

Commands in Deni (arawá)
Comandos em Deni (arawá)

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ABSTRACT

All languages provide to its speakers mechanisms for expressing a command. The way in which languages express commands is, however, different. This paper focus on Deni, an Arawá languages spoken in southern Amazon – Amazonas state, Brazil – by about 1,500 people who live in nine villages, six on the Cuniuá river and three on the Xeruã river. Deni has basically two ways for making a command: (i) morphologically, attaching a imperative morpheme to a verb root; and (ii) lexically, by suppletive forms and manner adverbs. The four imperative morphemes identified in the database are divided into canonical imperatives, which are only directed to the second person, and non-canonical imperatives, which are directed to first person. Whereas canonical imperatives can be negated, non-canonical imperatives only have the positive form. Furthermore, imperatives are used under cultural constrains, given that the non-polite imperative is a rude way of making and command and, hence, has a limited usage according with people involved in the conversation. Suppletive forms are used in a different way when compared to verbs. They are mostly used by themselves along with gestures and are quite different from verbs – whilst verbs have a very rich morphology, suppletive forms do not take any morpheme. Manner adverbs have also been attested in command constructions. They are used for making a command in relation to an activity which has already begun.

KEYWORDS: Deni language; commands; imperatives.

RESUMO

Todas as línguas fornecem a seus falantes mecanismos para expressar um comando. A maneira em que as línguas expressam comandos é, porém, diferente. Este artigo foca no Deni, uma língua falada no sul da Amazônia – estado do Amazonas, Brasil – por aproximadamente 1.500 pessoas que vivem em nove aldeias, seis no rio Cuniuá e três no Xeruã. Deni tem basicamente duas formas para fazer um comando: (i) morfológicamente, anexando um morfema imperativo à raiz do verbo; e (ii) lexicalmente, por formas supletivas e advérbios de modo. Os quatro imperativos identificados na base de dados são divididos em canônicos, que são somente direcionados à segunda pessoa, e não-canônicos, que são direcionados à primeira pessoa. Enquanto imperativos canônicos podem ser negados, imperativos não-canônicos têm somente a forma positiva. Além disso, imperativos são usados sob restrições culturais, dado que o imperativo não-polido é uma forma rude de fazer um comando e, portanto, tem um uso limitado de acordo com as pessoas envolvidas na conversação. Formas supletivas são usadas em diferentes formas quando comparadas a verbos. Elas são principalmente usadas por si só acompanhadas de gestos e são bastante diferentes de verbos – enquanto verbos têm uma morfologia muito rica, formas supletivas não tomam nenhum morfema. Advérbios de modo também têm sido atestados em construções de comando. Eles são usados para fazer um comando em relação a uma atividade que já começou.

PALAVRAS-CHAVE: Língua Deni; comandos; imperativos.

1 Introduction

Language and culture are entwined. In determined aspects of a language, cultural features may be seen much more clearly, such as in the lexicon, which reflects the world where the language is spoken in. Lexicon is partially open and may receive new words as consequence of changes in the surrounding world where the language is spoken. For instance, when an object such as a weapon is introduced in and adopted by a culture, this reflects a

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change in such culture. As there is a new entity in the world, the people need to name it to be able to refer to it. Cross-linguistically, languages behave in two different ways regarded to this: (i) besides loan the entity, languages also loan the name, adapting it to their grammar (phonology, morphology and syntax); (ii) languages create a word to refer to this new entity. In both cases, the culture and the language changed. The culture changes, the language changes.

Unlike the lexicon, the grammar is much more restrictive as concerns the changes. Undoubtedly, the grammar changes, but not as frequent as nor in the same degree that the lexicon does change. However, it is also possible to see cultural features in the grammar. Grammatical constructions may be constrained or licensed in consonance with the cultural practices of the speech communities, which offers us clues about how such communities are socially organized. For instance, in Yankunytjatjara, an Australian language, parents-in-law cannot make a request for food directly addressed to the son-in-law (AIKHENVALD, 2015, p. 298). Yankunytjatjara includes, hence, a constraining of a grammatical construction according to people involved in the communicative process. Similarly, Deni includes constraining related to constructions expressing commands, since depending of the people who are involved in the communicative act, determined types of commands are licensed or constrained, as we will see in §5.

