in view of the inherent subjectivity of the approach, it does not seem appropriate to discuss the resultant data in terms of statistical significance. Consequently, I follow De Clerck (2006) and Van Olmen (2011:53-4) in not making use of statistical testing. It is my view that the main conclusions (that Japanese imperative constructions have a variety of functions in context, and that their respective profiles are not dominated by 'order' or 'request' illocutions) can be argued for without relying on claims of statistical significance.

## 3.2 Descriptive versus performative usages

Imperatives are often viewed as performative in nature (in the basic sense of being used for linguistic acts of "doing" rather than acts of "describing"). However, some applications of the imperative depart from this pattern. Among uses of Japanese imperatives that have to do with directivity, some are not performatively directive. That is to say, rather than being used in an attempt to make the addressee do something (a usage here referred to as "performative"), imperatives are often used when merely *informing* the addressee that someone tried to make someone do something (a usage here referred to as "descriptive" or "representative").

Let us suppose that (1) below is uttered by a character in a written work of fiction, *Hanako no Daibooken* ('Hanako's Great Adventure').[68]

(1) Hanako wa Jiroo ni Tookyoo e ik-e to it-ta.
Hanako TOP Jiroo DAT Tokyo to go-IMP COMP say-PST
'Hanako told Jiroo to go to Tokyo.' (Speaker: Taroo, Addressee: Michiko)

Within the narrative, (1) is spoken by Taroo, who informs Michiko that Hanako told Jiroo to go to Tokyo. Although he utters an imperative token, Taroo is not attempting to make anyone go to Tokyo. Hanako is a female given name. Because female speakers of Japanese are unlikely to use the naked imperative as a directive strategy, both Michiko and the reader will probably assume that Hanako did not actually utter *Tookyoo e ike* in the interactional situation that is being reported on (see chapters 4 and 7 for discussion of reported imperatives in Japanese). The imperative token can be classified as occurring in indirect reported speech. Moreover, no reader of this passage will receive the impression that the author of *Hanako no Daibooken* is

[68] This is a fictitious work, invented for the purposes of the present discussion.

attempting to get the *reader* to go to Tokyo. We will now consider the following authentic example of written Japanese, the road sign (2).

(2) Tomar-e
stop-IMP
'Stop.' (Writer: Government of Japan, Addressee: Reader)

The road sign directly addresses the reader, and orders him or her to stop. (1) can be viewed as a prototypical descriptive usage of the imperative in written language, whereas (2) is a prototypical performative usage.

When evaluated on a scale of descriptivity/representativity versus performativity, the majority of the imperative tokens found in the Publication Subcorpus can be grouped into the following categories.[69]

1. Indirect quotation
2. Constructed quotation
3. Verbatim quotation
4. Text-internal performative (e.g. matrix clause imperatives in character-to-character dialogue)
5. Reader-oriented performative (e.g. instructions in textbooks)

I will here take the stance that, generally speaking, 1 and 2 function as part of a larger message in a manner that can be viewed as "descriptive/representative". These will be analyzed as 'non-performative reported imperatives' under the heading of 'non-directive'. By contrast, 3, 4 and 5 either reproduce or constitute communicative acts in such a way that they can be termed "performative".

In one sense neither verbatim nor non-verbatim reported imperatives are performative in the same manner as non-reported uses of the imperative. However, verbatim quotations can be traced back to a situation in which they *were*. Because "[…] quoted imperatives too represent possible uses of the imperative in the original context they occur in" (De Clerck 2006:160), I consider verbatim quoted imperatives to reflect the functional range of non-reported imperatives. I have therefore classified them based on their original illocutionary functions if determinable.

Beyond verbatim quotation, imperatives can also serve to indirectly summarize, report or convey previous utterances or communicative attitudes. The original message need not even be linguistic in nature, as seen in the following example provided by Oshima and Sano (2012:158, glossing modified by me).

[69] Some usages that do not fit this scheme, such as imperatives in titles, are grouped under "nondirective – other".

(3) Kare wa "A[t]chi ni ik-e" to te o fut-ta.
3SG TOP there DAT go-IMP COMP hand OBJ wave-PST
a. 'He waved his hand, saying "Go away".'
b. 'He waved his hand, to convey the message: "Go away".'

In the absence of sufficient contextual information, this sentence is ambiguous. In the case of the first interpretation (if judged likely to be a verbatim representation of speech) the use of *ike* (go-IMP) would in the present survey be analyzed as performative (i.e. directive), whereas in the case of the second interpretation, it would be analyzed as descriptive (i.e. non-directive).

Various factors were considered when assessing whether to analyze the use of an imperative as descriptive or performative:

1. Formal features indicative of indirect quotation, such as the presence of content question words inside the imperative clause, as in *Doo shiro to iu n da* (how do-IMP COMP say-NPST NML COP.NPST) 'What do you want me/are you telling me to do?', and deictic adjustment of indexicals to match the matrix clause
2. Orthographic features such as presence vs. absence of brackets, periods, and exclamation marks
3. The use of the written-language imperative allomorph *–yo* rather than *–ro* in texts representing contemporary Japanese (see Martin 1988:961 for an example of a non-verbatim quote using *–yo*)
4. Level of formal elaboration, such as presence vs. absence of sentence final particles and illocutionary adverbs (e.g. *chotto* 'a little') as well as features mirroring spoken language, such as repetition and indications of disfluency
5. Co-textual indications of whether the strategy is likely to have been used in the original directive situation (as stated above, the probability that female speakers will use the naked imperative is low). Alternatively, indications that no specific directive situation existed (as in generic constructed quotations: see (62) in chapter 7 for an example)
6. In the case of translation literature, whether the source text (when available) is phrased using indirect quotation
7. Informant intuitions as to whether a phrase is likely to actually have been uttered within the narrative (checking was restricted to a subset of the total hits)

The five categories presented at the beginning of this section represent what can also be viewed as a continuum ranging from maximally indirect or descriptive to maximally direct or performative usages. Phenomena such as deictic shifting at times

make for obvious cases of non-verbatim quotation, but, as with classification into illocutionary categories, analyses are often subjective in nature. While no attempt at distinguishing direct from indirect quotation in Japanese text can be entirely successful, this methodology represents my attempt at capturing what I consider to be an important distinction between different roles of Japanese imperatives in discourse.

## 3.3 The naked imperative

The illocutionary profile of the naked imperative is illustrated in Figure 6-1 below.[70]

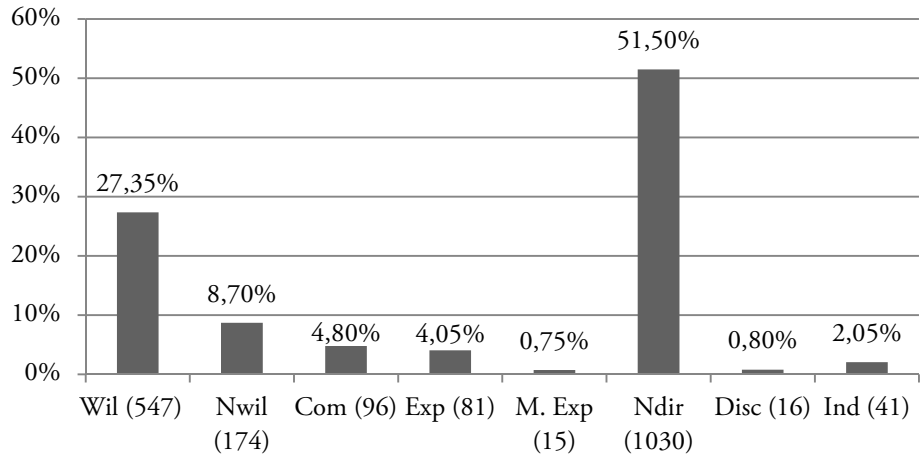


Figure 6-1.
The illocutionary profile of the naked imperative (2000 instances)

As indicated by Figure 6-1, naked imperatives are in the Publication Subcorpus used across a variety of illocutionary scenarios. The contexts in which naked imperatives occur in the corpus material can be broadly captured in terms of two categories. The first category constitutes directives that are forceful and/or issued from a position of authority, although they need not be prototypical orders. They are typically found in fictional dialogue. Within the corpus, genres in which naked imperatives occur in dialogue include historical fiction (e.g. feudal lords addressing their retainers), crime fiction (e.g. in directives issued by police or by gangsters), pornography (as used by dominants towards submissives), and military fiction or non-fiction.

[70] Abbreviations are as follows: Wil (Willful directive), Nwil (Non-willful directive), Com (Commissive), Exp (Expressive), M. Exp (Mixed expressive), Ndir (Non-directive), Disc (Discourse-oriented), Ind (Indeterminate).

The second category consists of contexts in which linguistic indications of politeness are absent due to stylistic factors and/or lack of directive functionality. Examples from the corpus material include reported directives, instructions in textbooks, cross-references in academic texts, titles, and proverbs. This binary distinction can be analyzed in terms of "unmitigated" and "underdetermined" aspects of the naked imperative, as detailed in chapter 7, section 3.3.

The illocutionary profile of the naked imperative is unique among the four imperative constructions in that the majority of usages fall under the heading 'non-directive'. This is mainly due to the large proportion of concessive imperatives and non-verbatim (i.e. non-performative) reported directives found in the sample. Figure 6-2 below examines the instances that were analyzed as 'non-directive' in further detail.

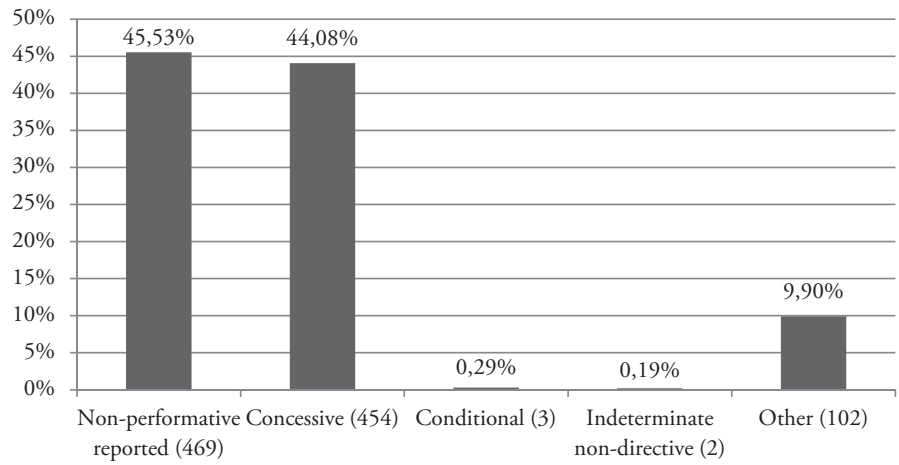


Figure 6-2.
Non-directives (1030 instances)

Due to the ambiguity seen in Japanese reported speech (discussed in chapter 4 and the previous section), there are situations in which it is not possible to determine whether a report is direct or indirect. The proportion of non-performative reported directives is thus based on educated guesses. Regardless of the exact figures, their contribution to the total is likely to be substantial. Even when assuming a margin of error as large as, say, +/–200 hits, non-performative reported directives form the largest or one of the largest subcategories of usage.

Concessives form the second-largest subcategory. Because they can be reliably identified using formal criteria, a more detailed quantitative examination is justified. In contemporary Japanese, imperative-based concessives are primarily associated with formal written language in terms of stylistic value (see Chen 2007:18). The Publication Subcorpus is annotated for genre, allowing us to examine whether this is

reflected in the data. Within the total 2000 hit sample, the three most frequent genres are literature (807 hits, 40.35%), texts within the social sciences (310 hits, 15.5%) and history (140 hits, 7%), in that order. By contrast, when we look only at the occurrences classed as concessive, the three most frequent genres are social sciences (132 hits, 29.07%), literature (98 hits, 21.59%), and history (48 hits, 10.57%).

It should be noted that the number of concessive tokens in the sample underrepresents their actual prevalence in the Publication Subcorpus. The strings […] *ni seyo*/*shiro* ([…] do-IMP), and *de are* (COP-IMP) are parsed by the corpus as containing the imperative form of verbs, and these constructions accordingly show up in the present analysis. By contrast, other imperative-derived concessives such as *to mo are* ([…] be-IMP), *to wa ie* ([…] say-IMP) and *doose* ([…] do.IMP) are not parsed as containing imperative tokens. While, for instance, *doose* should likely be viewed as not belonging to imperative clause type (see chapter 8, section 2.3), the decision of whether to include or exclude the full range of imperative-derived concessives is not here available to the researcher. Judging by a quick search of the Publication Subcorpus, the excluded concessives listed here total around 4000 hits. Had they been available for extraction and represented in the sample, concessives are likely to have formed the largest subcategory.

The category 'other' is dominated by imperatives in titles. While judgment is at times difficult because the original formatting of texts (in terms of font size, color, spacing, etc.) is not preserved in the BCCWJ, 90 hits were determined to be either titles (either part of the structure of the text itself or referring to artistic or other works or entities mentioned within the text) or judged likely to be titles. The majority of these were classified as "nondirective – other". This constitutes 4.5% of the total 2000 hits, which can be compared with 3 out of 500 for *–te kure* (0.6%), none for *–nasai* (although titles containing *–nasai* are found in Japanese, as discussed in chapter 7), and 1 for *–te kudasai* (0.2%). For a discussion of the (non-)directivity of imperatives in titles and the potential significance of their apparent affinity with the naked imperative, see chapter 7, section 3.4.

From a morphological perspective, concessive imperatives are both naked and imperative. However, they are formally and functionally distinct from the 'naked imperative' as a directive strategy. As discussed in 3.2, certain types of reported imperatives can also be considered functionally distinct from matrix usages. When concessive and non-performative reported imperatives are excluded from the total, the distribution more closely approximates the frequent characterization of the naked imperative as an "order expression" in the literature, with the majority of tokens representing willful directives.

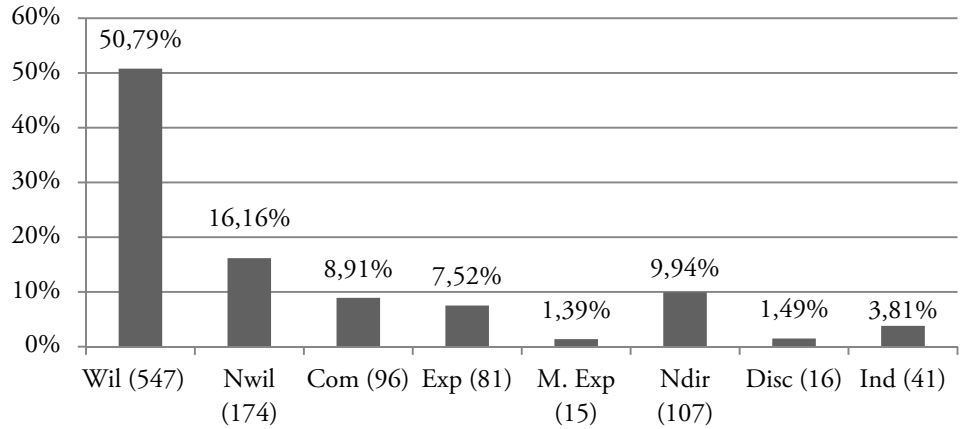


Figure 6-3.
Concessives and reported imperatives excluded (1077 instances)

## 3.4 *–nasai*

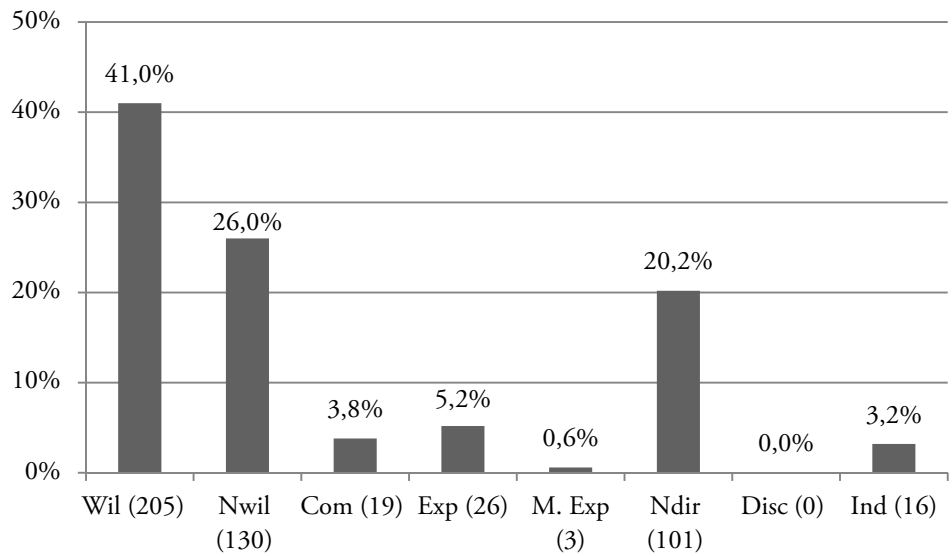


Figure 6-4.
The illocutionary profile of *–nasai* (500 instances)

As with the naked imperative, the use of the "order expression" *–nasai* is not limited to orders, nor even to willful directives. The high amount of non-willful directives is due to the occurrence of *–nasai* in instructions and advice.

(4) Tekisuto deeta o moto ni sorezore no teeburu o
text data OBJ base DAT respective GEN table OBJ
sakusei shi-nasa-i.
write.out do.INF-do.HON-IMP
'Create each table based on the text data.' (BCCWJ)

These can be found within narratives (e.g. in character-to-character dialogue) but also occur in texts in which the addressee is the reader. Instructions addressed to the reader chiefly occur in textbooks, and reader-oriented advice mainly in Christian texts. The non-directives primarily consist of the use of *–nasai* in constructed quotations, as exemplified in chapter 7, section 4.2.

## 3.5 *–te kure*

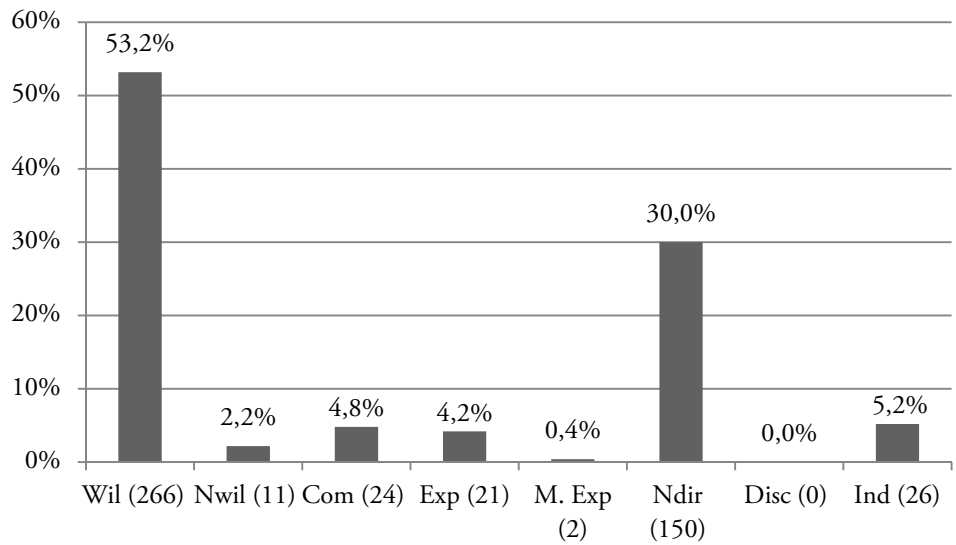


Figure 6-5.
The illocutionary profile of *–te kure* (500 instances)

As can be expected of a "request expression", the profile of *–te kure* is heavy on willful directives. More specifically, its use centers on (but is not restricted to) speaker-benefit directives in informal speech. While unambiguous requests are also found, *–te kure* frequently appears in the context of asymmetrical power relations (e.g. managers

asking that employees perform tasks) in which it is doubtful that the addressee has the right of refusal associated with prototypical requests.

(5) Kagami honbuchoo ga hajimete kuchi o hirai-ta.
Kagami police.chief NOM first.time mouth OBJ open-PST
'Police chief Kagami spoke for the first time.

Shinkoku na kao da.
serious COP.ADN face COP.NPST
His face wore a serious expression.

"Ku-ji-han made.ni kekka o renraku shi-te kure."
nine-hour-half by result OBJ contact do-GER give.me.IMP
"Contact me with the results by half past nine."

Shiki wa gyotto shi-ta. Ku-ji-han? Masaka.
Shiki TOP startle do-PST nine-hour-half impossible
Shiki was taken aback. Half past nine? Impossible!' (BCCWJ)

As is true of the naked imperative, *–te kure* often occurs in reported speech that is likely to be non-verbatim; hence the large proportion of non-directives. For discussions of non-request functionality in *–te kure* and its occurrence in reported directives, see chapter 7.

## 3.6 *–te kudasai*

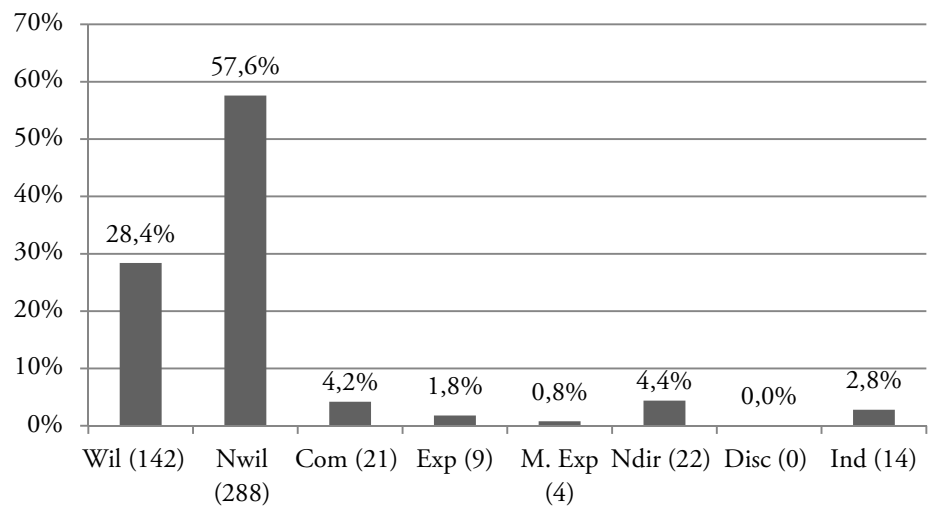


Figure 6-6.
The illocutionary profile of *–te kudasai* (500 instances)

Surprisingly, the profile of the "request expression" *–te kudasai* is dominated by non-willful, addressee-benefit directives: instructions (which make up 180 hits or 36% of the sample), pieces of advice, and warnings. The most frequent context is that of reader-oriented instructions and advice in textbooks and other types of informational literature written in the *desu-masu* ("polite") style.

(6) Settei ga kanryoo shi-tara, "tsugi.e" o kurikku
setting NOM completion do-COND next OBJ klick
shi-te kudasa-i.
do-GER give.me.HON-IMP
'When setup is complete, click "next".' (BCCWJ)

One might here argue that this pattern reflects the textual composition of the Publication Subcorpus and can tell us little about the profile of *–te kudasai* in other contexts. However, as we shall see throughout the following chapters, the fact that *–te kudasai* can occur outside of requests or speaker-benefit directives is relevant to many aspects, both synchronic and diachronic, of the Japanese directive system.

# 4. Summary

Table 6-3.
Summary of results

| Type | Traditional description | Main functions in Publication Subcorpus |
|---|---|---|
| **naked imperative** | *meirei* 'order, command' | willful directive, reported directive, (concessive) |
| ***–nasai*** | *meirei* 'order, command' | willful directive, non-willful directive |
| ***–te kure*** | *irai* 'request' | willful directive in informal speech, reported directive |
| ***–te kudasai*** | *irai* 'request' | non-willful directive in *desu-masu* style, willful directive |

The results indicate at a minimum that the traditional illocutionary descriptors do not serve as exhaustive characterizations of Japanese imperatives in actual usage. Even in the absence of concessive and non-performative reported imperatives, willful directives, under the present analysis, account for only half the profile of the naked imperative. Moreover, factors such as the emphasis on conflict often found in narrative can be hypothesized to lead to a higher ratio of face-threatening linguistic strategies in literary dialogue than in authentic talk-in-interaction. I would not be surprised were a study to reveal that, at least in some registers of spontaneous spoken Japanese, the naked imperative occurs more frequently in reported speech than in matrix clause usages. The relative occurrence, in real-life contexts, of *–te kudasai* in

addressee-benefit versus speaker-benefit directives is another interesting topic for future research.

# 5. Conclusion

While the illocutionary methodology as used here does not lend itself to detailed conclusions of a quantitative nature, the survey suggests that the usage profiles of Japanese imperatives in *parole* need not be dominated by their prototypical functions as defined in the literature. This observation takes on further relevance in the following chapter, in which our focus lies on qualitative evidence (derived in no small part from examples extracted from the Publication Subcorpus) as to the roles of semantics and pragmatics in imperative functionality.

As a final aside, I suggest that illocutionary corpus studies might benefit from the use of a parameter indicating the researcher's degree of confidence in category assignment. This was not done here, mainly due to being an afterthought. The scale could range from 3 (the token is unambiguous due to status as an idiom, etc.), to 2 (strong confidence), 1 (educated guess) and 0 (wild guess/indeterminate). While the notion of "degree of confidence" is itself subjective, such a parameter might be helpful in filtering and evaluating the results of an illocutionary survey.

*Chapter 7.*

# Semantics-pragmatics interaction in Japanese imperatives

## 1. Introduction

The present chapter is mainly concerned with demonstrating that different Japanese imperative constructions (specifically, the "big four" consisting of the naked imperative, *–nasai*, *–te kure*, and *–te kudasai*) do not have a fixed or encoded (in the sense of Jary and Kissine 2014:9) association with specific types of directive illocutionary force. Different types of evidence pointing to the inadequacy of an illocutionary account are discussed. As a means of more accurately capturing the function of Japanese imperatives, I introduce a layered model inspired by both the Japanese and general linguistic traditions. In this approach, a core imperative semantics (assumed to be non-directive) combines with additional components, including an attitudinal element that derives from benefactivity and honorification. Differences in (or absence of) attitudinal content underlies the different functional potentials of the four imperative-based directive strategies. The chapter also discusses reported (embedded and quoted) imperatives in Japanese, which are of interest for the general debate on the embedding of imperatives. I argue that the behavior of certain imperative subjects supports the position that Japanese imperatives can embed.

## 2. Illocutionary properties

### 2.1 Preliminaries

As discussed in chapter 5, the practice of associating different Japanese imperative constructions with specific types of directive illocutionary force is common in the literature. To give a recent example, Takahashi (2012:198) states that "Japanese […]

is a language possessing a rich repertoire of imperative markers encoding subtly different kinds of illocutionary forces as well as different levels of politeness". He provides the following sentences, all of which translate as 'Read this':

(1) Kore o yom-e
This ACC read-COMMAND(BARE)

(1b) Kore o yom-inasai
This ACC read-COMMAND(POL)

(1c) Kore o yon-dekure
This ACC read-REQUEST(BARE)

(1d) Kore o yon-dekudasai
This ACC read-REQUEST(POL)
(adapted from Takahashi 2012:199, glossing and segmentation as in original)

"Command" can here be taken as equivalent to my 'order'. Based on purely formal or compositional criteria, these sentences could be glossed as follows (my glossing):

(2) Kore o yom-e.
This OBJ read-IMP

(2b) Kore o yom-i-nasa-i.
This OBJ read-INF-do.HON-IMP

(2c) Kore o yon-de kure.
This OBJ read-GER give.me.IMP

(2d) Kore o yon-de kudasa-i.
This OBJ read-GER give.me.HON-IMP

To give another example, Birjulin and Xrakovskij (2001:14) bring up the Japanese naked imperative as what they claim to be a rare example of grammatically determined "imperative sentence interpretation", stating that "Japanese has imperative verb forms whose grammatical meaning is that of command (e.g. *de-ro* 'go out')". Once again, "command" here signifies a specific category of illocutionary force corresponding to my 'order'.

While there is discussion in the literature of the lack of clear delineation between *meirei* 'order, command' and *irai* 'request' (e.g. Nitta 1991a:230, Kumatoridani 1995:14, Adachi 2002:43, Nitta 2014:59-61), analyses and descriptions frequently assume a division into "order expressions" and "request expressions", even among authors who state that the notions of 'order' and 'request' form part of a continuum.

The exact definitions of *meirei* and *irai* vary throughout the literature, although the absence versus presence of 'right of refusal' may be considered the most important distinction between them (see Adachi 2002:43 and also Lyons 1977:749). The terms are frequently used but problematic upon examination. How great is the motivation for *meirei* or *irai* as "natural classes" of illocutionary meaning that constitute the

semantics of one or more constructions, rather than cover terms for families of more or less prototypical interactional scenarios? If reducible to illocutionary dimensions such as 'right of refusal' and "speaker vs. addressee benefit", should they be viewed as simply terminological conventions signifying sets of parameters? Such parameters in turn reflect interactional phenomena (power, desire, etc.) that exist independently of language. Does this mean that *meirei*/order and *irai*/request are ultimately extralinguistic notions that are unlikely to constitute the semantics of natural language expressions? While such questions can be asked (and related issues were touched upon in chapter 6), I will here focus on empirical evidence in discussing the appropriateness of the way *meirei* and *irai* have been used in the description of Japanese, rather than challenging their utility as concepts.

At first glance (ignoring, for present purposes, the corpus data presented in chapter 6), an approach to Japanese imperative semantics in terms of different types of illocutionary force may appear both intuitive and observationally adequate. Even the compositionally oriented glossing given in (2 – 2d) appears to match up with the idea of order and request forms, with honorification corresponding to politeness and benefactivity to "requestness" or right of refusal.

1. *–e* (*ro*) = imperative > non-polite order
2. *–nasai* = imperative + honorification > polite order
3. *–te kure* = imperative + benefactivity > non-polite request
4. *–te kudasai* = imperative + benefactivity + honorification > polite request

When asked to give usage examples of different imperative-based strategies, informants often (although not universally) provide scenarios and use terms (*meirei* 'order/command', *irai* 'request' and *onegai* 'request') that match the illocutionary descriptions used by previous scholars. Imperative collocates such as *ne*, *chotto,* and *zehi* (see 2.4 and 2.5) and possible replies to directive speech acts issued using imperatives, such as *ii yo* 'that's fine' vs. *wakarimashita* 'understood' (see section 2.3) have also been used as diagnostics for speech act functionality in the literature. The following sections focus on whether the types of evidence listed above can be said to support an illocutionary account.

## 2.2 General observations

In this section we consider the extent to which the functional characteristics of different imperative constructions can be captured in terms of associations with different categories of directive illocutionary force. We recall from chapter 3 the following statement by Jary and Kissine, here reproduced in longer form:

> In any interesting sense of 'encode', if a form encodes a function, then it does more than merely indicate that that function is its most prototypical use. Rather, if a form encodes a function, then *no literal and serious use of that form is possible without its performing the function at hand* [my emphasis], so that comprehension of that form is nothing more than relating it to its typical function. (2014:9)

If a form encodes 'order' or 'request' in this sense, one might expect it to be ungrammatical or at least pragmatically unacceptable in situations that diverge from the illocutionary parameters of 'order' or 'request' (whichever we may take these to be within our specific framework). This is not what happens in Japanese imperatives. As will be shown, the naked imperative does not by virtue of its grammatical properties force an 'order' interpretation independently of context. In this respect it is no different from the equivalent imperative constructions of languages such as English or Swedish, which are typically not described as being restricted to use in orders. Similarly, Japanese "request expressions" do not inevitably lead to directives being interpreted as requests.

Singling out Nitta (1991a), Ishikawa (2008:16) summarizes the attitude towards imperatives found in the indigenous literature on Japanese modality by means of the seemingly circular statement "if it's the imperative it's an order, if it's an order it's the imperative" (*meireikei nara meirei, meirei nara meireikei*). Ishikawa's characterization is correct in the sense that, while functions that deviate from the prototypical illocutions of different imperative variants have been descriptively acknowledged by scholars such as Murakami, Adachi and Nitta, usages that are more or less within the sphere of directivity are often discussed in terms of nuances and connotations secondary to a basic *meirei* or *irai* functionality. For instance, Nitta states that utterances such as *Ikitakereba ikinasai* (go-DESID-COND go-INF-do.HON-IMP 'Go if you want to') are *kyokateki meirei* 'permissive order[s]' (2014:64).

Still, the literature does recognize that the relationship between form and function in imperatives is not without complications. Nitta (2014:61) notes that the "request expression" *–te kure* can be used in situations in which it can hardly be said to express a request, as in the following example (from Nitta 2014:61, originally quoted in Satoo 1992, my glossing and translation):

(3) Oi, kozoo, tabako o kat-te ki-te kure.
hey kid tobacco OBJ buy-GER come-GER give.me.IMP
'Hey kid, go buy me some cigarettes.'

While some uses of the naked imperative might be described as having a primary force of order-like unmitigated directivity along with overtones such as 'challenge' or 'warning', others clearly do not fit into such a framework. Both Murakami (1993:107-113) and Nitta (2014:63) acknowledge that there are usages of the naked imperative, such as wishes addressed to inanimate objects, that cannot be said to be

orders. Note that if we adopt the strict definition of "encoding" taken above, this makes the position that the fundamental meaning of the naked imperative is that of a *zettaitekina meirei* 'absolute order' (Murakami 1993:68) problematic.

As discussed in chapter 5, according to Adachi (2002:47) the felicity conditions of a prototypical *meirei* are the following:

1a. The speaker is superior to the addressee.

