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Enga Imperatives

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Abstract

This article describes imperative forms and their usage in Enga, an Engan language of Papua New Guinea. Adrienne Lang (1970) previously published a brief paragraph describing Enga imperatives along with a basic imperative paradigm. Her descriptions do not appear to be based upon original research, but rather they summarize Hintze's description of imperatives from his unpublished seminal grammar (1962). The descriptions of Enga imperatives offered by Hintze and summarized by Lang, however, are imprecise, incomplete, and incorrect. For example, what is described as a 'late' second person imperative is actually a strong imperative form that can be used for actions to be carried out immediately as well as actions to be carried out later. Similarly, what is described as a 'late' first person hortative is better described as a first person volutative. In addition to correcting these misconceptions, this article also documents morphemes that indicate weak, polite, vocative, and impersonal imperatives. Based upon Aikhenvald's typology of imperatives and commands (2010), this article provides typologists and others working in related languages an accurate description of Enga imperative forms and their usage.

1 Introduction

Although a dictionary and brief grammar of Enga (an Engan language of Papua New Guinea) have been published, there is very little information available about Enga imperatives. What little information is available is imprecise, incomplete, and, on certain points, incorrect. Hintze provides the first documentation of Enga imperatives in his unpublished seminal grammar (1962). Hintze's focus, however, is on providing resources for expatriate missionaries to learn the Enga language and not on a formal description of Enga imperatives. In her published grammar and dictionary of Enga, Adrienne Lang (1970) gives little emphasis to imperatives, providing instead what appears to be a brief summary of Hintze's work accompanied by a basic paradigm. Eckert (1985), in his revision of Hintze's grammar, follows Hintze's analysis of Enga imperative forms while also documenting an additional form, which he refers to as the 'discretionary' form of the 'later' imperative.

The major flaw in the approaches of Hintze, Lang, and Eckert is the establishment of a false dichotomy between 'immediate' and 'later' imperative forms. While it is true that certain imperative forms can apply to actions to be carried out later, that is not the primary meaning of those forms. Assuming a dichotomy of imperatives into 'immediate' and 'later' forms makes it quite difficult to interpret the use of imperatives that seemingly 'break the rules'. Hintze admits that this is the case, stating that the 'later' and 'immediate' forms "at times...are used interchangeably."

This article proposes a new paradigm for understanding Enga imperatives that abandons the false dichotomy into 'immediate' and 'later' forms without abandoning the idea that some forms are preferred for imperatives to be carried out later while some are preferred for imperatives to be carried out immediately. This new paradigm seeks to understand imperative morphemes in their wider context of usage outside of the imperative context. Finally this new

paradigm documents other imperative forms and usages that have not previously been documented.

A note about Enga phonology is relevant to the discussion to follow. Enga phonology permits only V, CV, and CVV syllables. Furthermore, the minimum requirements for words are VV or CVV. As such two consonants may never occur next to each other. However, Enga verb roots usually end with a consonant and Enga grammatical morphemes usually begin with a consonant. As such Enga often requires epenthetic vowels. In this article, epenthetic vowels are always be placed with the morpheme that follows unless such a vowel occurs at the end of the word, in which case it is grouped with the preceding morpheme. Basic morphemes are described in this article, which should help the reader distinguish grammatical morphemes from epenthetic vowels in the word parses. It should also be noted that Enga is tonal, however the orthography is not marked for tone nor do such tonal differences play a significant role in the subject matter at hand. As a result tone is not marked in the examples given in this article.

There are some other minor points for the reader to take into consideration. The scope of this article is on Enga imperative forms and their usages. As such this article does not analyze non-imperative forms that are semantically understood as commands. This article does, however, analyze imperative-based forms that are used for purposes other than issuing commands. The terms canonical and non-canonical are used to refer to second person imperatives and first/third person imperatives respectively (Aikhenvald 2010). Enga orthography does not generally use exclamation marks for imperative sentences. However the English translations of the examples use exclamation marks according to standard English practice. The English translation 'shall' is used instead of 'will' for imperative forms that can function as semantic declaratives. This is done simply to indicate to the reader that the underlying verbs are imperative in form even if their semantic function is similar to a declarative. Reported speech that uses direct discourse will be marked with angle quotation marks to clearly distinguish it from quoted speech when literal translations are given. Within the angle quotation marks, the grammatical subject of the verb is placed in parentheses when it is not overtly stated with a pronoun. To help the reader, morphemes that have a variety of grammatical functions are parsed with their specific function in any given context (like the suffix *-nya* for example, which marks oblique case but can indicate, among other things, benefaction, possession, and location).