Deni is an Arawá language currently spoken by about 1.500 people who live in nine villages, six on Cuniuá river and three on Xuruã river, all of them located in southern Amazonia, in Amazonas State, Brazil. The Arawá family includes Kulina, which is closely related to Deni, Madi, which consists of three dialects: Jarawara, Jamamadi and Banawá, Sorowahá and Paumarí. The Arawá language, which gave its name to the family, is known from an 1866 word list and it has been extinct since 1877. Dixon (1999, 2004), Everett (1995), Dienst (2008), and Carvalho (2013a) offer a classification of the Arawá family; a summary is provided by Aikhenvald (2012, p. 56) and Carvalho (2013b, p. 91). A comprehensive list of older sources about these languages is in Dixon (2006).¹

This paper investigates the ways in which Deni language expresses commands exploring the grammar-culture interface in such constructions. For that, this paper is organized as follows: in §2 I offer the verb types and the basic clause structure in Deni. Since the typical way of expressing a command in Deni is through a imperative morpheme attached

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to the verb root, in §3 I provide schemes on subclass I and subclass II verb structures. I turn then to the commands in Deni in §4, dealing with different categories in imperatives in §4.1, such as canonical positive imperative (§4.1.1), canonical negative imperative (§4.1.2), and non-canonical imperative (§4.1.3). Commands strategies are dealt with in §4.2, pointing out the suppletive forms (§4.2.1) and the manner adverbs (§4.2.2) which are used to express command. §5 contains a discussion of the grammar-culture interface on commands in Deni. Finally, the conclusions reached in this paper are included in §6.²

2. Verb types and clause basic structure

There are three types of verbs in Deni which are set out according with principles outlined by Dixon (2010, p. 123):

(a) *strictly intransitive verbs*, which may occur only in intransitive clauses having only one obligatory argument, the subject (S), such as illustrated in (1). Clauses in which strictly intransitive verbs occur in may have an optional peripheral argument that is typically marked by case. Examples of strictly intransitive verbs in Deni are *-kidza* ‘to defecate’, *hupa-* ‘to run’.

(b) *strictly transitive verbs*, which may occur only in transitive clauses with two obligatory arguments, the subject of transitive clauses (A) and the object (O), as in (2). Clauses containing strictly transitive verbs may have an optional peripheral argument which is typically marked by case. Examples of strictly transitive verbs are *te-* ‘to shoot’, and *-kadapi* ‘to eat fruit’.

(c) *ambitransitive verbs of type S = A*, which can occur in both transitive and intransitive clauses with the S of a transitive clause being the A of a transitive one. An example of ambitransitive verb in Deni is *-navatu* ‘to know’.

(1) puni kidzaru

² The data presented here has been obtained in Deni-speaking villages in four fieldtrips from 2011 to 2015. The 30-hours database includes histories of daily activities, myths, songs, fieldnotes, and elicited data which has been transcribed in field. Since the phonology-morphology interface is not my focus in this paper, I have adopted the three-line system for examples in which the first line of each example includes the a version of a practical orthography based on the Deni phonological system that contains fifteen consonants and four vowels (cf. CARVALHO, 2013a): p = /p/; b = /b/; t = /t/; d = /d/; k = /k/; ph = /p^h/; th = /t^h/; kh = /k^h/; v = /v/; h = /h/; m = /m/; n = /n/; r = /r/; ts = /ts/; dz = /dz/; a = /a/; e = /e/; i = /i/; u = /u/. The abbreviations used here are the followings: Abbreviations: 1, 2, 3 = first, second, third person; A = subject of transitive clause; adj = adjectiviser; dat = dative; EMPH = emphasis; F = feminine; FUT = future; HORT = hortative; ITER = iterative; LOC = locative; M = masculine; NEG = negation; nca = noun class agreement; NFUT = non-future; NPI = non-polite imperative; O = object; OPA = optional peripheral argument; PI = polite imperative; PL = plural; POSS = possession; REDUP = reduplication; S = subject of intransitive clause; SG = singular; SUGG = suggestive; VCM = verbal class marking.

puni Ø-kidza-ru
3f 3-defecate-nfut.f
'She defecated.'

(2) Pidzevi tsipari kadapiari
Pidzevi tsipari Ø-kadapi-ari
Pidzevi.m banana 3-eat.fruit-nfut.m
'Pidzevi ate banana.'

(3) unavaturaru
u-navatu-ra-aru
1sg-know-neg-nfut.f
'I do not know (Portuguese).'

Deni has two basic types of clauses, which are transitive and intransitive. Transitive clauses require two obligatory arguments of which one plays the A function and the other one plays the O function. Intransitive clauses have only one obligatory argument which plays the S function. Examples (4-7) illustrate different types of clauses in Deni. The syntactic function and the predicate are given between brackets in the second line of these examples.

(4) Labreadza uvadaru
Labrea-dza (OPA) u-vad-aru (IP)
Labrea-loc 1sg-live-nfut.f
'I did live in Labrea (city).'

(5) ukhatukha udza ukanavatuaru
ukha-tu=kha udza (O) u-ka-navatu-aru (TP)
1sg.pos-mother.in.law house 1sg-nca-build-nfut.f
'I did build my mother-in-law's house.'

