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Imperatives in Arawá languages

ABSTRACT: The Arawá languages are spoken in southern Amazonia by people who live in the Juruá-Purus interfluve. Typologically, the predicate structure of these languages is synthetic, and predominantly composed of suffixes. In this paper, I provide a comparison of imperatives in Arawá languages in order to show both the features which they include, and the linguistic categories which these languages employ for the imperative. Contrary to expectation, the gender distinction (which is widespread in the grammars of Arawá languages) is only employed in imperatives in two languages (Jarawara and Kulina) in this family. All Arawá languages include ways to negate imperatives. Apart from Paumarí (which marks the negation in imperative constructions through the particle in the initial position in the clause), all Arawá languages have morphemes that can be attached to the verb root, indicating negation.
Keywords: Imperatives; Grammatical categories; Arawá languages.

RESUMO: As línguas Arawá são faladas no sul da Amazônia por pessoas que vivem no interflúvio Juruá-Purus. Tipologicamente, a estrutura do predicado de tais línguas e sintética e composta predominantemente por sufixos. Neste artigo, eu forneço uma comparação dos imperativos nas línguas Arawá com intuito de mostrar as características que elas incluem, e as categorias linguísticas que essas línguas empregam no imperativo. Contrariamente à expectativa, a distinção de gênero (que é amplamente espalhada nas gramáticas das línguas Arawá) e somente empregada em duas línguas (Jarawara e Kulina) nesta família. Todas as línguas Arawá incluem formas para negar imperativos. Exceto Paumarí (a qual marca a negação in construções imperativas por uma partícula na posição inicial da cláusula), todas as línguas Arawá têm morfemas que podem ser anexados a raiz verbal indicando negação.
Palavras-chave: Imperativos; Categorias gramaticais; Línguas Arawá.

1. Introduction[1]

Every language provides mechanisms to make a statement, to ask a question or to give a command to someone to do something. These 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: 132).

Aikhenvald (2010: 2) mentions that it is not uncommon to have a linguistic category with a counterpart in the real world; for instance, "the idea of 'time' in the real world translates into 'tense' when expressed in a language". Likewise, gender and evidentiality are linguistic categories which have sex and information source, respectively, as counterparts in the real world. Imperative, which is the focus in this paper, is a linguistic category whose counterpart in the real world is the command.

In order to provide the features of imperatives in Arawá languages, this paper focuses on how these languages encode the imperative, and what categories are associated with this linguistic category. Whereas a discussion on the genetic relationship and the location of the Arawá languages is offered in §2, §3 provides the general features of the predicate structure in these languages. §4 contains examples of constructions involving the imperative in Arawá languages (§4.1 Jarawara, §4.2 Kulina, §4.3 Deni, §4.4 Paumarí, and §4.5 Sorowahá). The conclusions containing the grammatical features employed in the Arawá languages are given in §5.[2]

2. The Arawá family

Arawá is a small language family composed of five living languages which are Paumarí, Sorowahá, Madi, Deni and Kulina. Besides the five living languages, this family also includes an extinct language which gave its name to the family. The Arawá language has been extinct since 1877 and is known from an 1869-word list, as mentioned by Dixon (2004a: 4). The figure 1 contains the genetic relationship between the Arawá languages according to Dixon (1999: 294).

1. Paumarí (c. 600, only c. 200 speak the language)

2. Madi, spoken by three tribes, each with its own dialect:
    Jarawara (c. 150)
    Jamamadi (c. 190)
    Banawá (c. 80)

3. Sorowahá (c. 100)

Dení-Kulina subgroup

    4. Dení (c. 1,000)

    5. Kulina (or Madiha or Madija) (c. 2,500)

6. Arawá (extinct since about 1880)

Figure 1: Genetic relationship between the Arawá languages (Dixon 1999: 294)

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[2] The abbreviations used in this paper are as follows: 1, 2, 3 = first, second, third person; ASP = aspect; AUX = auxiliary; CTF = centrifugal; CTP = centripetal; DEM = demonstrative; DIS = distant; EXCL = exclusive; F,f = feminine; HORT = hortative; IMM = immediate; IMP = imperative; LOC = locative; M,m = masculine; MOT = motion; NDIR = non-direct; NEG = negation; NPOL = non-polite; PFV = perfective; PL,pl = plural; POL = polite; POS = positive; POSS = possessive; PROG = progressive; PROH = prohibitive; SG,sg = singular; SUGG = suggestive.