1b. The speaker desires that the addressee perform the act.

2a. An addressee who is the [intended] performer of the act exists.

2b. Unless prompted by the speaker, the addressee will not perform the act.

3a. The act is volitional on the part of the addressee.

3b. At the point at which the directive is given, the act has not yet been performed.

Adachi's conditions can be compared with the following paraphrase of the illocutionary dimensions used by De Clerck (2006:150) to identify instances of 'order' in English:

1. Directive force (maximum)
2. Volition (maximum)
3. Option for refusal (minimum)
4. Power/authority imbalance (speaker is more powerful than addressee)
5. Directionality (both positive and negative possible)
6. Beneficiary (mostly speaker)

Regardless of which version of *meirei* / 'order' we refer to, the Japanese naked imperative can be used under circumstances in which one, several, or all of its components are weakened or missing, leaving no dimension left to constitute an illocutionary semantic core. The naked imperative can, for instance, occur in utterances constituting advice (such as in proverbs), permission, instructions, and expressions of acceptance. In all of these cases, directive force and/or speaker volition are downplayed or absent. Moreover, these situations typically involve benefit for the addressee rather than for the speaker.

(4) Hito o mi-tara doroboo to omo-e.
person OBJ see-COND thief COMP think-IMP
'Do not trust people too easily' (lit.) 'If you see a person, consider them a thief.' (proverb)

(5) Ik-i-ta-i nara ik-e.
go-INF-DESID-NPST COND go-IMP
'If you want to go, then go.' (permission/acceptance)

(6) Kono en no menseki o motome-yo.
DEM circle GEN area OBJ seek-IMP
'Find the area of this circle.' (instruction in textbook)[71]

(7) Moo i-i, suki ni shi-ro!
already good-NPST desirable DAT do-IMP
'Do what you like, I don't care anymore!' (acceptance)

In many such scenarios the choice of whether to realize the state of affairs signified by the utterance is in the hands of the addressee. Indeed, the naked imperative can even be used when the power/authority imbalance favors the addressee, as shown below in (9) and (10). In the case of reported imperatives such as *Ike to iwareta* (go-IMP COMP say-PASS-PST '[I] was told to go') the position can be taken that none of the dimensions listed above apply, as the imperative clause does not carry illocutionary force targeting the matrix addressee.[72]

The fact that reported imperatives can occur in non-order contexts is recognized by Murakami (1993:93). In the following example from the Publication Subcorpus, the naked imperative is used to rephrase a (very politely phrased) plea directed towards the speaker.

(8) A: Doo.ka o-yurush-i kudasa-i… o-jihi o!
please HON-forgive-INF give.me.HON-IMP HON-mercy OBJ
'Please forgive me… [Please give me your] mercy!' (BCCWJ)

(8b) B: Watashi ni ittai nani o yurus-e to
1SG DAT what.on.earth what OBJ forgive-IMP COMP
i-u n desu?
say-NPST NML COP.POL
'What on Earth are you telling me to forgive?' (BCCWJ)

Other than the usages listed so far, idiomatic phrases such as *ganbare* 'hang in there' and grammaticalized concessives (*de are, ni seyo* 'even, even if') are also frequently referred to as imperatives that do not carry the usual association with *meirei*. I will discuss some further examples of non-order-like usages which occur outside of such fixed expressions.

As stated above, the naked imperative can be used in circumstances in which the speaker does not have authority, whether situational or institutional, over the

[71] Example taken from *Kenkyusha's New Japanese-English Dictionary* (5th ed.), my glossing.

[72] As will be discussed in section 4, the naked imperative can, however, be interpreted as reflective of features of the original directive situation.

addressee, and in which the addressee for practical purposes has the option of refusal. In the following example, the manager of a singer wants a bystander to ask for the singer's autograph. The manager's lack of leverage (no one appears to be interested) is indicated by the promise of a reward, as well as by the confirmation-seeking *ii na* 'OK?'

(9) Hora, soko no boozu, gamu yar-u kara, sain
hey over.there GEN kid, gum give-NPST because autograph
segam-e yo, i-i na.
pester-IMP FP good-NPST FP
'Hey kid, pester her for an autograph and I'll give you some gum, OK?' (BCCWJ)

The role of the sentence final particle *yo* in imperative clauses will be discussed later. An extreme example of the non-authoritative use of the naked imperative is the following plea.[73] In the original context, the speaker is about to be killed by the addressee, a troll.

(10) Ku, ku-ru na (glottal stop)! Yame-ro (glottal stop)!
come[fragment] come-NPST NIMP stop-IMP
'Do… don't come [any closer]! Stop!' (BCCWJ)

An illocutionary apologist might here argue that while the naked imperative always *presents* a directive as being an order or close to it, contextual factors lead to variation in its perlocutionary effect. The utterances (9) and (10) could be orders from the perspective of the speakers, who, however, lack the authority needed to make them felicitous.

Speaker intuitions nonetheless indicate that there are usages of the naked imperative that do not carry any pressure to realize a situation, and are not likely to be intended as orders. One example is the use of the naked imperative in the titles of books. (11) is the title of a book on how to do business in China.[74]

(11) Chuugoku-jin ni eakon o ur-e!
China-person DAT air.conditioning OBJ sell-IMP
'Sell air conditioning to Chinese people!'

Informants unanimously agree that they, upon viewing the cover of the book, do not feel coerced to sell air conditioning to Chinese people. We can assume that this is partly because the reader is not bound by any social relationship to the author, nor to the book as a physical object. This indicates that calculations based on speaker-addressee relations and other contextual factors play a part in the perceived strength of a directive issued by means of the naked imperative, rather than illocutionary force

[73] 'Plea' is defined by De Clerck (2006:150) as having the same illocutionary dimensions as 'order', except for the imbalance of power/authority favoring the addressee rather than the speaker.

[74] Takahashi, M. (2005). *Chuugokujin ni Eakon o Ure!*. Tokyo: Soshisha Publishing Co.

being assigned through linguistic form alone. More to the point, intuitions indicate that the main purpose of the title is to inform the reader of a possible business strategy. The naked imperative is a stylistic feature that provides what several informants refer to as *inpakuto* 'impact', but coercion is neither possible nor intended. A further example is its use in advertising (for corresponding examples from English, see Jary and Kissine 2014:61-63), as in the following sentence describing the content of a video game.

(12) Shageki, kakutoo, sabu-shageki no san-shu no koogeki
shooting unarmed.combat sub-shooting GEN three-type GEN attack
o kushi shi-te tataka-e!
OBJ use.freely do-GER fight-IMP
'Fight using three types of attacks: ranged, hand-to-hand, and secondary ranged!' (BCCWJ)

Once again the naked imperative is used as a stylistic feature, likely intended to give a sense of excitement without necessary coercion. It is here limited to presenting possibilities, not imposing them. The use of the naked imperative also evidences stylistic harmony, as the surrounding text is written in an abbreviated style lacking strategies of honorification. My main informant states that *–te kudasai* would here have been unnatural.

As previously noted, the naked imperative can be used to express permission or acceptance.

(13) Ik-i-ta-i nara ik-e.
go-INF-DESID-NPST COND go-IMP
'If you want to go, then go.' (permission/acceptance, repeated from (5))

The above sentence was used in a web-based survey given to informants and followed by a face-to-face interview. It was paired with the following text (as translated from the original Japanese): "There is a meeting at your company, but it is not an important meeting. Your superior says this to you: [(13)]. What do you think it means?". Interpretation of the results is complicated by the fact that permissive usages of the naked imperative often carry a connotation that is in the indigenous literature (e.g. Murakami 1993:79) termed *hoonin* (lit. 'non-interference'). This roughly corresponds to 'acceptance' in De Clerck's illocutionary taxonomy (2006:123), and can in the context of (13) be paraphrased as follows: "Go if you damn well like, but I won't be held responsible". Likely due to the face-threatening connotations of *hoonin*, one informant (M, 55) dismissed the sentence as unlikely to be used in such a scenario, although he accepted the use of *–nasai* in the same context.

While many of the informants interpret the utterance as indicating that the superior is not very pleased about the subordinate's going, none of them interpret (13) as meaning that in the event that the addressee wants to go, the addressee *must* go. As with the corresponding English-language imperative, the interactional effect is

the removal of a potential obstacle rather than the addition of a qualified constraint. Regardless of the desires of the addressee, his or her options now include both going to the meeting and not going to it. The naked imperative thus does not function as a logical operator signifying absolute prescription. It seems reasonable to assume that while the choice of the naked imperative over a dedicated permissive such as *–te mo ii* affects the pragmatic contribution of the utterance, permissive speech acts issued by means of the naked imperative are acts of permission (or acceptance) as such, not "permissive orders".

The same survey also indicated clear agreement among informants that in the case of work-related directives from superior to subordinate, even "request expressions" such as exemplified by the benefactive interrogative *Hookokusho o kaite moraemasu ka* 'Can you write a report for me?' take on interpretations that can be paraphrased using *nakereba naranai* (a deontic construction translatable as 'must'). This indicates a lack of optionality.

The selection of a directive strategy can be governed by stylistic or contextual factors rather than by illocutionary force. An interesting example is that of instructions given in written tests. Informants were shown the following series of sentences and asked to give examples of environments in which such phrasings can be encountered.

(14) Tadashi-i kotae o erab-e.
correct-NPST answer OBJ choose-IMP
'Choose the correct answer.'

(15) Tadashi-i kotae o erab-i-nasa-i.
correct-NPST answer OBJ choose-INF-do.HON-IMP
'Choose the correct answer.'

(16) Tadashi-i kotae o eran-de kudasa-i.
correct-NPST answer OBJ choose-GER give.me.HON-IMP
'Please choose the correct answer.'

(17) Tadashi-i kotae o erab-i-mash-oo.
correct-NPST answer OBJ choose-INF-POL-HORT
'Let's choose the correct answer.'

The results indicate overall agreement as to when the different phrasings are used. *Erabe* appears to be used in official contexts, such as in university exams and driver's license tests. *Erabinasai* was stated by several to be the "normal" or most common phrasing. *Erande kudasai* was similarly described as a typical way in which questions in tests are phrased. Finally, *erabimashoo* was unanimously identified as being encountered in tests taken by primary school students.

In the four sentences above, the state of affairs which the addressee is instructed to realize is identical – the selection of a correct answer. In the event that they occur in a written test, all four carry the same illocutionary force: 'instruction'. Informants

confirm that *erabimashoo* does not here give the feeling that the creator of the test will help you find the answer ('invitation'), that special punishment will not result if you miss a question phrased using *erabe* ('order') and so forth, supporting the view that the prototypical illocutions associated with the different expressions are not here in effect. The difference identified by the informants in the "feel" of the different sentences (*erabimashoo* being more friendly in tone than *erabe*, for instance) is thus not due to *erabe* being an 'order' with the pragmatic nuance of 'instruction'. In my view, it instead lies on a more subtle plane: the speaker-addressee relationship indexed by what I in section 3.1 term the "attitudinal component" of different imperative-based directive strategies.

Before moving on to the discussion of more specific topics, some final evidence of the illocutionary flexibility of Japanese imperatives will be given. Ariel (2008:14) states that "[…] since inferences are implicit, they may be reinforced explicitly without causing the speaker to sound redundant". As in the English utterance *Sit down! That's an order!*, making the illocutionary force of a naked imperative utterance explicit using an illocutionary noun meaning 'order' is not perceived as unnatural or tautological in Japanese. In the following example, a military physician is telling a man to go home rather than trying to join the army.

(18)

| Kinoo | kaer-e | to | it-ta | no.ni | naze | nokot-te |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| yesterday | return-IMP | COMP | say-PST | although | why | remain-GER |

| i-ru | no | ka. | Meirei | da, | sugu | kaer-e. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| be-NPST | NML | QP | order | COP.NPST | at.once | return-IMP |

'Why are you still here even though I told you to go home yesterday?
This is an order, go home at once.' (BCCWJ)

Because of the danger of conflating the non-technical use of illocutionary terms with the same appellations used as linguistic terminology, arguments such as this should be used with caution. Examples such as (18) indicate at a minimum that the grammatical meaning of the naked imperative is not identical to *meirei* in the sense of "military order".

As acknowledged by Nitta (2014:61), *–te kure* can be used in what are in actuality non-request scenarios. In addition, *–te kure* can be used when the action performed has no clear benefit for the speaker. This is seemingly at odds with the benefactive meaning of *–te kureru.* In the following example from an automobile magazine, *–te kure* is used in a piece of advice addressed to a reader.

(19) […] riya shakoo o go-mirimeetoru teido sage-te mi-ru.
rear car.height OBJ five-millimeter extent lower-GER see-NPST

Tameshi-te mi-te kure.
try-GER see-GER give.me.IMP

'[…] lowering the rear height of the car by about five millimeters. Give it a try.' (BCCWJ)

As a final point, *–te kudasai* can be used under circumstances in which it is difficult to interpret as anything other than an order. When (20) was presented as spoken by a motorcycle policeman to a driver who has committed a traffic violation, no informant interpreted it as giving the addressee the option of refusal.

(20) Kuruma o tome-te kudasa-i.
car OBJ stop-GER give.me.HON-IMP
'Please stop the car.'

## 2.3 Replies

According to Adachi (2002) and Adachi et al. (2003), the difference in right of refusal that separates *meirei* 'order' from *irai* 'request' is reflected by the replies that can felicitously be uttered in response to different directive speech acts. Whereas several types of replies are possible for *iraibun* 'request sentence[s]', *meireibun* 'order sentence[s]' are difficult to reply to with *ii yo* (literally 'good', but translatable as 'Sure', 'No problem', 'That's fine', amounting to a positive appraisal of the directed state of affairs). Observe the following examples, originally given by Adachi (2002:43-44).[75]

(21) A: Kono shigoto o tetsudat-te kure.
DEM job OBJ help-GER give.me.IMP
'Please help me with this job.'

(21b) B: I-i desu yo / Wakar-i-mashi-ta.
good-NPST COP.POL FP / understand-INF-POL-PST
'OK, sure.' / 'Understood.'

While for (21) both responses in (21b) are unremarkable, this is apparently not the case for (21c) below.

[75] Example sentences by Adachi (2002), Adachi et al. (2003) and Moriyama (1989) are glossed and translated by me. Symbols indicating acceptability and intonation are as in the original.

(21c) A: Kono shigoto o tetsuda-i-nasa-i.
DEM job OBJ help-INF-do.HON-IMP
'Help me with this job.'

(21d) B: ?I-i desu yo / Wakar-i-mashi-ta.
good-NPST COP.POL FP / understand-INF-POL-PST
'OK, sure.' / 'Understood.'

Adachi states that whereas *wakarimashita* indirectly signals compliance by indicating that the addressee has understood the directive, *ii yo* has the function of directly expressing the addressee's decision that he or she will comply with the directive (2002:43-44). The difficulty of using *ii yo* thus indicates that the preceding directive is not intended to provide the addressee with the option of refusal. Adachi (2002:61) further states that the following distribution of possible replies demonstrates that expressions like *–te kure* have the function of *irai* 'request'.

(22) A: Kotchi e ko-i.
here to come-IMP
'Come here.'

(22b) B: Hai / ?I-i yo / Wakat-ta.
yes / good-NPST FP / understand-PST
'Yes.' / 'OK, sure.'/ 'Understood.'

(22c) A: Kotchi e ki-te kure.
here to come-GER give.me.IMP
'Please come here.'

(22d) B: Hai / I-i yo / Wakat-ta.
yes / good-NPST FP / understand-PST
'Yes.' / 'OK, sure.'/ 'Understood.'

In another overview of Japanese directives, Adachi et al. state that while *hai* 'yes' and *wakatta* 'understood' can be used to reply to *meirei*, in the case of refusal, *iie* 'no' and *wakaranai* 'I don't understand' are not used (2003:68-69).

(23) A: Kotchi ni ki-nasa-i.
here DAT come.INF-do.HON-IMP
'Come here.'

(23b) B: Iya desu / Ima wa deki-masen /
disagreeable COP.POL / now TOP be.possible-POL.NEG /

*Iie / *Wakar-i-masen.
no / understand-INF-POL.NEG

'I don't want to.' / 'I can't do it now.' / 'No.' / 'I don't understand.'
(Adachi et al. 2003:69)

By contrast, Moriyama (1989:78) presents *Iya desu* 'I don't want to' as unnatural in the following exchange:

(24) A: Kore o yar-i-nasa-i.
this OBJ do-INF-do.HON-IMP
'Do this.'

(24b) B: ??Iya desu.
disagreeable COP.POL
'I don't want to.'

As far as I can determine, this discrepancy may reflect the differing intuitions of individual scholars.[76] In any event, Moriyama states that in the case of hierarchical relationships, straightforward refusals are dispreferred (1989:78). Of interest here is the degree to which the reported patterns of acceptability are determined by the choice of a specific imperative-based strategy (such as *–te kure* vs. *–nasai*) rather than by the interactional context of the directive. Going beyond the constructed examples seen above, indications are that compatibility between imperatives and utterances of response is influenced by factors other than linguistic form alone.

Informants were presented with a prototypical order-type utterance involving the use of *–nasai*, *Shukudai yarinasai* 'Do your homework' as spoken by a parent to a child. The response *iie* 'no' on the part of the child was reported as strange or unfamiliar by all but one informant, whereas *hai* 'yes' saw general acceptance. Although lack of optionality is likely to be a factor here, it should be noted that some informants brought up reasons for the unacceptability of *iie* that do not necessarily match an explanation in terms of the absence of right of refusal. The word *iie* was stated by one informant (F, 35) to be a highly formal expression that is generally avoided in daily life regardless of context. Opinions were divided on whether children say *iya* (*da*) 'no/don't like' in this situation.

In the context of a manager telling an employee to go home for the day (*Ie ni kaette yasuminasai* 'Go home and rest'), the acceptability of *iie* rises, with the majority of informants accepting replies in the vein of *Iie, mada dekimasu* 'No, I can still work'. However, while two informants provided explanations for the increased acceptability of *iie* that can be interpreted in terms of *–nasai* here expressing an encouragement or permission rather than an order (the employee thus having the choice of whether to go home or not), things are not necessarily so clear cut. Interview results also suggest that for most informants, *iie* here targets a presupposition that the employee can or should not continue working rather than the directive itself.

Different examples of *ii yo* and *iie* being used as replies to utterances that contain naked imperatives can be found in Internet texts, but many were described by my main informant as either purposely odd or, in the case of *iie*, targeting

[76] Shinichiro Ishihara (personal communication) states that (24b) "sounds perfectly fine to [him]".

misunderstandings or presuppositions underlying the directive. However, the main informant also stated that, under circumstances involving comparatively low authority on the part of the speaker, such as seen in (9) in section 2.2, the use of *ii* (*desu*) *yo* as a reply to utterances containing the naked imperative is conceivable. A discussion of the appropriateness of answering *ii desu yo* to directives issued by teachers can also be found on a Q&A site.[77] Its use as a response to utterances such as *Ato de nooto motte koi* (later LOC notebook carry-GER come-IMP 'Bring your notebook later') is described by posters as rude, inappropriate, and indicating a disregard of hierarchical relations, but not as linguistically strange.

To sum up, it appears that the unsuitability of *ii* (*desu*) *yo* in the contexts cited by Adachi reflects a sociopragmatic rather than grammatical restriction (which is presumably also what is signified by Adachi's use of ? rather than * in the 2002 chapter). *Ii* (*desu*) *yo* and, more tentatively, *iie*, can occur as replies to utterances that contain "order expressions".

In my view, the use of *ii* (*desu*) *yo* can in certain contexts (such as when uttered in response to *Ato de nooto motte koi*) be analyzed as entailing a reinterpretation or attempted renegotiation of the directive situation. The speaker assumes the stance of someone who has the choice of whether to comply with the directive. That such reinterpretation is possible and results in rudeness or pragmatic inappropriateness rather than a non sequitur is yet another indication that the illocutionary dimension of refusal is not on the level of encoded meaning. Patterns of response to imperative utterances may relate more directly to the interactional circumstances (hierarchical relationships, situations involving coercion, etc.) licensing the use of specific imperative-based directive strategies than to the strategies themselves.

Conversely, there are situations in which uttering *ii* (*desu*) *yo* in response to a directive phrased using *–te kudasai* (a "request expression") is inappropriate. One such example is the previously mentioned order issued by a motorcycle policeman.

(25) Kuruma o tome-te kudasa-i.
car OBJ stop-GER give.me.HON-IMP
'Please stop the car.' (repeated from (20))

When presented with (25), informants mainly gave *hai* or *wakarimashita* as examples of the expected response. Not all informants accept *ii desu yo*. Among those that do, their impressions include that while *ii desu yo* could technically be used, it is not likely to be, that it would make the policeman angry, or than only very old people (who presumably feel hierarchically superior to a younger person) would use it as a reply. This can be compared with the English-language use of *Sure, why not* rather than *Yes sir* when asked by a police officer to *Please pull over*. Once again, the inappropriateness of *ii desu yo* is likely due to its recontextualization of the directive

[77] http://okwave.jp/qa/q7773904.html, retrieved 2014-12-04.

situation as one in which the addressee makes the willing choice of complying with the directive, thus implicitly challenging the institutional authority of the policeman.

## 2.4 Collocational modification

Adverbs that occur in Japanese imperative clauses, some examples being *zehi* and *doozo* 'by all means', *doo ka* 'please', and *chotto* 'a little', are at times discussed as indicatory of illocutionary function. To give one example, Nitta (2014:60) uses co-occurrence with expressions such as *doo ka* and *doozo* as a diagnostic for distinguishing *irai* from *meirei.*

(26) *Doo.ka sassa.to ko-i!
please immediately come-IMP
'Please come here right now!' (Nitta 2014:60, my glossing and translation)

(27) Doo.ka ore no negai o kii-te kure.
please 1SG GEN wish OBJ hear-GEN give.me.IMP
'Please hear my wish.' (Nitta 2014:60, my glossing and translation)

The relationship between collocational modification and speech act function in imperatives is not, however, trivial. To give an example from English, Van Olmen (2011:100) states that "notwithstanding its strong correlation with requests, *please* is more than an illocutionary marker of request". Satoo notes that while modal adverbs such as *doo ka*, *zehi*, and *kitto* 'be sure to' often co-occur with *–te kudasai* in pleas (*kongan*, *aigan*), the connection between such adverbs and pleas is not straightforward (1992:144-146). They can occur in utterances of *–te kudasai* that are not pleas, and instantiations of *–te kudasai* may be interpreted as pleas without the presence of a modal adverb. Rather than providing a full overview of the interaction between imperative clause type and adverbial illocutionary modification, I will here restrict myself to pointing out that some expressions associated with reduction in directive strength or non-order functionalities can co-occur with the naked imperative.

The adverb *chotto* 'a little', which typically refers to extent in time or degree, can also function as a mitigator of directive force, as in (28).

(28) Chotto sore tot-te.
a.little that take-GER
'Get that for me, will you?' (Svahn 2010:10)

Matsumoto (2001:8) states that "although [*ch*]*otto* is incompatible with the use of the directive speech act verb *meirei-suru* 'order', […] it can be used to weaken speech acts with forceful imperatives such as *yamero* 'stop'". The following example is used by Matsumoto to illustrate the incompatibility of *chotto* and *meirei suru*:

(29) #[Ch]otto kono heya o de-ru yoo.ni meirei-suru.
a.little DEM room OBJ exit-NPST QUOT order do-NPST
'[*Ch*]*otto* I order you to leave this room.'(Matsumoto 2001:6, my glossing)

While explicit performatives are outside the scope of our investigation, Matsumoto's statement about *Chotto yamero* (a.little stop-IMP) is corroborated by informant intuitions. When presented with the sentence, five out of eight informants independently described a scenario in which the speaker is, in a more or less friendly fashion, telling a companion or pet to stop playing around. By contrast, *Yamero* in isolation is perceived as more likely to be a serious directive. Still, my survey of naked imperatives in the Publication Subcorpus indicates that other than the conventional phrases *Chotto koi* (a.little come-IMP 'Come here') and *Chotto mate* (a.little wait-IMP 'Hang on a second'), co-occurrence with *chotto* is rare.

In a 2002 study of *zehi* 'by all means', Fukushima (2002:75) states that "[its] main function is to indicate a strong desire of the speaker or realize the matter [sic] through the action of the hearer, yet the action must be voluntary or spontaneous". According to Fukushima, *zehi* is not compatible with *meirei* (2002:24-26). While he presents examples of the naked imperative and *–nasai* co-occurring with *zehi* (see (31) below), Fukushima states that they do not function as orders, but rather take on functions such as "strong encouragement" and "invitation" (2002:26). He also brings up the occurrence of *zehi* in reported imperatives (2002:26-27).

(30) Ore wa muron ira-na-i to it-ta ga,
1SG TOP of.course need-NEG-NPST COMP say-PST but

zehi tsuka-e to i-u kara, kari-te oi-ta.
by.all.means use-IMP COMP say-NPST because borrow-GER put-PST

'Of course I said I didn't need it [the money], but she told me to by all means take it, so I borrowed it.' (Fukushima 2002:27, my glossing and translation, originally in *Botchan* (Sooseki Natsume, 1906))

My main informant described examples of *zehi*, *doo ka*, and *doozo* co-occurring with the naked imperative in matrix clauses (collected both from the Internet and from the literature on imperatives) as strange to varying degrees. Additional informants were first shown the sentence *Zehi koi* 'Do come' in isolation. (31) was then shown.

(31) Enryo su-ru koto wa na-i. Zehi ko-i.
restraint do-NPST NML TOP not.be-NPST by.all.means come-IMP
'Don't hesitate to come.' (lit.) 'There is no need for restraint. By all means come.'
(Fukushima 2002:26, my glossing and translation)

*Zehi koi* in isolation was described as strange, unnatural, or unfamiliar by the majority of informants. Reactions to (31), in which some co-text is provided, were more positive. Nonetheless, some informants still regarded the combination of *zehi* and *koi* as unnatural.

By contrast, the combination of *zehi* and the naked imperative in a reported context (the above excerpt from *Botchan*) was accepted by all native speakers queried. Some informants interpreted the phrasing *zehi tsukae* as conveying the insistence of the original speaker (a female servant of the protagonist), thus lining up with Fukushima's account. Informants also described the naked imperative as being used for brevity and clarity, as well as reflecting the narrative voice, which is informal in tone. All were of the opinion that the phrase *zehi tsukae* is unlikely to have been uttered verbatim within the narrative world. We return to function of the naked imperative as a directive reportative in section 4.

To sum up, while illocutionary collocations associated with non-order functionality indeed tend not to co-occur with the naked imperative, this is not an absolute.

## 2.5 Interaction with sentence-final particles

As with declaratives, Japanese imperative clauses often contain sentence-final particles. Basic descriptions and examples are found in Masuoka (1991:98-102) and Murakami (1993:87-91). Treatments of the particles *ya* and *na* in imperative contexts are available (Makino 2009, Nakano 2009), but we will here focus on the more frequent *yo* and *ne*. When used with imperatives, both can be said to mitigate or contextualize the directive speech act, although there are various accounts of the mechanism by which this is done. While all four imperative variants discussed here can co-occur with *yo*, only those which incorporate honorification can co-occur with *ne*.

(32) Ik-e *ne / yo.
go-IMP FP / FP
'Go.'

(32b) Ik-i-nasa-i ne / yo.
go-INF-do-HON-IMP FP / FP
'Go.'

(32c) It-te kure *ne / yo.
go-GER give.me.IMP FP / FP
'Please go.'

(32d) It-te kudasa-i ne / yo.
go-GER give.me.HON-IMP FP / FP
'Please go.'

### *2.5.1 The particle ne*

When used in directives, the particle *ne* can be described in informal terms as adding a touch of friendliness and/or presenting the directive as a reminder to do something that the addressee already knows to do or has agreed to do.

(33) Chanto te o arat-te / ara-i-nasa-i ne!
properly hand OBJ clean-GER / clean-INF-do.HON-IMP FP
'Make sure to wash your hands, OK?'

The incompatibility of *ne* with the naked imperative has been pointed out in the literature (e.g. Masuoka 1991:99, Adachi 2002:54). Unlike other limitations reported for Japanese imperatives (volitional verbs only, second-person subjects only, restrictions on possible replies), which can be overridden given the right context, the prohibition against *ne* is on the level of a genuine grammatical restriction. The pattern *–e* (*ro*) + *ne* is categorically rejected by my main informant and absent from corpus material. Uses of *ne* with the naked imperative can be found in blogs, but these are very likely to be purposely ungrammatical and the result of linguistic playfulness. Although attested by Nakano (2009:62), *–te kure ne* is also not part of Modern Standard Japanese. My main informant claims never to have heard it.

Martin (1988:916) gives a second-hand report that the combination *yo ne* can be used with the naked imperative. The usage was considered unfamiliar and strange by my main informant, although she deemed it more acceptable than the use of *ne* in isolation.

At first glance it might seem that the incompatibility of *–e* (*ro*) and *ne* constitutes an argument for the naked imperative being an "order expression" encoding absolute prescription and thus incompatible with the mitigating or confirmatory character of *ne*. Masuoka (1991:99) proposes that when *ne* and *yo* occur in directives, *ne* signals that the intentions of addressee and speaker are in agreement (*itchi*), while *yo* signals that they are not (*fuitchi*).

> […] it can be thought that the fact that *ne* does not harmonize with orders and prohibitions [*kinshi*, i.e. negative orders] is due to incompatibility between the basic property of orders and prohibitions, which is that of demanding action regardless of the intentions of the addressee, and the property of *ne*, which is to express a judgment (*handan*) that the intentions of the speaker and the addressee are in agreement. (Masuoka 1991:100, my translation)

Note, however, that the prohibition against *ne* cuts across the conventional distinction between "order expressions" and "request expressions". Whereas **–te kure ne* is essentially impossible, *–nasai* does combine with *ne*. Moreover, *–te kure* and the naked imperative cannot be used with *ne* even when they clearly do not express orders. It is likely, then, that the restriction cannot be explained in terms of illocutionary force categories per se. Based on the results of a Google search, verb forms that constitute the basic imperative inflections of honorific lexemes do co-occur with *ne*. Two examples are *irasshai* (come/go/be.HON-IMP) and *osshai* (say.HON-IMP). This indicates that the acceptability of *ne* is determined by the presence versus absence of honorification.

There are various theoretical approaches to the general function of *ne*, such as characterizations in terms of shared information (see Morita 2005:38-39) or

illocutionary force (2005:36). One modern approach is that of Morita (2012), who describes the particle on the basis of the concept of "alignment". While her account is too complex to allow for summarization here, an important feature is her view of *ne* as a "negotiation tool for resolving contingency problems" (2012:298). She outlines its function as follows:

> [*Ne*] is used by speakers to explicitly create a space in the ongoing spate of talk for recipients to display their alignment (or disalignment) with any project – be it the initiation of a new conversational sequence or the perpetuation of the present positioning within the participation framework – that is in the process of being put into play at that exact juncture. (Morita 2012:298)

The following is an example of its use in interaction:

> The message […] "*kyoo wa tanoshikatta ne* (we had a good time today, didn't we?)" […] would almost certainly be a message that was sent to [someone] after the two had gone out on a date or had at least spent some time together. As in conversational interactions, a speaker (here, writer) who makes an assessment of the date "*kyoo wa tanoshikatta*" and then adds *ne* to that assessment is explicitly creating a space for the recipient to display his stance towards the projected participation framework of "co-enjoyers of the date". (Morita 2012:310)

The function of *ne* has in the literature been described in terms such as "agreement", "match", and "alignment". If we assume a specificatory semantics for the imperative in the vein of the model presented in chapter 3, it may be significant that a construction that fundamentally encodes some form of mismatch (i.e. the imperative) is problematic for *ne*. It can be hypothesized that the specification of a state of affairs by means of *–e* (*ro*)-based imperatives is incompatible with an expression which presents the conversational update or interactional situation itself as amenable to assessment or negotiation. However, this apparently changes when the status of the addressee is elevated through honorification. Even so, this does not mean that the incompatibility is due to the built-in illocution of non-honorific second-person imperatives being 'order'. As previously mentioned, the naked imperative can potentially co-occur with the downtoning element *chotto*, so collocational reduction of directive force is not in itself impossible. To complicate the issue, it can be added that the particles *ya* and *na,* which are similar to *ne* in their mitigatory function, have at least historically been used with the naked imperative (see Nakano 2009). The exact mechanism underlying the restriction on *ne* remains to be clarified.

### *2.5.2 The particle yo*

The particle *yo* is an important means of illocutionary modification for Japanese directives in general. It can be viewed as an especially significant member of the

collocational repertoire of the naked imperative, as not all other adverbs and particles (e.g. *doo ka*, *ne*) co-occur with naked imperatives. The functionality of *yo* cannot be pinned down to a specific category of (directive) illocutionary force. Martin (1988:919) states that "[…] the particle *yo* can […] be used to firm up one's authority in making commands, requests, and proposals". He also, somewhat paradoxically, adds that "the need to firm up the authority makes the commands or requests seem softer". As for its use with the naked imperative, *yo* is described by Murakami (1993:87) as giving a feeling of familiarity or intimacy (*shitashimi*) and as being used in functions such as encouragement and advice. Depending on intonation, *yo* can also be used under less friendly circumstances. Masuoka (1991:99) states that the strength of orders and negative orders is reduced when *yo* is added, and offers the following explanation, based on the distinction between agreement and non-agreement discussed above:

> The most basic characteristic of orders and prohibitions is that of forcing the addressee to act regardless of their intentions. If *yo* is used under such circumstances, the speaker, while demanding that the addressee perform an action, is in addition expressing their supposition that their own intentions are opposed to those of the addressee. Making one's judgment with respect to the addressee's intentions explicit in this way is different from simply performing an act of coercion, and results in a certain amount of consideration for the addressee. (Masuoka 1991:99-100, my translation)

Masuoka's final claim is convincing regardless of whether we agree with his description of the functionality of *yo*. The addition of *yo* entails more communicative effort on the part of the speaker, and accommodates the addressee as a participant in interaction by providing more information about the conversational update contributed by the imperative utterance. When contrasted with the use of a particle-less naked imperative, *yo* can perhaps be viewed as acknowledging the addressee as an interactional participant with individual agency rather than a simple target of specification. While a directive may still be presented as lacking the option of refusal, this acknowledgement potentially reduces, although not defuses, face threat.