(6) uvadza kaneta tia dataru
uva-dza (OPA) kaneta (O) tia (A) da-ta-ru (TP)
1sg-dat pen 2 give-2-nfut.f
'You gave me a pen.'

(7) dzume Diivi dzeditutuvi
dzume (OPA) Diivi (S) dzedi-tu-tuvi (IP)
night Diivi.m hunt-3-fut
'Diivi will hunt at night.'

Example in (4) includes an intransitive clause in which the subject *uva* 'I' is elliptical but marked on the verb. All verbs in Deni bear person marking, which enable that the argument in A or O function may be omitted, such as illustrated in (4) and (5). The optional peripheral argument in (4) is marked by case. This typically occurs (cf. example in (6)), but it is by no means a rule. If the optional peripheral argument is an adverb, as included in (7), it is

not marked by case. Optional peripheral arguments typically occur in the first position of the clause (cf. (4) and (6)), but they may occur in different positions within the clause depending of pragmatic matters.

The constituent order within a clause is flexible and pragmatically determined. Similarly to Jarawara (cf. DIXON, 2004), Deni includes A-constructions, in which the A argument triggers gender agreement on the verb, and O-constructions, in which the O argument triggers gender agreement on the verb. Then, it is not uncommon to find AOV and OAV clauses. In both cases, the verb occupies the last position in the clause. Deni is, hence, a verb-final language.

3. Verb structure

Deni verbal morphology is a highly synthetic and predominantly composed by suffixes. Whereas syntactically verbs are the head of predicate, semantically they typically express actions, states and natural phenomena. There are a plenty of morphemes which may be attached to the verb root in Deni. Every verb is obligatorily marked by person according with its subject (A/S). The person marker may be a prefix, as illustrated in (4) and (5), or a suffix, as shown in (6) and (7). Cross-reference of person is very frequent in Deni.

Adopting a morphological viewpoint, verbs in Deni may be assigned to two different subclasses: subclass I encompasses those verbs in which the person marking precedes the verb root, whilst subclass II contains verbs that the person marking follows the verb root. Although all verbs that belong to the subclass II has the root ended by a vowel and the majority of verbs that belong to the subclass I has the root ended by a consonant – which could led us to postulate a phonological conditioning – there are a considerable number of verbs which belong to the subclass I whose root ends in vowel, such as *-kadapi* ‘to eat fruit’ - *nadzuke* ‘to beat with bar’, *-peme* ‘to be hungry’. Hence, the position of the person marking is not determined by the ending of the verb root.

Schemes 1 and 2 include the structure of verbs that belong to the subclasses I and II, respectively.

Scheme 1: Subclass I verb structure

Slot 1	Slot 2	Slot 3	Slot 4	Slot 5	Slot 6	Slot 7
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Person	NCA	Root	Negation	Multifunctional	Aspect	Interrogative
				Conditional	Tense	
				Modality		
				Imperative		

Scheme 2: Subclass II verb structure

Slot 1	Slot 2	Slot 3	Slot 4	Slot 5	Slot 6	Slot 7	Slot 8
Root	Person	NCA	VCN	Negation	Multifunctional	Aspect	Interrogative
					Conditional	Tense	
					Modality		
					Imperative		

In scheme 1, slots 1 and 3 are obligatorily filled in every verbal word. However, besides these two slots, at least one category assigned into either the slot 5 or 6 must be filled to form the smallest verbal word. In other words, the smallest subclass I verbal word requires that at least three slots (1, 3 and one category of either slot 5 or 6) be filled. The verb in example (4) illustrates the smallest subclass I verbal word. Slot 2 in scheme 1 is only filled in case the head of NP in A or O function in the clause that the verb occurs is a *ka*-noun.³ Slot 4 is optional and filled in negative constructions, such as imperative negative constructions.

Categories assigned into the slot 5 in scheme 1 cannot co-occur and do block the occurrence of categories in the following slots (6 and 7). The imperative category, which is the focus of our discussion here, do not allow the occurrence of other category assigned into the slot 5 nor do it allow the occurrence of categories in slots 6 and 7. There is only one exception for that, which is the iterative aspect. This aspect co-occurs with the polite imperative and precedes it in the verbal word. One could then claims that categories in slots 5 and 6 in scheme 6 should be changed. Nevertheless, this is the only case in which such thing happens. The great majority follows the structure shown in scheme 1.