The language data presented in this article is from the *Kaina* (Wabag) dialect of Enga and was collected from various informants in Wabag, Enga Province in 2013 and 2014.

Finally, the abbreviations used in this article are as follows.

1	first person
2	second person
3	third person
ALL	allative
CNJ	conjunction
COM	comitative
DA	different actor
DEF	definite

DET	determiner
DU	dual
ERG	ergative
EXCL	exclusive
HEST	hesternal
HOD	hodiernal
INCL	inclusive
INDF	indefinite
INFR	inferred evidential
INST	instrumental
INTER	interrogative
LOC	locative
NCLUS	neutral clusivity
NMLZ	nominalizer
NSG	nonsingular
OBJ	object
PL	plural
PHEST	prehesternal
PHOD	post-hodiernal
POL	polite
POSS	possessive
PRES	present
PRESUP	presuppositional
PST	past
QUOT	quotative
SG	singular
SIM	simultaneous
SIMIL	similative
STAT	stative
VOC	vocative
VOLUNT	voluntative

2 Problems with Hintze's paradigm

Hintze (1962) states that 'immediate' imperatives consist of 'root' plus either 'imperative' (second person) or 'hortative' (first and third person) 'mode'. Similarly, Hintze states that 'later' imperatives/hortatives consist of 'root' plus 'mode' plus 'tense'. Below is a summary of the paradigm Hintze proposes for the verb 'eat'.¹

Table 1 - Summary of Hintze's paradigm for the imperative forms of *naa* ('eat')

Person/Number	Immediate	Later
2SG	naa	nape
2NSG	nalapa	nalapape
1SG	naowa	natoo
1DU	namba	nambana

¹ This summary uses the updated Enga orthography, which makes minor spelling changes and does not mark for tone.

1PL	nama	namana
3	nenā	nenā

A cursory analysis of Hintze's paradigm raises some immediate concerns. Assuming a verb root of *n*, it would appear that each person/number combination has a different suffix to indicate either 'imperative mode' or 'hortative mode'. Another suffix would also appear to be necessary for the 'later' first person singular form, which does not appear to be built from the immediate first person singular form. Similarly, it would appear that there must be at least two suffixes used to indicate later tense, namely *-pe* (2SG, 2NSG) and *-na* (1DU, 1PL). The 'later tense' suffix for first person singular is not easily discernable since there are no clear morpheme breaks for the 'later' first person singular form. Similarly, while we see the segments *na* in the 'later' third person singular form *nenā*, they also appear in the 'immediate' form, which makes it difficult to determine if they are part of the 'mode' suffix or the 'tense' suffix. That the 'immediate' and 'later' forms for third person are the same is a concern in and of itself. Unfortunately, Hintze provides no morpheme breaks in his analysis, nor does he discuss any of these concerns.

A wider understanding of verbal morphology raises additional concerns about Hintze's analysis. First, the suffix *-pe* is only used elsewhere as an interrogative suffix and never as a suffix of tense.² The suffix *-na* is also never used as a suffix of tense. Second, mood suffixes never precede tense suffixes in Enga, and so the argument that 'later' imperatives consist of 'root' plus 'mood' plus 'tense' is difficult to support.

Finally, current usage of Enga imperatives shows that 'later' imperatives can be used for actions that the speaker expects to be carried out immediately. Current usage also shows that 'later' imperatives, especially in the first person, are often used semantically as declaratives³ rather than 'hortatives'. In other words, they can simply be used to state the speaker's desire or intention that the subject engage in the stated activity without exhorting the addressee to engage in the activity. Thus, Hintze's analysis, which is adopted by Lang (1970)⁴ and slightly expanded by Eckert (1985),⁵ does not adequately describe the morphology and usage of Enga imperatives.