The observation that *yo* has different functions in directive utterances when accompanied by rising versus falling intonation, henceforth *yo* R(ise) and *yo* F(all), has been discussed in the literature (e.g. Inoue 1993, Moriyama 1999). Adachi (2002:55) provides the following examples:

| (34) | Ima, | tor-u | kara, | jitto | shi-te | (i)-ro | yo ↓. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | now | take-NPST | because | still | do-GER | (be)-IMP | FP |
| | 'I'm taking [the picture] now, so keep still.' | | | | | | |

(34b) Ima, tor-u kara, jitto sh-ite (i)-ro yo ↑.
now take- NPST because still do-GER (be)-IMP FP
'I'm taking [the picture] now, so keep still.'

The use of *yo* F here implies that the addressee has been moving around and making it hard for the speaker to take a picture, whereas *yo* R can be taken as a reminder or instruction to the addressee, who need not have done anything wrong (yet). *Yo* F is often used when the actions of the addressee conflict with the intentions of the speaker (although there are exceptions), whereas *yo* R carries a nuance of bringing something to the addressee's attention (see Adachi 2002:55-57). As a side note, *yo* may be relevant to the discussion of non-potentiality in Japanese imperatives. Inoue (1993:336-337) describes a phenomenon in which the presence of *yo* F allows for the felicitous use of (main clause) imperatives that, while expressing reproach, appear to target the past. (35) is presented by Inoue as being addressed to a student handing in their assignment on the day after the deadline.

(35) Chanto kinoo no uchi ni repooto o dashi-te
Properly yesterday GEN duration DAT assignment OBJ hand.in-GER
kudasa-i yo.
give.me.HON-IMP FP
(lit.) 'Please hand in your assignment properly during yesterday.'
(Inoue 1993:336-337, my glossing and translation)

Although this use of the imperative can likely be viewed as "serious" in terms of the corrective intent of the speaker, the prescribed state of affairs is clearly not potential at utterance time. Unfortunately, (35) and related examples came to my attention too late in the course of the doctoral project to be systematically examined with the aid of native informants. Indications are, however, that (35) is perceived as strange by at least some speakers.

The functions of *yo*, both in imperative utterances and in other contexts, have been discussed within a formal semantic framework by Davis (2011). While the formal implementation is beyond the scope of this thesis, the underlying intuitions are of interest. Davis characterizes the use of *yo* F with imperatives (and declaratives) as having a "corrective nature" (2011:172), and informally summarizes the function of imperative *yo* R as follows (2011:176-177):

> An imperative with *yo* ↑ can be used to
>
> a. introduce an important decision problem (choice between alternative actions) whose importance is not fully appreciated by the addressee.
>
> b. suggest that there are contextually salient reasons for the addressee choosing the action encoded by the imperative, reasons which the addressee has not fully appreciated.

Through the lens of these accounts we can see how the seemingly counterintuitive statement by Martin (1988:919) about making directives softer by firming them up can be motivated. Face threat may be reduced due to greater communicative accommodation of the addressee, and, in the case of *yo* R, the presentation of the directive as something which may not only be motivated by the wishes of the speaker. At the same time, firming up is accomplished by signaling that there are specific concerns underlying the directive. The use of *yo* R/F can thus be stated to relate to the interests of the addressee, although strictly speaking, it may be the speaker who benefits from the prescribed state of affairs.

# 3. Layered model of the Japanese imperative

In the previous section we discussed various aspects of Japanese imperatives. Taken as a whole, they indicate that Japanese imperative constructions do not have fixed associations with different types of directive illocutionary force. In this section I present a non-illocutionary account of how their different functional profiles arise. We will first consider three alternative approaches to Japanese imperatives.

1. The naked imperative and *–nasai* prototypically express *meirei* 'order', whereas *–te kure* and *–te kudasai* prototypically express *irai* 'request'. Various nuances and connotations arise in context.
2. The different imperative constructions all semantically encode directivity as a general category due to their membership in imperative clause type. Their functional profiles arise due to their additional formal content (benefactivity and honorification) in interaction with usage context.
3. The different imperative constructions all derive from imperative clause type, which semantically encodes a set of features that does not by itself constitute directivity. Their functional profiles arise due to their additional formal content (benefactivity and honorification) in interaction with usage context.

Typical approaches within Japanese indigenous linguistics were discussed in chapter 5, as well as in 2.1 above. They can be viewed as corresponding to alternative 1. This approach is not adopted here. Our aim is to discuss the underlying functionality of Japanese imperatives, not only the illocutions that they (are claimed to) prototypically express. These illocutions are unlikely to constitute the core meaning(s) of Japanese imperatives. To summarize the line of argument laid out in section 2, the naked imperative exhibits a more varied functional profile than would be likely for a form with a *meirei* semantics. It is difficult to believe that an invariable element of 'order' underlies contextually derived connotations in the fashion of 'order + instruction', 'order + permission' and so forth, because many of these usages are *eo ipso*

incompatible with the illocutionary properties that define orders. Similar observations apply for the other imperative constructions.

Alternative 2 also has its problems. Due to their appearance in non-willfully directive and even non-directive contexts (instructions, wishes, reported directives, concessives, conditionals, etc.) a solution in terms of semantically encoded directivity is also not ideal for Japanese imperatives (see chapters 3 and 8).

The model presented here is a variant of the third approach. It combines a non-directive imperative semantics with a layered structure informed by the Japanese tradition of modality studies. The model assumes three main components: the 'state-of-affairs component', the 'imperative component' (i.e. the semantics of imperative clause type), and the 'attitudinal component', which corresponds to the role of benefactivity and honorification.

## 3.1 Component layers

I will first present the characteristics of the component layers of the model. As previously shown, *–te kudasai* and *–te kure* can be used in directive situations in which any actual benefit is on the side of the addressee, not the speaker. This, in fact, appears to be one of the more common usages of *–te kudasai*, as evidenced by its use in instructions. It has been recognized in the literature that imperative expressions which on a surface level incorporate benefactivity can be used under circumstances in which the expected pattern of benefit does not hold (see Satoo 1992:123, Takahashi 2004:209-213). The question of whether this has consequences for the compositionality of the expressions is discussed in chapter 8. In short, my view is that it does not. Further, *–nasai*, which incorporates honorification and might thus be thought to elevate the position of the addressee, carries with it a strong connotation that it is in fact the speaker who is in a position of authority. Finally, *–te kudasai* can be used on occasions in which the speaker is not actually socially inferior to the addressee.

When *Yonde kudasai* (read-GER give.me.HON-IMP 'Please read') is uttered, the property of the reading actually benefiting the speaker is not part of any conditions that need to hold before the sentence can be used to issue a directive speech act. In addition, perceived speaker benefit is not relevant for the directive being successfully complied with. A speaker that advises an addressee to read a book for the addressee's own benefit can still phrase the advice as *Yonde kudasai*. Even if both parties consider the reading of the book to be in the interest of the addressee rather than the speaker, and the speaker is furthermore recognized by both parties as socially superior to the addressee, the utterance will, ceteris paribus, be felicitous. If the book is read, the advice has been complied with. Moreover, illocutionary function is not here imposed by linguistic form. If the speaker of *yonde kudasai* were to be a superior telling a

subordinate to read a report, the intended and interpreted functionality could instead be 'order'.

These facts of usage indicate that the benefactive and honorific meaning components do not enter into the core state of affairs that is being presented or prescribed. They instead constitute an attitudinal overlay that can be more or less strategically or "dishonestly" employed for certain interactional ends, such as politeness. This intuition can be captured by means of a framework in which certain formally contributed elements of meaning in Japanese imperative clauses exist on a level distinct from that of the content which determines when a directive (as well as less obviously directive types of specification such as wishes, curses, etc.) counts as fulfilled.

According to Potts and Kawahara (2004), the contribution of Japanese honorifics to sentence meaning is non-propositional and "independent of the content of the sentence containing them" (2004:253). They note that similar treatments exist within the Japanese descriptive literature:

> For a set of expressions with honorifics and antihonorifics derived from one neutral sentence $E_1$, $E_2$,…,$E_n$, there is a basic and core meaning $M$, but different attitudinal expressions $A_1$, $A_2$, … , $A_n$.
>
> $E_1 = M + A_1$
>
> $E_2 = M + A_2$
>
> $E_n = M + A_n$
>
> M is the same in the sense that as long as truth value is concerned, M is invariant. (Kikuchi 1994:22-23, as quoted in Potts and Kawahara 2004:256)

More specifically, Potts and Kawahara argue that the contribution of honorifics lies within the sphere of expressive meaning, which is in turn defined by Cruse (2006:49) as follows (bolding in the original):

> Expressive meaning expresses some emotion, judgement, or attitude, but in a non-propositional way. That is to say it does not contribute to the **propositional meaning** of the utterance, and therefore does not affect its truth value. Expressive meaning is valid only for the speaker at the moment of utterance. For instance, *What the hell are you doing here?* expresses negative surprise on the part of the speaker. But even if the question is directed at a past event, as in *What the hell was he doing there?*, the surprise expressed is valid only for the moment of speaking (i.e. expressive meaning does not exhibit **displacement**).

Their proposal has since been developed further in publications such as Potts (2007). Due to the different theoretical orientation of this thesis we will not here adopt an approach along the lines of those found in Potts and Kawahara (2004) or Potts

(2007), but rather make use of an informal implementation of the notion. While Potts and Kawahara do not touch on benefactive functionality in Japanese, it has been treated in terms of conventional implicature by, among others, McCready (2010:25). McCready discusses expressive meaning and conventional implicature as being similar phenomena (2010:49-50). Hasegawa (2014:164) describes the use of benefactives in Japanese in terms of "one's subjective evaluation of a conveyed event", a phrasing that is in line with the approach adopted here.

Both benefactivity and honorification will here be viewed as constituting the speaker's here-and-now evaluation of the state-of-affairs content rather than being part of it. When used in imperatives, this evaluatory functionality is in turn used to express the speaker's attitude towards the specificatory event and/or the addressee. The more context-independent elements of meaning in the types of Japanese imperative clause examined here can thus be described as arising through the interaction of the following three components.

*1. State-of-affairs component*

For present purposes, this can be said to be contributed by the lexical and grammatical content (e.g. *ashita* 'tomorrow' and *tabe-* 'eat' in *Ashita tabenasai yo* 'Eat [it] tomorrow!') corresponding to the aspects of linguistic meaning that are traditionally termed "propositional". The state-of-affairs component determines the compliance conditions of a directive or specification, or, in world gap model terms (see chapter 3), the conditions under which a gap can be viewed as resolved.

*2. Imperative component*

This component is contributed by the semantics of imperative clause type. This chapter does not explicitly assume the world gap approach outlined in chapter 3, although reference is occasionally made to it. The layered model presented here is intended to be compatible with other implementations of non-directive imperative semantics.

*3. Attitudinal component*

This component is defined by the presence or absence of referent honorification, bleached honorification (*–nasai* only), and benefactivity. While the naked imperative lacks attitudinal encoding, this is by itself significant in determining its functional characteristics. The naked imperative can consequently be treated as having an attitudinal component that is present but empty.

Table 7-1.
Attitudinal encoding

| Imperative-based directive strategy | Attitudinal encoding |
|---|---|
| *–e* (*ro*) (naked imperative) | none |
| *–nasai* | bleached honorification |
| *–te kure* | benefactivity |
| *–te kudasai* | benefactivity, referent honorification |

*1. Referent honorification*

Referent honorification is here defined as portraying the referent, who in the case of imperatives is typically identical with the addressee, as socially superior to the speaker for the purposes of the current interaction (for a more detailed description, see Traugott and Dasher 2002:238-239). While the case has been made that the function of *–te kudasai* has developed towards addressee honorification (see chapters 8 and 9), my position is that referent honorification remains central to its linguistic encoding.

*2. Bleached honorification*

The role of honorification in *–nasai* is less than clear. Because the use of *–nasai* carries with it a nuance of what is typically described as "politeness", it is potentially less face-threatening than the naked imperative and less informal than *–te kure*. However, in most contexts its use also strongly connotes that the speaker is in a position of authority with respect to the addressee (see Takahashi 2012:200). The naked imperative can be used in contexts in which such connotations are absent. From this point of view, *–nasai* can be considered to be more of a dedicated "order expression" than the naked imperative.

Larm speculates that "what was originally the imperative form of the [referent honorific] verb *nasaru* 'do' has been semantically bleached and reanalysed as an imperative suffix" (2006:190). While I do not believe this type of analysis is warranted for *–te kudasai*, it is possible that the attitudinal encoding present in *–nasai* has through diachronic change (possible mechanisms of which are discussed in chapter 9) developed into a weakened or bleached form of honorification. Although indicating a certain level of social distance to or respect for the addressee, this may not index the addressee as socially superior to the speaker in the manner of the corresponding declarative strategy *–nasar*(*u*). An argument in favor of such an analysis is the existence of the derived truncation *–na*, in which bleaching is clearly evident.

Even so, the functionality of *–nasai* cannot be explained through reduction of its honorific potential alone. A relevant factor here is that in contemporary Japanese, the absence of benefactive encoding in an imperative matrix clause is (regardless of honorification) often all that is needed to suggest the absence of the possibility of

refusal for the addressee, while also signifying authority on the part of the speaker. Mori's work on related issues (2010, 2013b, and other publications) will be discussed throughout the following chapters.

Finally, judging by informant intuitions it appears that *–nasai* has an association, in my view stronger than is found for the other expressions discussed here, with specific users in a specific situation: teachers addressing children. The use of *–nasai* by parents is also remarked upon in the literature (Adachi et al. 2003:67). The interpersonal relationships which exist between prototypical users and addressees may in turn have an influence on how the use of *–nasai* is interpreted in general.

The three lines of argument given above should not be regarded as alternative explanations. The absence of benefactivity is likely to be the most significant, but it may be that all three factors interact to produce the attitudinal profile of *–nasai*.

*3. Benefactivity*

When used in imperatives, benefactivity represents the specified state of affairs as benefiting the speaker or speaker ingroup. According to Moriyama (2008:21), when imperative sentences (*meireibun*) lacking *kureru* or *kudasaru* are used, the realization of the directed state of affairs by the addressee is taken for granted. This in turn assumes an interpersonal relationship in which *meirei* are issued and obeyed. As for its significance in our model, at a basic level the addition of benefactivity implies that the speaker needs to motivate *why* the addressee should realize a state of affairs (prototypically, because the speaker would benefit from it) rather than its realization by the addressee being a matter of course. Judging by its distribution in "request expressions" versus "order expressions", the use of benefactives in turn triggers the inference that the addressee has the option of refusal. A further potential inference (not always present in *–te kure*) is that the need to justify the directive (at least partially) arises due to the addressee being hierarchically or circumstantially superior (or at least equal) to the speaker.

## 3.2 The model

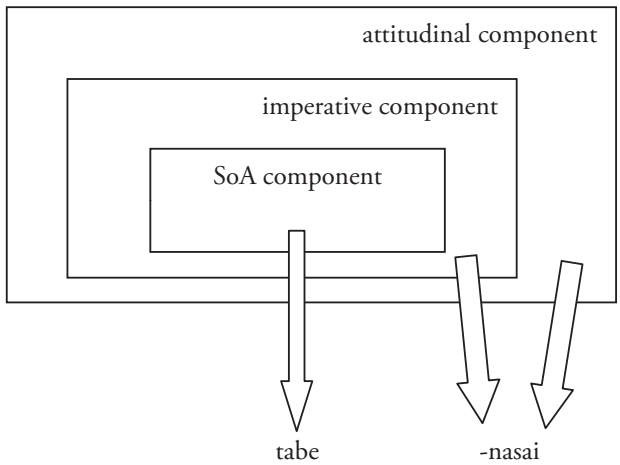


Figure 7-1.
*Tabenasai* (eat.INF-do.HON-IMP 'Eat!')

The basic components are illustrated in the above diagram. Attitudinal encoding (or the lack of such) generates a pragmatic contribution that envelops the state-of-affairs content and the semantics of imperative clause type. The three components interact with various linguistic and extra-linguistic phenomena (style, prosody, context of utterance, etc.) to produce a final illocutionary effect. It is thus not possible to say that the above components directly encode illocutionary force.

Candidates for a "diagnosis" of the contribution provided by the attitudinal component in terms of pragmatic theory include generalized conversational implicature and higher-level explicature. Because the focus of this chapter lies on empirical motivations for replacing the illocutionary account of Japanese imperatives with a non-illocutionary (and non-directive) account, we need not take a stand as to such a classification. The main point made here is that as the default speech act interpretations of different Japanese imperative constructions are cancellable in context, these interpretations should not be considered part of the encoded semantic content.

In addition to these three components, optional means of constraining interpretation are available. Among these are collocational strategies for illocutionary modification or disambiguation, such as the use of adverbs (e.g. *zehi* 'by all means', *zettai* 'absolutely', *kanarazu* 'no matter what') touched upon in 2.4. A treatment of the scopal relations between different types of adverbs, such as found in [*Doo ka* [*kanarazu itte kudasai* ] ] 'Please go no matter what' is not provided here.

The meaning contributed by sentence-final particles (discussed in 2.5) is here treated as a further layer. In my view, their usage relates more abstractly to the significance or function of the imperative utterance within discourse, whereas adverbial collocations are closer to the state-of-affairs content. The presence as well as absence of sentence-final particles and adverbial collocations interacts with the other components of the model in governing possible interpretations.

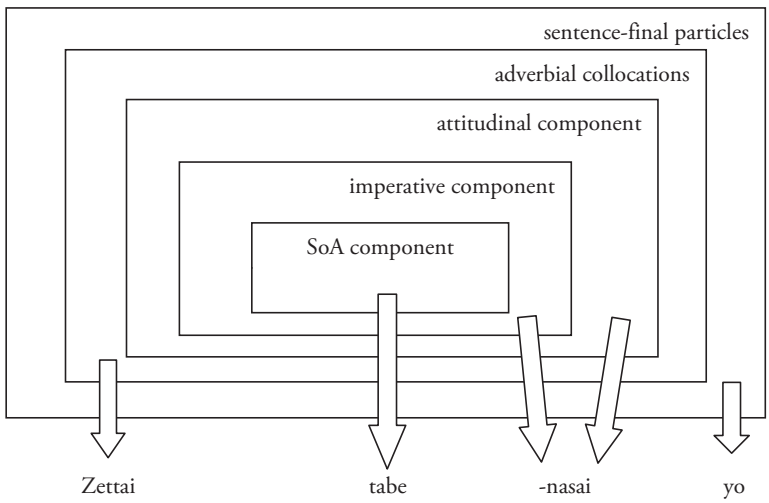


Figure 7-2.
*Zettai tabenasai yo* (absolutely eat.INF-do.HON-IMP FP 'You just have to eat!')

This model does not deal with the suprasegmental phonological dimension of language. There is no doubt that intonation is a powerful means of constraining the interpretation of an imperative utterance. However, due to the focus of the present thesis and the comparative lack of research on intonation in Japanese directives, it will be considered part of the "various linguistic and extra-linguistic phenomena" mentioned above.

In terms of format this proposal bears resemblance to layered models of the clause in the Japanese tradition of modality studies, as exemplified by the work of Minami (1993) and others. Layered models are discussed in English by Larm (2006:50), Shinzato (2007:177), and Narrog (2009:37-45). Shinzato discusses the relationship between scope and (inter)subjectivity in the Japanese clause from the perspective of both the indigenous and general linguistic traditions. She provides a view of the clause in which peripheral, intersubjective elements (such as sentence-final particles) have scope over subjective expressions, which in turn operate over levels that correspond to the SoA component of the present approach (see Shinzato 2007:177).

Such a model hinges on morphosyntactic structure essentially mirroring semantic scope. By contrast, my model has been worked out to account for the function of

Japanese imperatives in discourse, not with a view to describing the interaction between grammatical form and semantic scope in the language as a whole. That being said, within the model, the content contributed by the different layers mostly corresponds to the formal order of elements. The imperative inflections of honorific and/or benefactive verbs and auxiliaries form an exception. To give an example, while not illustrated in Figures 7-1 and 7-2, in *–nasa-i*, the allomorph *–i* encoding imperative clause type follows the morpheme *–nasar–*, which contributes attitudinal functionality.[78]

Whereas a conception of the imperative as having directive semantics (such as *meirei*) lands it within intersubjective territory, the view of the imperative taken in this thesis corresponds most closely to the level of subjectivity, i.e. relating to the position of the speaker towards the state-of-affairs content. Its use (at least in the case of the naked imperative) is not inevitably interactive or addressee-oriented in the sense of other expressions typically described as intersubjective, such as strategies of addressee honorification (*desu*, *–mas*(*u*)). In her response to Shinzato's claim that the emergence of conditional imperatives in Japanese constitutes desubjectification (see chapter 8), Traugott makes the following statement:

> In the layered model, an imperative must be in the outer layer because it is illocutionary, and communicative. But if a layered model is not used and such restrictions are not imposed, then it is possible to treat an imperative, even though directed at an addressee, as functioning essentially in the "object world" with a core meaning. (Traugott 2007:303)

I am not certain of how my approach lines up with the conception of imperative semantics assumed by Traugott (she goes on to add that "an imperative is without question intersubjective"), but the idea of the imperative being non-illocutionary in its semantics would seem to allow for its placement outside the periphery of a layered model.

In any event, uses of the naked imperative in which its prototypical addressee-orientation is reduced or absent are possible in Japanese. Leaving conditional imperatives aside, one example is situations in which the putative addressee(s) and actual recipient(s) of the message are not identical. This is the case in the following type of usage, regarded by Nitta (1991a:254, 2014:62) as close to a deontic judgment:

[78] While there are authors who treat *–nasai* as an element lacking internal compositionality (e.g. Larm 2006), I take a different stance, as discussed in chapter 8.

(36) Beigun wa Okinawa kara tettai se-yo!
US.armed.forces TOP Okinawa from withdrawal do-IMP
'The US armed forces should withdraw from Okinawa!'
(lit.) 'As for [the] US armed forces, withdraw from Okinawa!'
(protest sign/slogan, repeated from chapter 3)

As discussed in chapter 3, slogans such as (36) can be used in contexts in which the actual recipients of the message are distinct from e.g. (the members of) the US armed forces. More significantly, Japanese allows the use of imperatives in (what is here viewed as) indirect speech. If Taroo uses an imperative form while telling Michiko that Hanako told Jiroo to do something, the imperative need not relate to or "target" Michiko in any other sense than being part of the informational content of the utterance (although it appears that the factors that govern the use of imperatives in reported speech are quite complex: see section 4).

(37) Hanako wa Jiroo ni Tookyoo e ik-e to it-ta.
Hanako TOP Jiroo DAT Tokyo to go-IMP COMP say-PST
'Hanako told Jiroo to go to Tokyo.' (Speaker: Taroo, Addressee: Michiko, repeated from chapter 6)

An argument can thus be made that intersubjective orientation is not an obligatory property of the Japanese imperative.

We now move on to a more detailed consideration of the consequences of attitudinal functionality for the functional potential of different imperative constructions.

## 3.3 Attitudinal functionality

As previously stated, the difference between permission issued by means of the naked imperative and by means of *–te kudasai* is not that the naked imperative expresses an order with a pragmatic nuance of permission, whereas *–te kudasai* issues a request with a permissive overtone. The illocutionary function of 'permission' is the same. What distinguishes the two expressions from the perspective of interaction is their differing attitudinal characteristics. Other than the marking of imperative clause type, *–te kure*, *–nasai* and *–te kudasai* contain linguistic information that triggers default pragmatic inferences as to the relationship between speaker and addressee. This has a significant effect on their usage potential. The default pragmatic inferences that differentiate the four imperative variants will here be termed their "attitudinal stances" (in terms of the speaker attitude towards the addressee, or situation, which is signaled by them) or "attitudinal profiles". Benefactivity and honorification are termed the "attitudinal content".

The attitudinal stance of a directive strategy can be used to index, reaffirm, or renegotiate interpersonal relationships during an ongoing exchange. In the case of a

teacher switching from directive *–te* to *–nasai* when admonishing a child, the use of *–nasai* might be a means of reaffirming the hierarchical teacher-student relationship. As suggested by an informant (M, 31), if *–te kudasai* is used by a husband when asking his wife to do something for him after just having had a fight with her, this potentially constitutes an act of apology. Depending on features such as intonation, it might instead be intended to express emotional distance. The attitudinal content of an expression can make it more or less suitable for different types of directive speech acts, but an attitudinal stance does not by itself correspond to a specific type of illocutionary force.

We will first discuss the attitudinal profile of the naked imperative. Its lack of linguistic content encoding (information relevant to) interpersonal relationships has great significance in person-to-person interaction. This is due to the general conventions for the expression of honorification and benefactivity that govern the use of directive speech acts in Japanese. The role of the naked imperative is similar to that described by Wierzbicka for the "rude" first person pronoun *ore*.

> [I]n Japanese, the word *ore* […] has a range of use incomparably more narrow than the word *I* has in English. […] It may be considered 'rude' for a child to use *ore* to other children at school, but *ore* cannot mean 'I + disrespect', because if it did it would not be permissible for a man to use it when speaking to his parents. This suggests that *ore* means simply 'I' […] The heavy restrictions on its use must therefore be attributed to cultural rather than semantic factors. In a society where references to oneself are in many situations expected to be accompanied by expressions of humility or deference, a bare 'I' becomes pragmatically marked, and it must be interpreted as either very intimate or very rude. But this pragmatic markedness should not be confused with demonstrable semantic complexity. (Wierzbicka 2003:13)

The default interpretation of the naked imperative as 'order' reflects that even in syntagmatic isolation, such as *tabero* (eat-IMP) being the only word written on an otherwise empty page, it is not in isolation from the surrounding functional paradigm – the directive system of Japanese. If a language user does not employ honorification and benefactivity, some underlying reason must be present. What could this be?

Even in situations that do not perfectly line up with the illocutionary dimensions of an order, the use of the naked imperative often involves authority on the part of the speaker and/or a high degree of directive force. Murakami (1993:101, my translation) gives the following examples of situations in which the use of the naked imperative is possible:

> The situational conditions allowing for the use of *shiro* [the naked imperative] and *suru na* [the negative imperative] are, broadly distinguished, the following three.

1. Within the interpersonal relationship between speaker and addressee, the speaker is in an unconditionally superior position.
2. The interpersonal relationship between speaker and addressee is that of friends with no concern for hierarchical relations.
3. The situation is of such pressing nature that there is no time [*yoyuu*] for the consideration of the interpersonal relationship between speaker and addressee.

Conceivable examples of the three categories are a military officer addressing a private, a young boy playing with a friend, and a bystander attempting to stop a stranger from leaping to their death.

The (matrix clause) use of the naked imperative is thus sociolinguistically licensed by certain contextual parameters. However, rather than linguistic form directly governing illocution, the context that licenses the use of the naked imperative is itself the most important element constraining interpretation. If a clear superior-subordinate relationship exists, the use of the naked imperative may be sociolinguistically permissible, as the speaker does not *need* to indicate honorification and benefit. Still, given the same situation, the use of any other strategy will conceivably lead to the same interpretation as not providing the alternative of refusal, as in the example of *Hookokusho o kaite moraemasu ka* 'Can you write a report for me?' given in 2.2. Conversely, the naked imperative can be used by superiors in situations in which absolute coercion is lacking (advice, permission, etc.). It then largely indexes preexisting hierarchical relations rather than signifying the illocutionary dimensions of an order. Context of utterance combines with the choice of expression (in turn both licensed by and implying a certain context) to constrain interpretation.

Although lacking attitudinal content limits the usage range of the naked imperative, this also allows for its use when honorification is absent for stylistic reasons. Cook (2008) uses the term "naked plain form" to refer to Japanese predicates which lack addressee honorification (*–(r)u* instead of *–mas(u)*, *da* instead of *desu*, etc.) and also omit features characteristic of informal spoken language, such as sentence-final particles. She states that "the naked plain form is consistently employed in newspaper articles, scientific papers, and reports as well as some highly detached speech contexts such as the enumeration of items on a list". Cook further adds that it is "a form used when the speaker/writer focuses on the referential content of the message or when the speaker is not orienting to the addressee in ongoing talk-in-interaction" (2008:84-85). Due to being "devoid of affect" (2008:87), the "naked plain form" is in turn a defining feature of what Cook terms the "detached speech style" used in the abovementioned genres, as well as in embedded clauses and institutional contexts, such as certain types of classroom interactions (2008:86-88).

While Cook focuses on the use of forms such as *da* and *–(r)u* in spoken language, her general framework is useful when considering the use of the naked imperative in a variety of textual genres that more or less line up with her description of the

"detached speech style". I will refer to these as "detached styles" or "detached contexts". Among the written contexts in which naked imperatives appear are proverbs, some types of road signs, juridical documents (in which the naked imperative can co-occur with the written-language copula *de aru*), and instructions in some types of textbooks and written exams (see Makino and Tsutsui 1995:71-72). In terms of language style, all of these are dry and/or archaizing genres, generally lacking both honorification and spoken language features. In such contexts the morphemic variant *–yo* often occurs in place of *–ro* in the imperative forms of vowel stem verbs.

(38) Kono en no menseki o motome-yo.
DEM circle GEN area OBJ seek-IMP
'Find the area of this circle.' (instruction in textbook, repeated from (6))

(39) Kawai-i ko ni wa tabi o sa-se-yo.
beloved-NPST child DAT TOP journey OBJ do-CAUS-IMP
'Spare the rod and spoil the child.' (lit.) 'Send [your] beloved child on a journey.'

In the introduction to her article, Cook discusses the idea that "the social meaning of a linguistic form does not solely reside in the form itself but is always embedded in the structure of social activity/human interaction" (2008:80-81). I propose that the functional profile of the naked imperative can be summed up as follows: In "non-detached" spoken language and written styles close to the spoken register, the naked imperative expresses sociolinguistically unmitigated specification (= devoid of concern for the addressee's face). In detached contexts it expresses underdetermined specification (= lacking information about attitudinal stance or illocutionary force). This is a simplification – it is unlikely that the naked imperative would be used by the teacher in Cook's study of classroom interaction, even within the sequences classed by her as indexing the "detached speech style" – but it captures the essence.

The naked imperative is in spoken language functionally marked as a directive strategy by way of being functionally *un*marked for grammatically optional but sociolinguistically important categories (see also discussion in chapter 9). When the surrounding conventions for the linguistic indexing of interpersonal relationships are removed, as in certain written registers or embedded contexts, it approaches the status of a default or unmarked form. The use of the naked imperative in contexts lacking a definite speaker and or/addressee (which tends to overlap with contexts in which detached styles are used) will be discussed in the following section. The fundamental ambiguity between "default" and "highly marked" is also significant for its use in reported directives.

The pronoun *ore* was previously brought up as similar to the naked imperative in being functionally hemmed in by sociolinguistic conventions. However, unlike the naked imperative, *ore* can only appear in informal contexts, never in detached ones. It is thus not unmarked or "default" in the same sense as the naked imperative can be.

As stated above, the other three imperative variants all explicitly indicate speaker-addressee interpersonal relations to some extent. The strategy *–te kure* presents the

realization of the specified event as beneficial to the speaker (implying freedom of choice for the addressee), but lacks honorification of the addressee (indicating that the addressee is at best equal to the speaker in status). Satoo (1992:161) states that due to its lack of politeness, *–te kure* "places the speaker in a superior position". A similar opinion was voiced by one of the informants (M, 36). However, this is not always the case. *–Te kure* can, at least in fiction, occur in contexts such as pleas and cries for help: *Tasukete kure!* (help-GER give.me-IMP). Here the absence of honorification is more likely to be reflective of strength of directive force or urgency, relating to Murakami's third condition ("The situation is of such pressing nature that there is no time for the consideration of the interpersonal relationship between speaker and addressee"). The ambiguous profile of *–te kure* is reflected both by its use in the Publication Subcorpus (occurrence in pleas and genuine requests as well as in the order-like directives discussed in chapter 6) and by statements by informants, some of whom use both *meirei* 'order' and *tanomi* 'request' to characterize its function.

The profile of *–nasai* was discussed in the previous section with regard to "bleached honorification". It presents the speaker as being in a position of authority, but is potentially less harsh than the naked imperative. Part of its attitudinal profile may derive from association with prototypical users: teachers and parents.

The use of *–te kudasai* implies more authority and agency on the part of the addressee than the other strategies. By being superior to the speaker, the addressee has more interpersonal power, and hence more optionality as to whether to realize a state of affairs. Unlike in the case of *–nasai*, this is reinforced by the addition of benefactivity. However, connotations of superiority and optionality are lost in situations where it is clear that the use of *–te kudasai* is only due to linguistic conventions for the expression of formality. In the *desu-masu* speech style of contemporary Japanese, *–te kudasai* is in practice used as a general polite directive strategy, including in situations which diverge from those implied by its linguistic content.[79] An extreme example is that of the policeman's directive discussed in 2.2 and 2.3. Informants describe *–te kudasai* as being usable in almost any context, as well as being used specifically when politely requesting something of a social superior. Such associations may be reflective of its typical use in discourse versus (the default inferences deriving from) its grammatical content.