Slot 6 in scheme 1 has aspect and tense categories assigned to. Deni includes several aspectual morphemes of which some can co-occur and some cannot. For instance, the iterative aspect is the most eclectic aspectual morpheme in that it may co-occur with many different morphemes in the verbal word, even with imperative – as just mentioned – which typically blocks the occurrence of other morphemes in the verbal word. In interrogative

³ Deni includes a *ka*-subclass of nouns which triggers noun class agreement in its modifiers within the NP, such as adjectives, numerals, but also on the verb that functions as head of predicate in the clause that the *ka*-noun occurs in. Morphologically, *ka*-nouns have the same structure that free (alienable) nouns. This subclass is also attested in other Arawá languages, such as Paumarí (cf. CHAPMAN AND DERBYSHIRE, 1990) and Kulina (cf. DIENST, 2014, p. 85). Aikhenvald (2012, p. 250) mentions that in younger people’s Paumarí the *ka*-subclass appears to be becoming obsolete. Dienst (2014, p. 88) points out that in Kulina the *ka*-subclass is losing ground synchronically. This also seems to be the case for Deni, since young speakers do not make the agreement as frequent as old speaker do it. Further details of the *ka*-subclass in Deni is in Carvalho (forthcoming).

constructions, the interrogative morpheme occupies the last position in the verbal word, following typically the tense markers (either non-future or future).

Turning the discussion to the subclass II verb structure, the slots 1 and 2 are always filled in scheme 2. However, to form the smallest subclass II verbal word, besides slot 1 and 2, at least one of categories assigned to slots 6 and 7 must occur. That is, the smallest subclass II verbal word is composed by at least three categories, such as the verb in (6). Slot 4 is typically filled, except in future constructions, when such slot is not filled. There is a morphophonological process involving the second person and the verbal class marking in Deni. What in the underlying level is a *ti + na* (second person + verbal class marking), in the surface level is *-ta* (cf. (6)). An in-depth discussion of this process from a phonological viewpoint is in Carvalho (2013b, p. 89-92).

Slot 5 optional and only filled in negative constructions, such as imperative negative constructions. As claimed for categories assigned into the slot 5 in scheme 1, categories in slot 6 scheme 2 cannot co-occur and do block the occurrence of categories in the following slots (7 and 8). Slot 7 includes several aspectual morphemes of which some can co-occur together in the verbal word and some cannot co-occur. Besides aspect, slot 7 also includes the two tenses markings (non-future and future), which typically precede the interrogative markings, justifying the assignment of interrogative morphemes in the last slot in the verbal word.

As mentioned above, the position of the person marking (which is obligatory for all verbs in Deni) is the criterion for assigning the membership into either the verb subclass I or the verb subclass II. Person affixes on verbs in Deni are given in table 1. Since most verbs in the database are assigned to subclass II (person marking as suffix), I have included the prefix markings in Table 1 between brackets.

Table 1: *Person markings on verbs*

<i>Person</i>	Regular		Directed	
	<i>Singular</i>	<i>Plural</i>	<i>Singular</i>	<i>Plural</i>
1	-u[-]	-i[-]	-a[-]	-e[-]
2	-ti[-]	-ti[-]	-te[-]	-te[-]
3f	-Ø[-]/-tu[-]/-ni[-]	-Ø[-]/-tu[-]/-ni[-]	-ka[-]/-ta[-]	-ka[-]/-ta[-]
3m	-Ø[-]/-tu[-]/-ni[-]	-Ø[-]/-tu[-]/-ni[-]	-ka[-]/-ta[-]	-ka[-]/-ta[-]

Regular forms are rather more frequent in the database than directed forms. There is quite a few number of verbs that may take any of the regular or directed forms, with a

semantic difference. The verb *-kha*, for instance, means ‘to go’ with a regular person marking, whereas it means ‘to bring, to take’ when it takes a directed person marking. The majority of verbs take either regular or directed forms.

In all the pronominal system, the third person includes variation. Notice that in table 1 the third person has three different forms for regular person markings. Whereas the morpheme *-Ø[-]* is the most frequently used to mark third person, the morpheme *-tu[-]* is attested as a person marker in about eight verbs in Deni (six belonging to the subclass II (‘to hunt’, ‘to run’, ‘to bite’, ‘to take down’, ‘to bubble’, ‘to see’) and two belonging to the subclass I (‘to be’ and ‘to walk’)). There is a certain similarity with Jarawara, language that includes the prefix *to-* which has two related but different meanings: (a) movement away from a place; (b) change of state, change away from a certain state (cf. Dixon 2004: 102-105). Besides these two forms, *-ni* is also attested marking third person on verbs belonging to the subclass II in the future tense. The only occurrence of *ni-* in a verb that belongs to subclass I in the database was with *-ha* ‘to be’, in which it is also used in the non-future tense.⁴

Another interesting feature of Deni personal affixes is that the second person both regular and directed is the only one which does not include differences in respect to number. Since singular and plural have the same form, the context provides the clues for interpretation as either singular or plural.