3 Description of imperative forms and usage

Enga imperative forms can be distinguished from non-imperative forms by the lack of an absolute tense formative and/or the use of irregular person/number suffixes in second and

² The tonal patterns for the *-pe* suffix are the same with imperative forms as they are with non-imperative forms, which supports the idea that *-pe* also functions as an interrogative suffix when used with imperatives.

³ Imperatives functioning semantically as declaratives are used to discuss events in the hodiernal future and indicate the speaker's intention or desire that the said event take place. In that sense they can also be described as voluntative. The terms declarative and voluntative are used somewhat interchangeably in this article to discuss imperative forms that do not exhort the subject of the verb to perform the stated action.

⁴ Lang's imperative chart includes morpheme breaks and identifies *-pe/-pi* as the suffix for 'second person late' imperatives and *-na* as the suffix for 'first person dual and plural late' imperatives. The 'late' first person singular form is parsed *na-t-o-o* but no glosses or analysis are provided. The third person forms are both parsed *ne-na* but again no glosses or analysis are provided.

⁵ Eckert provides no morpheme breaks or analysis, but he does document an additional imperative form, which he describes as the 'discretionary' form.

third person. All imperative forms can function as the final verb of a sentence.⁶ All of the imperative forms described in this article are included because they match the criteria above or, in the case of the first person singular voluntative, because they are interchangeable with imperative forms in grammatical structures that require imperative forms.

3.1 Basic forms

Basic imperative forms exist only for first and second person. The fact that these are the only possible basic forms is derived from the fact that these are the only forms in which the speaker is directly commanding the addressee(s) to do something. The basic form for first person singular is very rarely used in everyday speech.⁷ Third person forms have no direct addressee, and so they do not have a basic form. Basic forms are neutral with respect to the strength of the imperative and are most often used for commands that the speaker intends to be carried out immediately. The duration for which basic commands remain in effect is relatively short, pertaining only to the immediate time context and not beyond. All basic imperative forms are inclusive, meaning that the speaker issues the command directly to the addressee(s). This is true for first person forms as well even though non-imperative verb forms make no distinctions forclusivity.

3.1.1 Second person singular

The basic second person singular form is the verb stem.⁸ Verb stems that do not meet the basic phonological requirements for a word take on epenthetic vowels. These vowels, however, are added purely for phonological reasons. They are not morphemes and they do not carry any semantic weight. Examples of basic singular imperatives are listed below. The stems of the verbs in the following examples are *mai*, *kat*, *p*, and *pi* respectively. Because the latter three verb stems do not meet the basic requirements for an Enga word, epenthetic vowels are added. As with all imperative forms, the grammatical subject of the imperative may be omitted.

- 1 Baa mai.
3SG give:EXCL
'Give (it to) him!'
- 2 Emba toeya kata.
2SG upright stand
'You stand up!'
- 3 Emba anda-ka puu.
2SG house-ALL go

⁶ This characteristic distinguishes imperatives from medial verbs, which also are not inflected for absolute tense or person/number endings.

⁷ Younger informants often do not recognize basic first person singular forms as words. However, older informants confirm that they are in fact words. Whatever the case, they are rarely if ever used in speech.

⁸ The verb stem can be either the verb root, a compound stem consisting of more than one root, or a complex stem that includes the root (or root compound) and additional suffixes of direction, voice, and/or aspect.

'You go home!'

- 4 Kalai pii.
work do
'Do work!'

3.1.2 Second person nonsingular

The basic second person nonsingular imperative is formed from the verb root plus the hodiernal relative tense morpheme *-al* (or *-a/-aa/-e* for irregular verbs)⁹ and the second person nonsingular suffix *-pa*, which is different from the second person dual (*-mbi*) and plural (*-mi*) suffixes that are used with non-imperative verb forms. The hodiernal relative tense morpheme requires explanation. When used with medial verbs, the hodiernal relative tense generally represents verbs that occur on (or are considered as possibly occurring on) the same day as (but not simultaneously with) the main verb. When the hodiernal relative tense morpheme is used with final verbs, it represents verbal action that occurs on the same day as (but not simultaneous with) the speech act.

The basic second person nonsingular imperative forms for the stems *p* ('go') and *ip* ('come') are strictly irregular, attaching the nonsingular suffix directly to basic second person singular form rather than to the hodiernal relative tense morpheme.