The four imperative variants have in the literature been described in terms of polite vs. informal orders and requests. A more accurate description might run along the lines of "unmitigated directive" (naked), "informal directive" (*–te kure*), "authoritative directive" (*–nasai*), and "formal directive" (*–te kudasai*). However, because the attitudinal profiles of the different strategies partially arise from non-propositional meaning, they are likely to be ineffable (i.e. impossible to paraphrase in natural language terms). While informants do use various illocutionary descriptors when

[79] See chapters 8 and 9 for related historical discussion.

discussing them, phrasings such as *hanbun meirei* 'half an order' for *–te kure* indicate that these descriptions are at best approximations.

## 3.4 Specific and non-specific imperatives in Korean and Japanese

In a 2013 workshop paper, Pak, Portner and Zanuttini discuss the embeddability of imperatives from a generative perspective. Their characterization of different imperative forms holds interest for our analysis of Japanese. Korean is richly supplied with strategies for the linguistic expression of deference, including elements analogous to Japanese addressee honorification (the system of speech styles) as well as to referent honorification (lexical substitution of verbs corresponding to *go*, *eat*, *drink*, etc.). The system of speech styles involves six basic levels of morphological variation that roughly correspond to different degrees of formality. Speech styles are distinguished in all clause types. Examples of two levels from declarative clause type are given below.

(40) Polite style: Chayk-ul ilk-ess-eyo.
book-OBJ read-PST-DEC
'I read the book.'
(Pak, Portner and Zanuttini 2013:7, glossing modified by me)

(41) Plain style: Chayk-ul ilk-ess-ta.
book-OBJ read-PST-DEC
'I read the book.'
(Pak, Portner and Zanuttini 2013:8, glossing modified by me)

Pak, Portner and Zanuttini (2013:8) state that "[f]or all clause types, only plain speech style can occur in embedded clauses". They hypothesize that this relates to the following property:

> Our key hypothesis is that, while other styles indicate the relation between speaker and addressee and the formality of the utterance situation, the plain form does not encode anything about the addressee at all, and hence no speech style is marked. […] For this reason, it is appropriate for sentences when there is no specific addressee, as in exclamatives […], in monologues […] and in mottos […] Writing which is not directed to a specific person (i.e. an academic paper, journal, essay, or newspaper article), would also normally be plain style. (2013:9)

This is reminiscent of the detached contexts previously discussed, and also matches the general rule that addressee honorification does not embed in Japanese (see e.g. Kuno 1988:92-93).

Interestingly, the plain style has more than one way of morphologically indicating imperative clause type. The authors distinguish between a plain form imperative used in contexts lacking a specific addressee (marked with *–(u)la*) and a plain form

imperative used when a specific addressee is present (marked with *–e*/*ala*). They refer to them as "nonspecific addressee plain imperative" and "specific addressee plain imperative", respectively (2013:10).

Examples of their use are given below (Pak, Portner and Zanuttini 2013:10, glossing modified by me):

(42) Na-lul ttal-ala!
1SG-OBJ follow-IMP.PLAIN
'Follow me!' (specific addressee)

(42b) Na-lul ttalu-la!
1SG-OBJ follow-IMP.PLAIN
'Follow me!' (rallying cry, addressed to a crowd)

(43) Cengcikha-ala!
honest-IMP.PLAIN
'Be honest!' (specific addressee)

(43b) Cengcikha-la!
honest-IMP.PLAIN
'Be honest!' (class/family motto)

As might be expected, the use of the "specific addressee plain imperative" is not particularly polite (Portner, Pak, and Zanuttini 2014:16). Moreover, only the "nonspecific addressee plain imperative" may embed.

(44) *Inho-ka salamtul-ekey caki-lul ttal-*ala*-ko
Inho-NOM people-to self-OBJ follow-IMP.PLAIN.SPECIFIC-COMP
malha-ess-ta.
say-PST-DEC
'Inho told people to follow him.' (Pak, Portner and Zanuttini 2013:10-11)

(44b) Inho-ka salamtul-ekey caki-lul
Inho-NOM people-to self-OBJ
ttalu-*la*-ko malha-ess-ta.
follow-IMP.PLAIN.NONSPECIFIC- COMP say-PST-DEC
'Inho told people to follow him.' (Pak, Portner and Zanuttini 2013:11)

In Japanese, the *–e* (*ro*) imperative form can be used in functions that correspond to both the "nonspecific addressee plain imperative" and "specific addressee plain imperative" in Korean, as well as appear in embeddings.

(45) Jiroo, tsui-te ko-i!
Jiroo attach-GER come-IMP
'Jiroo, follow me!' (specific addressee)

(46) Tsui-te ko-i!
attach-GER come-IMP
'Follow me!' (rallying cry, addressed to a crowd)

(47) Taroo wa tsui-te ko-i to it-ta.
Taroo TOP attach-GER come-IMP COMP say-PST
'Taroo told [someone] to follow him.' (reported directive)

The morphemic variant *–yo* frequently appears in nonspecific and/or detached contexts in Japanese, but the reasons are likely stylistic rather than grammatical. The Korean system thus appears to make further distinctions.

While the parallel is likely not exact, judging by the analysis given by Pak, Portner and Zanuttini, Korean can be said to formally distinguish the equivalent of the sociolinguistically unmitigated and underdetermined functionalities of the Japanese naked imperative. Their hypothesis lines up well with the position that the Japanese naked imperative is characterized by absence of the linguistic encoding of interpersonal relations rather than presence of an 'order'-encoding element. Further evidence for this stance is the fact that the naked imperative is often used in contexts that lack a specific addressee and/or speaker.

Pak, Portner and Zanuttini state that the Korean plain style is used in situations in which "the speaker does not need to indicate his or her relationship to the addressee because there is no specific addressee" (2013:10). In Japanese, textual genres lacking a specific "sender" and/or addressee (such as the abovementioned proverbs, textbooks, road signs and protest signs) overlap with the use of detached speech styles.

Further, as indicated by statements by informants and attestations in the Publication Subcorpus, the use of naked imperatives in the titles of books and movies is not uncommon in Japanese. This can give a sense of action while also suggesting the content of the narrative (compare the English-language title *Raise the Titanic!*). Informants were shown the DVD cover of an animated TV special (1995, directed by Osamu Dezaki) with the following title:

(48) Harimao no zaihoo o o-e!
Harimao GEN treasure OBJ pursue-IMP
'Pursue Harimao's treasure!'

Protagonists and antagonists appear on the cover. Informants (none of whom had seen the TV special) were asked the following question: "Who is telling who to pursue the treasure?". Suggested sources of the imperative included the makers of the film as well as characters within the narrative. Suggested addressees included the protagonists as well as the audience. The possibility that the imperative is part of the inner monologue of the protagonists was also brought up. Some interviewees stated that the phrase should not be understood as a message to anyone (F, 21) or that no one is actually saying it (M, 36, M, 55). A reasonable conclusion is that the identities

of speaker and addressee are neither unambiguously inferable from the context, nor crucial to the essentially descriptive, rather than directive, function of the title.

Some of the informants stated that the naked imperative frequently occurs in titles. By contrast, hypothetical titles based on other strategies (e.g. *oinasai*, *otte kudasai*) were in the case of this TV special dismissed as strange and/or devoid of excitement.[80] Two informants (M, 36, M, 49) gave similar observations about the strangeness of –*nasai* in this context. They can be paraphrased as follows: When the naked imperative is used, it is not necessarily the case that anyone is saying anything to anyone. When –*nasai* is used, someone *is* saying something to someone, but because the identity of the speaker is here unknown, the result is incomprehensibility. I interpret these intuitions as indicating that, in a context in which both speaker and addressee are unknown or even absent, imperative expressions that contain information about interpersonal relationships are difficult to use. The naked imperative's lack of attitudinal content allows it to be used without oddity.

On a general level, titles can be viewed as removed from the following discourse in having a meta-relationship with the textual content, describing or contextualizing it but existing on a different level from it. The relationship between reader and author seen in titles is thus more oblique than the relationship between reader and author within the text itself. This, in turn, may be part of the reason why titles facilitate the use of the naked imperative.

However, the naked imperative is not the only imperative construction that is used in titles. –*Nasai*, for instance, occurs in the titles of books giving advice on topics such as physical and mental health. More importantly, it is certainly not the case that the naked imperative *must* in Japanese be used when non-specific addressees are involved. Rather, this is one of the restricted environments in which its use is sociolinguistically permissible. The following observation by Makino and Tsutsui (1995:72) is relevant here: "[Naked] imperatives without sentence particles are rarely used in daily conversation. In spoken Japanese they are usually used when the speaker is angry with or threatening the hearer or when the speaker shouts slogans in demonstrations".

[80] Arthur Holmer (personal communication) points out that *Please raise the Titanic!* would be strange in English. Jary and Kissine (2014:70-71) interestingly state that "even with an imperative sentence *please* does not seem acceptable in the absence of directive force", and that "*please* activates a reading under which the utterance is a directive speech act, addressed at someone in particular".

# 4. Reported imperatives

## 4.1 Introduction

In this section we return to a topic previously touched upon in chapters 4 and 6, reported imperatives in Japanese. The question of whether Japanese imperatives permit embedding has been the topic of discussion in the general linguistic literature, as has the related question of whether certain types of Japanese reported speech (which may involve imperatives) should be classed as instances of direct, indirect, "quasi-direct", or "mixed" quotation. Studies touching on one or both of these topics include Coulmas (1985), Kuno (1988), Han (2000), Oshima (2006), Maier (2009), Saito (2012), and Kaufmann (2012, 2014).

Aside from mentions in general descriptions of the imperative (e.g. Murakami 1993:91-93) and discussion in the quotation literature (e.g. Kamada 2000, Fujita 2000), Japanese indigenous linguistics contributes at least two studies focusing on reported imperatives and other directives in contemporary Japanese (Suzuki 2004, 2007). There is also a study that discusses differences between Edo-era and contemporary Japanese *meirei hyoogen* 'order expression[s]' in reported contexts (Tanaka 1959). These studies are valuable in that they discuss phenomena relating to Japanese reported imperatives from a more descriptively oriented standpoint than is done in the general linguistic literature.

Directive illocutionary force is lost under embedding. If imperatives encode directivity, it follows that they should not be able to embed. As the imperative semantics posited here do not encode directivity per se, this argument against allowing for embedded imperatives in Japanese is of no concern.[81] Moreover, apart from previous evidence indicating that the embedding of imperatives is possible, I will in section 5 point out a further observation from the indigenous literature that appears to support an account in terms of embedding: the permissibility of first person subjects in certain types of reported imperatives. However, the following discussion is not specifically intended as a contribution to the embedding debate. Our main focus is on extending the layered model presented in section 3 into reported usages, working towards a comprehensive account of the functionality of imperative constructions in Japanese.

[81] Jary and Kissine (2014:108) note that the semantic features that make imperatives suitable for issuing directive speech acts might also make them suitable for reporting them.

## 4.2 Properties and functions of reported imperatives

Kaufmann (2012:199-201) discusses reference adjustment in deictic expressions and the presence of content question words in imperative clauses as evidence that the "proper embedding […]" of imperatives occurs in Japanese.

(49) Mearii ga Jon ni watashi no hon o yom-e to it-ta.
Mary NOM John DAT 1SG GEN book OBJ read-IMP COMP say-PST
Quoted interpretation: 'Mary said to John: "Read my book!"'
Subordinated interpretation: 'Mary said to John that he should read my book'.
(adapted from Kaufmann 2012:200, my glossing)

In the quoted interpretation, *watashi* refers to Mary, the original speaker. In the subordinated (indirect) interpretation, *watashi* refers to the reporting speaker.

(50) Jon ga ototoi Mearii ni ashita Tookyoo e ik-e
John NOM two.days.ago Mary DAT tomorrow Tokyo to go-IMP
to it-ta.
COMP say-PST
Quoted interpretation: 'John told Mary two days ago: "Go to Tokyo tomorrow."'
Subordinated interpretation: 'John told Mary two days ago that she should go to Tokyo tomorrow'. (adapted from Kaufmann 2012:200, my glossing)

In the quoted interpretation, the temporal adverb *ashita* refers to the day before the matrix utterance, whereas in the embedded interpretation, it refers to the day after the matrix utterance. Finally, the construction found below is clearly not a case of prototypical direct quotation.

(51) Jon ga doko e ik-e to it-ta no?
John NOM where to go-IMP COMP say-PST FP
'Where did John tell [someone] to go?' (adapted from Kaufmann 2012:201, my glossing and translation)

Kaufmann also notes that the Japanese naked imperative can be used to report directive situations in which a more polite directive strategy was actually used. She states that "[i]mperatives can be reported with plain forms without creating an impoliteness effect towards the actual addressee. At the same time, there is no suggestion that the speaker of the reported context had been impolite towards the addressee in the reported context" (2012:202). Based on this observation, she further hypothesizes that "[…] 'plain forms' are in general used not only to indicate absence of politeness, but they also serve as the neutral form in contexts in which politeness need or even must not be indicated, e.g. in descriptions, etc." (2012:202). Kaufmann also makes reference to the restriction against the embedding of addressee honorification in Japanese (discussed further below) as a relevant factor.

We now turn to the indigenous literature. Murakami (1993:93) states that when quoted, the naked imperative functions as a general stand-in for directive sentences

(*sasoikakebun*), and has the meaning of a willful directive. This is thus one of the environments in which he does not necessarily consider it to express an 'order'. When reported, the naked imperative may co-occur with illocutionary descriptors covering various directive speech acts that are, according to Murakami, likely to have been issued by means of other strategies. These include *sasoi* 'invitation' and *kyoka* 'permission' (1993:93).

(52) Zehi ko-i to […] Mineko ni sasow-are-ru to [...]
by.all.means come-IMP COMP Mineko by invite-PASS-NPST when
(lit.) 'When [she] was invited by Mineko [female given name] to by all means come [….]' (originally quoted in Murakami 1993:92, my glossing and translation)

The use of the naked imperative need thus not entail that it was actually used in the original context. While Murakami uses the general term *in'yoobun* 'quotation', his examples contain a mixture of what appear to be indirect/embedded, constructed, and possibly verbatim (although fictional) reports.

The descriptions provided by Kaufmann and Murakami seem to indicate that the Japanese naked imperative is something like a general marker of directivity when used in indirect speech. However, the actual patterns of usage are more complex. Suzuki (2004, 2007) notes that the appropriateness of different directive strategies in reported speech varies depending on the situation.

According to Suzuki, there exists a set of directive strategies that can be used to (indirectly) report directive speech acts even when it would have been sociolinguistically difficult to use them in the reported situation itself (2004:129, 2007:74-73). The (second person) imperative-based strategies for which this applies are *–e* (*ro*) and *–te kure*. The negative interrogative *–te kurenai ka* (–GER give.me-NEG-NPST QP) and hortative *–(y)oo* are among the other strategies included in the set.

Conversely, there are also directive strategies that are difficult to use when reporting on situations where they would have been difficult to use for the original speaker. Among imperative-based strategies, these include *–nasai*, *–te kudasai*, and *–te*, all of which, notably, contain honorific elements. Note that these expressions can still be used to report on directive situations in which they not used, but in which the relation between the original speaker and addressee was such that they potentially *could* have been used. We will later return to this point.

In Suzuki's account there are, however, restrictions even on the use of the first category of strategies. We will here focus on the second-person imperative-based variants.

1. The naked imperative and *–te kure* are easier to use in reported speech when reporting directives addressed to you than when reporting directives that you addressed to others (2007:68).

2. Additionally, the naked imperative and *–te kure* are easier to use to report directives towards ingroup members in general than towards outgroup members (2007:69).

(53) Kodomo ni benkyoo shi-ro to mai-nichi it-te
child DAT study do-IMP COMP every-day say-GER
i-ru no desu ga…
be-NPST NML COP.POL but
'I tell my child to study every day, but…'
(Suzuki 2007:69, my glossing and translation)

3. When reporting directives addressed to oneself, the abovementioned strategies are easier to use when the original issuer of the directive is part of the reporting speaker's ingroup than when he or she is part of an outgroup (2007:67).

(54) Haha ni benkyoo shi-ro to mai-nichi iw-are-te
mother by study do-IMP COMP every-day say-PASS-GER
or-i-mas-u.
be.HUM-INF-POL-NPST
'Every day I am told by my mother to study.'
(Suzuki 2007:68, my glossing and translation)

As confirmed by informants, it is unlikely (although not impossible) that a mother would say *shiro* (do-IMP) to her child every day. The use of the naked imperative in (53) and (54) is nonetheless felt to be natural.

4. When reporting directives issued to oneself by outgroup members, the sociolinguistic difficulty of using the naked imperative and *–te kure* to indirectly paraphrase them increases in proportion to the politeness of the speech style used by the reporting speaker (2007:67).

5. However, if the reporting speaker wants to show that the original, reported directive speech act was forceful, or wants to present him/herself as inferior, they can still be used (2007:67).

6. The naked imperative and *–te kure* are difficult to use when reporting a directive given by the reporting speaker if the current addressee is socially superior and/or the reporting speaker is using polite speech. This is especially the case when the original addressee was someone with whom polite speech was called for, i.e. outgroup members and/or superiors (2007:70).

An example is given below.

(55) ?O-kyaku-sama ni mat-te kure to it-te,
HON-guest-HON DAT wait-GER give.me.IMP COMP say-GER
mat-te itadak-i-mashi-ta.
wait-GER receive.HUM-INF-POL-PST
'I asked the guest to wait, and (s)he waited.'(Suzuki 2007:71, my glossing and translation)

7. It is acceptable to use *–te kure* in speech reporting what you said to superiors when talking to ingroup members in an informal style, but the use of the naked imperative is still difficult unless it was actually used in the original situation (2007:68).

In the following example, the reporting speaker is using an informal speech style. Compare (55) above.

(56) O-kyaku-san ni mat-te kure tte it-te, mat-te
HON-guest-HON DAT wait-GER give.me.IMP COMP say-GER wait-GER
morat-ta n da yo.
receive-PST NML COP.NPST FP
'I asked the guest to wait, and (s)he waited.'(Suzuki 2007:71, my glossing and translation)

While she does not terminologically distinguish between indirect/embedded, constructed and verbatim quotes in the manner of the present thesis, Suzuki does state that the use of the first set of strategies can be thought of as a kind of indirect quotation (2004:130, 137). She hypothesizes that the naked imperative, *–te kure*, and *–(y)oo* can stand in for or "summarize" (*shuuyaku*) the various expressions that can perform the functions *meirei* 'order', *irai* 'request' and *kan'yuu* 'invitation', respectively (2007:73, 68).

My own work with informants corroborates at least some of Suzuki's statements. For instance, one informant (M, 49) stated that the naked imperative is inappropriate when reporting a directive given by one manager to another if both of them outrank the reporting speaker. In any event, the social statuses of the referents within the report, as well as those of the matrix-level interlocutors, appear to influence the appropriateness of non-verbatim reported imperatives. The choice of reporting strategy can also influence the interpretation of the illocutionary properties of the original utterance. More specifically, connotations attaching to main clause usages of the naked imperative (such as strong directivity) may at times carry over into indirect reported usages, indicating that reported imperatives are not always neutral in terms of directive "flavor". Examples are given below.

These phenomena are reflected by the existence of prescriptive recommendations that the naked imperative be avoided in reported speech. In what appears to be a

textbook intended for non-native learners of Japanese[82], it is stated that because *to* expresses a "direct quote", phrasings such as *shiro to itte ita* (do-IMP COMP say-GER be-PST) are only used in conversations between friends (p. 83). The reportative strategy *yoo ni* (see chapter 4, section 3.9) leads to indirectness and a softening of the tone. The use of *yoo ni* is appropriate even in instructions to subordinates; rather than (57), the normal phrasing is claimed to be (57b).

(57) Rii-kun ni buchooshitsu ni ko-i to tsutae-te
Lee-Mr. DAT general.manager's.office to come-IMP COMP tell-GER
kure.
give.me.IMP
'Tell Lee to come to the general manager's office.'
(www.nihongo2.com/speaking/12.pdf, my glossing and translation)

(57b) Rii-kun ni buchooshitsu ni ku-ru yoo.ni
Lee-Mr. DAT general.manager's.office to come-NPST QUOT
tsutae-te kure.
tell-GER give.me.IMP
'Tell Lee to come to the general manager's office.'
(www.nihongo2.com/speaking/12.pdf, my glossing and translation)

In line with these prescriptions, statements made by my main informant indicate that the use of the naked imperative when reporting directives in a business environment may not be viewed as appropriate by all speakers.

Can we explain these phenomena as a matter of constructed quotations, for which the attitudinal functionalities of matrix usages apply, coexisting with genuinely embedded and thus sociolinguistically neutral usages? Apparently, even usages that should qualify as indirect, due to the matrix-oriented interpretation of deictic elements, can at times be interpreted as indicative of strong directivity or authority.

(58) Taroo ga Hanako ni watashi no hon o yom-e to it-ta.
Taroo NOM Hanako DAT 1SG GEN book OBJ read-IMP COMP say-PST
'Taroo told Hanako that she should read my/his book.'

The above sentence was interpreted by my main informant as giving the impression that Taroo is taking a "slightly strong" stance towards Hanako, and that she is obligated to read the book. Apparently, this holds even under an interpretation in which *watashi* refers to the reporting speaker, such as when the imperative cause is uttered with prosodic features indicative of indirect quotation. When the quoted material is uttered with an angry-sounding quality of voice setting it apart from the surrounding clause, ownership of the book switches to Taroo. By contrast, the substitution of *–te kure* was here reported to give the feeling that the reading of the book is optional, and a request on the part of Taroo.

[82] www.nihongo2.com/speaking/12.pdf (retrieved 2014-08-25 but unavailable as of 2015-06-29).

It thus appears that elements of the attitudinal profile of the naked imperative can, at least for this particular speaker, emerge even when it is "genuinely embedded". Of course, it is not advisable to draw wide-ranging conclusions based on one specific scenario. When presented with a version of (51), in which a content question word is part of the reported clause, the naked imperative was felt by the informant to give no clues as to the nature of the original directive situation (whether polite, coercive, etc.).

Some instances of reported imperatives were interpreted as having coercive or negatively charged connotations by certain informants, but not by others. In one test conducted with additional informants, interpretations of two sentences differing only in the choice of reporting strategy were compared.

(59) Tekunikaru sapooto ni denwa shi-tara betsu no bangoo
technical support DAT telephone do-COND other GEN number
ni kake-ru yoo.ni iw-are-ta.
DAT call-NPST QUOT say-PASS-PST

(59b) Tekunikaru sapooto ni denwa shi-tara betsu no bangoo
technical support DAT telephone do-COND other GEN number
ni kake-ro to iw-are-ta.[83]
DAT call-IMP COMP say-PASS-PST
'When I phoned technical support I was told to call another number.'

All informants agreed that it was unlikely or impossible that the technical support staff would actually have said *kakero* (call-IMP). Both the naked imperative and *yoo ni* can here be said to mark indirect speech. However, they are not identical in terms of feel. One informant (M, 49) characterized the difference as one of matrix-level formality. He stated that *yoo ni* is appropriate when speaking to a colleague, whereas the naked imperative can be used in a more informal context. According to some of the informants (F, 21, F, 35, M, 36, M, 31), the connotation that the reporting speaker has negative feelings towards the technical support staff (due to their rude or unhelpful behavior) is stronger when the naked imperative is used than in the case of *yoo ni*.

To give another example, some informants (F, 35, M, 36, F, 40) stated that the use of *Watashi ga ike to iu imi desu ka* 'Does it mean I should go?' (lit.) 'Is the meaning that I go-IMP?' implies that the speaker does not want to go, while others (M, 55, M, 49) stated that the function of the sentence is or can be "just confirmation".

Moving beyond the naked imperative, there are reports in the literature that, while the use of *–e* (*ro*) and *–te kure* is possible in deictically mixed contexts (relating to Kuno's blended discourse, Saito's indirect discourse, and Kaufmann's proper embedding), it is difficult to use *–nasai* and *–te kudasai* under such circumstances. Kamada (2000, my glossing and translation) provides the following examples:

[83] Modified version of a sentence originally found in the dictionary *Eijiroo*.

(60) Watashi ga ik-e to sensei ga osshar-u
1SG NOM go-IMP COMP teacher NOM say.HON-NPST
mono.da.kara (watashi ga) yat-te ki-mashi-ta.
because (1SG NOM) give-GER come-POL-PST
'The teacher told me to come (lit. 'go') so I came.'

(60b) *Watashi ga it-te kudasa-i to sensei ga
1SG NOM go-GER give.me.HON-IMP COMP teacher NOM
osshar-u mono.da.kara (watashi ga) yat-te ki-mashi-ta.
say.HON-NPST because (1SG NOM) give-GER come-POL-PST
'The teacher told me to come (lit. 'please go') so I came.'

As briefly touched upon in chapters 4 and 6, another factor that gives the feeling of direct quotation (thus reducing the possibility of deictic mixing) is the occurrence of sentence-final particles.

(60c) *Watashi ga ik-e yo to sensei ga osshar-u
1SG NOM go-IMP FP COMP teacher NOM say.HON-NPST
mono.da.kara (watashi ga) yat-te ki-mashi-ta.
because (1SG NOM) give-GER come-POL-PST
'The teacher told me to come (lit. 'go *yo*') so I came.'
(Kamada 2000, my glossing and translation)

My work with informants confirms that *–nasai* and *–te kudasai,* when occurring in a reported environment, give a feeling of relating more closely to the way in which something was actually said than is the case for the naked imperative and *–te kure*. My main informant stated that *–nasai* and *–te kudasai* give the feeling of there being "quotation marks" surrounding the reported content. It is thus difficult to interpret (61) as referring to a book that belongs to the reporting speaker.

(61) Taroo ga Hanako ni watashi no hon o yom-i-nasa-i
Taroo NOM Hanako DAT 1SG GEN book OBJ read-INF-do.HON-IMP
to it-ta.
COMP say-PST
'Taroo told Hanako that she should read his/*my book.'

This indicates that imperative constructions which incorporate honorification do not "genuinely" embed. We recall from chapter 4, section 2.2 that while addressee honorification generally does not embed in Japanese (**Kimasu hito* 'the people who come'), embedding is possible in the case of referent honorifics (*Kite kudasaru o-kata* 'The people who are kind enough to come'). This may appear problematic for the present model, as the stance taken here is that *–te kudasai* incorporates referent, rather than addressee honorification (my view of *–nasai* is, as discussed above, more ambivalent). My proposed solution is as follows. The second-person imperative is, generally speaking, an addressee-oriented construction. When it combines with lexically specified referent honorification in the form of *–te kudasar*(*u*), the result is an

expression that orients towards the addressee in a manner sufficiently close to that of semantically encoded addressee honorification (e.g. *–mas*(*u*)) as to similarly reduce its susceptibility to embedding. On the lexical level, however, the honorific content of *–te kudasai* remains referent honorification.

As previously noted, formal features indicative of direct quotation do not guarantee that such quotations are direct in the prototypical sense. *–Nasai* and *–te kudasai* can be used in situations in which no utterance containing the specific directive strategy was made. This includes paraphrases of non-verbal communication.

> *Boku ga chaimu o osu to, "doozo" to iu koe ga suru dake na no de, kochira kara doa o akeru to, iriguchi ni surippa ga soroete aru. Sore o hakinasai, to iu imi da to sasshite, sono mama haitte oku e susumu to* […]
>
> When I rang the doorbell, the only thing I heard was a voice saying "Go ahead", so I opened the door. A pair of slippers had been placed at the entrance. I guessed that I was supposed to put them on [literally: I guessed that it meant put them on] and when I went further inside […] (BCCWJ)

Indeed, imperative clauses complete with sentence-final particles can be used in constructed dialogue that does not refer to a specific speech situation.

(62) Otona wa kodomo ni ikimono no inochi o taisetsu ni
adult TOP child DAT living.creature GEN life OBJ valuable DAT
shi-nasa-i yo, to i-u keredo […]
do.INF-do.HON-IMP FP COMP say-NPST but
'Adults tell children to respect the lives of living creatures, but […]' (BCCWJ)

However, Suzuki's observed restriction on the use of *–nasai* and *–te kudasai* in reporting directive utterances still applies. In Suzuki's first class of expressions (the most relevant of which are the naked imperative and *–te kure*), the *taiguu* value – to use a Japanese term – or politeness potential of the quoting strategy need not match the social relations extant in the context of the original utterance. Imperative-based strategies belonging to the second class (i.e. containing honorification) can, beyond direct quotation, also be used to report on situations in which they were not actually used. However, when they are used, it appears that the interpersonal dynamics of the original directive situation must be such that the form conceivably *could* have been used in an actual utterance. Restrictions on the use of the first class of expressions (such as the use of the naked imperative being dispreferred when reporting directives issued by oneself to social superiors) indicate that similar, although less strict, conventions govern their use as well.

In any event, the use of *–nasai* in *Boku ga chaimu o osu to* […] tells us something about the relationship between the narrator and the person inviting him or her to come inside. In the surrounding text, the narrator refers to the owner of the

apartment as *sensei* 'teacher'. One semi-exception to the rule that the original speaker must have been able to use the directive strategy can be observed in the following case of anthropomorphization.

(63) Shinchoo ya taijuu ga aru teido fue-te ku-ru
body.height and body.weight NOM certain extent increase-GER come-NPST

to, dainoo ga "Horumon o dash-i-nasa-i" to
when cerebrum NOM hormone OBJ release-INF-do.HON-IMP COMP

meirei o dash-i-mas-u.
order OBJ give- INF-POL-NPST

'When the body height and body weight increase to a certain extent, the cerebrum gives the order to release hormones.' (BCCWJ)

While the cerebrum cannot physically speak, by ascribing to it the use of *–nasai* the author can portray it as being in a position of authority over different mechanisms of the human body. Moreover, according to my main informant, the use of *–nasai* makes the anthropomorphized cerebrum appear kinder and more parental than if the naked imperative had been used. The narrative utility of imperatives in constructed quotations will be returned to shortly.

To summarize the observations outlined above, even when used in indirect speech the naked imperative appears to be available to interpretation as either "underdetermined" or "unmitigated". If we disregard potential disambiguating factors such as intonation, co-text, and speech style, a sequence such as […] *ike to* […] (go-IMP COMP) is ambiguous between the following functionalities:

1. Indirect directive reportative, unspecified as to specific illocutionary properties (roughly equivalent to English *X told/asked Y to do Q*)
2. Indirect directive reportative or constructed quotation that gives no detailed clues as to the phrasing of the original utterance, but that indicates that the original directive situation had properties associated with prototypical matrix clause usages of the naked imperative: lack of concern for the addressee's face and/or a high level of directive force
3. Verbatim direct quotation

It may be that naked imperatives which incorporate the morphemic variant *–yo* are more geared towards an underdetermined interpretation, as they are difficult to interpret as being used in actual speech. However, because *seyo* (do-IMP) is also attested in constructed quotations indicative of coercion and authority, I do not regard *–yo* as a dedicated marker of sociolinguistically underdetermined specification.

In a matrix context, *–te kure* is typically described by informants as being used when the speaker is socially superior to, or at least on an equal footing with, the addressee. This is in line with Satoo's previously quoted statement that it "places the

speaker in a superior position" (1992:161). However, when used in written indirect speech, *–te kure* is often used to represent willful, speaker-benefit directives in which the speaker is at a disadvantage in terms of power relations; e.g. requests and pleas. This appears to support Suzuki's view that *–te kure* stands in for various phrasings used to express *irai* 'request' (2007:68).

(64) Ichiman-en kashi-te kure to tanom-are-ta.
10.000-yen lend-GER give.me.IMP COMP request-PASS-PST
'I was asked for a loan of 10,000.'
(*Kenkyusha's New Japanese-English Dictionary*, 5th ed., my glossing)

It is also found in reports of apologies, wishes, and prayers.

(65) Pigumarion ga aru utsukushi-i choozoo ni koi o
Pygmalion NOM certain beautiful-NPST statue DAT love OBJ

shite, ningen ni nat-te kure to netsuretsu ni
do-GER human DAT become-GER give.me.IMP COMP passionate ADV

negat-ta tokoro [...]
wish-PST when

'Pygmalion fell in love with a beautiful statue, and when he prayed passionately for [her] to become human […]' (BCCWJ)

Because of the absence of honorification in embedded imperatives, *–te kure* is not in paradigmatic opposition to *–te kudasai* in indirect speech in the same manner as in matrix clauses. This likely contributes to its application in paraphrasing "genuine" requests and pleas, as opposed to the semi-coercive directives which characterize its non-reported profile. A relevant factor here is that honorification may be stripped away in indirect quotation, meaning that phrasings such as *–te kudasai* can in certain contexts be paraphrased as *–te kure* (see Hasegawa 2014:348).

Although potentially ambiguous between verbatim and non-verbatim (indirect, constructed) interpretations, *–te kure*, unlike the naked imperative, likely cannot be interpreted as sociolinguistically underdetermined. As for its usage characteristics in non-verbatim contexts, the following inferential mechanisms can be hypothesized:

1. The status of *kure* as a formally naked imperative potentially indicates unmitigatedness (high directive force)
2. Benefactivity indicates speaker benefit, willfulness
3. The necessity of explicitly representing benefit indicates lack of superiority on behalf of the speaker and, potentially, optionality for the addressee

The attitudinal profile of *–te kure* thus accommodates interpretation in terms of the illocutionary dimensions of 'request' or 'plea' (for a discussion of these categories in English linguistics, see De Clerck 2006:101-104, 150). Still, these interpretations are

not encoded; *–te kure* can also occur in reports that do not line up with the illocutionary properties of requests and pleas.