4. Commands

Every language provides to its speakers mechanisms to make a statement, to ask a question or to give a command for someone to do something. These three mechanisms represent three types of speech acts widely known as declarative, interrogative and imperative moods, which may have a special syntactic construction and either a special particle or an affix marking a speech act type (AIKHENVALD, 2015, p. 132). It is not uncommon a linguistic category to have counterpart in the real world. Aikhenvald (2010, p. 2) points out that “the idea of ‘time’ in the real world translate into ‘tense’ when expressed in a language.” Similarly, gender and evidential are linguistic categories whose counterparts in

⁴ The morpheme *tu-* also occurs with the verb *-ha* ‘to be’. There seems to be a semantic difference in regard to the use of either *tu-* or *ni-* with the verb *-ha* ‘to be’. Under the circumstances *tu-* or *ni-* is used with the verb *-ha* ‘to be’ requires more investigation.

the real word are sex and information source, respectively. Thereby, imperative is a linguistic category and command is its counterpart in the real world. Given that command in Deni is the target in this paper, I will focus on the imperative.

Cross-linguistically, the prototypical command is addressed to the second person. Canonical imperatives comprise commands addressed to two or more participants in the conversations. Commands can also be addressed to another person, such as ‘me’ or ‘us’, called ‘hortative imperative’. Aikhenvald (2010) mentions, however, that these imperatives are non-canonical. Deni includes both canonical and non-canonical imperatives. Besides expressing commands through imperatives, Deni language also provides to its speaker other strategies of making commands, such as the use of suppletive forms and manner adverbs. Given that imperatives are the prototypical commands, I begin with them.

4.1 Imperatives

In Deni, there are basically two forms for expressing a command: (i) morphologically, with a suffix of imperative mood attaching the verbal root; and (ii) lexically, with the usage of interjections or adverbs as command strategies. These forms will be discussed in this section.

4.1.1 Canonical positive imperatives

Canonical imperatives in Deni are non-polite and polite. Non-polite imperative is morphologically encoded by $-\emptyset$, and expresses the strongest command in the Deni language and culture. Examples of non-polite imperative are in (8) and (9).

- (8) tia deni hupata
 tia deni hupa-ta- \emptyset
 2 PL run-2-NPI
 ‘You (pl) run!’
- (9) hedzidza tivada
 hedzi-dza ti-vada- \emptyset
 hammock-LOC2-sleep-NPI
 ‘You (sg) sleep at the hammock!’

In this kind of command, the speaker gives no options to the addressee who must to accomplish the command immediately. Non-polite imperative is used only from parents to children, from older siblings to younger siblings, or from grandparents to grandchildren; this command is only addressed to second person both singular and plural.

Differently, polite imperative is by far the most frequent form to expressing a command in the Deni language, being used from adults to adults, and from adults to children without kin relation. This imperative is standard response for permissive modality encoded

by the permissive modality *-tivaha*⁵. Polite imperative is addressed to second person both singular and plural, as illustrated in (10) and (11):

(10) tia deni mitse hiritaba
tia deni mitse hiri-ta-ba
2 PL forró sing-2-PI
'You (pl) sing forró⁶!'

(11) anubedza teitaba
anubedza tei-ta-ba
peccary shoot-2-PI
'Shoot the peccary.'

(12) tsivadza ligatamitaba
tsivadza liga-ta-mita-ba
tomorrow call-2-iter-pi
'You (sg) call me again.'

Polite imperative is morphologically coded by *-ba* and occurs in the last position of the structure of predicate. Notice that the iterative aspect *-mita* co-occurs with the polite imperative in the verb structure. None other imperative morpheme has been identified co-occurring with another aspectual or temporal morpheme in the verb structure. As illustrated in examples (10-12), polite imperative can be directed to second person both singular and plural.

4.1.2 Canonical negative imperatives

It is not uncommon cross-linguistically that an imperative can be negated. In Deni, canonical imperatives can be negated for both non-polite imperative and polite imperative. Negation is morphologically encoded on the verb structure in this language, as illustrated in (13-16). order to mark differently between them. Non-polite imperative expresses negation by *-phira* (see examples (5a) and (5b)) while polite imperative expresses negation by *-ra* (see examples in (5c) and (5d)), regardless whether the verb falls into the class I or class II.

(13) hupataphira
hupa-ta-phira-Ø
run-2-NEG-NPI
'You (sg/pl) do not run!'

(14) tia deni namidza tivadaphira
tia deni nami-dza ti-vada-phira-Ø

⁵ The permissive modality is frequently used in the Deni conversation. Further discussion on it is in Carvalho (forthcoming).

⁶ *Forró* is a very common music (and dance) style in Brazil.