The Madi language includes three different dialects spoken by three different people: Jarawara, Jamamadi and Banawá. Dixon (2004a: 7) pointed out that the group called Jamamadi includes two different dialects of which one is "mutually intelligible with Jarawara and Banawá", and the other one "is a dialect of the Kulina-Dení language". On this basis Dienst (2008: 62) includes a Western Jamamadi dialect in the Madihá branch together with Kulina and Deni, and an Eastern Jamamadi dialect in the Madi branch together with Jarawara and Banawá.
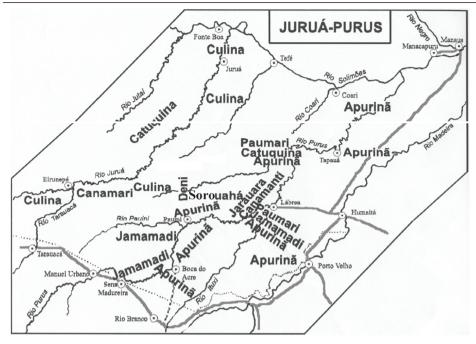
In earlier studies, Dixon (1999: 294) considered that "there are enough grammatical differences between Dení and Kulina to establish them as distinct languages, but they plainly constitute one subgroup". Nevertheless, in later studies Dixon (2004a: 6; 2004b: 12) posited that Deni and Kulina are different dialects of the same language, since they have 75-90 per cent vocabulary in common, and very similar grammars. However, as we shall see in this paper, Deni and Kulina are very different as concerns the imperative.

Everett (1995) is the only linguist who includes the Himarimã[3] as a language in the Arawá family. Dixon (2004a: 3) claimed that the Himarimã language was reported by a member of JOCUM – *Jovens com uma missão* who "met a speaker of 'Rimarimá' near a Sorowahá village, having taken down a short list [which has been lost], and having noted that it was an Arawá language". On this basis Everett has included Himarimã in as a language in the Arawá family. Dixon (idem), however, advocates that there is no way of knowing if Himarimã is a different language, or if it is a dialect of one of the other languages.[4] As no data of Himerimã is available, the classification of the language is speculative. Further information together with a comprehensive list of older sources of Arawá family is in Dixon (2006); a summary is provided by Aikhenvald (2012: 56) and Carvalho (2013a: 91).

With regard to location, the Arawá languages are spoken on the Juruá and Purus rivers, mainly in the Brazilian state of Amazonas, but also in the state of Acre and in Peru (the Kulina language). Mellati (2011: 2) offers a map that includes the groups which live in the Juruá-Purus interfluve (see the Map 1).

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[3] I adopt in this paper the spelling Himarimã which has been proposed by FUNAI - Fundação Nacional do Índio (National Foundation of Indian) in Brazil.

[4] The FUNAI in Brazil has demarked the Himarimã lands which are located among Sorowahá and Jarawara/Jamamadi lands, and cover a surface of 677.840,3204 hectares. The Ethnologue includes the Himarimã as a Brazilian unclassified language whose population is 40 people (see https://www.ethnologue.com/language/hir). Based on the area where the language is spoken, Himarimã is possibly an Arawá language.

Map 1: Groups from the Juruá-Purus interfluve (Melatti 2011: 2)

All the Arawá living languages are included in this paper. The Madi language is represented here by the Jarawara dialect. Kulina and Deni are dealt with different languages (and they include different grammatical features in the imperative, as we shall see in the conclusions). Paumarí and Sorowahá are also addressed here. Since I did not have access to materials of both Western and Eastern Jamamadi, and the Madi language (of which the Eastern Jamamadi is a dialect), and Kulina and Deni languages (of which Western Jamamadi is a dialect) neither Jamamadi dialect is dealt with in this paper.

3. General features of the predicate structure in Arawá languages

The Arawá languages are synthetic, and predominantly composed of suffixes. In the clause the only obligatory constituent is the predicate which has an obligatory subject pronoun (affix or separate word), and an object pronoun (separate word) in a transitive clause (Dixon 1999: 300).