- 5 Nyakama nee n-al-apa.
2PL food ingest-HOD-2NSG
'You (3 or more) eat food!'
- 6 Nyakamba-me mena doko py-al-apa.
2DU-ERG pig DEF.DET hit-HOD-2NSG
'You two kill that pig!'
- 7 Kalai mende py-e-pa.
work INDF.DEF do-HOD-2NSG
'(You more than one) do some work!'
- 8 Anda-ka p-upa.
house-ALL go-2NSG
'(You more than one) go home!'

3.1.3 First person dual and plural

The basic first person dual and plural imperatives are formed from the verb stem plus the regular first person dual (*-mba*) and first person plural (*-ma*) suffixes.

- 9 Nee n-ama.
food ingest-1PL
'Let's eat!'

⁹ Some irregular verbs such as *kat* ('stand') used contracted forms. For example the underlying form for the command *kalyepa* ('You(NSG) stand!') is *katalapa* (which is the form used in some dialects of Enga).

- 10 Mena doko py-amba.
pig DEF.DET hit-1DU
'Let us two kill that pig!'
- 11 Kalai pi-ma.
work do-1PL
'Let's do work!'
- 12 Anda-ka bua.¹⁰
house-ALL go:1DU
'Let us two go home!'

3.1.4 First person singular

The basic first person singular form is formed by adding the regular first person singular person/number suffix *-o/-u* (or variant *-ao*) to the verb root followed by *a*. The vowel *a* might function to distinguish these forms from the more common same actor simultaneous medial verbs.¹¹ Often the inclusion of the vowel *a* results in three consecutive vowels, which requires the insertion of *w* as per rules of Enga orthography. Basic first person singular forms are rarely ever used and so the examples below consist of the forms only.¹²

- 13 s-oa
hear-1SG
'let me hear'
- 14 py-ua
do-1SG
'let me do'
- 15 n-aowa
ingest-1SG
'let me eat'

3.2 Strong form

The strong imperative form only exists for canonical imperatives. Strong imperatives are formed by adding the interrogative suffix *-pe* (or *-pi* when preceded by a high vowel) to the basic form.¹³ The duration of time in which strong commands remain in effect is relatively long, extending beyond the immediate time context. Consequently, strong imperatives are

¹⁰ The underlying form for *bua* is 'pumba'. Because the consonants *p* and *mb* are homorganic, the *p* is deleted. The *u* and the *mb* then undergo metathesis. The resulting form *mbua* is unacceptable according to the rules of Enga orthography, which require prenasalized consonants to be written without the digraph when occurring word initially. As a result the *m* is dropped and the resulting surface form is *bua*.

¹¹ However the tonal patterns are different for the same actor simultaneous medial verbs and the first person singular imperative.

¹² Draper (2002) reports that the first person basic singular imperative is also quite rare in the related language of Kyaka Enga.

¹³ Basic imperative forms with two epenthetic vowels drop one of them when the interrogative suffix is added.

used both for urgent commands that the speaker expects to be carried out immediately as well as for urgent and neutral commands that the speaker expects to be carried out later.

The use of the interrogative suffix to form the strong imperative is not widely attested in languages around the world, and so it is worthy of additional comment. While the interrogative suffix is normally used with questions to elicit information, its use with imperatives is rhetorical. The rhetorical use of the interrogative is also attested in non-imperatives as illustrated in example 16.

- 16 Emba akali andake daa-pe.
 2SG man big no-INTER
 'You are certainly an important man.' (lit. 'You big man, no?!')