2 PL floor-LOC 2-sleep-NEG-NPI
'You (pl) do not sleep in the floor!'

In non-polite imperative, negation is codified by *-phira* which immediately precedes the non-polite imperative morpheme. It is noteworthy to mention that the general negation in Deni is *phiraru* (phira-ru) 'neg.f' and *phirari* (phira-ri) 'neg.n'. Then, the general negation seems to be grammaticalized into the verb structure since the non-polite imperative is phonologically transparent. That does not occur to polite imperative, given that such morpheme is not phonologically transparent. Examples of negation in polite imperative are given in (15) and (16).

(15) tia deni aru patsu tipuvaraba
tia deni a-ru patsu ti-puva-ra-ba
2 PL this-F water 2-drink-NEG-PI
'You (pl) do not drink this water!'

(16) anubedza bedi teitiraba
anubedza bedi tei-ti-ra-ba
peccary son shoot-2-NEG-PI
'You do not shoot the peccary baby.'

Although the negation occurs in the same position in the verb structure when dealing with non-polite and polite imperatives – preceding the imperative morpheme –, it does have different forms. The polite imperative expresses negation through *-ra*, which is a common negation in Arawá languages. In Deni, *-ra* is also negation in declarative clause in the non-future tense; negation is not marked in the future tense (cf. CARVALHO, forthcoming).

Examples from (13) to (16) contain respectively verbs that fall into class II and class I. When verbs belonging to subclass II are negated to non-polite imperative, the second person appears in its form *-ta* which corresponds to *-ti* plus *-na*, as mentioned in §2 and illustrated in (13). However, when verbs which belong to subclass II are negated to polite imperative, the second person marking *-ti* is not fused with verbal class marking *-na*, as illustrated in (16).

4.1.3 Non-canonical imperatives

Aikhenvald (2010) points out that non-canonical imperatives are those ones which are not directed to second person. Deni does include two types of imperatives that are non-canonical, as illustrated in (17-22).

(17) dzainina

dza-i-ni-na
dance-1PL-VMC-HORT
'Let's dance.'

- (18) keriha ipuvina Madiha tukhiraria hahanituvi
keriha i-puv-ina Madiha tukhiraria haha-Ø-ni-tuvi
bacaba.drink 1PL-drink-HORT Madiha all smile-3-vc-m-fut
'Let's drink bacaba⁷ drink. All Madiha will be happy.'

The hortative imperative is marked by *-na* in Deni and is directed only to the first person plural. The position in which it occurs on the verb structure is in the last slot, as in (17) and (18), regardless the type of verb (subclass I verb, as in (17), or subclass II verb, as in (18)). Hortative imperative in Deni cannot be negated, as polite and non-polite imperatives do.

- (19) avi dzediinina
avi dzedi-i-ni-na
tapir hunt-1PL-VM-HORT
'Let's go hunting tapir.'

- (20) iviburamitina
iv-ibura-miti-na
1pl-work-iter-hort
'Let's go working again.'

Hortative imperative requires the verbal marking allomorph *-ni* in verbs which fall into the subclass II, as can be seen in (17) and (19). Other imperatives do not allow the occurrence verbal marking in verbs which fall into the subclass II, except for the underlying form to second person. Koop (1980, p. 32) points out that there is a special hortative *-hu* "which is used for someone going after quarry" in the Deni language. Furthermore, hortative imperative may be addressed to first and second person both singular and plural. In my database, hortative imperative *-hu* has not been found and the hortative imperative *-na* is just addressed to first plural. We have likely studied different dialects.

Besides the hortative imperative, Deni also includes a non-canonical imperative that is called here suggestive. It is used in order to make a suggestion to oneself or to someone else, as shown in (21) to (24).

- (21) akhadza ukathumakha
akhadza u-kathuma-kha
there 1SG-look-SUGG

⁷ The scientific name of this fruit is *Oenocarpus bacaba*.

‘I should have a look over there. (I thought just after stop the canoe on river bank)’

(22) ukha ditsa ditsa ukanavatukha

ukha ditsa.ditsa u-ka-navatu-kha

1SG.POS bow.REDUP 1SG-NCA-build-SUGG

‘I should to do my bow.’ (and then did my bow, and I took the blowpipe...)

(23) tia deni dzatakha

tia deni dza-ta-kha

2 PL dance-2-SUGG

‘You (pl) should dance.’

(24) pharina mitatakha Cidadezinhadza pamade puharu

pharina mita-ta-kha Cidadezinha-dza pama-de

manioc.flour buy-2-sugg name.of.village-loc dois-adj

Ø-puha-ru

3-have-nfut.f

‘You (sg) should to buy manioc flour; there is just a few (manioc flour) in the Cidadezinha village.’