(66) […] nihonshoku o yooi shi-te Burutaanyu no gunkoo
Japanese.food OBJ preparation do-GER Brittany GEN naval.station
e mukat-te kure to no shirei ga ki-ta.
towards head-GER give.me.IMP COMP GEN order NOM come-PST
'[...] the order came to prepare Japanese food and head towards the naval station in Brittany.' (BCCWJ)

When used in non-verbatim speech reports, whether in embeddings or in constructed quotations, different imperative-based directive strategies ascribe different attitudinal properties to the directive act performed in the original speech situation. Although deictically shifted reports (e.g. *Kyoo ike to kinoo iwareta* 'I was told yesterday to go-IMP today') are possible in Japanese, the attitudinal perspective of imperatives, or origo of evaluation/expressivity, must as a rule be anchored in the perspective of the original speaker. The verbatim quotation in (67) below has in (67b) been altered to incorporate the viewpoint of the speaker of the matrix clause (hence *ore* 'I'), but the benefactive imperative form *kure* (give.me.IMP) cannot be thus adjusted. It must retain the viewpoint of the father, making (67c) ungrammatical.[84] By contrast, the benefactive giving verb *yaru* is used for benefit "moving away" from the speaker.

(67) Chichi wa "Aitsu ni kane o okut-te yar-e" to
father TOP that.guy DAT money OBJ send-GER give-IMP COMP
haha ni mukat-te it-ta.
mother towards face-GER say-PST
'My father said "Send money to him$_i$ [for his$_i$ benefit]" to my mother.'

(67b) Chichi wa ore ni kane o okut-te yar-e to
father TOP 1SG DAT money OBJ send-GER give-IMP COMP
haha ni mukat-te it-ta.
mother towards face-GER say-PST
'My father said to my mother to send me$_i$ money [for his$_i$ (=my) benefit].'

(67c) *Chichi wa ore ni kane o okut-te kure to
father TOP 1SG DAT money OBJ send-GER give-IMP COMP
haha ni mukat-te it-ta.
mother towards face-GER say-PST
(Intended to mean) 'My father said to my mother to send me$_i$ money [for my$_i$ benefit].' (Adapted from Sunakawa 1989:372 as quoted in Sugiura 2002:124, my glossing and translation)

[84] My main informant was skeptical about both (67b) and (67c).

Hasegawa (2014) takes the following stance on the role of addressee honorification in Japanese indirect speech.

> Politeness in the original utterance indicates an attitude of the original speaker ($S_{orig}$) towards the original addressee ($A_{orig}$). It is, therefore, irrelevant in the case of indirect speech, which can communicate only the content, not the attitude, of the original utterance. Any politeness expressions in indirect speech encode the attitude of the reporter ($S_{rep}$) towards his/her addressee ($A_{rep}$). If $S_{rep}$ wishes to convey $S_{orig}$'s polite attitude, s/he needs to describe it, for example, with *teinei ni itta* 'said politely'. (Hasegawa 2014:345-346)

Further, according to Potts, "[e]xpressives cannot (outside of direct quotation) be used to report on past events, attitudes, or emotions, nor can they express mere possibilities, conjectures, or suppositions. They always tell us something about the utterance situation itself" (2007:169).

It would appear that Japanese imperatives form an exception of sorts to these observations. I have argued above that the choice of imperative construction can contribute to the interpretation of the attitude of the original addressee, even in indirect speech. Moreover, constructed quotation allows expressive content (honorification) to be used in reports of previous events in a manner that, even within the description of a past event, transfers the origo of expressivity away from the reporting speaker. What is expressed when a non-verbatim reported imperative is used is thus, broadly speaking, the current speaker's interpretation or representation of the attitude with which the original speaker performed a directive communicative act towards the original addressee. This is a potential example of "internal evaluation" in narrative.

Labov (1972:370-375) uses the term "evaluation" to describe the means by which a narrator conveys the significance and interest of events within a story. In "external evaluation", the narrator steps outside of the narrative flow and explicitly comments on the events by means of remarks such as *But it was quite an experience* (Labov 1972:371). By contrast, internal evaluation takes place within the narrative itself. It can be accomplished through means such as quoted speech ascribed to characters within the narrative: *I say, 'Calvin, I'm bust your head for that!'* (Labov 1972:372) and vividness of description.

Sunakawa (2010) makes use of the concept of internal evaluation in her analysis of direct reported speech in Japanese narrative. With reference to Tannen's concept of constructed dialogue, she states that "Characters' personalities and the storyteller's evaluation of the character are expressed by the words and grammar contained in direct reported speech" (Sunakawa 2010:25). Within the narrative examined by Sunakawa, the (negative) naked imperative *asobu na* (play-NPST NIMP 'Don't play around') dramatizes the frustration felt by a character due to his fiancé's infidelity

(2010:28). As for the role of direct reported speech in narration, Sunakawa makes the following statement:

> Direct reported speech not only reconstructs what a character has thought or said, but also reveals the storyteller's feelings and attitudes towards the characters […] It also enables the storyteller to caricaturize the characters and their acts in the story. This enables the storyteller to depict the story world vividly [...] (Sunakawa 2010:31-2)

In another study on the role of quotation in narrative, Chen and Matsumura (2012) give examples of non-verbatim imperatives used by Japanese college students in spontaneous narratives. Within a narrative, the dean of a university faculty is presented as using *–te kure* towards a teacher, and the teacher is presented as using the naked imperative towards his students. The authors state that it is not likely that these phrasings were used in the original context of utterance, and that their function within the narrative is to signal hierarchical relations, and also, in the case of *–te kure*, the masculine relationship between dean and teacher (2012:9).

Through constructed and indirect quotation, different imperative-based directive strategies can be recruited to invoke an attitudinal stance and its implied illocution(s) for narrative purposes. Due to their association with direct speech and anchoring in the perspective of the original speaker, imperatives form a convenient way of incorporating the viewpoints of the characters into a narrative, vividly representing their relationships, attitudes, and desires.

It was previously stated that the (matrix clause) naked imperative, although lacking an element encoding 'order', is specialized in function due to pressure from the surrounding directive system. The observations listed above indicate that the connotations of the naked imperative may be influenced by the presence of paradigmatic alternatives even within genuinely indirect reported contexts. Although the range of competing strategies is smaller than in matrix usages, the naked imperative exists in opposition with strategies such as *–te kure* and *yoo ni*. The potential ambiguity between indirect and constructed quotation adds a further layer of complexity to their interpretation.

To conclude my analysis, I will here speculate that the tension between formal unmarkedness and (potential) functional markedness in the naked imperative forms part of the motivation for the development of the unambiguously indirect reportative *yoo ni*. Statements by informants indicate that *yoo ni* is neutral in feel as to the properties of the original directive utterance. In the case of a statement such as (68), no hints as to the illocutionary characteristics ('order'? 'request'?) of the original directive are given by *yoo ni* itself, other than the indication of directivity.

(68) Taroo wa Hanako ni ik-u yoo.ni it-ta.
Taroo TOP Hanako DAT go-NPST QUOT say-PST
'Taroo told/asked Hanako to go.'

One informant (M, 49) stated that while *yoo ni* is used in business contexts, it is not often used in informal speech. Such statements were not made by all informants. However, one context in which the naked imperative was felt by several informants to be more natural or familiar than *yoo ni* is that of denials of coercive or directive intent, such as *Nani mo yare to itte inai* (not.at.all do-IMP COMP say-GER be-NEG 'I am not telling/ordering you to do it/anything'). Tanaka's discussion of reported imperatives in Edo-era versus contemporary Japanese suggests that reportative usages of the naked imperative were more frequent in the past (1959:154). Even so, judging by the above observations, *yoo ni* cannot be regarded as a straightforward replacement for the naked imperative.

Issues of space do not allow us to go into detail on all the phenomena relevant for reported imperatives. As touched upon in the above summary of Suzuki's findings, the choice of directive strategy may, beyond the properties of the original speech situation (illocutionary characteristics, power relations between the original speakers as well as between the original speakers and the current speaker), also be influenced by considerations such as stylistic harmony with the formality level of the matrix clause. This, in turn, relates to the reporting speaker's orientation towards the current addressee.

Moving beyond directives, the realization of speech reports in Japanese is in general influenced by a variety of factors. This is emphasized by theories within the Japanese quotation literature such as Kamada's *in'yooku soozoosetsu* (translated by Maynard (2002:168) as "Theory of Quotation as Creation"), in which quotations are adapted to fit the needs of the context in which they are reproduced (Kamada 2000). Reports of directive speech acts in Japanese can be described as influenced by various, at times competing principles (need for politeness vs. need for briefness vs. desire for expressivity, acknowledgement of the status of referent(s) and addressee(s), avoidance of using honorification towards oneself, etc.). Rather than being an unproblematic basic form, when used as a directive reportative the naked imperative is thus subject to considerations that may be of considerable complexity.

I have here attempted to provide a more nuanced description of the behavior of Japanese reported imperatives than has previously been given in English. While previous general linguistic treatments have focused on their grammatical properties, such as patterns of deictic shifting, I have discussed them with a view to their functional context. Embedded imperatives are currently a topic of interest in formal semantics. In the case of Japanese imperatives it is important to take into account the facts of the surrounding (socio)linguistic environment, as well as previous descriptions available within the indigenous research tradition.

# 5. Imperative subjects

This section touches on the behavior of grammatical subjects and vocative phrases in Japanese imperative clauses. Rather than discussing the general properties of such elements (see chapter 4, section 3.2.2), the focus is here on interesting departures from the common pattern.

With reference to Nitta (1991a:241), Narrog states that "[a]ny subject other than a second person […] would be ungrammatical in a Japanese imperative" (2009:151). Nitta (1991a:241) provides the following example sentence (my glossing and translation):

(69) *Watashi / Omae / *Kare ga ik-e.
1SG / 2SG / 3SG NOM go-IMP
(lit.) 'I/You/He go.'

There are, nonetheless, circumstances under which non-second person *ga*-marked subjects, and vocative phrases, can co-occur with *–e* (*ro*). In certain contexts the use of the naked imperative is possible when addressing oneself, as has been described in detail by Nakazaki (2012). One example is *Omoidase ore!* (recall-IMP 1SG), used in a context in which the issuer is trying to recollect an important piece of information (Nakazaki 2012:11). These usages typically involve what appear to be vocative phrases, and can be analyzed as rhetorical, framing the self as a second-person-like entity that can be commanded. They are thus, from a grammatical standpoint, less interesting than some of the usages discussed below.

Nitta brings up instances of wishes such as *Ashita, tenki ni naare* (tomorrow weather DAT become-IMP (lit.) 'Become [good] weather tomorrow!') as imperatives with third person subjects (1991a:241-242). While such sentences can take *ga*-marked grammatical subjects with inanimate referents (e.g. *Takarakuji ga atare!* lottery NOM win-IMP), they can often be interpreted as addressed towards a non-human entity, thus arguably retaining second-person orientation. If *ashita* 'tomorrow' is taken to be a vocative phrase (as is possibly done by Nitta) such an interpretation is feasible. If it is interpreted as a temporal modifier, *Ashita, tenki ni naare* might instead be analyzed as lacking a clear element corresponding to subject or addressee.

Ishikawa (2008:86) provides an example of an expressive usage in which the naked imperative takes a third person vocative phrase. In her description, the following utterance is made when the speaker is remembering something that happened earlier during the day. The referent of the vocative phrase is not present at the time of utterance.

(70) Aitsu, oboe-te [i]ro!
that.guy remember-GER [be]-IMP
'That bastard had better watch out!' (lit.) 'That guy, remember!'
(adapted from Ishikawa 2008:86, my glossing and translation)

Grammatically third person *ga*-marked subjects are also possible in contexts that are closer to prototypical directivity.

(71) Jiroo, anata wa deki-na-i n desu ne.
Jiroo 2SG TOP be.possible-NEG-NPST NML COP.POL FP
Jaa, Taroo ga it-te kudasa-i.
well.then Taroo NOM go-GER give.me.HON-IMP
'[My understanding is that] you can't go, Jiroo. Then Taroo go.'

(71) was created for the purposes of this thesis, but similar examples can be found in the wild.

(72) Kare no yowa-i tokoro wa anata ga mamot-te
3SG GEN weak-NPST place TOP 2SG NOM protect-GER
kudasa-i.
give.me.HON-IMP
Anata no yowa-i tokoro wa kare ga mamot-te
2SG GEN weak-NPST place TOP 3SG NOM protect-GER
kudasa-i.[85]
give.me.HON-IMP
'Take care of his/ [your] boyfriend's weak points, and he/ [your] boyfriend take care of yours.'

In a context in which Jiroo is present at the time of speaking and Taroo is not, (71) was accepted by the majority of informants when Jiroo was explained to be somehow connected to Taroo, such as being Taroo's brother or immediate superior. The implication is that Jiroo will pass the message along to Taroo. This is similar to English *Maitre d', someone seat the guests!*, in which "the vocative *maitre d'* refers to the addressee, and it is implied that he or she has control over some individuals who can be told to seat the guests" (Portner, Pak, and Zanuttini 2014:5). Controllability may be a factor, but it is likely that the use of the imperative is here licensed by the construal of Jiroo and Taroo as a single unit. If so, this usage does not wholly diverge from the second-person orientation of *–e* (*ro*)-based imperatives.

Unambiguous third and first person grammatical subjects are found in conditional imperatives (discussed in chapter 8).

(73) Aitsu ga sore o yon-de mi-ro, keikaku wa shippai
that.guy NOM that OBJ read-GER see-IMP plan TOP failure
da zo.
COP.NPST FP
'If he happens to read it, our plan will fail.' (Shinzato 2004:1, my glossing)

[85] http://detail.chiebukuro.yahoo.co.jp/qa/question_detail/q14113527339, retrieved 2014-12-09.

(74) Watashi ga toosen shi-te go-ran nasa-i.
1SG NOM be.elected do-GER HON-see do.HON-IMP
Shoohizei nanka nakushi-te mise-mas-u.
sales.tax things.like remove-GER show-POL-NPST
'If I happen to be elected, I will get rid of the sales tax.' (Shinzato 2004:12, my glossing)

Once again, similar phenomena are found in English, as in the following conditional imperative: *Find myself a place to live, and I'll soon settle down* (Davies 1986:164). Note that in (73) and (74) the subjects do not refer to the addressee, and thus do not represent the "target" of the speech act expressed by the imperative utterance.

Other than the usages listed above, imperatives with third-person subjects (*aitsu ga ike* 'He go') are also attested in non-verbatim reported speech. Further, Martin (1988:959) contributes the following example of a possibly third-person-subject imperative which, in my impression, carries the feel of a general decree.

(75) Onna no mono wa onna ga tsukur-e.
woman GEN thing TOP woman NOM make-IMP
'Let women's things be made by women!' (lit.) 'As for woman's things, woman make.' (Martin 1988:959, my glossing and literal translation)

We will finally consider an example of non-second person imperative subjects in reported imperatives. In a presentation handout, Kaufmann (2014:15) speculates that in Japanese, "[s]ubjects of embedded imperatives have to be covert". However, data from informant interviews and the literature demonstrates that imperatives in indirect reported speech can indeed take overt subjects (for an example from Kamada (2000), see (60) in section 4.2). My main informant accepted (76) below:

(76) Taroo wa, kimi ga ik-e to it-ta.
Taroo TOP 2SG NOM go-IMP COMP say-PST
'Taroo told [matrix addressee] to go.'

Interestingly, the possibility of deictic adjustment also allows reported imperatives to take unambiguous *ga*-marked first person subjects. Constructions in the vein of (77) and (78) are attested in the wild and accepted by informants.

(77) Ore ga ik-e to i-u no ka.
1SG NOM go-IMP COMP say-NPST NML QP
'Are you telling me to go? (lit.) Are [you] saying that I go-IMP?'
(Fujita 2000:92, my glossing and translation)

(78) Watashi ga ik-e to i-u imi desu ka.
1SG NOM go-IMP COMP say-NPST meaning COP.POL QP
'Are you telling me to go? (lit.) Is the meaning that I go-IMP?'

This confirmatory usage has received attention in the indigenous literature (e.g. Kamada 2000, Fujita 2000) but has not, to my knowledge, been remarked upon in a general linguistic context. The occurrence of these first-person subjects, along with the third-person subjects previously discussed, evidences a lack of restriction on the grammatical person of the subject in Japanese *–e* (*ro*)-based imperatives. While the naked imperative co-occurs with first-person subjects, phrasings such as *watashi ga itte kure to* […] (1SG NOM go-GER give.me.IMP COMP […]) are rejected by informants. Even though the perspective of the imperative is anchored in that of the original speaker, this restriction likely relates to the general rule that *kureru* cannot be used when referring to an action performed by oneself (i.e. the reporting speaker).[86]

When compared with "monstrous behavior" in indexicals as described in the literature, this type of construction can be viewed as further evidence in favor of the embedding of imperatives.[87] In an example of Amharic reported speech given by Schlenker (2003:31) and represented as English, the speaker is $I_i$, the "expected" (from the perspective of English grammar) co-referent is $I_i$, and the actual co-referent is $John_j$.

(79) ~~I~~$_i$: John$_j$ said that [I$_j$ am a hero].
(adapted from Schlenker 2003:31)

The strikethrough here signifies that the expected co-referent, the reporting speaker, has been "skipped". We will represent Japanese reported imperatives with first person subjects as follows:

(80) I$_i$: ~~John~~$_j$ said that [I$_i$ go-IMP].

Here the speaker is $I_i$, the alternative potential co-referent is $John_j$, and the actual co-referent is $I_i$.

The use of $you_i$ would be unexpected in the case of prototypical embedding of the imperative clause, because the deictic center should be that of the matrix speaker, $I_i$. From this perspective, $I_i$ appears to be the most appropriate realization of the imperative subject.

[86] Note that the use of *–te kure* to report directives addressed to the reporting speaker is possible in other contexts.

[87] For a discussion of "monsters", see Schlenker (2003).

# 6. Conclusion

I have argued that the classification of the four main imperative variants discussed in this thesis into 'order expressions' and 'request expressions' is both descriptively and theoretically inadequate. My goal has been to demonstrate that the differences between them do not derive from the encoding of specific types of illocutionary force. In my view, said differences are better described in terms of attitudinal content, as is done in the layered model provided here. I have also discussed the role of attitudinal functionality in reported speech.

The naked imperative occurs in contexts which far from always match those of prototypical orders. The same is true of *–te kure* and *–te kudasai* in the case of requests. Indeed, while not sociolinguistically optimal for all usages, the Japanese naked imperative matches the functional component of the comparative concept 'imperative' as proposed by Jary and Kissine (2016:119, my emphasis): "a sentence type whose only prototypical function is the performance of *the whole range* of directive speech acts". Defining the properties of Japanese imperatives in terms of descriptive concepts like *meirei* 'order' and *irai* 'request' amounts to a failure to distinguish between the map and the territory. Neither their encoded meanings nor contextual functions are adequately summed up by equating the former with salient, but, crucially, non-invariant patterns of usage.

*Chapter 8.*

# Grammaticalization studies

## 1. Introduction

In this chapter we approach imperatives in contemporary Japanese from the perspective of grammaticalization, famously defined by Kuryłowicz as "[…] the increase of the range of a morpheme advancing from a lexical to a grammatical or from a less grammatical to a more grammatical status […]" (1965:69). It should be noted from the outset that the concept of grammaticalization has frequently been criticized, one source of controversy being the vast range of phenomena it has been used to denote. In a recent volume on the topic, von Mengden and Simon (2014:359) make the case that "if anything in grammatical change can be called grammaticalization, then grammaticalization is not a beneficial concept in the study of language". Such concerns should be acknowledged, but we will not problematize the concept here. The contribution of the present thesis is intended to be in the field of imperatives in general and Japanese imperatives in particular. Grammaticalization theory provides a familiar and thus convenient framework within which to discuss these topics.

The chapter has three main sections, the first of which deals with the imperative-based directive strategies discussed in chapters 6 and 7 in terms of semantic transparency and the applicability of some of the characteristics of grammaticalization as defined in the literature. The following section focuses on directive *–te*, *–(y)oo,* and the directive infinitive, three strategies which do not incorporate the imperative formative *–e* (*ro*) on an overt morphological level, but have at times been referred to as imperatives. The discussion is concerned with motivations for considering them part of imperative clause type. We finally turn our attention to what is in one sense the opposite phenomenon, constructions that appear to be developing away from imperatives functionally as well as formally. The degree to which the functionality of imperative-based conditionals (*–te miro*, *–te goran nasai*) and concessives (*de are, ni seyo*) can be considered to derive from directivity is addressed, along with their potential significance for a non-directive model of imperative semantics.

# 2. Derived strategies

Narrog and Ohori (2011:784) bring up Japanese as a language for which the study of grammaticalization holds special interest. This is due to factors such as being a non-Indo-European language with rich historical documentation, and exhibiting extensive grammaticalization of interpersonal relations. We have previously addressed benefactivity and honorification in the context of synchronic imperative functionality and its division of labor in terms of semantics-pragmatics. We now turn to their relationship with imperative clause type from the viewpoint of grammaticalization and compositional vs. constructional meaning.

Taken at face value, the answer to the question of whether the different imperative-based directive strategies of Japanese are grammaticalized or not seems obvious. Anything classified as "imperative", according to the view advanced in chapter 2, represents the grammaticalization of directive functionality. Our interest lies in the search for *further* grammaticalization, or, more generally, conventionalization as reflected through linguistic change. We will examine the degree to which the strategies constitute compositionally derivable variations on a single morpheme, variously realized as *–e*, *–ro*, *–yo*, and *–i*, in interaction with benefactive and honorific constructions. Has diachronic change, some of which might be described in terms of grammaticalization, altered this relationship? It will here be assumed that the naked imperative can be uncontroversially analyzed as containing the imperative formative. The discussion thus focuses on other strategies, centering on the following questions:

1. What is the nature of the connection between *–te kure*, *–nasai*, *–te kudasai* and the imperative formative in Modern Standard Japanese?
2. How semantically transparent are the three strategies in terms of the relation between their components (benefactivity, honorification, and imperative clause type) and their meaning/function?
3. Hopper (1991) presents a set of principles that serve as an aid to identifying instances of grammaticalization. What can these principles tell us about grammaticalization in Japanese imperatives?

## 2.1 Relations of identity

Some statements in the previous literature seem to reflect a conception of *–te kure*, *–nasai*, and *–te kudasai* as further grammaticalized in the sense described above. For example, Takahashi (2012:199) states that "The form *sitekure* is originally the imperative form of the serial verb *site-kureru* "do + give (me)' used as an auxiliary. *Sitekudasai* is its honorific version". He further writes of "grammaticalization of these request forms in Japanese from the verb of giving" (2012:217). Setting Takahashi's

specific description aside, let us posit for the sake of argument that *–te kure*, *–nasai*, and *–te kudasai* have though diachronic change split off from the underlying imperative formative. To which degree is such a view supported by empirical facts?

As noted by Takahashi, the imperative verb forms of *–te kudasai* and *–te kure* are not in a strict sense the imperative forms of the verbs *kureru* (give.me) and *kudasaru* (give.me.HON). They are, rather, the imperative forms of the benefactive constructions *–te kureru* and *–te kudasaru*. In these expressions, *kureru* and *kudasaru* function as auxiliary verbs that construe the activity of the subject as (typically) beneficial for the speaker or speaker ingroup, rather than relating to physical acts of giving. This in itself constitutes a case of grammaticalization. As shown below, the formal symmetry between benefactives and benefactive imperatives is clear.

(1) Hon o yon-de kure-ru.
book OBJ read-GER give.me-NPST
'(S)he will read the book for my benefit.'

(1b) Hon o yon-de kure.
book OBJ read-GER give.me.IMP
'Read the book.' (lit.) 'Give me [the favor of] reading the book.'

(2) Hon o yon-de kudasar-u.
book OBJ read-GER give.me.HON-NPST
'[(S)he, who is socially superior to me] will read the book for my benefit.'

(2b) Hon o yon-de kudasa-i.
book OBJ read-GER give.me.HON-IMP
'Please read the book.' (lit.) '[You, who are socially superior to me,] give me [the favor of] reading the book.'

Both sets of expressions are part of contemporary Japanese. As for *–nasai*, the declarative equivalent *–nasar*(*u*) is somewhat archaic in flavor and infrequently used (Satake and Nishio 2005:28).

(3) Sensei wa hon o yom-i-nasar-u.
teacher TOP book OBJ read-INF-do.HON-NPST
'The teacher reads book(s).'

We have previously noted that the use of *–te kudasai* need not entail that the utterance is intended as a speaker-benefit directive and that it can function, in effect, as a marker of formality or politeness. Although this cannot be confirmed within the scope of the present thesis, I hypothesize that the proportion of usages relating to "actual" perceived speaker benefit is higher for non-imperative benefactives than for benefactive imperatives, due to less use of benefactivity as a routinized strategy for the mitigation of face threat.

What, then, is the status of the *kure* and *kudasai* of *–te kure* and *–te kudasai*? How strong is their synchronic connection to the benefactive constructions, and to the

verbs *kureru* and *kudasaru* themselves? Examining them from the perspective of diachronic phonological reduction may be helpful here. As stated in chapter 4, in the case of *–te kure*, Modern Standard Japanese exhibits the irregular form *kure* (give.me.IMP) instead of the now dialectal *kure-ro* (give.me-IMP). Analogously, we find *kudasa-i* instead of *kudasar-e*. This development, possibly connected to the general phenomenon of formal reduction in commonly used interactional strategies (discussed in chapter 9 with reference to Dahl 2004), would not be unexpected in a scenario of transition from inflected verb forms to unanalyzable imperative markers.[88] However, the non-auxiliary imperative forms of the giving verbs are identical, also being irregular.

(4) Hon o kure / *kure-ro.
book OBJ give.me.IMP / give.me-IMP
'Give me the book.'

(5) Hon o kudasa-i / *kudasar-e.
book OBJ give.me.HON-IMP
'Please give me the book.'

Corresponding reduction has taken place in *–nasai* as an honorific auxiliary and in the imperative form of the main verb *nasaru* (do.HON).

(6) Soo nasa-i / *nasar-e.
like.that do.HON-IMP
'Do it.'

(7) Yom-i-nasa-i / *Yom-i-nasar-e.
read-INF-do.HON-IMP
'Read.'

In the section *Sentences in English and Japanese Colloquial* in S.R. Brown's *Colloquial Japanese* (1863), published five years before the beginning of the Meiji period (1868-1912), 11 examples of *–te kurero* are found, but only one of *–te kure* (Okada 2008:28). *Kurero* appears as a main clause verb of giving in Brown's text, alongside *kudasare*.

(8) Joobukuro o ichi-mai kudasar-e / kure-ro.
envelope OBJ one-flat.object give.me.HON-IMP / give.me-IMP
'Hand me an envelope.' (Adapted from Brown 1863:23, my glossing)

By contrast, in Okada's survey of literary works spanning from 1887 to 1916, 91 examples of *–te kure* are found, but only 17 of *–te kurero* (2008:31). The phasing out

[88] It is likely not possible to explain the case of *kure* and *kudasai* in terms of this phenomenon alone. The variation in realizations of directive strategies during the Modern Japanese period seems to be strongly connected with sociolinguistic factors (see Chen 2005).

of *–te kurero* is of potential interest from a grammaticalization perspective. A scenario with *–te kure* / *–te kudasai* as benefactive imperatives in opposition to *kurero* and *kudasare* in main clause usages would have been indicative of a split into distinct grammatical entities. However, since phonological change in one environment has occurred along with change in the other, this line of argument is not possible. As shown above, the same relationship exists between the main verb *nasai* and auxiliary *–nasai*. If we want to split benefactives and non-benefactives apart, we must look elsewhere for evidence.

In her discussion of the formation of imperative markers through grammaticalization, Aikhenvald (2010:347) brings up the example of the verb *bang* 'go' in the South American language Rama: "That *-bang* is now grammaticalized as an imperative suffix, with no synchronic connection with its source verb, is confirmed by the fact that it can easily combine with the verb *taak* 'go'. There is no double 'going' involved". In Japanese, double giving verbs are possible in non-imperative constructions:

(9) Yuuki o kure-te kure-te arigatoo.
courage OBJ give.me-GER give.me-GER thank.you
'Thank you for encouraging me (for which I am very grateful).' (Seraku 2014:3)

Seraku analyzes the two instances of *kureru* as differing in their semantic contribution, the first one contributing the "giving" itself, while the second one "[conventionally] implicates that the speaker is grateful for a 'giving' event" (2014:5). Could the doubling of benefactive verbs give a clue as to the status of *kure* and *kudasai*? Sequences such as *Watashite kure* 'Hand it over' (from *watasu* 'hand over') involving verbs related to giving are possible, but these can be explained in terms of the role of *–te kure*(*ru*) as a grammaticalized benefactive construction, which says little about *–te kure* itself. Moreover, although sequences of benefactive verbs such as *–te kudasatte kudasai* and *–te kurete kure* can be found by Googling, they often appear to be playful in tone.[89] While attested, verb doubling cannot be regarded as straightforward evidence of the level of grammaticalization we are looking for.

In my view, the most plausible analysis of *–te kure* and *–te kudasai* is in terms of continued identity as the imperative inflections of *kureru* and *kudasaru* as part of the respective benefactive constructions. The layered model presented in chapter 7 describes benefactivity as operating on another level of content than that which determines compliance or "world matching" conditions. Consequently, the use of *–te kure* and *–te kudasai* in non-speaker benefit contexts does not lead to any need for deemphasizing their connection with *–te kureru* and *–te kudasaru*. *–Nasai* will be discussed in more detail later.

[89] I have found one example of a blogger complaining about the apparently serious use of *kudasatte kudasai*, but the specific phrase complained about is only attested in the following blog post: http://d.hatena.ne.jp/le_ramier/20070523, retrieved 2014-05-21.

This discussion has not exhausted the possibilities for investigating the relationships of identity found in Japanese imperatives. In particular, the question of whether the frequently used, phonologically reduced forms *kudasai*, *kure* and *–nasai* are, in the internal grammar of speakers of contemporary Japanese, the imperative inflections of the corresponding (auxiliary) verbs or non-morphologically segmentable units (i.e. stored as unanalyzed chunks in the mental lexicon) is worthy of investigation. However, this requires a neurolinguistic approach that goes beyond the scope of this thesis.

## 2.2 Compositionality

The question of the semantic transparency of *–te kure*, *–nasai*, and *–te kudasai* in terms of the relation between benefactivity, honorification, and their meaning as expressions is closely related to the above question of identity. The first thing to consider is how straightforwardly the three components predict the functional range of the strategies. This is easily done, as the question has already been answered in chapters 6 and 7. To give a few examples, *–te kudasai* is frequently used for addressee benefit directives, *–te kure* is often associated with usages with no assumed option of refusal, and the use of *–nasai*, which morphologically contains a referent honorific, typically indexes the speaker as being in a position of authority (and thus superior) relative to the addressee.

As a consequence, one conceivable scenario in which the three strategies are non-compositional, being constructions with 'request' and 'order' semantics (consisting of whichever illocutionary dimensions we may posit for these speech act categories) instead of the compositional feature set, can be ruled out. As pointed out throughout the thesis, empirical evidence does not support a description of Japanese imperatives as encoding specific types of illocutionary force.

Still, a seeming mismatch between form and function remains. Can this behavior be explained through erosion of the compositional meanings of the constructions through their occurrence in face-threatening speech acts, such as semantic bleaching from (referent) honorification and/or benefactivity to politeness (addressee honorification) and downtoning of directive force? Previous analyses appear to provide support for this view. Satoo (1992) discusses the relationship between *–te kure* and benefactivity in the following fashion:

> Originally the form *shite kure* is the imperative form of the verb of giving and receiving, *shite kureru*, and the speaker of a *shite kure* sentence is fundamentally a beneficiary. […] However, once this sentence became a member of the directive sentences (*sasoikakebun*) and was established as a request sentence, *it is difficult to imagine that benefactivity* (*onkei no uketori*) *has been preserved in its original form* [my emphasis]. Situations [involving the use of *–te kure*] will of

> course arise in which what is demanded has no connection to the speaker's benefit. (Satoo 1992:123, my translation)

She further discusses the erosion of attitudinal functionality:

> When one considers that the form *shinasai* was originally the imperative form of the honorific *shinasaru*, and that *shite kure* comes from the benefactive expression *shite kureru*, both, when we look back in time, can be thought to have been expressions that portrayed the addressee as higher in status than the speaker, but in modern times this [feeling of] respect has become worn out. (Satoo 1992:161, my translation)[90]

Mori (2010:78, my glossing and translation) provides the following example of the insufficiency of non-benefactive imperative constructions in the case of speaker-benefit directives with socially superior addressees. The scenario is that of a student requesting their teacher to stamp a document.

(10) #Kono shorui ni inkan o os-e / o-oshi
DEM document DAT seal OBJ stamp-IMP / HON-stamp.INF
ni nar-e / o-oshi-nasa-i.
DAT become-IMP / HON-stamp-INF-do.HON-IMP
'(Please) stamp this document.'[91]

(10b) Kono shorui ni inkan o oshi-te kudasa-i.
DEM document DAT seal OBJ stamp-GER give.me.HON-IMP
'Please stamp this document.'