In example 16, the speaker is not asking the addressee whether or not he is an important man. Rather, he is stating that the addressee is certainly an important man. The wider context of the speech act in example 16 is that the speaker is attempting to get the addressee to pay a high price for a piece of land. So he uses the interrogative rhetorically to manipulate the addressee into paying a higher price. After hearing the speaker's comments, the addressee would be ashamed to say that he wasn't an important person or that he didn't have the money to pay the higher price that the speaker was requesting. So in this case, the rhetorical interrogative is used to elicit agreement with the speaker's demands rather than to elicit information. In the same way, the interrogative is used rhetorically with canonical imperatives to elicit agreement with the speaker's command. Thus the interrogative strengthens the force of the imperative.¹⁴

In example 17 below, the addition of the interrogative suffix is a rhetorical device to elicit compliance with the command. In a sense, the interrogative suffix demands a response. So if the addressee doesn't explicitly refuse the command, he is implicitly agreeing with the expectation of the speaker, which adds additional strength to the command. This is in contrast to the basic canonical imperative in which no rhetorical device is used to elicit the addressee's agreement. This implicit agreement is what makes the strong form the preferred form for imperatives to be carried out later. In many instances the speaker will no longer be present with the addressee at that time the command should be carried out. Therefore, the speaker relies upon the implicit agreement of the addressee to ensure that the command will actually be carried out later.

¹⁴ This is contrary to Hintze (1962), A. Lang (1970), and Eckert (1985), who state that imperatives suffixed with *-pe/-pi* are 'later' imperatives, Draper identifies the use of the suffix *-pe/-pi* as a marker of more urgent commands in the closely related language of Kyaka (2002). In his research on Enga questions, R. Lang (1970) inexplicably refuses to draw the conclusion that the *-pe/-pi* interrogative suffixes are indeed used with second person imperatives, even citing *puupi*, which is the strong form of the basic command *puu* ('go'), as ungrammatical. While *puupi* is not orthographically correct, the word *pupi* is perfectly grammatical. The second 'u' is deleted strictly for phonological reasons, but Lang uses the spelling change as a basis for saying that the form *puupi* is not grammatical. Had Lang used *mai* ('give') as an example instead, his argument would have collapsed as the suffixing of *-pi* results in *maipi*, which is the second person singular strong command form.

- 17 Anda-ka kat-ape.
 home-LOC stay-INTER
 'Stay at home!' (lit. 'Stay at home, will you!?!')

Readers who are familiar with Tok Pisin, the primary language of wider communication among Enga speakers, might suggest that this use of the interrogative suffix for strong imperatives is a borrowed phenomenon. It is true that Tok Pisin also uses an interrogative tag to strengthen commands as in example 18 below.

- 18 Harim, a!?
 listen INTER
 'Listen, will you!?!'

The use of the interrogative suffix to strengthen imperatives in Enga, however, predates the influence of Tok Pisin among Enga speakers. Its use is documented by Hintze as early as 1962, just fourteen years after Enga speakers began having regular contact with non-Enga speakers. At that time very few Enga speakers knew Tok Pisin, and so it is extremely unlikely that this use of the interrogative to strengthen imperatives is a borrowed phenomenon.

Below are some additional examples of the strong imperative form.

- 19 S-al-apa-pe.
 listen-HOD-2NSG-INTER
 '(You more than one) listen!' (lit. 'Listen, will you!?!')
- 20 Namba nis-epe.¹⁵
 1SG help-INTER
 '(You singular) help me!' (lit. 'Help me, will you!?!')
- 21 Baa-nya anda-ka p-up-ala, muni doko mai-pi.
 3SG-POSS house-ALL go-COMPL-HOD money DEF.DET give:EXCL-INTER
 'Go to his house and then give (him) the money!'
 (lit. 'Go to his house and then give the money, will you!?!')

3.3 Polite form

Canonical imperatives can be made more polite by adding the suffix *-oko* to the strong imperative form (but not the basic imperative form). When the *-oko* suffix is added to the strong form, the vowel of the interrogative suffix is deleted. The use of the polite suffix can weaken the strength of the command (example 22) or it can make an urgent command more polite (examples 23-24). Often the polite form is used when the speaker does not have a prior relationship with the addressee. However, it can also be used with friends and family members both for polite commands (example 25), and sarcastic commands intended to mildly reprimand the addressee (example 26).

¹⁵ The basic second person singular imperative for 'help' is *nisa*. For phonological reasons, however, the *a* shifts to *e*.