Suggestive imperative is morphologically marked by *-kha* and occurs in the last position on the verb structure, as all imperatives do. In respect to the cultural meaning, this imperative expresses the weakest command in Deni. Suggestive imperative is frequently used in stories where the story teller wants to mention a thought he had when accomplishing some activity, as illustrated in (21). In the database, this imperative has been attested to first singular, second singular and second plural.

Unlike canonical imperatives, non-canonical imperatives cannot be negated by a morpheme co-occurring on the verb structure – that is, they always occur in positive constructions. However, a command expressed through these imperatives can be negated by the general negation *phira-* ‘no’. In such case, of course, it is negated not by the speaker, but by the addressee.

4.2 Command strategies

The canonical way of making a command in Deni is attaching an (imperative) morpheme to the verbal root. There are, however, other possibilities of expressing a command in this language, such as the usage of suppletive forms and manner adverbs, which will be dealt with now.

4.2.1 Suppletive forms

Cross-linguistically, suppletive forms of verbs are not rare being used to expressing commands. Deni does have some suppletive forms which are used for indicating command from the speaker to the addressee. The forms identified in my database are given from (25) to (29), in which parenthesis have been included in arguments that are optional.

- (25) (Pirutarivi) ahi
(Pirutarivi) ahi
name.M come.here
'Come here, Pirutarivi!'
- (26) (bubu) ahavi
(bubu) ahavi
candy give.me
'Give me the candy!'
- (27) akuku
akuku
listen.look
'Listen!'
- (28) (Manarina) hina
(Manarina) hina
name.F let's.go
'Manarina, let's go!'
- (29) niha
niha
come.on
'Come on!' (It is usually used in reply to (11d))

Suppletive forms have a very limited context of use. They are usually used by themselves, or along with a gesture pointing to an object or an event on-going. Words presented in (25-29) are considered here suppletives forms, since morphological processes employed on the verbs are not applied to them. Thereby, these words are not derived or inflected forms: *ahi* 'come here!' does not include the verb root *bakhu-* 'to come'; *ahavi* 'give me!' does not include the verb root *da-* 'to give'; *akuku* 'listen!' does not include the root of verb *-mitha* 'to listen'; *hina* 'let's go!' and *niha* 'come on!' do not include the verb root *-kha* 'to go'. More important, the suppletive forms do not take person marking, which is obligatory for all verbs in Deni. As concerns the morpheme attachment, they do not take any morpheme; then, negation is not a category that attached to the suppletive forms.

The only exception to the claimings just made in respect to the suppletive forms is that *nihā* ‘come on!’ is the only one that can receive a morpheme which marks emphasis, as shown in (30).

- (30) dzata nihapu
dza-ta-Ø niha-pu
dance-2-NPI come.on-EMPH
‘Dance! Hurry up!’

Suppletive forms *hina* ‘let’s go’, *nihā* ‘come on!’ and *nihapu* ‘hurry up!’ can follow commands expressed by verbs. In this case, they function as an intensifier of the command. The form *nihapu* ‘hurry up!’ is a very interesting example, since when the *-pu* is attached to the form *nihā* ‘lets go’, it increases its force becoming a very strong command (non-polite). As illustrated in (30), it is used following the non-polite imperative only.

When used following a verb in the imperative mood, the suppletive forms are under a kind of agreement in relation to the cultural value of a command. For instance, the polite imperative is never followed by *nihapu* ‘lets go!’, since such suppletive form is a rude form – it is always used following the non-polite verb. There is, hence, a cultural-value agreement in the combination of imperative and suppletive form. Thereby, the command *nihapu* ‘hurry up!’ is under the same social constraints which non-polite imperative is applied for.

4.2.2 Manner adverbs

Aikhevald (2010, p. 280) points out that “adverbials on their own can have the illocutionary force of a command.” In Deni, manner adverbs *adava* ‘quickly’ and *vatura* ‘slowly’ are frequently used as a command in the conversation. During the fishing, for instance, it is very frequent that the following commands given in (31) and (32) are directed to the rower:

- (31) adava
adava
quick
‘(Paddle) Faster!’

- (32) vatura
vatura
Slow
‘(Paddle) Slower!’

In the context of conversation, the manner adverbs are used for expressing a command in (31) and (32). This command strategy of using manner adverbs for expressing

command is employed only on actions that have already begun. For actions that have not begun yet, the interjection *hina* ‘Lets go!’ is used. Notice that the adverbs have the scope on the verb in (31) and (32); however, they have the force of a command, meaning to the addressee accomplish an activity in a different way of which he/she is accomplishing.