Prefixes are much less frequent than suffixes on verbs in Arawá languages. Dixon (1999: 301) mentions two prefixes for verbs in Arawá languages: -*ka*, which can have a number of functions in these languages; and -*na* or -*niha*, which "derives a transitive stem from an intransitive root, underlying S becoming surface O". In Deni, person marking – which is obligatory for all verbs – can also occur as a prefix on verbs that fall into the subclass I (cf. Carvalho forthcoming).

With regard to suffixes, the Arawá languages include several possibilities, but all are optional: (i) a large number of suffixes referring to location; (ii) negative suffix; (iii) a considerable set of suffixes indicating tense and aspect; (iv) and a number of suffixes which are verb-final expressing indicative, interrogative and imperative mood (Dixon 1999: 301).

A common feature of Arawá languages is related to the auxiliaries -*na*- and -*ha*-.[5] Dienst (2014: 148) indicates that Kulina in addition to *na*- and *ha*- includes the auxiliary *hira*- which constitutes a complex lexeme with the stative verb it follows. In Deni -*na* has been grammaticalized as a suffix indicating verb class marking in verbs that fall into the subclass II, and -*ha* is the verb 'to be' (Carvalho forthcoming).[6] Chapman and Derbyshire (1991: 331) stated that in Paumarí "there are two auxiliary verbs, *ni* and *hi*, which can both at times be translated as 'be'". Based on this evidence, Dixon (1999: 300) claims that "[i]t is likely that in proto-Arawá most (or all) verbs could function in either of two ways (with a meaning difference) – either accepting prefixes and suffixes themselves, or having prefixes and suffixes added to a following auxiliary".[7]

Although the Arawá languages have a very rich verbal morphology, I will focus on imperative mood in order to provide an overview of the categories which are associated with this linguistic category in these languages.

4. Imperative in the Arawá languages

4.1. Commands in Jarawara

Dixon (2004b: 397) pointed out four types of imperative suffixes in Jarawara, including positive and negative forms in each of 'immediate' and 'distant' imperatives, as illustrated in examples in (1a-d).

(1a) otara   noki   ti-na-hi
     1PL.EXCL   wait   2SG-AUX-IMM.POS.IMP.F
     'You (sg) wait for us (here and now)!'   (Dixon 2004b: 397)

(1b) otara   noki   ti-jahi
     1PL.EXCL   wait   2SG-AUX-DIS.POS.IMP.F
     'You (sg) wait for us (in some distant time or place)!'   (Dixon 2004b: 397)

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[5] The auxiliaries in Arawá languages receive prefix and suffix. Dixon (1999: 301) quotes the auxiliaries in Arawá languages as -*na*- and -*ha*- with hyphen on both sides indicating that they receive morphemes on both sides. In Paumarí, Chapman and Derbyshire (1991: 331) record them without hyphen marking, but they may receive prefix and suffix, especially *ni*. In both languages, Kulina and Deni, the auxiliaries can receive prefix and suffix. Dienst (2014) marks the auxiliaries as *na*-, *ha*- and *hira*-, indicating his preference for suffix. In contrast, Carvalho (forthcoming) marks the auxiliaries -*na* and -*ha* indicating the preference for marking the person prefix. Thus, in this paper the auxiliaries in Arawá languages are quoted according to Dixon (1999) marking both sides by hyphens. When a particular language is quoted, I follow the form in which the expert that I am quoting uses it.

[6] -*ha* may function both as a main verb meaning 'to be', and as an auxiliary also meaning 'to be'; as auxiliary it follows an uninflected adjective as *mahu* 'be married' and *hau* 'be tired'.

[7] A fuller account of predicate structure in Arawá languages is in Dixon (1999: 300-302).

(1c) otara   tee   noki   rijaji!
     1PL.EXCL 2PL   wait   DIS.NEG.IMP.F
     'You (pl) don't wait for us (in some distant time or place)!'   (Dixon 2004b: 398)

(1d) otara   tee   noki   rima   na-hi!
     1PL.EXCL 2PL   wait   IMM.NEG.IMP.F   AUX-IMP.F
     'You (pl) don't wait for us (here and now)!'   (Dixon 2004b: 398)