As previously mentioned in chapter 7, in later Modern Japanese, honorification is not by itself enough to make all imperative-based directive speech acts socially appropriate. Mori discusses this in terms of a "pragmatic rule that the speaker must show the benefit to himself by using benefactive verbs" which has led to the secondary development that "benefactive verbs have become polite directive expressions in present-day Japanese" (2010:92). More specifically, Mori states that the current usage range of benefactive imperatives can be described as resulting from grammaticalization into general polite directive forms (2010:88). He also notes that one can in contemporary Japanese use *–te kudasai* towards social inferiors (2010:86).

This development would be in line with the general trend, discussed by Traugott and Dasher (2002), in which Japanese honorifics arise as referent honorification and

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[90] Note, however, that *–te kurei* is described as being used towards inferiors as early as around 1600 (Doi 1955:62).

[91] # is used by Mori to indicate pragmatic unacceptability. All three variants examplified in (10) are presented as unacceptable, as contrasted with *–te kudasai* in (10b).

develop towards addressee honorification. Traugott and Dasher also discuss the "tendency of Japanese honorifics to lose high honorific value over time - originally respectful meanings may become devalued through regular application (for euphemistic purposes) to less respected referents" (2002:55). It is not hard to imagine that occurrence in directive speech acts would lead to extra wear and tear on honorific imperatives, and that benefactivity-based strategies can develop towards addressee honorification due to use for politeness purposes.

Two studies that touch on the need for less face-threatening alternatives to previous forms as a factor in the development of directive strategies are Van Olmen (2010), which examines the directive negative infinitive in Dutch, and Devos and Van Olmen (2013), which provides an overview of Bantu languages. Devos and Van Olmen state that although other factors are also involved, "[p]oliteness [plays] an important role in the development of new strategies, which often have a more polite character and which become neutral themselves over time" (2013:1). While these papers discuss languages that lack an East Asian-style system of grammatical honorification, devaluation of honorifics in a directive context has been described outside of Japanese. Koo and Rhee (2013:491) state of Korean that "the [+honorific] feature in imperative forms progressively becomes neutralized by losing the illocutionary force of honorification. This is well illustrated in the fact that the honorification-marked command *Haseyo!* (< *ha-**si**-e-yo*)[92] 'Do it' can be face-threatening".

Before making our final decision about the compositionality of Japanese imperatives, let us consider the topic from the perspective of the layered model proposed in chapter 7. Once again, the attitudinal component operates on a level different from the state-of-affairs content, meaning that a lack of absolute correspondence between functional range and the semantics of components need not be evidence that these components are no longer operational. As argued in 2.1, there is likely a connection in terms of identity between benefactive imperatives and general benefactive constructions. These, in turn, although they are frequently used in polite contexts, cannot be described as having grammaticalized into addressee honorification in contemporary Japanese.

Informants report that *–te kure* can give a sense of benefit for the speaker and that *–te kudasai* can portray the addressee as "above" the speaker. Rather than taking recourse to illocutionary semantics or politeness-based inference for explaining these effects, I will assume that benefactivity and honorification are indeed present, although frequently their interactional *function* is to express politeness through their attitudinal contribution. As stated in chapter 7, in the case of *–nasai* a description in terms of bleached honorification may be warranted.

My stance is thus that of continued compositionality, but this does not mean that an account in terms of development from referent honorification and benefactivity

[92] *–si–* being a marker of honorification following *ha-* 'do' and preceding the polite sentence ending *–e-yo*.

towards addressee honorification is inaccurate. What was discussed here is whether this development has affected linguistic form to the extent that referent honorification and benefactivity are no longer relevant for description. The case of *–te kudasai* will be revisited in chapter 9 from the perspective of intersubjectification and semantic vs. usage change.

## 2.3 Processes of grammaticalization

In this section we turn to the five principles of grammaticalization[93] as described in Hopper (1991) and Hopper and Traugott (2003) as a means of continuing our evaluation of Japanese imperative-based directive strategies from the perspective of further change towards a grammatical status. The principles are described by Hopper (1991:21-22) as "potentially diagnostic of the emergence of grammatical forms and constructions out of already available material, and also of different degrees of grammaticization where grammaticization has already recognizably proceeded". The possibility of describing a linguistic development in terms of one of the principles does not mean that it *should* be classed as grammaticalization. Hopper cautions that "[the principles] also characterize aspects of change in general, and are not distinctive for grammaticization" (1991:21). Such considerations notwithstanding, some of the cases discussed below do appear to be clear transitions "[…] from a less grammatical to a more grammatical status" (Kuryłowicz 1965:69). We proceed by quoting Hopper's description of each concept, followed by a discussion of the degree to which it applies to the statuses of different imperative constructions in contemporary Japanese.

> (1) **Layering.** Within a broad functional domain, new layers are continually emerging. As this happens, the older layers are not necessarily discarded, but may remain to coexist with and interact with the newer layers. (Hopper 1991: 22)

Hopper (1991:23) brings up the relationship between the past tense forms of strong and weak verbs in English as an example of layering. The older ablaut-based strategy of *see*, *saw* exists alongside a newer strategy making use of a dental suffix (*look*, *look-ed).* Newer still is the periphrastic expression of tense and aspect found in examples such as *He will be seeing*. Hopper and Traugott (2003:125) note that in layering a full and reduced form may coexist.

Although the functional domain of directivity is not as morphosyntactically clear-cut as the examples of "tense/aspect/modality, case, reference" given by Hopper (1991:23), the Japanese directive system can certainly be treated in terms of layering.

[93] "grammaticization" in Hopper (1991).

In contemporary Japanese we find *–nasai* alongside phonologically further reduced *–na* (first mentioned in chapter 4), and *–te kure* / *–te kudasai* alongside the desubordinated and likely constructionalized directive *–te*, generally thought to derive from them (or their historical equivalents). The continued existence of the naked imperative alongside them provides another example that strategies representing different stages of (further) grammaticalization coexist within the system.

Taking a broader view, the rise of benefactive imperatives, and, at a later stage, periphrastic non-imperative strategies (*–te hoshii*, *–te moraitai*, etc.), can also be considered from the perspective of "renewal – the tendency for periphrastic forms to replace morphological ones over time" (Hopper and Traugott 2003:9). While the non-periphrastic imperative has not been replaced in the morphological paradigm of Japanese, making this a less than perfect analogy to the example of the Latin inflectional future *cantabimus* being supplanted by periphrastic *cantare habimus* 'we will sing' (Hopper and Traugott 2003:9), it can likely be argued that the repertoire of Japanese directive strategies has, as a whole, shifted towards periphrasis.

> (2) **Divergence.** When a lexical form undergoes grammaticization to a clitic or affix, the original lexical form may remain as an autonomous element and undergo the same changes as ordinary lexical items. (Hopper 1991:22)

Among other examples, Hopper mentions *a(n)* and *one* in English as two forms with a common origin that have become highly distinct through divergence (1991:22). A clear case of divergence in Japanese imperatives is provided by the correspondence between *–na* and *nasaru* itself. While the former can be analyzed as an imperative suffix lacking any greater connotations of politeness, the latter remains in use with retained honorific function. Hopper and Traugott (2003:118-119) bring up the fact that the original form from which a grammaticalized expression has derived "behaves just like any other autonomous form in its other, lexical contexts [...] perhaps even becoming obsolete". One possible example of this in Japanese has been touched on by Traugott herself, although the term "divergence" is not used.

> Although the referent honorific *tamahu* "RESP:give" was supplanted in most registers by *kudasaru* during LMJ, its imperative form (*tamae*) survives in MdJ [Modern Japanese: 1870-1970] in speech styles associated with rough businessmen or gangsters, typically with denigratory nuances. (Traugott and Dasher 2002:277)

In order to make this a genuine example of divergence, it is necessary to show that *–tamae* has undergone reanalysis towards a status as imperative marker per se. The abovementioned "denigratory nuances" point at a reduction in honorific functionality, but a more interesting argument can be made based on paradigmatic oppositions. Although the strategy is phonologically transparent (*tama-e*), the

honorific component of *–tamae* can be viewed as a cranberry morpheme[94] of sorts in contemporary Japanese, occurring only in an imperative environment due to the loss of other uses of *tamau*. It thus lacks a connection with productive means of honorification and serves only to distinguish *–tamae* from other variants of the imperative.

While less striking than the case of *–tamae*, an asymmetry in usage is also found in the case of *–nasai* and *–nasar*(*u*), the former appearing to be quite frequent, while the latter, as discussed above, is an old-fashioned honorific strategy. In contrast to *–nasar*(*u*), the non-directive equivalents of *–te kure, –te kudasai* and non-imperative strategies such as *–te itadakitai* '[I] want to receive [the favor of your] doing [verb]' are very much a part of contemporary Japanese.

> (3) **Specialization**. Within a functional domain, at one stage a variety of forms with different semantic nuances may be possible; as grammaticization takes place, this variety of formal choices narrows and the smaller number of forms selected assume more general grammatical meanings. (Hopper 1991:22)

Hopper uses the grammaticalization of the noun *pas* 'step' into a negative marker in French as an example. He explains that while in Old French several different nouns could be used to strengthen negation (in the sense of "not one step", "not one bit", etc.) depending on context, the alternatives were gradually reduced until *pas* ultimately developed into a general marker of negation (1991:26-27).

In a survey of "order expressions" in Meiji-era literature, Chen (2006) lists roughly 200 different variants, out of which the naked imperative is most common, followed by *–te kudasai* and *–tamae* (2006:74). The great variation in imperative-based directive strategies in earlier Modern Japanese and its subsequent reduction has a certain similarity to the phenomenon of "specialization" in that many alternatives were reduced to a few. However, there are also significant differences. The diversity constitutes the combined repertoire of several distinct groups of speakers; many are describable as variants of the same construction (*–te kure*, *–te kurei*, *–te kureyo*, *–te kurero*). This does not mirror the directive system of one specific speaker, but is rather the consequence of the sociolinguistic diversity of the era. Consequently, the development cannot be described in terms of hundreds of directive strategies competing within one functional paradigm, but rather, essentially, as a result of the leveling of class and dialectal differences and rise of Standard Japanese, some forms winning out as the language moved towards standardization.

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[94] "a term referring to a bound morpheme which has no clear meaning or grammatical function, but which none the less distinguishes one word from another. The classic example is the first element of *cranberry*, where *cran-* has no other function in English than to differentiate this word from *blackberry*, *blueberry*, etc." (Crystal 2008:121)

Hopper and Traugott (2003:116) define specialization as "the process of reducing the variety of formal choices available as the meanings assume greater grammatical generality". Judging by the comparatively recent emergence of a range of non-imperative directive strategies (see chapter 9, section 2), imperative-based strategies in Japanese have, if anything, undergone a reduction rather than expansion in their usage range as their formal variation has decreased.

> (4) **Persistence**. When a form undergoes grammaticization from a lexical to a grammatical function, so long as it is grammatically viable some traces of its original lexical meanings tend to adhere to it, and details of its lexical history may be reflected in constraints on its grammatical distribution. (Hopper 1991:22)

Outside imperative clause type proper, restrictions on the use of the modal adverb *doose*, derived from *doo seyo* (how do-IMP) 'in any case', such as incompatibility with factive contexts (Arita and Kaufmann 2009:91) and unnaturalness in past tense contexts (2009:92) seem to be a case of persistence of imperative features. The restriction of the conditional imperative *–te miro* to hypothetical contexts (i.e. contexts in which a condition does not, in fact, hold) is discussed by Shinzato (2004:13) as "probably due to the persistence of futurity carried over from its original function as directive". Based on the discussion in chapter 3, this can instead be explained in terms of potentiality or non-retroactivity. Roughly speaking, only state-of-affairs content that does not already hold can be conveyed by means of the imperative, and this restriction also applies when imperatives become conditionals.

Among other strategies discussed here, the directive infinitive, *–na,* and directive *–te* can be analyzed in terms of the retention of elements of meaning that now lack surface representation. Although their overt honorific (and in the case of *–te*, benefactive) content has been lost, they are typically described as less harsh in tone than the naked imperative. It will here be assumed that this is not only because they are "freed from the history of existing formulas" (Evans 2007:393; see chapter 9, section 3) by being distinct from the naked imperative.

Mori (2013a) criticizes an analysis of the directive infinitive (see 3.3) as having developed through reanalysis of the naked imperative, based on the argument that such an analysis does not account for the higher politeness value of the directive infinitive. In Mori's proposal, this strategy derives from an honorific suffix which is no longer phonologically present, leaving only the verb stem. While he does not make use of the concept "persistence", the implications of his analysis appear to me to be similar in nature.

For the infinitive and *–na* the remnants of honorification may only consist of their politeness value being higher than zero, but usage restrictions on directive *–te* indicate that its benefactive functionality remains, as will be discussed in 3.1.

> (5) **De-categorialization.** Forms undergoing grammaticization tend to lose or neutralize the morphological markers and syntactic privileges characteristic of the full categories Noun and Verb, and to assume attributes characteristic of secondary categories such as Adjective, Participle, Preposition, etc. (Hopper 1991:22)

An example of decategorialization given by Hopper and Traugott (2003:107-108) is the Old English noun *hwil* denoting a time period, a descendant of which has branched off as a conjunction, as in *while writing a thesis*. When thus used, *while* takes on the morphosyntactic profile of a conjunction and loses the properties of the open class of nouns (**the long while writing a thesis*).

Here the development of *–na* from *–nasar-e* (a diagram of which development is found in Mori 2013a:10) constitutes the following transition: lexical verb (*nasaru*) > inflected auxiliary (*–nasar-e)* > inflectional ending (*–na*). It is consequently a good example of decategorialization, as well as of grammaticalization in general.[95] Although mediated by the presence of *–e* (*ro*)-based imperative marking during its middle stages, taken as a whole the development can possibly be viewed as the grammaticalization path HONORIFIC > IMPERATIVE. Honorifics are, as far as I can determine, not found among the sources of imperatives listed by Aikhenvald (2010:339-369) and Mauri and Sansò (2011).

The abovementioned *doose* also falls under the heading of decategorialization. Deriving from a concessive imperative clause, it now functions as an adverb and has dropped its imperative suffix. The properties of other concessives (*ni seyo, de are*) and conditional imperatives (*–te miro*) can possibly be described in terms of less advanced decategorialization. Their distributional profiles diverge from those of standard imperatives, as demonstrated by features such as incompatability with sentence-final particles for the concessives, and co-occurrence with the conditional collocates *tatoeba* and *moshi* for conditional imperatives. However, both retain their morphological form as imperative inflections.

# 3. Imperative candidates

In chapter 2, 'imperative' was defined as "a construction type the only prototypical function of which is the expression of directive speech acts". It was further stated that imperative constructions "can be said to represent the grammaticalization of directive functionality". Japanese has several directive strategies that, for different reasons, are typically not classified as imperatives or *meireikei* 'imperative form(s)' in their own

[95] Larm (2006:191) writes of it that "[…] as regards the short form *–na* the development has reached a point where we can call it an inflection".

right. Should they, in light of the above definition, be viewed as developing or having already developed into imperatives? In this section, three "imperative candidates" are discussed with this question in mind.

## 3.1 Directive *–te*

Directive *–te* has at times been termed a *meireikei* 'imperative form' (Makino 2008:56, see also Mori 2013a, b on *–te-kei meirei* '*–te* form command'). We will consider some of the arguments for and against classing it as an imperative construction in its own right, distinct from *–e* (*ro*)-based imperative constructions.

First on the agenda is the question of whether directive *–te* should be regarded as elliptical. Takahashi (2004:188) states that "The *–te* form is […] frequently used in the sense of a request, which some (though not all) authors regard as a shortened version of fuller request forms *te–kure* and *te–kudasai*". While this sums up the basic standpoints, it can be added that the *Nihon Kokugo Daijiten* discusses directive *–te* as an ellipsis (*shooryaku*) of *–te kudasai*, *–te kure*, or the (diachronically non-imperative) *–te choodai*.

To which degree can these strategies be said to be part of the synchronic structure of directive *–te*? Nitta (1991a:236-237) argues that while strategies such as *–(r)u yoo ni* 'make sure to [verb]' derive their directivity from an elided sentence-final element, directive *–te* can be regarded as a form that has come to express directivity in its own right, something which is especially manifest when it combines directly with the sentence-final particles *yo* and *ne,* as in *Yatte yo* (do-GER FP 'do it'). Alpatov (2001:125) states of directive *–te* and another directive strategy, *o*-[infinitive], that "These forms […] are sometimes interpreted as elliptical forms of the auxiliary verb, i.e. as variants of analytical forms. However, in their etiquette use they typically convey a different meaning; in addition, they occur frequently and belong to the first imperative forms children learn to use in speech". Earlier in the volume Birjulin and Xrakovskij argue that such "converb imperatives" cannot be considered elliptical on a synchronic level (2001:46), using the same arguments as Alpatov. I here assume that their argumentation can be paraphrased in terms of directive *–te* having a different politeness level and/or illocutionary profile, as well as earlier acquisition, than *–te kudasai*. As for the second argument, Clancy (1985:383-384) states that "[*–te*] is the first imperative verb form which children acquire". However, her subsequent discussion of children's overgeneralizations of clause-final *–te*, which also occurs in grammatically inappropriate, non-directive contexts (1985:383-386), indicates that caution is needed before equating children's directive *–te* with the construction used by mature speakers. She claims that *–te* is at a later stage "restructured as a shortened, but grammatical, version of "[…] the imperative benefactive V-*te kudasai/choodai/kure*" (1985:387).

Leaving child language aside, arguments against ellipsis in adult directive *–te* can be made on distributional and diachronic grounds. Co-occurrence with the sentence-final particles *ne* and *yo* indicates that straightforward final ellipsis (i.e. "trailing off" or dropping of all final elements of the clause) is not what occurs in directive *–te*. While one could posit non-final ellipsis of the type "*–te* [elided imperative benefactive] *ne*", diachronic data (see below) indicates that this pattern was not present at earlier stages in the development of the construction. Further, whereas **–te kure ne* is impossible, *–te ne* is well-formed, meaning that the elided element does not have the distributional characteristics of *–te kure* or that *–te* is not affected by all the properties of the elided element. Finally, the usage characteristics of directive *–te* do not necessarily suggest the casual dropping of one out of a set of recoverable forms. Even in environments in which *–te kure* and *–te kudasai* can be successfully substituted for *–te*, the attitudinal contribution or "feel" of the sentence will be different. Because *–te* has a profile of its own, it can be used in situations where neither *–te kure* nor *–te kudasai* can be "reconstructed" without sociopragmatic oddity, or, in the case of co-occurrence with *ne*, grammatical unacceptability. Consider the following (constructed) example:

(11) Kore mi-te / ?kure / ?kudasa-i.
this see-GER / give.me.IMP / give.me.HON-IMP
'Look at this.' (5-year old daughter to mother)

The strategy *–te choodai* may be appropriate in this context, but has no diachronic association with the formative *–e* (*ro*), and, as will be discussed next, it is attested later in history than directive *–te* itself.[96]

While sentence-final *–te* in directive utterances is found in Edo-era material, Kudoo (1979:55) states that the instances of *–te* attested up until the Taishoo era (1912+) in her study do not take the sentence final particles *yo* or *ne*, and are elliptical (the original term is *iisashiteki*) in this regard. Later attestations, which do take the particles, indicate the establishment of *–te* as a request form (*irai hyoogen keishiki*). Directive *–te*, as noted above, has at times been stated to have a connection with *–te choodai*. However, Kudoo's first attestation of *–te choodai* is found in *Seiyoo Doochuu Hizakurige* (*Shanks' Mare to the Western Seas*), a comical travelogue published during 1870-6, after the beginning of the Meiji era. The same text is the first attestation of *–te choodai* given by the *Nihon Kokugo Daijiten*.

In a paper by Mori (2013b:76), *–te* as a directive strategy is described as being attested in Kamigata (i.e. the modern Kansai region) during the earlier half of the Edo era. Mori provides an example of *–te* co-occurring with what appears to be the sentence final particle *ya* in a *jooruri* narrative first performed in 1718. Regardless of dialectal variation and the exact length of time during which directive *–te* has co-

[96] *Choodai* is originally a Sino-Japanese noun meaning 'to humbly receive'. The strategy itself possibly derives from a declarative sentence structure (*Nihon Kokugo Daijiten*).

occurred with sentence-final particles, the historical perspective seems an argument in favor of its development into an independent construction.

How should the process by which directive *–te* developed be characterized from a grammatical standpoint? The strategy is one of the examples brought up by Evans in his 2007 article on desubordination (his "insubordination"): "the conventionalized main clause use of what, on prima facie grounds, appear to be formally subordinate clauses" (2007:367). Evans discusses desubordination as a process starting with ellipsis, in which the range of main clauses that can be reconstructed to fill in the missing material is gradually reduced ("conventionalization of ellipsis"). Ultimately 'constructionalization' may take place. The structure now constitutes a distinctive pairing of form and meaning, becoming, in effect, a main clause. The reconstruction of a "real" main clause is no longer necessarily possible (2007:370-374).

Evans argues that although the most common use of desubordination lies in making directives less face-threatening by "putting the face-threatening act 'off the record'" (2007:387), the fact that *Are o mite* 'Look at that' is less polite than *Are o mite kudasai* 'Look at that, please' (politeness marking having been lost) demonstrates that the result of desubordination in directives is not always an increase in politeness (2007:393-394). This may be true from the perspective of *–te kudasai*. However, if directive *–te* is conceived of as (also) deriving from *–te kure* or as providing an alternative to the naked imperative within the directive system, its development is in line with his original generalization.

Mauri and Sansò (2011) list constructionalization through [de]subordination as one of the main processes by which new directive strategies (as used by them, the term can here be equated with imperatives proper) are formed. Evans describes the relationship between *–te kudasai* and *–te* using the term "ellipsis" (2007:393), suggesting that he does not consider it to be an example of constructionalization. However, the diachronic and distributional evidence discussed earlier indicates, in my view, that the strategy has reached the level of constructionalization in contemporary Japanese.

During the research leading up to this thesis an informant (F, 35) stated that *–te* is inappropriate in a situation where a parent is asking a child to do their homework, because it gives the feeling that this is done for the parent's sake. In this situation, *–nasai* or, depending on context, the naked imperative would have been appropriate. The intuitions of other informants further indicate that *–te* is more difficult to use in self-addressed directives than is the case for the naked imperative.

I will not attempt to explain these intuitions through the covert presence of a benefactive (and perhaps also honorific) verb, nor by the encoding by directive *–te* of a specific illocutionary force involving speaker benefit. Although classed as a request form in Japanese descriptive grammar, it is not limited to requests. Ohori (1995:205) states that "[directive *–te*] may be described as a clause-final particle of request" which represents a recoverable benefactive-imperative construction. By contrast, I hypothesize that although directive *–te* has inherited imperative clause type function

and benefactivity in the form of constructional meaning, it does not have a connection, in terms of identity, with its parent expressions (benefactive imperatives).

What, then, does the *–te* of directive *–te* mean? As brought up in chapters 2 and 4, the English imperative lacks a distinct imperative verb form but can be individuated through its syntactic profile, two examples being its typical lack of an overt subject and distinct pattern of *do*-support. While the base form of the verb (*eat*, *sleep*, etc.) is from one point of view the imperative form of English, the imperative is better defined in syntactic or constructional terms, not morphological. Similarly, I here propose that "imperativity" and benefactivity are not features of a reanalyzed, homophonous *–te* imperative formative per se, but of the strategy (=construction) as a whole. The *–te* of directive *–te* is still the Japanese gerund as such, but part of a grammatical construct to which special rules apply. Directive *–te* is distinguished from other constructions not solely through its inflectional shape but also through the distributional/grammatical profile derived from a [gerund + benefactive-imperative] parent. Although "imperativity" itself is inherited, there need be no remnant of the *–e* (*ro*) formative in its structure. No elided elements are posited here; any "recovery" of explicit benefactive components (in the form of *–te kudasai*, *–te kure*, etc.) is on the level of paradigmatic substitution.

Before concluding my discussion of directive *–te* I will stress that the analysis put forward here is on the level of a hypothesis. A corpus survey of directive *–te* exploring the correspondence between, for instance, its syntactic profile and those of other imperative-based strategies would here be valuable. That being said, in view of its history, level of conventionalization, and frequency of usage, I believe that the questions surrounding directive *–te* (elided? constructionalized?) amount to discussing how far it is along a path of "imperativization" whose endpoint is quite clear.

## 3.2 *–(y)oo*

*–(Y)oo* is considered part of the imperative paradigm of Japanese by Alpatov, who draws the conclusion that "in Japanese, a personal paradigm is found only in the imperative" (2001:117). This differs from how *–(y)oo* has been treated in the indigenous descriptive literature. The classification of *–(y)oo* from a taxonomical or typological perspective is complicated by its behavior, which is both similar and dissimilar to that of *–e* (*ro*).[97]

In the Japanese tradition, *–(y)oo* is typically seen not as primarily hortative, but as volitional. This is likely what leads Adachi et al. (2003:61, my translation) to state that "there exists no main expression whose chief role it is to express hortation (*kan'yuu,* lit. 'invitation')". Similarly, Moriyama takes the following stance: "Although

[97]Throughout this section, "*–e* (*ro*)" does not designate the formative itself. It is used as a shorthand for *–e* (*ro*)-derived strategies in general, exemplified by the naked imperative.

[–(*y*)*oo*] has a meaning of hortation, its basis should be regarded as the intentions of the speaker" (Moriyama, Nitta and Kudoo 2000:67, my translation). Narrog (2009:154-155) opposes this view based on the fact that the default main cause interpretation is that of hortation.

(12) Tabe-yoo.
eat-HORT
'Let's eat.'

The historical development of the form is likely to be part of the reason for classifying –(*y*)*oo* as volitional. While an inflection in Modern Japanese, –(*y*)*oo* derives from the modal auxiliary –(*a*)*mu,* which throughout the history of Japanese has had a range of applications, including conjecture, futurity, intention and directivity. By contrast, –*e* (*ro*) has functioned as a dedicated second-person directive strategy since the earliest attested state of the language. The development of –(*y*)*oo* from –(*a*)*mu* will not be explored here (see Narrog 2012:130-132 and Frellesvig 2010 for details on its formal and functional evolution). However, it is worth mentioning that the usage exemplified in chapter 4 by *Ame ni naroo* 'It will probably rain' constitutes a remnant of the conjectural usage of –(*a*)*mu*. This, alongside its volitional functionality, was the main application of –(*a*)*mu* in older stages of Japanese.

While Narrog (2009:154) states that "–(*Y*)*oo* is morphologically and functionally on a par with the imperative endings […]", the similarity does not necessarily extend to the syntactic profile of –(*y*)*oo*-marked verbs. When embedded under *to* as in *Ikoo to omou* 'I think I will go', –(*y*)*oo* expresses intention, not hortation. Narrog (2009:155) discusses the difference between embedded and non-embedded usages of –(*y*)*oo* from the perspective of diachronic change, noting that "The fact that embedding in complement clauses leads to an 'intention' reading is consistent with the cross-linguistic observation that older meanings and constructions are preserved in subordinate clauses […]".

A corresponding embedded usage has, as far as I know, not been described for –*e* (*ro*). However, the string [naked imperative] *to omou*/*omotte iru* can be easily found on Google. The usage is perceived as natural by my main informant, and can be translated as 'I want [person] to [verb]' or 'I think that [person] should [verb]'.

A more obvious difference between –(*y*)*oo* and –*e* (*ro*) is perhaps that –(*y*)*oo* occurs in combination with the interrogative marker *ka*.

(13) Ik-oo ka. / *Ik-e ka.[98]
go-HORT QP go-IMP QP
'Shall we go?' / (lit.) 'Go-IMP?'

[98] This holds for standard Japanese. Inoue (1995) reports that collocations such as *Ike ka* are possible in the Tonami dialect.

The occurrence of imperative verb forms in interrogative clauses may appear problematic from the perspective of the imperative as a distinct clause type. Sadock and Zwicky (1985:158-159) state of sentence types that they are "mutually exclusive, no sentence being simultaneously of two different types". However, forms described as first-person imperatives do occur in interrogative sentences in the literature (see Aikhenvald 2010:251). As an example, Aikhenvald states of the "First person singular imperative" of Manambu that "It is also used as a turn-taking device, as in *wa-u*? (talk-1sg.impv) 'may I talk?'" (2010:73-74). Malčukov (2001:165-166, 168) reports that first-person imperatives can in Even (Tungusic, Siberia) be used to ask for permission, as well as when expressing the intention of the speaker. The appropriate analysis might be that the verb forms involved are not exclusive to imperative clauses, and that usages of this kind sort under interrogative clause type (cf. Kaufmann and Kaufmann 2016:553).

One further difference between *–(y)oo* and the naked imperative is their dissimilarity in terms of illocutionary profile. Whereas *–e* (*ro*) is associated with an 'order/command' interpretation, *–(y)oo* is less peremptory and suitable for use in various situations. This is reflected in its distributional possibilities: *–(y)oo* can co-occur with the politeness marker *–mas*(*u*) as well as with the sentence final particle *ne*.

(14) Ik-i-mash-oo. / *Ik-i-mas-e.
go-INF-POL-HORT / go-INF-POL-IMP
'Let's go!' / 'Go!'

(15) Ik-oo ne. / *Ik-e ne.
go-HORT FP / go-IMP FP
'Let's go!' / 'Go!'

Can the seemingly distinct 'intention' and 'hortation' functionalities of *–(y)oo* be reconciled without reference to diachrony? Looking back to the world gap model advanced in chapter 3, a solution may be phrased in terms of specificatory semantics. Just as second-person imperatives do not, in this model, contain an element of desire, we will not view *–(y)oo* as encoding the speaker's will, but rather as triggering a specificatory update to a representation of the world. The relationship between *–e* (*ro*) and *–(y)oo* can be expressed as follows:

(a) *–e* (*ro*): something hereby counts as being the case for the addressee.

(b) *–(y)oo*: something hereby counts as being the case for 1SG
(in principle always includes speaker: 'I', may or may not include addressee: 'we').

The relation between 'intention' and 'hortation' can thus be conceived of as specification stripped of functional directivity vs. specification *with* directivity. If the speaker is the only entity involved, no functional directivity need be present. *–(Y)oo* encodes an update of the world A of the speaker that amounts to announcing his or

her future intentions. The utterance need not impose any obligations on other hearers. However, if both the addressee(s) and the speaker are included in the content of the specification (this being the default interpretation), the result is hortation. The participation of both speaker and addressee(s) is necessitated by the update of world A, leading to pressure on the addressee to match the worlds together with the speaker. The archaic epistemic functionality of *–(y)oo* is not covered in this model. Connections can be drawn to the general property of lacking or deviating from prototypical assertion, although an analysis based on potentiality is likely a better fit than attempting to reconcile this functionality with my notion of 'specification'.

As presented above, my analysis has a direct forerunner within Japanese linguistics, being very close to Shirota's 1977 discussion of the functionality of *–(y)oo* and *–e* (*ro*), previously referred to in chapter 3. For Shirota, the difference in illocutionary profile between the two constructions arises because the speaker is part of the prescribed event in the case of *–(y)oo*, which makes it softer in tone (see 1977:40, 1998:51).

A specificatory analysis in terms of person is attractive, as it provides a unified account of the two main functions of *–(y)oo*. It also has its problems, one being that the relationship between *–(y)oo* and *–e* (*ro*) is not symmetrical. Based on the account above, one would expect that *–(y)oo* functions as the concessive/directive equivalent of directive *–e* (*ro*), meaning that *–(y)oo* commits the first person to a course of action, while *–e* (*ro*) imposes it on the second person. However, if a first person functional equivalent of *–e* (*ro*) is to be sought, a better candidate is in fact the nonpast suffix *–(r)u*.

Moriyama exemplifies the difference between *–(y)oo* and the concessive use of the nonpast verb form using the following example. The context is that of two friends going out to drink beer.

(16) Kyoo wa koko de biiru o nom-oo.
today TOP here LOC beer OBJ drink-HORT
'Let's drink beer here today.' (Moriyama 2000:69, my glossing and translation)

(16b) ?Kyoo wa koko de biiru o nom-u.
today TOP here LOC beer OBJ drink-NPST
'We will drink beer here today.' (Moriyama 2000:68, my glossing and translation)

A sentence such as (16) can be taken as a suggestion or proposal (the feeling that the choice of drinking place is an open question can be further strengthened through the addition of interrogative *ka*), but (16b) has an authoritarian ring to it and is thus pragmatically inappropriate.

Moriyama proposes a three-tiered system of expressions of intention. *–(Y)oo* is used to indicate the process of reaching a decision, creating the possibility of participating in the decision-making. *–(R)u* is used to announce a decision once it is taken. The modal expression *tsumori da* '[I] intend to…' is used to inform the hearer about a decision, previously taken, that is stored in the speaker's memory (2000:69-70). Shirota (1998:48) also acknowledges that *–(y)oo* can express a decision process.

From the perspective of our model, Moriyama's discussion raises the issue of whether –(*y*)*oo* encodes a mental state in the speaker (the deliberative process leading up to an update of the speaker's conception of his or her future activity) rather than specification (the update) itself. The possibility of embedding under verbs of thinking (*kangaeru*, *omou*) does seem to favor such an account.[99] However, a specificatory analysis can be supported by stating the difference between –(*y*)*oo* and –*e* (*ro*) in terms of degree of access to the mind of the "specifier".

When using –(*y*)*oo,* the mental activity leading up to the specification can be an internal state reported on by the speaker (volition). Of course, the speaker has access to his or her own mind. In the case of hortation, the decision process can take place "in full view" of the addressee, because the addressee is construed as being inside the first person 'we' and thus part of the entity doing the decision-making. In both cases, since both the specifier and recipient of specification are presented as having similar access to the decision process, the act of specification as well as the period leading up to it can be expressed using –(*y*)*oo.* By contrast, when –*e* (*ro*) is used, the specifier and recipient are construed as different entities. The deliberative process is off limits to the addressee, who is only confronted with the final verdict (e.g. 'Go!'). The following schema attempts to visually represent the basic idea. Dotted lines indicate cognitive activity (deliberation), the exclamation mark indicates the speaker's decision that the addressee go (specification), and the arrow indicates the recipient of the specification. In (d), the process of deliberation is not accessible to the addressee. This is represented as the absence of dotted lines.