5. The grammar-culture linkage on commands

Expressing commands in some languages involve cultural constraints. Languages which have several command degrees present constraints for using them, since the social relationship between people involved in the conversation licenses or constraints the use of determined commands. In every culture of the world, people acquire concomitantly cultural and linguistic features of the society which they are living in. Culture and language are closely related, and the acquirement of their features may not occur symmetrically.

In Yankunytjatjara, an Australian language, parents-in-law cannot make a request for food directly addressed to the son-in-law (AIKHENVALD, 2015, p. 298). That is a cultural feature of Yankunytjatjara group which mirrors in their language, since it rules linguistic choices which take into account the social role played by people for whom the speech act is directed. In small societies, usually the kinship rules the linguistic choices.

Enfield (2004, p. 3) pointed out that “grammar is a thick with cultural meaning. Encoded in the semantics of grammar we find cultural values and ideas, we find clues about the social structures which speakers maintain, we find evidence, both historically relevant and otherwise, of the social organization of speech communities.” In Deni, commands expressed by both imperatives and command strategies mirror the social organization in relation to the usage that they license and constraint. Imperative morphemes and command strategies codify different semantic values, which are shown on Table 2:

Table 2: <i>Command degrees</i>		
	Imperatives	Command strategies
Strong	Non-polite	<i>nihapu</i> ‘Hurry up!’
Weak	Polite Hortative Suggestive	Suppletive forms Manner adverbs

Social structure maintained by Deni group constraints the usage of strong-command forms between adults. Non-polite, and *nihapu* ‘hurry up!’ are only used from parents to

children, or older siblings to younger siblings. That is a cultural principle which rules linguistic choices. Likewise, social structure licenses the usage of weak-command forms like polite, hortative and suggestive imperatives, or suppletive forms and manner adverbs between adults.

Command forms are chosen depending on people who are involved in the communication, since such choices obey social conventions on how people are related to each other in the Deni kinship system. Therefore, linguistic choices on commands in Deni are ruled by the cultural features maintained by these people.

Conclusions

Forms to make commands in Deni reflect the social organization and cultural aspects of this group. Grammatical choices of imperatives and command strategies are culturally determined by social patterns: non-polite imperative and *nihapu* ‘hurry up!’ are the strongest command in Deni and, therefore, include cultural constraints of usage. These commands are used from parents to children, and from older siblings to younger siblings. Differently, polite imperative is used from adult to adult and it is not rude; this imperative is the most frequent in the database. Hortative imperative is a non-canonical form since it is directed to first person plural. Suggestive imperative is the weakest imperative in Deni regarding to the force of command; this imperative makes a suggestion to oneself or to someone else.

Likewise the imperatives, suppletive forms are also used under social constraints. The suppletive form *nihapu* ‘hurry up!’ has the same force as non-polite imperative and, therefore, it follows the same societal constraints. The form *nihapu* ‘hurry up’ never follows the polite imperative; it always follows the non-polite imperative. There is, hence, a command-degree agreement involving imperatives and suppletive forms, as included on Table 2.

Manner adverbs are frequently used indicating a command like ‘paddle faster!’ or ‘paddle slower!’, or ‘run faster’ or ‘run slower’. Using manner adverbs for expressing command is employed only on actions that have already begun. For actions that have not begun yet, the suppletive form *hina* ‘Lets go!’ is used.

In Deni, a command coded by the imperative mood can be directed to second person both singular and plural, to first person plural, and to first singular, as included on Table 3. No imperative directed to third person has been attested in the database.

Table 3: *Imperative paradigm*

Imperative type	Imperative	Morpheme	Directed to
<i>Canonical imperatives</i>	Non-polite	-Ø	2SG and 2PL
	Polite	-ba	2SG and 2PL
<i>Non-canonical imperatives</i>	Hortative	-na	1PL
	Suggestive	-kha	1SG, 2SG and 2PL

A noteworthy point is related to the tone of voice involved in the expression of a command. The non-polite imperative tends to be used with a more aggressive tone of voice, whereas the other imperatives trend to be used with a kind tone of voice – many times they are used along with a laugh.

In terms of frequency, the command directed to the second person singular and plural is the most frequent in the database, whereas the command directed to first person plural is not very frequent. The command directed to first person singular has the lowest frequency attested in the database. As mentioned in §3, imperatives along with other categories assigned to the same slot (slot 5 in scheme 1 and slot 6 in scheme 2) typically constrain the occurrence of other morphemes in the verbal word. Then, imperative morphemes are suffixes which always occupy the last slot of the verbal word that they occur in. The exception pointed out in §3 in relation to the iterative aspect must be highlighted. Iterative *-mita* co-occurs in the verbal structure with polite imperative and hortative imperative. When that occurs, the aspectual marking precedes the imperative marking, corroborating the claiming that imperatives do not allow the occurrence of any morpheme following it in the verbal word.

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