The imperative suffixes have gender distinction for masculine and feminine in Jarawara. According to Dixon (idem), immediate positive involves the suffix *-hi*(f) and *-ho*(m) (see (1a)), whilst distant positive involves *-hi*(f) and *-ho*(m) added to *-ja* and *-ja* forming *-ja-hi* and *-ja-ho* (see (1b)). Distant negative is analyzed as negative suffix *-ra* plus distant negative *-ja-hi* and *-ja-ho* forming *-ri-ja-hi* and *-ra-ja-ho* (see (1c)). Dixon (2004b: 398) claims that immediate negative is the most complex form, since *rima/-rama* "appears to begin with the negative morpheme *-ra*, perhaps followed by *-ma/-ma* (…). The *-rima/-rama* must be followed by an auxiliary *-na-*". This forms the immediate negative *-rima-na-hi*(f) and *-rama-na-ho*(m) (see (1d)).

4.2. Commands in Kulina

Tiss (2004: 246) mentions that Kulina has six types of imperatives which he names as i) order and request, ii) indirect imperative, iii) permissive modality, iv) prohibition, v) inviting imperative, and vi) warning modality.[8] According to him, only four imperatives have a specific grammar codification, as we shall see below.

Order and request imperative in Kulina includes gender distinction for which *-ho* marks masculine and *-hi* marks feminine, as can be seen in (3a) and (3b).

(3a) **tikhahonahi!**
    /ti-kha   -hona-<u>hi</u>/
    2-move   -CTP-IMP.F
    'Come!'   (Tiss 2004: 247)

(3b) **oaza aba da tikenaho!**
    /oa-za   aba   da   ti-ke-na-<u>ho</u>/
    1SG-LOC   fish   give   2-PL-AUX-IMP.M
    'You (pl) give me fish!'   (Tiss 2004: 247)

Order and request imperative agree in gender either with the subject or the object in the clause. Tiss (2004: 247) argues that the negation suffix *-hara* (m) and *-hera* (f) can be added to the verbal word seeking to express a negative order or request. Furthermore, the order can be addressed to oneself or to a group expressing auto-animation.

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[8] Tiss (2004) has adopted the four-line format in his grammar in which (a) the first line contains the text as it could be said, or written according to the orthography proposed by him, (b) the second line includes the morpheme segmentation, (c) the third line provides the translation of morphemes, and (d) the fourth line gives a free translation. The four-line format is kept here, since the second line includes an underlying form that is different from the surface form in the first line. Originally, Tiss's (2004) grammar was written in Portuguese**.** I have translated the examples into English.

The indirect imperative is marked by *-na* and it has no gender distinction; it belongs to the same positional class of order and request imperative and, therefore, they cannot co-occur in the verbal word.

(4) **tomaithani, tamineza wati tikenana!**

/tomaithani	tamine-za	wati	ti-ke-na-<u>na</u>/
at.afternoon	chief-LOC	talk	2-PL-AUX-IMP.NDIR

'In the afternoon, you (pl) talk to the chief!' (Tiss 2004: 249)

As illustrated in (4), the indirect imperative is used with the second person expressing a command that should be realized later and/or in another place. Tiss (2004: 249) points out that the indirect imperative can be used with the third person.

(5) **ehedeni poa harishi hipana!**

/ehedeni	<u>poa</u>	harishi	Ø-hipa-<u>na</u>/
child	he	sweet.potato	3-eat-IMP.NDIR

'Let the child eat the sweet potato.' (Tiss 2004: 249)

With the third person, the indirect imperative is used to make a command to the addressee seeking that he does not forbid the action which has been expressed by the verb, as in example in (5). Moreover, in this kind of construction there always will be a personal pronoun as subject in the clause.

Permissive modality in Kulina is expressed by *-haro* (m) and *-hari* (f). Tiss (2004: 250) mentions that in second person, permissive modality expresses permission from the speaker to the addressee to perform some action, as illustrated in (6a).

(6a) **hee, poni   tikhaniharo**

/hee <u>poni</u>	ti-to-kha-ni-<u>haro</u>/
yes she	2-CTF-move-backing-PFV.F

'Yes, I allow that you come back (lit: …that you go back).' (Tiss 2004: 250)

(6b) **ehedeni   poa   tokhanihari**

/ehedeni	<u>poa</u>	Ø-to-kha-ni-<u>hari</u>/
child	he	3-CTF-move-backing-PFV.M

'Let the child go back (I allow that he go)!' (Tiss 2004: 251)

In third person, however, the permissive modality expresses permission from speaker to another person to perform some action, and the speaker requests that the addressee does not prohibit it, as can be seen in (6b).