- 22 Emba-nya takange doko naima l-angi-p-oko.
2SG-POSS father DEF.DET 1PL tell-INCL.OBJ-INTER-POL
'Please tell us about your father!' (lit. 'Please tell us about your father, will you!?!')
- 23 Namba nis-al-apa-p-oko!
1SG help-HOD-2NSG-INTER-POL
'(You more than one) please help me!' (lit. 'Please help me, will you!?!')
- 24 Namba kondo kae-yap-oko.¹⁶
1SG pity feel-INTER-POL
'(You singular) please have mercy on me!' (lit. 'Please feel pity me, will you!?!')

A speaker could use the imperative in example 25 below while speaking to a friend or family member as a polite way to tell them to go ahead and eat when food has been served.

- 25 Nee n-ap-oko.
food ingest-INTER-POL
'(You singular) please eat!' (lit. 'Please eat, will you!?!')

In example 26 below, a young child is asked what his name is, but he does not respond. The child's mother, slightly embarrassed at the child's refusal to respond, uses the polite imperative sarcastically both to reprimand the child for not responding as well as to command him to respond.

- 26 L-ap-oko!
say-INTER-POL
'Will you please speak!?' (lit. 'Please speak, will you!?!')

3.4 Weak form

Another strategy for making an imperative polite is to use the weak form, which is formed by adding the simulative suffix *-le* to the hodiernal relative tense suffix.¹⁷ When used with nouns and adjectives, the simulative suffix often carries a diminutive connotation. For example, the word for 'mountain' is *manda*, and the word for 'hill' is *manda-le*. The word for 'far away' is *tependa*, and the word for 'somewhat far away' is *tependa-le*. Similarly, the simulative suffix also functions like a diminutive to weaken the force of the imperative.¹⁸

When speakers use weak imperatives as commands, they express confidence that the addressee(s) will complete the directed action while at the same time allowing the addressee(s) to do so at their own discretion.¹⁹ In that sense it is permissive, allowing and

¹⁶ The second *a* in *kaeyapoko* is epenthetic. The *y* is required by Enga orthographic principles, which state that three vowels may not occur in succession word medially.

¹⁷ R. Lang (1970) refers to this suffix as the 'simulative' suffix and in this particular usage Eckert (1985) refers to it as the 'discretionary' suffix. The basic function of the suffix is to indicate a degree of similarity, but it does not generally imply an effort to imitate the character or appearance of something.

¹⁸ Aikhenvald (2010) demonstrates that diminutive forms often weaken the force of imperatives.

¹⁹ Based on this reasoning, Eckert calls the *-le* morpheme the discretionary suffix (1985).

perhaps even encouraging the addressee(s) to delay performing the directed action. Consequently, it is a more polite command form that is often used when the speaker perceives the addressee(s) to be of a higher social status.

For phonological reasons, regular verbs in the second person singular change the hodiernal relative tense suffix *-al* to *-at*.²⁰ Irregular verbs use the same irregular forms of the hodiernal relative tense suffix that they use in other environments. The second person nonsingular weak imperative is formed by adding the similative suffix to the basic second person nonsingular imperative form. (First person imperatives can also take the similative suffix as discussed in section 3.8.)

27 Tenda namba nis-at-ale.

later 1SG help-HOD-SIMIL

'You can help me later.'

28 Emba nee n-ap-ala dy-aa-le.

2SG food ingest-COMPL-HOD give:INCL-HOD-SIMIL

'Eat (first) and then you can give (it) to me.'

29 Nyakama-nya moko wasa py-ap-ala, koto ny-al-apa-le.

2PL-POSS leg wash hit-COMPL-HOD rest take-HOD-2NSG-SIMIL

'You can wash your feet and then rest.'

3.5 Neutral clusivity forms

As stated in section 3.1, basic imperative forms are always inclusive, meaning that the speaker issues a command directly to an addressee. However, when a speaker expresses intention or desire that an addressee or non-addressee perform an action without actually commanding them to do so, the imperative must have the suffix *-na*, which renders the verb neutral with respect to clusivity. As a result, it does not change the verb into a strictly exclusive verb, but rather it removes the strictly inclusive sense of the verb. In doing so, the neutral clusivity suffix also removes the hortatory force of the verb.