(c) –(*y*)*oo*: - - - - - - - ! > 1PRS

(d) –*e* (*ro*): ! > (typically) 2PRS

Unlike –*e* (*ro*), –(*y*)*oo* can signify different stages within the deliberative process. In the case of (17), the decision has been taken (cf. Moriyama 2000:70).

(17) Boku wa ik-oo to omot-te i-ru.
1SG TOP go-HORT COMP think-GER be-NPST
'I think I will go.' (repeated from chapter 4)

In the case of main clause –(*y*)*oo* and especially –(*y*)*oo ka*, the process may still be in the deliberative stage. This property of –(*y*)*oo* can be used to explain its lack of harshness compared with –*e* (*ro*), which can only present the case as closed. The view of –(*y*)*oo* as encoding a process is also helpful in explaining its compatibility with interrogatives, as a process is more amenable to questioning or evaluation than is a decision or specification. It can further be used to account for the difference in tone between –(*y*)*oo* and commissive –(*r*)*u*. In the case of the latter, the decision is

[99] While the naked imperative typically embeds under verbs of speaking or illocutionary verbs such as *meirei suru* 'order', as stated above, collocations like *ike to omou* are attested.

presented as a *fait accompli*, part of the way things are going to be in the "real world" (cf. Moriyama 2000:68). If the addressee is included in the state of affairs presented as thus "settled", the linguistic form itself gives him or her no opportunity to participate in the decision, creating an effect similar to that of the naked imperative. However, a (perhaps more perspicuous) alternative explanation of the relative harshness of *–(y)oo* and *–(r)u* as commissives is that prototypically, *–(y)oo* presents a state of affairs as potential, whereas *–(r)u* presents it as actual.

It can be added that *–(y)oo* can occur in clauses describing the volitional states of second and third person referents.

(18) Kare wa ik-oo to omot-te i-ru.
3SG TOP go-HORT COMP think-GER be-NPST
'He intends to go.' (Larm 2006:196)

In this context the expression *to omou* 'I think', discussed in the literature as closely associated with the content of the speaker's mind (see Narrog 2009:110-112), cannot be used. The progressive *omotte iru* 'is thinking' can here be said to have an inferential function, and is used when the speaker does not have direct access to the mental state of the referent (see Nakau 1979).

To sum up, *–e* (*ro*) and *–(y)oo* have here been analyzed as specificatory constructions that differ mainly in terms of their association with grammatical person. They thus form a paradigm of sorts. This can be viewed as supporting the classification of *–(y)oo* as imperative by Alpatov (2001). Should we consider *–(y)oo* to be an imperative in contemporary Japanese in the sense of "a construction type the only prototypical function of which is the expression of directive speech acts"? The best answer lies, perhaps, in problematizing the question.

*–(Y)oo* has an important role as a directive strategy and paradigmatically corresponds to *–e* (*ro*) in Modern Japanese on a morphological level. Even so, in view of properties such as its occurrence in interrogative sentence structures, *–(y)oo* cannot be considered wholly analogous with *–e* (*ro*). If a conception of 'imperative' is taken in which second-person imperatives are the most prototypical and first- and third-person imperatives can display somewhat divergent behavior while still remaining part of the overall category (see Jary and Kissine 2014:54), *–(y)oo* might still qualify as a first-person imperative. However, if we take the stance that it has multiple prototypical functions (i.e. 'display of intention' and 'hortation'), it does not qualify as imperative under the definition presented in chapter 2. Hopefully, the present account can help readers determine whether *–(y)oo* fits their own conceptions of the imperative.

## 3.3 The directive infinitive

The use of the *ren'yookei* or infinitive form of the verb as a directive strategy is not found in standard Japanese.[100] It is, however, a phenomenon on which a notable amount of diachronic (Murakami 2003, Mori 2013a inter alia) and synchronic (Makino 2008 inter alia) research has been conducted.

(19) Hay-o ik-i.
quick-ADV go-INF
'Hurry up.' (*iku* 'go', consonant stem verb)
(Mori 2013a:1, my glossing and translation)

(20) Hay-o tabe.
quick-ADV eat.INF
'Eat quickly.' (*taberu* 'eat', vowel stem verb)
(Mori 2013a:1, my glossing and translation)

The directive infinitive is part of the directive system of Kansai Japanese, spoken in a region of the main island Honshuu centering on the cities of Osaka, Kyoto, and Nara. It is parallel with *–te* in being a conspicuous directive use of a non-finite verb form, and, as discussed below, may share further similarities in terms of its diachronic origin.

The directive infinitive can in the case of vowel stem verbs (for which the infinitive corresponds to the verbal root, and at times exhibits vowel lengthening) be segmentally indistinguishable from the corresponding naked imperative form. The constructions are, however, differentiated in spoken language through their accentual patterns (Makino 2008). They are also morphologically distinct for consonant stem verbs (such as *iku* 'go') and the irregular verbs *suru* and *kuru*.

[100] A strategy involving the infinitive along with honorific prefixation (*o-kik-i* HON-listen-INF 'listen!') does occur, but is considered by Mori (2013a:12) to be distinct from the construction discussed here.

Table 8-1.
The directive infinitive (based on Makino 2008:57)

| Verb | Morph. imp. | Directive infinitive |
|---|---|---|
| *miru* 'see' | *mi-i* (HL)[101] | *mi*(*i*) (HH) |
| (vowel stem *mi-* ) | see-IMP (< *mi-yo*) | see.INF + vowel lengthening |
| *iku* 'go' | *ik-e* | *ik-i* |
| (consonant stem *ik-*) | go-IMP | go-INF |
| *suru* 'do' | *se-i, see* | *shi(i)* |
| (irregular) | do-IMP *(< se-yo)* | do.INF |
| *kuru* 'come' | *ko-i* | *ki*(*i*) |
| (irregular) | come-IMP (< *ko-yo*) | come.INF |

As with directive *–te*, the directive infinitive has been discussed in terms of a *meireikei* 'imperative form' in the literature (see Moriyama 1999:39, Murakami 2003:1, Makino 2008:1, Mori 2013a). A survey of differences in usage between the naked imperative, directive infinitive, and directive *–te* form in the Osaka dialect has been conducted by Makino (2008). She reports that whereas the naked imperative is normally used only by men, *–te* and the directive infinitive are also used by women. The latter two are lower in terms of face threat than the naked imperative.

As for its history, the directive infinitive is attested from the Hooreki period (1751-1764) onwards (Murakami 2003:46, Mori 2013a:1). Different hypotheses have been proposed regarding its origin. One commonly held view discussed by Murakami (2003:48-49) involves the dropping of the honorific element *–nasar-e* from a construction such as (*o-*)*yom-i-nasar-e* (HON-read-INF-do.HON-IMP), in which the honorific auxiliary *–nasar*(*u*) follows the infinitive. Dismissing this explanation, Murakami instead proposes that the directive infinitive arose due to analogy with the naked imperative forms of vowel stem verbs (some of which are shown in Table 8-1). Allowing for some simplification of the original account (Murakami 2003:51-53), phonological reduction of the imperative in vowel stem verbs, such as *mi-yo* > *mi-i* (see-IMP) triggered its interpretation as being formally identical with the infinitive: *mi* (see.INF). This lead to the appearance of directive infinitives in consonant verbs, in which the infinitive is morphologically distinct from the root: *ik-i* (go-INF).

This hypothesis has since come under criticism. Mori (2013a:3-4) states that Murakami's explanation cannot account for the fact that, if intonation is accounted

[101] HL and HH represent patterns of pitch accentuation: high-low, high-high.

for, the naked imperative and directive infinitive are distinct in all conjugation classes in contemporary Kansai Japanese, nor can it explain why they differ in politeness value. Mori instead gives an account in which the honorific auxiliary *–jar-*, as in imperative *yom-i-jar-e* (read-INF-HON-IMP 'read') developed into an imperative suffix *–ja*, in turn analyzed as identical with a distinct but homophonous sentence final particle *ja*. The preceding infinitive was reanalyzed as imperative in itself (2013a:16). Mori connects the development of the directive infinitive to a general pattern in different Japanese dialects, in which new imperative forms arise from the structure [honorification+imperative]. One of his examples is the abovementioned *–na* in Edo/Tokyo Japanese (2013a:9-11).

Regardless of its exact development, the directive infinitive is a convincing example of a distinct, alternative imperative construction arising from *–e* (*ro*) morphological marking. In the *nasaru*-drop account, as well as in that advanced by Mori (2013a), this takes place in the form of further truncation of a honorification-incorporating strategy, with corresponding loss of phonologically overt honorific material. This is attractive in explaining its higher politeness value compared to the naked imperative.

The directive infinitive and *–te* represent constructions in Japanese in which imperative clause type is not encoded by distinct imperative morphology. They can be said to be distinct from *–e* (*ro*)-based strategies from a typological perspective. The infinitive is a type of stem that constitutes the simplest verbal form available in the language (the consonant verb root, as in *ik-* 'go', cannot by itself occur in discourse). According to Aikhenvald, "[i]n about one-third of the languages of the world, the second person singular imperative coincides with either the verb root or the stem. It is thus the shortest, and the simplest verb form in the language" (2010:18). The directive infinitive thus follows a common pattern.

## 4. Non-directive constructions

This section is concerned with constructions that are formally part of imperative clause type in Japanese but have been described as developing away from it, becoming non-directive expressions. How strong is their continued identity as imperatives? Is there a way of capturing their functionality, or the diachronic origin of their new functionality, within the framework of the general semantics of imperative clause type? More specifically, can a non-directive semantics be useful here? With these questions in mind we turn our attention to the conditional (*–te miro*) and concessive conditional (henceforth 'concessive') imperatives (e.g. *ni seyo, de are, doo seyo*).

## 4.1 Conditional imperatives

A question of theoretical interest is whether conditional functionality in Japanese imperatives can be hypothesized to derive directly from a non-directive semantics of imperative clause type, or whether it has developed through a process of conventionalization originating in directive contexts.

Unlike in English, Japanese conditional imperatives incorporate a lexical element that sets them apart from standard imperatives. *–Te miro* constitutes the naked imperative of the construction *–te miru* ('try to [verb]', lit. '[verb] and see').[102] Prototypical usages of the collocation *–te miro* range from suggestions or advice (21) to threats or warnings with negative directionality (22). However, it can also form hypothetical conditional sentences as in (23) and (24). These have a functionally marked, more addressee-oriented feel than regular conditional constructions ('Just think about what will happen if…').

(21) Sore o yon-de mi-ro. Sono manga wa omoshiro-i
that OBJ read-GER see-IMP DEM manga TOP interesting-NPST
n da zo.
NML COP.NPST FP
'Try reading that. That comic is interesting.' (Shinzato 2004:1, my glossing)

(22) Moo ichi-do it-te mi-ro. Koros-u zo.
again one-time say-GER see-IMP kill-NPST FP
'Say it again [and] I'll kill you.'

(23) Moshi sore o yon-de mi-ro, omae to wa
If that OBJ read-GER see-IMP 2SG with TOP
zekkoo da.
end.of.relationship COP.NPST
'If you try to read it, I will [end my] relationship with you.' (Shinzato 2004:2, my glossing, repeated from chapter 4)

(24) Moshi sore ga mitsukat-te mi-ro, wareware wa
if that NOM be.found-GER see-IMP 1PL TOP
oshimai da.
end COP.NPST
'If that is found [by them], that will be the end of us.' (Shinzato 2004:2, my glossing, repreated from chapter 3)

The distributional properties of conditional imperatives diverge from those of ordinary imperative clauses. The conditional adverbs *moshi* 'if' and *tatoeba* 'for instance' may co-occur. In some usages (see (24)), imperative subjects need not be

[102] The honorific variant *–te goran* (*nasai*) can also occur in conditionals (Nagano 1995:659).

restricted to second person, nor even to animate referents (*sore* 'that'). The verb preceding *miru* need not be volitional, nor need it refer to a situation involving the addressee.

Japanese conditional imperatives have been discussed by, among others, Nagano (1995, 1998), Takahashi (2004, 2012), Shinzato (2001, 2004, 2007), Kikuta (2013), and Mori (2014). Shinzato (2001, 2004, 2007) analyzes them, alongside concessive imperatives, as constituting an example of de-subjectification from interpersonal (directive) to text-oriented (conditional) functionality. The analysis has been challenged by Traugott (2007:303-4).

Takahashi (2004:238) states that the use of *–te miro* as a hypothetical conditional may constitute a case of grammaticalization, but adds that "[t]he trace of the (command) imperative remains, however, since this form is not normally usable when the addressee is older than (and/or socially superior to) the speaker". Still, his stance on the role of the addressee in conditional *–te miro* sentences is that "[…] all that the speaker asks the addressee to do […] is to simply IMAGINE a certain hypothetical situation and consider its possible outcome" (2012:215).

In his updated 2012 monograph Takahashi refers to Fortuin and Boogaart (2009), who analyze conditional imperatives in Dutch and Russian as cases of constructional inheritance in which the intersubjective orientation of the imperative (which for them derives from directivity) is combined with the conditional-derived "pragmatic (context-dependent) feature that the situation in the protasis immediately leads to the situation in the apodosis" (2009:641). The result is a construction that is functionally distinct from ordinary conditionals, as well as from ordinary imperatives.

In the same vein, Kikuta (2013:16) describes the Japanese conditional imperative as an "independent construction which is a subtype of both imperative and conditional constructions". She distinguishes two variants: a "warning type" and a "supposition type", corresponding to (23) and (24) above, respectively. In her account, "rhetorical" usages of the imperative similar to (22), in which the connection between the two clauses is inferential in nature, were during the early 1700s reanalyzed as inherently conditional. This led to the development of the "warning type" conditional imperative (2013:19). The latter, supposition type, which allows for non-volitional and non-second person subjects, emerged during the early 1800s. Its development was motivated by an independent change allowing for non-volitional usages of the conditional parent construction *–te miru* 'try to (verb)' (2013:25-27).

An independent contribution to the literature on *–te miro* will not be attempted here. The focus of this thesis is the general functionality of Japanese imperatives. From this perspective, the conditional imperative appears to be fairly peripheral. In my survey of 2000 attestations of naked imperatives in the Publication Subcorpus of the BCCWJ, 3 instances were analyzed as 'conditional' as opposed to 454 as 'concessive'. The BCCWJ is a written language corpus, meaning that the frequency of concessive imperatives is far larger than would be expected from a spoken language sample. Nonetheless, a large proportion of the imperatives occur in quoted or

constructed dialogue. Although it should be born in mind that written dialogue does not mirror the patterns of actual spoken language, 3 instances do not indicate a frequent construction.

Moreover, to the extent that *–te miro* imperatives can be analyzed as constituting or developing out of rhetorical, negative directionality applications of the imperative (Kikuta 2013), they do not hold any special interest for our discussion of imperative semantics. Such usages are interesting, but can be discussed in terms of interaction between non-directive semantics and pragmatic inference (see chapter 3, section 3.5). To the degree that *–te miro* is in some environments becoming a genuine conditional construction, it goes outside the boundaries of the imperative and thus outside the scope of this thesis. We thus move on to a phenomenon that appears to hold more promise for a non-directive semantics: the concessive imperative.

## 4.2 Concessive imperatives

A variety of non-sentence-final expressions in Japanese contain what appear to be the imperative forms of *aru* 'exist, be' *suru* 'do', and *iu* 'say'. Some examples are *ni seyo*/*shiro* (DAT do-IMP) *de are* (COP-IMP), *to wa ie*, (COMP TOP say-IMP), *doose*(*yo*) (how do-IMP) and *izure ni seyo* (which DAT do-IMP). They are translated into English using phrases such as 'whether, regardless, no matter if, even if, although' and are typically described as concessive in meaning. In the following examples, regardless of the status of the situation described by the material preceding *de are* and *ni seyo*/*shiro*, the content of the clause which follows the imperative form still holds.

(25) Dansei de.ar-e, josei de.ar-e, ningen to.shite no kenri wa
male be-IMP female be-IMP human as GEN rights TOP
onaji hazu da.
same ASSUM COP.NPST
'Whether one is a man or a woman, one's rights as a human being should be the same.' (Makino and Tsutsui 2008:70, my glossing, repeated from chapter 3)

(26) Futsuu no ningen wa, ishikiteki ni se-yo muishikiteki ni
normal COP.ADN human TOP conscious DAT do-IMP unconscious DAT
se-yo, fukai na koto o sake-yoo to su-ru.
do-IMP unpleasant COP.ADN thing OBJ avoid-HORT COMP do-NPST
'Whether they do it consciously or unconsciously, ordinary people try to avoid unpleasant things.' (Makino and Tsutsui 2008:420, my glossing, repeated from chapter 4)

(27) Dono sofuto o tsuka-u ni shi-ro, haya-ku tsukaikata
Which software OBJ use-NPST DAT do-IMP quick-ADV way.of.using
ni nare-te morawa-na-i to ik-e-na-i.
DAT get.used.to-GER receive-NEG-NPST COND go-POT-NEG-NPST
'Whichever software application you use, you must quickly get comfortable using it.' (Makino and Tsutsui 2008:420, my glossing)

Expressions such as *de are* have been hypothesized to derive from a construction involving the dedicated concessive marker *–do* (see Martin 1988:961-962), meaning that the verb form involved would be the *izenkei* 'realis form', not the imperative form. However, this view is not endorsed here. The *izenkei* and *meireikei* of *aru* 'be' are segmentally identical as *ar-e*, but the occurrence of the unambiguously imperative forms of *suru* 'do' (*se-yo*, *shi-ro*, compare the *izenkei* stem *sure* in *sure-do* 'does, but…') provides unambiguous evidence for the existence of concessive imperatives on a morphological level (at least for this verb). Moreover, concessive functionality in imperatives is not unique to Japanese. Examples from other languages are provided by Aikhenvald (2010:238-239).

Concessives of the type *de are* and *ni seyo/shiro* occur frequently in formal written Japanese. Chen (2007:18) reports that while concessive imperatives in contemporary Tokyo Japanese have a strong written language feel and are rarely used in dialogue, their frequency of occurrence in her material (written texts published between 1870-1912) does not differ greatly when dialogue and narrative passages are compared. We can thus assume that concessive imperatives have undergone a change in stylistic value in contemporary Japanese. She discusses this development in terms of "the original function of the imperative not yet having been completely lost" in earlier Tokyo Japanese (2007:18, my translation).

Relevant here is the question of whether different concessive imperatives should be viewed as instantiating imperative clause type in contemporary Japanese. Are they better analyzed as concessive conjunctions or adverbs? *Doose*, which can be considered to be an adverb, was touched upon in 2.3. I will here take the position that while imperative-derived concessives in general are certainly less than prototypical as imperatives, their formal connection with imperative clause type makes them relevant for analysis. As with the conditional use of *–te miro*, our main question is whether the path of development from imperative to concessive construction has proceeded from directivity, or if it can be explained in other terms, potentially providing evidence for non-directive semantics in the imperative as such.

On the matter of their formal properties, Narrog (2012:180) states that "In Japanese, the only salient structural difference [between concessive and non-concessive imperatives] is that the concessively used imperative, unlike its sentence-final counterpart, cannot be followed by pragmatic particles, such as *yo*". This sets them apart from *–te miro* conditional imperative, which can occur with *yo* (Nagano 1998:148).

Another property that differentiates conditional and concessive imperatives is the absence of (referent) honorification in the latter (note the existence of *–te goran nasai*). Even when honorific lexemes could occur in concessive imperatives, their usage was not one of honorification proper. To exemplify, Ryuunosuke Akutagawa's short story *Yabu no naka* (*In a Grove*, first published in 1922) contains an attestation of *nan ni itase*. This expression is not found in contemporary Japanese (Chen 2007:18). The following sentence is part of the testimony of an old woman who is questioned by the police and begs them to find her daughter.

(28) Nan ni itas-e niku-i no wa, sono Tajoomaru
what DAT do.HON-IMP hateful-NPST NML TOP DEM Tajoomaru
to ka nan to ka moos-u, nusubito no yatsu
COMP QP what COMP QP say.HON-NPST thief COP.ADN ruffian
de gozaimasu.
COP.SUPERPOL
'The one I really hate is that robber Tajoomaru or whatever his name is.'

The use of the imperative form of the suppletive honorific verb *itasu* 'humbly do' (standing in for *suru* 'do') gives us a clue as to the status of the addressee or imperative subject. It cannot be the listener (i.e. the police), as *itase* is derogatory in tone when used towards others. *Itasu* is typically used when referring to the actions of the speaker or ingroup members, which might lead one to assume that the concessive imperative is self-addressed. However, *itase* need not be evidence of this. The humble referent honorific *itasu* is here in stylistic harmony with the *de gozaimasu*-style speech register, which in contemporary Japanese has largely been replaced by the *desu-masu* style. Moriyama (2008:20) explains that while the *de gozaimasu* level of polite stylization has a dedicated form of the copula (compare *da, desu*), there is no equivalent superpolite form of the verb (compare *–(r)u*, *–mas(u)*). Humble language thus "stands in" for addressee honorification, resulting in usages such as *Densha ga mairimashita* (train NOM arrive.HON-INF-POL-PST) 'The train has humbly arrived'. This example makes use of another suppletive humble verb, *mairu* 'humbly come/go'.

The absence of final particles and honorification is likely connected to the fact that concessive imperatives, unlike conditional ones, are neither addressed to the hearer nor have any interactional effect that can be construed as directive. (29) is taken by the hearer to constitute one directive speech act, not two or three. Note the mismatch in politeness value (naked vs. honorific benefactive) between the concessive and sentence-final elements.

(29) Ik-u ni se-yo, ika-na-i ni se-yo,
go-NPST DAT do-IMP go-NEG-NPST DAT do-IMP
ato.de denwa o kudasa-i.
afterwards telephone OBJ give.HON-IMP
'Whether you go or not, please give me a call later.' (Makino and Tsutsui 2008:418, my glossing).

A reasonable assumption is that concessive imperatives lack any specific addressee.

The range of verbs in which concessive imperatives appear is, as noted above, limited. However, differentiating them from other imperatives, they also occur in adjectives: *Osokare hayakare* (late-IMP early-IMP) 'sooner or later', *Ookare sukunakare* (many-IMP few-IMP) 'whether many or few'. This usage is thought to derive from the contraction of the adverbial form of the adjective and the verb *aru*: *oso-ku ar-e* (late-ADV be-IMP).

Unlike the conditional imperative, concessive imperatives are found early in the recorded history of Japanese. Narrog (2012:181) states that "The first examples are all with stative predicates (adjectives, nominal adjectives) or a light verb/copula". He refers to Iwai (1970:16), who gives examples of concessive *are* (be-IMP) from the *Tosa Nikki* (935), *Ochikubo Monogatari* (late 900s), and *Makura no Sooshi* (c. 1000). Shinzato (2004:4-5) gives the following example from the *Taketori Monogatari* (middle 900s). [103]

(30) Tomare.kakumare mazu shoojiire-tatematsur-amu.
Either.way first invite.in-HUM-VOL
'Either way, let him come in first.'
(translation by Shinzato, transcription and glossing modified by me)

Here *tomare kakumare* is a contraction of *to mo are kaku mo are* 'be it like [that], or like this'. The speaker is an old bamboo cutter addressing his adoptive daughter, Princess Kaguya. The imperatives are not likely to be directive. Moreover, they are not addressed specifically to the hearer, as evidenced by the honorification found in the *na…so* negative directive uttered immediately afterwards and directly addressed to Princess Kaguya (see Tranter 2012:237).

(31) Fito na ita-ku wabi-sase-tatematur-ase-tamaf-i-so
people NIMP painful-ADV be.upset-CAUS-HUM-HON-HON-INF-NIMP
'Don't upset people too much!' (Tranter 2012:236, glossing modified by me)

Concessive imperatives in Middle Japanese do occur with volitional verbs: […] *kabane o sarasaba sarase* […] 'if my corpse is to be exposed, expose it' (Narrog 2012:182, my translation), but these attestations are different from both the first attested concessive imperatives (e.g. *tomare kakumare*) as well as from the contemporary ones (e.g. *ni shiro, de are*). The driving force behind the concessives previously discussed is the speaker's stance that regardless of which alternative is actualized, the same situation will or should result. Shinzato (2004:10-11) discusses this as the "irrelevance" of the imperative content. Further, she rightly observes that the usage found in Middle Japanese can instead be described as involving a notion of *hoonin* (translated by Shinzato 2004:9 as 'indifference'), expressing that if something is going to happen, then the speaker will allow it. Shinzato (2004:9) suggests that

[103] Classical period dates are from Frellesvig (2010:180).

some rhetorical uses of the imperative (e.g. *Baka ie* 'Say stupid [things]!') may derive from it. In any case, the construction itself has not survived in contemporary Japanese.

That the first attestations of concessive imperatives involve non-volitional predicates and do not (unless the addressee is taken to be the speaker) have a clear addressee suggests that the development of concessive functionality does not need to be explained with recourse to directivity. Concessive imperatives in non-volitional predicates are attested in at least one other Northeast Asian language, Nivkh.

(32) Tamla čo p'řy-ŋan pil-ja
numerous fish come-CONV[erb]:TEMP[oral] be.big-IMP:2SG
mat'ki-ja syk p'u-t čo ny-d'yu
be.small-IMP:2SG all come.out-CONV:MAN[ner] fish make-FIN[ite]-PL
'When a lot of fish came, whether big or small, everyone came out to process the fish.' (Gruzdeva 2001:77)

Both Shinzato (2004:11) and Narrog (2012:182-183) discuss concessive imperatives in Japanese with reference to Leuschner (1998:168-172), according to whom concessive conditionals may develop from "Rhetorical Dialogue". This is a strategy in which the speaker structures discourse as if reacting to utterances that have not actually been made. In concessives, the speaker acknowledges a made-up observation ("It might be like this", "It might be like that") but notes that it does not affect the main point that he or she is making.

Leuschner in turn refers to Haspelmath and König (1998:580-581), who speculate that properties of concessive conditionals may derive from "[…] a negotiation between speaker and hearer over permissible instantiations of variables in a conditional schema 'if…*x*…, then *q*'. The permissible values are often given by way of exemplification, […] by specifying an extreme value in some dimension and so on". One of their examples is the following: "*Let him be ever so bad* [my emphasis], he has some good points" (1998:581).

If we turn to rhetorical dialogue to account for Japanese concessive imperatives (as is done by Narrog), an analysis in terms of world gap semantics with an underspecified addressee might be useful in explaining just *how* imperatives can have the function of rhetorically conceding or specifying something. A basic scenario can be summarized thus:

1. Fictitious statement: The situation may be X.
2. Response: For the purposes of this discussion it hereby counts as X.[104]
3. Conclusion: The consequence is still Z.

[104] Or, in the case of *izure* 'which', *doo* 'how', *nan*(*i*) 'what' and similar items, any possible value (see Haspelmath and König 1998:580 on "free choice of values").

Alternative-based concession may be sketched out as follows:

1. For the purposes of this discussion the situation hereby counts as X. Alternatively, the situation hereby counts as Y [=not X].
2. In both cases, the consequence is Z.

In everyday life, a switch can be flipped from "off" to "on" and back again to demonstrate that a household appliance is not functional. Similarly, the specificatory functionality of the imperative can be used to, for the purposes of a given scenario, specify that a state of affairs counts as actualized and then re-specify it as non-actualized, demonstrating that the outcome will in any case be identical.

Other non-directive accounts are possible. Readers who consider potentiality (whether semantic or conventional: see chapter 3) to be at the heart of the imperative will have noticed that the function of presenting a state of affairs as potential is also very much in line with the concessive usages presented above.[105] Regardless of the extent to which concessive imperatives should be considered part of imperative clause type in contemporary Japanese, it is likely that we need not posit directive functionality at any stage in their development. This is potential evidence for a non-directive semantics in imperative clause type itself.

As a final note, the conclusion that concessive imperatives lack a specific addressee may be threatened by the presence of certain concessive expressions in Rodrigues's *Arte da lingoa de Iapam* (1604-8). These incorporate honorification that possibly targets the addressee, as in *ageta ni saserarei* (give-PST DAT do-CAUS-PASS-IMP) (Doi 1955:90). While I currently do not have any other examples of such usages, they may possibly be analyzed along the lines of contemporary *–ta koto ni shite kudasai* (PST NML DAT do-GER give.me.HON-IMP) 'consider/pretend that (verb)'.

[105] As noted by Narrog (2009:158), *–(y)oo* can also be used as a concessive.

# 5. Conclusion

In this chapter we have discussed directive strategies undergoing development towards, away from, or from one status to another within imperative clause type. Taken as a whole, the developments described in the present chapter and in the following chapter 9 can be thought of as two ongoing changes in Japanese. Not only is the directive system becoming less centered on the imperative, but imperative clause type itself has become less monopolized by the formative *–e* (*ro*) and its transparent derivations.

*–(Y)oo*, directive *–te, –na*, and the directive infinitive are arguably undergoing or have undergone development into imperative constructions in their own right. They lack a synchronic formal connection with *–e* (*ro*) morphology. As a consequence, *–e* (*ro*) is in contemporary Japanese just one of several encoding strategies for marking imperative clause type. A related development is the specialization and marginalization of the naked imperative as an individual directive strategy. This process is one of the main topics of the following chapter.

*Chapter 9.*

# The Japanese imperative: past and future

## 1. Introduction

The naked imperative finds itself an increasingly specialized member of the Japanese directive system. It has changed from a strategy which could even be used when addressing the gods[106]to being avoided in spoken language except in a limited range of contexts (although, as illustrated in chapters 6 and 7, it has many different uses within these contexts). What are the factors underlying this development? In this chapter we take a wider view of Japanese imperatives and the naked imperative in particular, integrating observations made in the indigenous literature with functionalist and comparative perspectives in discussing its past and its possible future.

## 2. The imperative in decline?

Over the course of recorded Japanese history, imperative-based directive strategies have been supplemented or replaced by increasing numbers of non-imperative strategies (e.g. interrogatives and desideratives). In addition, within imperative clause type, processes such as phonetic reduction and desubordination has produced a range of forms which are less obviously members of the *–e* (*ro*) "family". The following imperative-based strategies are found in pre- or Early Modern Japanese.

(a) *yom-e* read-IMP (naked)

(b) *yom-i-tama-e* read-INF-HON-IMP (transparent)

(c) *yon-de kudasar-e* read-GER give.me.HON-IMP (transparent)

[106] For examples from the *Man'yooshuu*, see Shirafuji (2007:27-28) and Vovin (2009:651).

The next set of strategies from present day Japanese exemplify the development(s) discussed above.

| | |
|---|---|
| (a) *yom-e* | read-IMP (retained) |
| (b) *yon-de kudasa-i* | read-GER give.me.HON-IMP (irregular, phonetically reduced) |
| (c) *yom-i-na* | read-INF-IMP (phonetically reduced, decategorialized) |
| (d) *yon-de* | read-GER (desubordinated, constructionalized) |

This listing is intended to illustrate general tendencies within the diachrony of Japanese imperatives, and should not be interpreted as one set of strategies neatly replacing another. Due to the time scale and range of different directive strategies involved, the present account is necessarily a simplification. To exemplify, the development of new strategies is not a recent phenomenon. While some non-imperative strategies appear late (see Kudoo 1979:61 on negative desideratives, Mori 2013b:78 on desubordinated conditionals), *–na* and directive *–te* are attested since the 1700s. Moreover, the sociolinguistic acceptability of the naked imperative as a directive strategy in pre-Modern Japanese should not be overstated, although it was likely greater than today (see Aoki 2012:50). Even in a directive system in which imperative clause type had greater prominence, the absence of honorification would have limited the usage range of the naked imperative. In Hara's survey of directives in the *Kakuchibon Heike Monogatari* (1371), the usage profile of non-honorific imperatives centers on orders from superior to subordinate (2005:13). In the *Arte da lingoa de Iapam* (1604-1608), Rodrigues describes the naked imperative as the least respectful directive form (Doi 1955:60).

Such caveats notwithstanding, it does appear that imperative-based directive strategies have undergone both structural changes and a reduction in usage which may be still be under way. Kishie (in Noda et al. 2009:132) states that during the post-WW2 period, the tendency to avoid the direct expression of requests has intensified. In his taxonomy of politeness levels in *meirei hyoogen*, Moriyama (2008:26) classes the naked imperative, along with *–te kure,* as occupying a special *zonzai* 'rough, impolite' level even among the informal expressions. He describes the status of the naked imperative in the following terms (2008:24, my translation):

> […] In actuality, if we exempt traffic signs such as *Tomare!* 'Stop' [...], the imperative form becomes quite an aggressive command, and becomes, so to speak, an "impolite expression" (*zonzaina hyoogen*). […] In older Japanese the politeness loss (*zonzaigoka*) of the naked imperative was not as strong as in the contemporary language. […] In contemporary language, the naked imperative has become impolite and its use is avoided, but in styles that retain a classical flavor the imperative form can be used.

Discussion of a trend towards more indirect expression of directive functionality and increasing limitations on the use of imperative clause type are frequent in the Japanese literature on the diachrony of directives. Mori (2013b:79, my translation) summarizes the development as follows:

> […] in older Japanese[107] honorifics and the imperative carried the main workload in the issuing of directives, but the view can be taken that in later Japanese (*kindaigo*) a combination of benefactives, interrogatives, [constructions expressing] alternatives[108], conditionals, and other forms has become used to express directivity.