Prohibition can be expressed in Kulina through order and request imperative plus negation *hara* or *-hera*; however, this construction can be understood as a gentle request for the addressee to perform some action, as mentioned by Tiss (2004: 251).

(7a) **tabako tomi tikenani tideha!**

/tabako	tomi	ti-ke-na-ni	<u>tideha</u>/
tobacco	absorb	2-PL-AUX-IMP.F	PROH

'You (pl) don't smoke! (lit.: do not absorb tobacco).' (Tiss 2004: 252)

(7b) **ohakama imi hipa nawi tideha!**

/o-hakama	imi	hipa	Ø-na-wi	tideha/
1SG-son	ingá.fruit	eat	3-AUX-IMP	PROH

'Do not let my son to eat the ingá fruit!' (Tiss 2004: 252)

Prohibition expressed by *tideha* is a strong prohibition directed at addressee in which the verb obligatorily receives the imperfective suffix *-wi* or *–ni*. In this construction, the verb is mostly in the second person (see (7a)), but also in the third (see (7b)). Tiss (2004: 251) suggests that since *tideha* expresses exclusively prohibition, any morpheme indicating negation is used on the verb.

The same morphemes *-naha* (m) and *-nehe* (f) used to express progressive aspect are used for the inviting imperative in Kulina, as illustrated in example in (8).

(8) **nakota tihipa nanehe!**

/nakota	ti-hipa	na-nehe/
grub	2-eat	AUX-PROG.F

'Eat the grub/try eat grub!' (Tiss 2004: 253)

Tiss (2004: 252) states that *-naha* (m) and *-nehe* (f) being used as inviting imperative no longer include aspectual meaning, and also do not require a main clause for which the clause in which they occur is subordinated. Furthermore, in the inviting imperative use, these morphemes only attach to the auxiliary verb, and only occur with the second person.

The warning modality is used to get addressee's attention for some eminent threat, and is morphologically coded by *-rana*, as illustrated in examples (9a-b).

(9a) **Osho, tishonerana!**

/Osho	ti-shona-rana/
Osho.M	2-fall-warning.F

'Osho, be careful not to fall!' (Tiss 2004: 253)

(9b) **zabishodeni   shonamanarana!**

/zabisho-deni	Ø-shona-mana-rana/
young.man-PL	3-fall-PL-warning.F

'Be careful for the young men that they do not fall!' (Tiss 2004: 253)

Whereas the warning modality is used in with the second person in (9a), it is used with the third person in (9b). Such modality emits a danger warning for the addressee or another person, and, from a morphological viewpoint, it does not allow any morpheme following it in the verb word, according to Tiss (2004: 253).

Dienst (2014: 117) has recognized one imperative type marked by *-ho* (m) and *-hi* (f), which corresponds to the order and request mentioned by Tiss (2004). According to Dienst (idem) it is only attested with first (see (10a)) and second person (see (10b)) subjects:

(10a) o-hipa-kha-hi

1SG-eat-?-IMP.F

'I would like to eat.' (?) (Dienst 2014: 117)

(10b) ti-hipa-hara-ho
    2-eat-NEG.M-IMP.M
    'Don't eat it.' (masculine form of the verb agreeing with unnamed object) (Dienst 2014: 117)

Dienst (2014) mentions that in constructions such as the one given in (10a) in which the imperative is preceded by -*kha*, the function of the latter is not clear. In Deni, a closely related language, -*kha* is the suggestive imperative which may be used in the first person, as we shall see below.

4.3. Commands in Deni[9]

Deni has four types of imperatives, each with its own morphological realization in the verbal word. Imperatives express different command degrees and they reflect the social organization and cultural features of the Deni group. The four imperative forms in Deni are: i) non-polite imperative; ii) polite imperative; iii) hortative imperative; iv) suggestive imperative.

Non-polite imperative is the strongest way of making a command in Deni, and it is only used by parents to children, older siblings to younger siblings or grandparents to grandchildren. Morphologically, this imperative is expressed by Ø, as illustrated in examples (11a-b).

(11a) hupa-ta-phira-Ø
    run-2-NEG-NPOL.IMP
    'You (sg) do not run!'

(11b) tia   deni   hupa-ta-Ø
    2   PL   run-SG-NPOL.IMP
    'You (pl) run!'

In this kind of imperative, the speaker does not give the addressee the option of refusing the command; the speaker expects that the command has an immediate compliance. Non-polite imperative has been attested only as addressed to second person singular and plural, and both negative, as in (11a), and positive, as in (11b). Non-polite imperative has no gender distinction in Deni.

Polite imperative is the most common form to express a command in Deni. It is morphologically marked on the verb by -*ba*, and is used by adults to adults and by adults to children. Moreover, the polite form is the standard reply for questions made up through the permissive modality -*tivaha*[10].

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[9] Examples from Deni included in this paper have been obtained during my own four fieldtrips to Southern Amazonia in Deni-speaking villages during four years (from 2011 to 2014). The Deni phonological system includes fifteen consonants and four vowels (cf. Carvalho 2013b) for which I employ a version of the practical orthography in the first line of examples in this paper as follows: p = /p/; b = /b/; t = /t/; d = /d/; k = /k/; ph = /pʰ/; th = /tʰ/; kh = /kʰ/; v = /v/; h = /h/; m = /m/; n = /n/; r = /ɾ/; ts = /ts/; dz = /dʒ/; a = /a/; e = /ɛ/; i = /i/; u = /u/.

[10] The permissive modality is often used in Deni conversation; it indicates that a permission to perform some action has been requested. Further details of permissive modality in Deni are in Carvalho (forthcoming).

(12a) tia   deni   patsu   ti-puva-ra-ba
       2   PL   water   2-drink-NEG-POL.IMP
      'You (pl) don't drink water!'

(12b) anubedza   tei-ta-ba
       peccary   shoot-2-POL.IMP
       'You (sg) shoot the peccary.'

As shown in (12a-b), the polite imperative is addressed to second person singular and plural. Whereas (12a) includes a negative form of polite imperative, example (12b) has the positive form of this imperative. Notice that the negation marking -*ra* occurs between the verb root and the polite imperative marking -*ba* in (12a).

Unlike non-polite and polite imperatives, the hortative imperative asks for the consent and compliance of those who are being exhorted. This imperative is expressed by -*na* and it is addressed in the first plural.

(13a) keriha   i-puvi-na
       bacaba.drink   1PL-drink-HORT
       'Let's drink bacaba's[11] drink.'

(13b) eheve   deni   hapi-i-ni-na
       child   PL   take.bath-PL-VCM-HORT
       'Children, let's take a bath.'

In the database, the hortative imperative has only been attested in the first person plural seeking to exhort at least two (speaker and another one), but mostly more than two people to realize some activity.

Suggestive -*kha* is quite uncommon in the Deni conversation; it is a weak imperative used for making a suggestion or an invitation to oneself or to another, as illustrated in examples (14a-b).

(14a) akhadza   u-kathuma-kha
       there   1SG-look-SUGG
       'I should look there (on the top of the trees; maybe there is monkey there).

(14b) tia deni   dza-ta-kha
       2 PL   dance-2-SUGG
       'I suggest you (pl) dance.'

The suggestive imperative has been attested in the database as being addressed to first person singular, as in (14a), and second person both singular and plural, as in (14b). This imperative has only been attested in positive constructions in the database, and mostly in stories when the storyteller wants to express a thought s/he had during some activity (see (14a)).

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[11] Bacaba is a common fruit in southern Amazonia whose scientific name is *Oenocarpus bacaba*.

4.4. Commands in Paumarí

Unlike other Arawá languages, Paumarí has different forms for person prefix markers in imperative verbs and in non-imperative verbs. According to Chapman and Derbyshire (1991), the hortative imperative is marked by *-va* for first and third person (see (15b) and (15c)), and it is marked by absence of any thematic or modal suffix in imperative clauses for second person (see (15a)). In non-imperative constructions, the second person is marked by *-i*.

(15a) Ø-vithi-Ø   hida
     2SG-sit-IMP   DEM.LOC
     'Sit here.'   (Chapman and Derbyshire 1991: 217)

(15b) a-'bai-'a-va
     1PL-eat-ASP-HORT
     'Let us eat.'   (Chapman and Derbyshire 1991: 217)

(15c) ka-si-va   ida   arakava
     MOT-up-HORT   DEM   hen
     'Let the hen come up.'   (Chapman and Derbyshire 1991: 217)

The command issued by imperative must be fulfilled in the same location in which the conversation is occurring. If the command must be fulfilled in a different location, the suffix *ha* that indicates distance is inserted in the verbal word (see (16) and compare it with (15b)).