Mori (2010, 2013b, and other publications) has further drawn attention to the increasing prominence of benefactivity in the expression of directive strategies. In earlier Japanese, honorific imperatives (e.g. *–tamae*) could be used in polite directives to superiors. However, benefactive imperatives (e.g. *–te kudasar*-IMP) gradually took over this functionality (Mori 2010:82-86, 89, 2013b:71-73), with non-benefactive imperatives becoming increasingly restricted in function (viz. modern *–nasai*). In contemporary Japanese this development has reached the point where speaker-benefit requests to superiors typically require the use of (negative) benefactive interrogatives (such as *–te kudasaimasen ka*) rather than imperatives (2013b:73). This final observation is echoed elsewhere in the literature. Hiroshi Kudoo (1989:15-16) states that *–te kudasai* is developing towards a "polite order form" that is difficult to use in requests towards superiors, and that negative interrogatives are developing as "request expressions".

The development and gradually increasing role of interrogative directive strategies has been discussed by various authors, including Mayumi Kudoo (1979), the abovementioned Hiroshi Kudoo, Takazawa (2010), and Mori (2010a, 2013c). Kudoo (1979:48) states that benefactive interrogatives are especially common in post-WW2 texts.

References to non-indigenous research are relatively rare within the literature on historical Japanese directives, one exception being Hideki Mori (2013:10) who, when discussing increasing indirectness in the expression of directivity in Japanese, brings up Kohnen's 2008 study of Old English directives. In both English and Japanese, the current pattern of avoidance of imperatives in certain contexts does not appear to have been present in earlier language states. We will later return to this connection.

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[107] Literally *kodaigo*, a cover term for Old, Early Middle, and Early Late Middle Japanese (ca. 700s to early 1300s).

[108] Mori here refers to constructions such as *Tabeta hoo ga ii* (eat-PST alternative NOM good-NPST 'You had better eat').

Along with the development of non-imperative directive strategies and reduced politeness value in imperatives, evidence of reduced frequency of use in the naked imperative may also be found in historical texts. In a diachronic study by Akio Tanaka, "basic imperatives"[109] in a selection of Edo-era texts are greatly outnumbered by derived (mainly honorific and/or benefactive) imperatives. Moreover, Tanaka reports that this tendency is even more pronounced in the later language of Tokyo (2001:735), in which the basic imperatives are fewer and the proportion of (positive) non-imperative directive strategies higher. The development towards fewer naked imperatives may not be limited to performatively directive usages. As touched upon in chapter 7, in another study Tanaka states that whereas *yoo ni*-based directive quotation is characteristic of present-day (i.e. 1950s) Japanese, the use of imperative based quotatives, e.g. *ike to* (go-IMP COMP) is more frequent in Edo-era Japanese than in the current language (1959:162-163).

Developments reminiscent of those found in Japanese directives are reported in other languages. In the abovementioned study of Old English, Kohnen (2008:27) provides the following interesting information:

> Some recent studies suggest that many indirect speech acts have developed fairly late in the history of English. For example, clear cases of interrogative manifestations of directives are difficult to find before the Early Modern period. The same seems to apply to other indirect directives […] On the other hand, more straightforward manifestations of directives, which would often appear as inappropriate or impolite today, seem to have been quite common in previous periods in the history of English.

As for other Germanic languages, Van Olmen's survey of a diachronic corpus of plays suggests that during the 20th century, the use of the imperative in Dutch went down (2011:272). The potential face-threateningness of honorific imperatives in Korean as described by Koo and Rhee (2013:491) was brought up in chapter 8. The authors add that due to the face threat constituted by imperatives/directives, "[…] Korean seems to have continually developed alternative strategies in history […]". Sohn (1999:417-418) further states of Korean that while imperatives are often used in addressee-benefit situations, "[u]se of interrogative sentences for requests has become quite popular recently".

Having seen that phenomena similar to those found in Japanese can be observed in other languages, we will now consider various universal and language-particular factors that can be hypothesized to underlie the development of, and change in, the Japanese directive system.

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[109] Literally *kihon keishiki* 'basic form', more or less corresponding to 'naked imperative' as used in the present thesis.

# 3. Why directive systems change

Diachronic turnover in means of issuing directives has received attention in the literature on imperatives and related constructions. According to Aikhenvald,

> [i]mperatives are often conceived as potentially face-threatening. In order to avoid this unwelcome effect, speakers employ other ways of framing directive acts. These 'imperative strategies' become conventionalized and may ultimately undergo reinterpretation as the only command forms available. (2010:342)

Mauri and Sansò (2011:3489) state that "[f]requency, simplicity, and their strict connection with the pragmatic dimensions of face and politeness are among the reasons why [directive] forms are particularly subject to processes of diachronic renewal". Devos and Van Olmen (2013:2) quote Evans's statement, originally made with reference to directive *–te*, that "[…] the face-threatening nature of requests and commands places strong pressures on the language system to come up with new variants whose pragmatic force is freed from the history of existing formulas […]" (2007:393). They add that "the form that face-threatening speech acts take is of an unstable nature" (2013:2).

But how, precisely, does this instability come about? Keller (1994) characterizes language change as an invisible-hand phenomenon in which speakers' choices, governed both by language-internal and external factors, lead to the unintended consequence of altering the linguistic system. This is a suitable perspective from which to consider the types of change we have discussed thus far. While Keller's theory is intended to account for linguistic change in general, the addressee-oriented nature of directive speech acts, along with the interactional function(s) of honorification and benefactivity, makes the interplay between social and linguistic factors particularly conspicuous in the case of Japanese directives.

Central to this model is Keller's conception of language as a "phenomenon of the third kind". Distinct from natural phenomena (such as volcanoes) and artificial ones (such as doctoral theses), phenomena of the third kind are "the results of human action, but not the execution of any human design" (1994:55). Two examples are monetary inflation (1994:55) and traffic jams (1994:59-62). Although (typically) not intended by any of the agents involved, they are nonetheless the consequence of their actions (such as printing too much money or braking too hard). Similarly, natural languages are not designed by humans, but develop through processes that, while beyond the control of individual speakers, ultimately derive from their behavior.

In Keller's account of the invisible-hand process, a set of "ecological conditions" (1994:80), essentially constituting the (social, linguistic, biological, etc.) facts relevant to the choices of the agents, forms the backdrop to intentional actions performed by speakers in accordance with a number of "maxims of action" (1994:95-107). The

combined intentional behavior of individual speakers has the explanandum (such as a particular instance of language change) as its casual consequence.

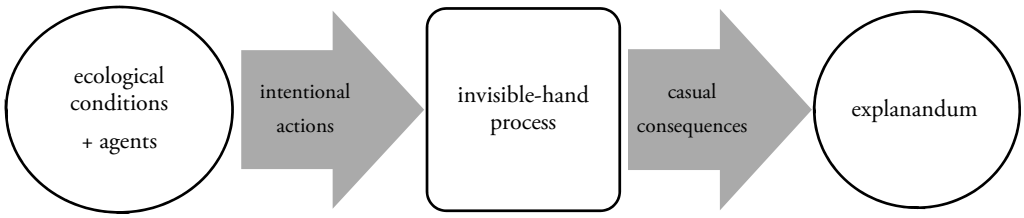


Figure 9-1.
The invisible-hand process (adapted from Keller 1994:87)

The maxims are outlined by Haspelmath (1999:1055) as follows:

1. Hypermaxim: talk in such a way that you are socially successful, at the lowest possible cost.
2. Clarity: talk in such a way that you are understood.
3. Economy: talk in such a way that you do not expend superfluous energy.
4. Conformity: talk like the others talk.
5. Extravagance: talk in such a way that you are noticed.

A brief illustration of how such maxims may govern diachronic change can be given as follows. Linguistic patterns perceived as socially (1) and/or communicatively (2,3) advantageous arise as eye-catching innovations (5) and spread throughout a speech community, perhaps due to the prestige of the innovators (4). The innovation eventually becomes "the new normal" and perceived as standard (4), potentially displacing previous expressions which fall out of use and are no longer learned. With the original innovation becoming routine, the stage is set for further novelty in other to stand out (5) and/or secure a communicative or social advantage (1,2,3). The unintentional result of speakers' desire for interactional success is thus language change.

Haspelmath (1999:1060-1061) connects Keller's invisible hand theory with Dahl's notion of 'inflation', which is of obvious relevance to the discussion of diachronic change involving politeness phenomena. When objects with conventional value (such as currency in circulation or military honors) are multiplied, their value decreases in proportion. Dahl (2004:15-17) notes that similar processes are found in language, using titles of address as an example:

> Although the use of titles is normally governed to a large extent by conventions, there is often leeway for the choice between different ways of addressing or referring to people. Also, there is usually a "penalty" for using a title that is too low, but less frequently a "penalty" for using a title which is too high. On the contrary, you may sometimes "buy" a positive reaction from someone by over-titling him or her. (Dahl 2004:16-17)

The eventual result is devaluation and the need to come up with new titles. Further, if a certain linguistic pattern which previously held special significance becomes used as a matter of course, phonetic reduction may result as its information value decreases (2004:17). The Japanese polite auxiliary *–mas*(*u*) (< *mairasuru*) and polite copula *desu* (possibly derived from *de sɔɔ*, in contemporary Japanese at times contracted to *su*) are cases in point. The phonetic reduction found in some Japanese imperative-based strategies (*nasare* > *na*, *kudasare*(*i/yo*) > *kudasai*) may be connected to such processes of devaluation.

In their discussion of processes of semantic change, Traugott and Dasher note of Japanese honorifics that "originally respectful meanings may become devalued through regular application (for euphemistic purposes) to less respected referents" (2002:55). Their chosen example is *omae* (HON-front) which, while originally referring to the location of a god or emperor, is now used as a highly informal second person pronoun that lacks any honorific connotations. An analogous process of devaluation likely underlies the following case, brought up by Waltereit (2011) with reference to Keller's theory:

> […] the prestige decline of the Old High German high-status noun *vrouwe* 'lady', which became the natural *Frau* 'woman' in Modern German, was triggered by a politeness strategy where speakers tended to extend the usage of *vrouwe* also to address women of lower social status, thereby assuring themselves obvious advantages in the communication. (2011:415)

Mori's discussion of diachronic change in imperative directive strategies based on *–te kudasaru* was briefly mentioned in chapter 8. While their early functional profile centered on requests to superiors (2010:82-83), their usage has gradually extended to the point where they can in contemporary Japanese be used in addressee-benefit directives (advice, etc.) to socially inferior addressees (2010:86). This development, along with their current displacement by benefactive interrogatives in their original function (see section 2 of this chapter), seems amenable to an explanation in terms of unintentional devaluation. As will be discussed in more detail below, changes in the Japanese honorific system may have paved the way for such devaluation. Traugott and Dasher make an interesting observation:

> [Late Middle Japanese] speakers use *kudasaru* to award social superiority, not only to obviously high ranking members of society, but also to second and third person subject referents to whom they think a deferential attitude may be appropriate in a particular situation. (2002:250-251)

They give an example from a *kyoogen* play in which a servant addresses a (fraudulent) merchant using *–te kudasarei*, stating that merchants were comparatively low in status at the time and that the "selection of honorifics is subjective and determined by each [speaker's] assessment of the […] situation" (2002:252).

While on this topic, some further comments on *–te kudasaru* and usage change in imperatives are in order. In chapter 8 we touched upon Mori's statement that the usage profile of benefactive imperatives can be explained in terms of grammaticalization towards expressing politeness (2010:88). If true, this would constitute an example of Traugottian intersubjectification, in which "once subjectified, [meanings are] recruited to encode meanings centred on the addressee" (Traugott 2010:35). Mori claims that although the use of *–te kudasai* towards inferiors is rare in texts written by authors born in the late 1800s, it becomes widespread in authors born during the 1940s (2010:86). Nonetheless, when asked to think of contexts for the use of *–te kudasai*, informants interviewed by the present author typically bring up speaker-benefit directives towards a socially superior addressee as their first example.

Traugott and Dasher trace the development of *kudasaru* from movement verb 'send down' to subjectified referent honorific (2002:246-252). While they acknowledge development into addressee honorifics (i.e. intersubjectification) in various cases such as *sooroo* and *–mas*(*u*), they do not include *kudasaru* in their chart of forms that have developed into addressee honorifics (2002:259). As stated in chapter 8, my position is that *–te kudasai* retains referent honorific and benefactive functionality rather than being "polite" (addressee honorific) on the level of semantics. I argue that the change in addressee profile discussed by Mori, along with the extension of *–te kudasai* to non speaker-benefit directives, falls under the heading of Traugott's "increased pragmatic intersubjectivity":

> […] what may look like it is a case of intersubjectification actually may not be. If it is derivable from the context, it is only a case of increased pragmatic intersubjectivity. In other words, there may be more addressee-oriented uses, but unless a form–meaning pair has come to code intersubjectivity, we are not seeing intersubjectification […] (Traugott 2010:37).

We will now discuss some of the background factors or "ecological conditions"[110] that may have influenced the development of the directive strategies of Japanese. We proceed from the general to the specific, bearing in mind that the various factors are interdependent.

On the typological level, Japanese is a verb-final, suffixing language with generally agglutinative structure, and expresses formality/honorification morphologically (all of which are features that are found in other languages in its geographical vicinity). This sets the general parameters within which linguistic change has occurred. Tranter brings up the following connection between Japanese and Korean:

> The need to use a verb ending that marks the correct speech level has in both Japanese and Korean arguably contributed to a tendency to use incomplete sentences to avoid the need to choose an appropriate style marker while also expressing a request without an explicit request form or achieving some other specific pragmatic effect. (2012:9)

In this case, linguistic structure and sociolinguistic factors (preference for indirectness, etc.) coalesce to create an environment favorable for the formation of interactional strategies through final ellipsis, such as in directive *–te*.

Judging by the state of the current Japanese directive system, avoidance of direct directive speech acts and "overuse" of deferential language have in the past been employed as strategies for achieving interactional success. This entails the existence of interactional conventions that emphasize indirectness and deference. However, conventions change over time. As Japanese societal structure and linguistic conventions for expressing politeness and formality have changed, the directive system has changed with them, creating a gradually shifting set of ecological conditions of considerable complexity. We will here bring up some developments that may have been of particular significance.

An overall factor which can be thought to influence the linguistic expression of interpersonal relations and in turn, directivity, is the gradual move from a rigidly hierarchical societal structure towards one in which negotiated rather than predetermined relationships, along with the desires of the individual, are accorded more significance. Traugott and Dasher (2002:240) write that "In the highly stratified, monolithic court society of […] early periods of Japan, many instances of honorific use reflected status differences that were generally recognized in society". This can be compared with Culpeper and Demmen's statement that for speakers of pre-Modern English, "politeness was more about acknowledging your place in society […] than negotiating face" (2011:59).

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[110] "[The] combined factors which motivate the speakers (or some speakers) of a language to modify their manner of speech or shift their preferences of expression" (Keller 1994:80)

Traugott and Dasher later discuss changes in the honorific system that may be connected to extralinguistic factors, such as changes in the structure of the imperial court, the emergence of a more decentralized feudal society, and the transition towards democracy (2002:262-263). Within the indigenous literature, Hara (2005:23) and Mori (2010:90) bring up the transition from 'absolute' to 'relative' honorifics as a factor in change in directive strategies. This, broadly speaking, means a transition from a system in which the use of respect expressions is governed by objectively discernible, fixed relationships (such as found in different ranks within the imperial court), to a system in which the linguistic expression of respect is more subjectively and situationally determined, as in contemporary Standard Japanese. Note the connection with the use of *kudasaru* discussed above by Traugott and Dasher (2002:250-251).

Hara further argues that the introduction of "request expressions" incorporating benefactivity into the Japanese directive system may be connected with societal change (2005:22-23). In Heian society, communication would take place between members of a closed hierarchical structure (*uchi*), in which questions of authority and benefit in directives would be clear to both parties through the use of different levels of honorification alone. In the Late Middle Japanese period, communication with outsiders (*soto*) became necessary, leading to the necessity of indicating the beneficiary in order to ensure mutual understanding and smooth communication. Mori (2013b:80) mentions the weakening of the hierarchical organization of society as a factor in diachronic change in directive strategies.

A phenomenon that is likely connected to the societal changes discussed above is what Aoki (2012) describes as the gradual development of linguistic means of expressing *hairyo* 'consideration' for the addressee. One example is the use of sentence-initial adverbials that mitigate directive force, such as *yokattara* 'If you like', and *dekireba* 'If [you] can'. This category does not always appear to have been part of the language (2012:50). Aoki further connects the change in the function of non-benefactive imperatives (as described by Mori 2010) with the change in honorific language from centering on rank to placing importance on the relationship between speaker and addressee, i.e. to the development of addressee honorifics or *teineigo* 'polite language' (2012:58).

As for language-internal factors of importance, the emergence of (not only directively employed) benefactive constructions based on verbs of giving during the Late Middle Japanese period (ca. 1300-1600) must, along with changes in the system of honorification proper, be classed as a major development. Mori (2010:87-88) argues that the sociolinguistic importance of making explicit benefit for the speaker seen in Modern Japanese is a factor in the loss of *irai* 'request' functionality in non-benefactive imperatives.

The literature thus allows us to compile a general narrative of how different variables may have influenced the directive system throughout Japanese history. During Old and Early Middle Japanese, interaction between imperative morphology

and strategies of honorification was of central importance. Societal change affecting the linguistic expression of rank would in turn have had an effect on means of issuing directives. As for the incorporation of benefactive imperatives during Late Middle Japanese, the transition to a comparatively less rigid feudal society can be brought up as a possible factor. Modern Japanese has seen gradual development towards a system that deemphasizes honorific imperatives in favor of benefactive imperatives and (also frequently benefactive) non-imperative strategies such as desideratives and interrogatives. This development may be connected, along with inflationary processes, to changes in feudal society leading to further reduction in hierarchical structure and the need for more face work in public interaction. The transformation of Japan following the Meiji restoration in turn provided a backdrop for societal restructuring that had clear effects on the directive system(s) in place at the time. Comparatively recent processes such as widening of usage in *–te kudasai* to include inferior addressees, as well as the further development of interrogatives and desideratives, invite explanations in terms of democratization and egalitarianism. It can also be speculated as to whether English has had an influence on the current prevalence of interrogative strategies. Still, while they may appear intuitive, narratives of this type remain on the level of what linguists self-deprecatingly refer to as "(just-so) stories". I refer once more to Keller (1994:80):

> Invisible-hand explanations and historical explanations are not alternative forms of explanation, as is sometimes claimed; on the contrary, historical explanations represent (among other things) possible factors that influence the communicative actions of the speakers. However, the explanation must always be based on individual actions. *There is no direct route from historical facts to linguistic facts which could claim to be an explanation.* [my emphasis]

A detailed study of Japanese directives that takes general functionalist models of linguistic change into account remains, to my knowledge, unwritten.

# 4. The imperative as quasi-archaism

In the variety of "Late Late Middle Japanese" (Frellesvig 2010:299) described by João Rodrigues, imperative and volitional morphology interacts with honorification to produce a number of directive forms, listed by Rodrigues from least to most respectful. Table 9-1 below is derived from Doi (1955:61), Frellesvig (2010:369-370), and Osterkamp (2013).

Table 9-1.
Directive strategies in Late Middle Japanese

| ***Aguru* 'give'** | |
|---|---|
| *age-i, age-yo* | give-IMP |
| *age-sasim-e* | give-HON-IMP |
| *age-sa-i* | give-HON-IMP |
| *age-sase-mas-e* | give-CAUS-POL-IMP |
| *age-rare-i* | give-PASS-IMP |
| *o-age-ar-e* | HON-give-be-IMP |
| *o-age-ar-ɔɔ* | HON-give-be-VOL |
| *age-sase-rare-i* | give-CAUS-PASS-IMP |
| *o-age-nasare-i* | HON-give-HON-IMP |
| *o-age-nasar-yoo* | HON-give-HON-VOL |

Throughout the history of Japanese, formal variation in directive strategies has been linked to the variation in honorific strategies. Because of the impositive nature of directivity and factors of diachronic change, this relationship need not have been wholly transparent. For instance, the form *agesasime* seen above, although incorporating honorification, is reported by Rodrigues to be practically on the same level of impoliteness as the naked imperative (Doi 1955:60). It can nonetheless be argued that there is in contemporary Japanese a disconnect between *–e* (*ro*) imperative morphology and the system of linguistic politeness that was not always present. Imperative inflection cannot (except in lexicalized phrases and old-fashioned, super-polite usages) combine with morphological addressee honorification, which is perhaps the most important component of the system.

(1) *Ik-i-mas-e / Ik-e.
go-INF-POL-IMP / go-IMP
'Go!'

Additionally, the honorific forms that occur in imperatives are typically phonetically reduced, and do not exactly mirror the patterns of honorification that occur in declaratives (see the discussion of *–nasar(u)* in chapter 8).

Aikhenvald (2010:339-341, 362) discusses the conservative nature of imperatives, stating that "[i]mperative forms tend to resist change" and that "[t]he second person canonical imperative – the most basic of all commands – tends to preserve archaic features" (2010:362). This holds true for Japanese. Frellesvig (2010:326) informs us that the only finite verb form to survive the transition from Early Middle to Late

Middle Japanese was the imperative. As the grammar and directive system of Japanese have evolved around it, the morphological imperative has remained.

In my view, the morphological imperative (here meaning both the imperative form of lexical verbs (e.g. *tabero*, *ike*) as a paradigmatic entity, and the naked imperative as a directive strategy) is best understood as a formal and functional leftover from a previous language state – a quasi-archaism. Campbell and Mixco (2007:15) define 'archaism' as "[a] form or construction characteristic of a past form of a language, a vestige, that survives chiefly in specialized uses". While *yare* 'Do (it)!' certainly has more life left to it than *thou* and third person *–eth*, some examples of English archaisms given by Campbell and Mixco, in an extended sense the description applies. The morphological imperative is formally and functionally old, its usage range as a directive strategy likely declining. "[Surviving] chiefly in specialized uses" is not an inaccurate characterization of its role in spoken Japanese.

What is here meant by "functionally old"? As discussed above, Mori (2010, 2013a:11, 2013b:76) emphasizes benefactivity as a factor in the reduced politeness value of directives issued using the imperative form. However, from a wider perspective the current role of the Japanese naked imperative is due to a process that can be argued to have begun in prehistory, through the development of honorification in pre-Old Japanese language states. Imperatives are extremely common grammatical constructions throughout the world's languages, morphological honorifics less so. Although honorifics are attested in the oldest varieties of Japanese known to us, it can be assumed that there was a stage in which the ancestor(s) of Japanese had a basic positive directionality imperative construction (although its formal realization would not have been the *–e* (*ro*) morphology seen today) but not honorification.

As categories relating to interpersonal relationships (referent honorification, addressee honorification, and benefactivity) developed in Japanese and were incorporated into directive speech act conventions, the naked imperative has become more and more functionally marked by being formally *un*marked for these parameters. As a directive strategy, it has become less and less well adapted to the general communicative needs of its users. Whereas the wider category of *–e* (*ro*)-based imperatives has historically kept pace with development through the addition of honorific and/or benefactive components (e.g. *–tama-e, –nasar-e, –te kudasar-e*), it appears that this process has reached its endpoint in contemporary Japanese. Characterization as a quasi-archaism also captures the fact that *–e* (*ro*) morphology is no longer productive in generating new directive strategies.

# 5. Preservatory factors

In this chapter we have discussed reduction in the use of the imperative as described in the literature, and characterized the naked imperative as a quasi-archaism. While it is a leftover, it is also a survivor. If the naked imperative is so contextually restricted and so face-threatening, why does it still exist? Below is given a list of applications that make up its functional niche. They can be said to constitute its reasons for remaining part of contemporary Japanese.

1. Use within hierarchical structures (e.g. father to son, martial arts instructor to student)
2. Use in contexts involving (purposeful) impoliteness, coercion, or urgency[111]
3. Use as a sociolinguistic marker of male or rough speech style in spoken language (leading to applications such as positive politeness)
4. Use in role language, i.e. fictional representation of (predominantly male) speech[112]
5. Use in constructed dialogue/reported speech as a means of attitudinal representation (signifying properties such as authority, coercion, or impoliteness)
6. Use as a directive quotative in situations involving ingroup members or in informal contexts, where inclusion of attitudinal content is inappropriate (e.g. avoidance of self-benefactivity) or unnecessary
7. Use in denials of directive or coercive intent (overlapping with 5, 6)
8. Use in contexts involving lack of attitudinal marking due to absence of specific addressee and/or speaker: written instructions, shouted slogans in protests (overlapping with 9, 10)
9. Use in written registers that lack addressee and referent honorification (see discussion in chapter 7 on detached speech styles) and applications influenced by these: juridical documents, proverbs, etc. (overlapping with 8, 10)

[111] As for urgency, see Okada (2008) on the naked imperative as used by a female boxing coach (overlapping with 1).

[112] See Smith (1992:70) for a chart illustrating the frequency of naked imperatives in a sample of animated children's TV shows.

10. Use in grammaticalized and otherwise conventionalized environments (e.g. concessives, proverbs) which preserve the morphological imperative in form if not necessarily in function

The features of the naked imperative (formally compact but also distinctive, lack of benefactivity and honorification) that render it problematic in other contexts conversely make it suitable for usages such as clarification of directive or coercive intent, the expression of urgency and impoliteness, and utilization in situations lacking a specific speaker or addressee. Moreover, conventions involving the use of the naked imperative in a given context may be difficult to break (an extreme example being lexicalized usages). The naked imperative would thus seem to have a viable niche. It can be hypothesized that while contemporary Japanese may be phasing out directive main clause uses of the naked imperative, the abovementioned factors are impeding this process.

The future of the naked imperative has been discussed by Mizutani (2011:191), who predicts its (further) decrease in use and possible disappearance. If we too allow ourselves to speculate about the future, one possible scenario for the imperative verb form lies in its restriction to non-matrix clauses as a dedicated directive reportative. This would be reminiscent of the fate of present indicatives in various languages, retained as subjunctives following their replacement in main clauses (see Haspelmath 1998). As for the successor of the naked imperative as a main clause "default" imperative construction, directive *–te* appears likely. Still, even in the event that the naked imperative were to be lost as a directive strategy or phased out entirely as a productive inflectional form in the spoken language, remnants of its previous usage would remain in grammaticalized/lexicalized concessives (*ni seyo* 'even if..' *osokare hayakare* 'sooner or later'), proverbs, fixed expressions (*migi ni narae* 'imitate others') and other more or less directive-like lexicalizations (*irasshai* 'welcome' *mottekoi* 'perfect (for something)'). It would then join the likes of other archaisms such as epistemic *–(y)oo*, negative volitional/epistemic *–(r)u mai*, and the classical or literary negation *–zu*.

The scenario laid out above remains conjecture. Because we do not know which factors will influence Japanese speakers in the future, the development of its directive system cannot be predicted. Further, the naked imperative, while functionally hemmed in, is not currently a moribund construction. Japanese children are exposed to a high frequency of naked imperatives via role language, and there is no evidence that contemporary speakers of Japanese are unfamiliar with the imperative form on a morphological level. Informants (both male and female) do state that they, on occasion, use the naked imperative as a directive strategy. As a concluding note of caution about predicting linguistic change, we turn to Keller one last time:

> One can venture to forecast that the unstressed syllables in German will continue to disappear but it cannot be predicted that *haben* will have become *ham* in a few hundred years. It can only be guessed at. Invisible-hand theories do not have a prognostic value in the sense in which physical theories have a prognostic value, and this is because of the impossibility of predicting the premisses [*sic*]. They enable us, however, to make trend extrapolations: 'If this or that is the case, people will behave in this or that way, and then such-and-such structures will emerge.' (Keller 1994:70-71)

# 6. Summary

This chapter has addressed the "why" of Japanese imperatives, situating the model of imperative function laid out in chapter 7 in a diachronic-functionalist context. While specific factors such as the typological profile of Japanese and developments in Japanese society are relevant as explanatory factors, the directive system was also characterized as the product of invisible-hand processes that underlie the development of linguistic systems in general. Cross-linguistic investigation of what may be a widespread trend towards increasing indirectness in directives and assessments of the possible influence of Western languages on Japanese directive strategies constitute potential research prospects for the future.

The wide perspective taken here has, in addition, allowed us to speculate about the future of imperative clause type in Japanese. The category of 'imperative', viewed in general terms, appears to be doing well as evidenced by the prevalence of constructions such as *–te* and *–te kudasai*. However, its prototypical representative, the naked imperative, has here been characterized as a formal and functional throwback around which a variety of strategies have formed which in many ways replace it. As for its future, only time will tell. *Naru yoo ni nare*: let the cards fall where they may.[113]

[113] Literally 'Become-IMP the way it becomes.'

*Chapter 10.*

# Conclusion

## 1. Contributions

This thesis has examined the imperative as an object of study within general linguistics, and explored Japanese imperatives from various points of departure. This includes corpus-based and elicitation-based synchronic surveys, as well as studies informed by grammaticalization theory and the functionalist approach to linguistic change. To my knowledge, the present work constitutes the most comprehensive single treatment of the Japanese imperative available within general or Japanese indigenous linguistics.

Although the empirical enquiries have centred on the Japanese imperative, I have, in addition, aimed at contributing to general linguistic theory. A terminological apparatus for the description and analysis of imperatives and other directive strategies was introduced in chapter 2, including the proposal that the range of conventional directive strategies in a language be termed its 'directive system'. In chapter 3 I presented evidence from Japanese that may provide an empirical constraint on proposals of universal imperative semantics in terms of potentiality. The world gap model constitutes a (hopefully) innovative approach to the imperative within semantic theory.

Chapter 6 examined Japanese imperatives from the perspective of corpus linguistics. To an extent, this chapter constitutes a meta-critique of the illocutionary approach itself. This, along with the methodological thrust of chapter 7, can be viewed as an affirmation of the continued value of qualitative, intuition-based methodologies within semantics-pragmatics. It was further suggested in chapter 6 that the inclusion of a parameter that indicates the researcher's degree of confidence in an illocutionary classification might be useful for illocution-based studies.

The thesis also draws attention to the important role of imperatives in reporting directives. Chapter 6 presents a large-scale quantitative attempt at distinguishing between performatively and descriptively used imperatives in discourse. As far as I am aware, this represents an innovation which may be applied to corpus studies of other

languages, although (as has been discussed) in the case of Japanese the method is not without its hazards.

The analysis of Japanese imperatives presented in chapter 7 represents a contribution to general linguistics mainly in terms of evidence supporting the stance that imperatives can embed. In addition, the possibility of treating the imperative contribution to sentence meaning as non-illocutionary can be viewed as supporting non-directive semantics for imperatives in general. Connections were also drawn between certain features of imperatives in Japanese and Korean.

A recurring message throughout the thesis has been that descriptive and terminological conventions within Japanese linguistics serve to – at least partially – obscure the functional versatility of imperatives. That being said, much of the thesis consists of a synthesis of material from indigenous research and general linguistic theory. Examples include the layered model proposed in chapter 7, as well as the diachronic-functionalist account of historical change in Japanese imperatives presented in chapter 9.

## 2. Prospects

Future avenues of research were suggested in the concluding sections of chapters 6 and 9. Other prospects are outlined below.

One goal is integrating the world gap model presented in chapter 3 into established theoretical frameworks, and further developing its potential as an alternative to current explanatory proposals. Another possibility lies in exploring the applicability of the layered model of imperative functionality to languages other than Japanese.

As for Japanese linguistics, it would be interesting to examine whether a model in which honorification is implemented as an attitudinal layer removed from the state-of-affairs content can be applied to earlier language states. The question is worthy of consideration from the perspective of processes of (inter)subjectification in specific strategies that encode personal relations. A relevant factor is the shift in the honorific system as a whole from absolute to relative honorification.

A second prospect is the further analysis of reported imperatives and directives, aiming at disentangling the factors that underlie the choice between different strategies. A corpus approach examining the role of reported directives in different textual genres as well as within individual texts might here be useful. Authentic examples of reported directives can occur outside of dialogue, allowing for the use of spoken-language corpora such as the monologue-oriented Corpus of Spontaneous Japanese.[114]

[114] https://www.ninjal.ac.jp/english/products/csj/

Finally, in order to understand imperatives we must consider them in terms of their role within the functional paradigm as a whole. Deriving from the terminological and theoretical foundation presented in the present thesis, a monograph-length descriptive treatment of the directive system of Japanese would have educational value while also representing a source of data for comparative linguistics.

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Imperatives are the chief grammatical exponents of one of the basic types of utterance: statements, questions, and commands. This thesis investigates how imperatives in Japanese fit into the cross-linguistic scheme of things and, more importantly, whether and how they stand out. Its aim is to advance our understanding not only of Japanese imperatives, but of imperatives in general. *The Japanese Imperative* offers a monographic treatment of Japanese imperative constructions from the perspective of general linguistics, making use of a range of indigenous sources as well as recent developments in the typology and semantic theory of imperatives and directives. The subject relates to several fields, such as linguistic typology, the semantics-pragmatics interface, and language change.

A terminological apparatus for the description and analysis of imperatives and directives is provided, including the proposal that the range of conventional directive strategies in a language be termed its 'directive system'. Among other contributions, the thesis presents a layered model of semantics-pragmatics interaction in Japanese imperatives. The model is inspired by the indigenous as well as the general linguistic traditions. Japanese imperative constructions are, in addition, discussed from a diachronic viewpoint. The shifting realization of directivity in Japanese is accounted for in terms of processes that underlie historical change throughout the languages of the world.


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