(16) a-'bai-ha-'a-va
     1PL-eat-distance-ASP-HORT
     'Let's go and eat (somewhere else).'   (Chapman and Derbyshire 1991: 220)

Imperative constructions can be negated in Paumarí; the negation is expressed by the particle *hari'a*, which occurs in the initial position of the imperative clause.

(17) hari'a   bana   gira   Ø-ni-'a-Ø
     NEG.IM P   warning   move   2SG-AUX-ASP-IMP
     'Don't move away.'   (Chapman and Derbyshire 1991: 218)

Besides the particle which expresses negation, example in (17) also includes the particle *bana* 'future, warning', which makes an imperative more polite in Paumarí.

4.5. Commands in Sorowahá[12]

Three different imperative morphemes have been identified that indicate command when attached to the verb root in Sorowahá, which are (i) the simple imperative, (ii) the polite imperative, and (iii) the immediate imperative. The simple imperative is expressed by morpheme -Ø, which allows the interpretation of the bare root of the verb as a command in this language, as illustrated in (18a).

(18a) hawa-Ø
    eat-IMP
    'You (sg) eat!'   (Azevedo p. c.)

(18b) hawa-ha-Ø
    eat-PL-IMP
    'You (pl) eat!'   (Azevedo p. c.)

(18c) hawa-sama-Ø
    eat-NEG-IMP
    'You (sg) don't eat!'   (Azevedo p. c.)

(18d) hawa-sama-ha-Ø
    eat-NEG-PL-IMP
    'You (pl) don't eat!'   (Azevedo p. c.)

In addition to the morpheme -Ø which expresses the simple imperative, the morpheme -*ha* may be attached to the verb root to mark plural, as in (18b). Negation -*sama* also may be attached to the verb root in the simple imperative in Sorowahá. Hence, this imperative form may be directed to second person both singular and plural, and both may be negated, as illustrated in examples in (18a-d).

Polite imperative is expressed by -*bu* in singular constructions, contained in (19a) and (19b). However, in plural constructions, this morpheme occurs in a different form, as can be seen in (19c) and (19d).

(19a) natijuwa-bu
    to.care-POL.IMP
    'You (sg) be careful (please)!'   (Azevedo p. c.)

(19b) hijara-bu
    talk-POL.IMP
    'You (sg) talk (please)!'   (Azevedo p. c.)

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[12] Data from Sorowahá has been provided by Adriana Huber Azevedo (in personal communication) who has lived with the Sorowahá group for six years. Although the data have been discussed with her, all statements offered here are my own; therefore, all errors are, of course, my own. Once again, I express my deepest gratitude to Adriana Huber Azevedo for sharing and discussing her data from the Sorowahá language with me.

(19c) natijuwa-ba-ha
    to.care-POL.IMP-PL
    'You (pl) be careful (please)!'   (Azevedo p. c.)

(19d) hijara-ba-ha
    talk-POL.IMP-PL
    'You (pl) come (please)!'   (Azevedo p. c.)

I formulate two possibilities for interpreting the different forms of the polite imperative morpheme in Sorowahá: the first one postulates the existence of different morphemes for polite imperative (-*bu* singular and -*baha* plural); the second one postulates the existence of only one morpheme for polite imperative which is -*bu;* when -*bu* is followed by plural marking -*ha*, the vowel of -*bu* becomes [a], and it occurs as -*ba*. Thus, whereas *ba* is the surface form, -*bu* is the underlying form for polite imperative in plural constructions. I have adopted here the second possibility of interpretation for the polite imperative based on two points: i) -*ha* has been attested as the regular form of plural marking in imperative constructions in Sorowahá (see (18b) and (18d)); ii) vowel change is a very common morphophonological phenomenon in Arawá languages.

Immediate imperative is expressed by -*hu* in Sorowahá, and it indicates that an activity must be accomplished immediately. The immediate imperative usage is not frequent. It is a very rude form only used by parents to children in the Sorowahá culture.

(20a) hawa-ra-hu
    eat-quick-IMM.IMP
    '(You) eat quickly and immediately!'   (Azevedo p. c.)

(20b) tusa-hu
    stop-IMM.IMP
    '(You) stop immediately!'   (Azevedo p. c.)

Example (20a) includes the aspectual morpheme -*raha* which indicates that an action is (or must be) accomplished quickly. Note that when this morpheme is followed by the immediate imperative -*hu*, the morphophonological process of haplology seems to occur, which consists of the elimination of one of two syllables initiated by the same consonant; thus, whilst the underlying form is -*raha* plus -*hu*, the surface form is -*ra* plus -*hu*. Thus, the underlying form is *hawarahahu and the surface form is given in (20a).

In this section I have presented examples of imperative constructions in the Arawá languages.[13] A discussion on categories which are employed in the imperative constructions in these languages is provided in the following section.

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    [13] **Table 2** in the appendix offers an overview of imperatives in the Arawá languages including the imperative types, the morphemes which express the imperative types, and to whom they can be addressed in these languages.

5. Conclusions

Gender distinction is a very common grammatical feature in Arawá languages which quite likely comes from the proto-Arawá grammar. Jarawara and Kulina include gender distinction in their imperatives. Deni, Paumarí and Sorowahá do not have gender distinction on imperative constructions. Jarawara has an immediate imperative which indicates that an activity must be performed here and now. Sorowahá also has a morpheme which indicates that an event must be performed immediately, but it has an overtone of a very rude command. Kulina, Deni and Paumarí do not have a morpheme which attaches to the verb indicating that an event must be performed immediately.

With regard to the distant category, Jarawara, Kulina and Paumarí can express it morphologically on the verb in imperative constructions whilst Deni and Sorowahá cannot. Whereas in Jarawara and Kulina the distant category is related to time and location, in Paumarí it is related to location only. Finally, except in Paumarí (in which the imperative constructions can be negated through a particle in the initial position in the clause), in all the Arawá languages the negation can be attached to verbs indicating the negative imperative. **Table 1** offers an overview on the categories which can be attached to the verb in the Arawá languages.

Table 1. Categories attached to the verb in the imperative constructions

Category	**Jarawara**	**Kulina**	**Deni**	**Paumarí**	**Sorowahá**
Gender distinction	YES	YES	NO	NO	NO
Immediate	YES	NO	NO	NO	YES
Distant	YES	YES	NO	YES	NO
Negation	YES	YES	YES	NO	YES

As concerns the morphology, imperatives are expressed through suffixes on verbs in all Arawá languages, which was expected since these languages are synthetic and predominantly composed of suffixes. Most imperatives in Arawá languages are canonical (see data for Arawá languages in §4 and **table 2** in the appendix for an overview), that is, they can be directed to second person.

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Appendix

Table 2: Imperative morphemes in Arawá languages

Jarawara

Imperative type	Morphemes		Attested being directed to
	Masculine	Feminine	
Immediate positive	*-hi*	*-ho*	2SG/PL
Distant positive	*-ja-hi*	*-ja-ho*	2SG/PL
Immediate negative	*-rima-na-hi*	*-rama-na-ho*	2SG/PL
Distant negative	*-ri-ja-hi*	*-ra-ja-ho*	2SG/PL

Kulina

	Morphemes		Attested being directed to
Imperative type	Masculine	Feminine	
Order and request	-hi	-ho	1SG/PL, 2SG/PL
Indirect	-na		1SG/PL, 2SG/PL, 3SG
Permissive	-hari	-haru	1SG, 2SG, 3SG
Prohibition	tideha		2SG/PL, 3SG
Inviting	-nehe	-naha	2SG
Warning	-rana		2SG, 3PL

Deni

Imperative type	Morphemes	Attested being directed to
Non-polite	-Ø	2SG/PL
Polite	-ba	2SG/PL
Hortative	-na	1PL
Suggestive	-kha	1SG, 2SG/PL

Paumari

Imperative type	Morphemes	Attested being directed to
Hortative	-va or -Ø	1SG/PL, 2SG/PL, 3SG/PL

Sorowahá

Imperative type	Morphemes	Attested being directed to
Simple	-Ø	2SG/PL
Polite	-bu	2SG/PL
Immediate	-hu	2SG