3.5.1 Third person forms

Third person imperatives are formed by adding the neutral clusivity suffix *-na* to the verb stem. Third person imperatives do not distinguish between numbers, and so there are no person/number suffixes. This is in contrast to non-imperative forms which distinguish between singular, dual, and plural in the third person. It is rare for third person forms to be the main verb of a sentence, however it is possible, especially when the speaker wants to emphasize that the power to fulfill the event rests in the hands of the third person subject of the verb. In that sense, third person can convey an optative meaning as in example 30. Third person imperatives can also convey a jussive meaning as in example 31 or declarative meaning as in example 32. By their nature, third person forms are always exclusive, but, as

²⁰ For example, the root *n* ('eat') become *natale* instead of *nalale* because the string *alale* does not generally occur in Enga.

section 3.5.2 will demonstrate, it is preferable to refer to the suffix *-na* as a marker of neutral clusivity rather than exclusivity.

30 Sambo l-at-o doko, Gote-me namba pi-na.
falsehood say-PHOD-1SG DEF.DET God-ERG 1SG hit-NCLUS
'If I lie, God shall hit me!' (or 'If I lie, may God hit me!')

31 Namba-nya kaita min-ingi dupa-me nyakama-nya oapi dupa
1SG-POSS path hold-HAB DEF.DET.PL-ERG3PL-POSS belongings DEF.DET.PL
tange ny-ina.
self take-NCLUS

'My friends shall take their belonging for themselves!/' 'Let my friends take their belongings for themselves!')

32 Emba-me mena dupa ny-et-e-no doko-me,
2SG-ERG pig DEF.DET.PL take-PHOD-2SG-PRESUP DEF.DET-ERG

ee namba-me pok-e-o dake namba-nya=lamo l-ao pan-ena.
garden 1SG-ERG plant-PHEST-1SG this 1SG-POSS=INFR say-SIM reveal-NCLUS

'The action of you taking the pigs shall reveal that this garden I planted is mine.'

3.5.2 First person dual and plural neutral clusivity forms

First person neutral clusivity imperatives are formed by adding the suffix *-na* to the basic first person dual and plural forms. The addition of the suffix *-na* removes the hortatory force of the verb, allowing the speaker to simply declare his or her desire or intention that he and the other participants engage in the stated activity in the very near future (same day but often within the next few minutes). In that sense, the first person dual and plural neutral clusivity forms function very much like simple declarative statements; they can be addressed to members of the group who will be participating with the speaker in the stated event (inclusive) or to members outside of the speaker's party (exclusive). However, the speaker is stating his or her desire that the group engage in the stated activity and so there is a volunative²¹ force to the verb. In example 33, the speaker is addressing people who will not be joining with him or her in the stated activities. In example 34, the speaker is addressing people whom he or she expects will be joining with him or her in the stated activities.

33 Namba wane ko-le dake-pa omo-sa nee n-ala p-ely-amba-no-na,²²
1SG boy small-SIMIL this-COM over.there-ALL food eat-HOD go-PRES-1DU-PRESUP-CNJ
n-ap-ala dee ae pily-amba-na.
eat-COMPL-HOD again here return-1DU-NCLUS
'I and this small boy are going over there to eat food, we shall eat and then return here again.'

²¹ In this context 'volunative' should be understood to mean 'expressing a desire or intention to perform the action denoted by the verb'.

²² The *-na* suffix in the word *pelyambanona* is a clausal conjunction. It is unrelated to the non-inclusive suffix.

- 34 Kalai et-ap-ala, nee n-amba-na.
 work finish-COMPL-HOD food eat-1DU-NCLUS
 'We shall do work and then eat food.'

3.6 Voluntative form

First person singular does not use a neutral clusivity form. This is mostly likely because there is no need to distinguish for clusivity with first person singular verbs. The first person singular voluntative form, however, is quite similar in function to the first person dual and plural neutral clusivity forms. It expresses the speaker's desire or intention to engage in a stated activity in the very near future (same day but often within the next few minutes). Because the neutral clusivity suffix is not used, a different strategy is employed to formulate the first person singular voluntative. The first person singular post-hodiernal future verb form is adapted by lengthening the vowel of the person/number suffix. The resulting morpheme is the portmanteau suffix *-too* (or *-tuu*), which indicates that the imperative is both first person singular and voluntative.²³ This difference is illustrated in examples 35 and 36 below.

- 35 Taita p-at-o.
 tomorrow go-PHOD-1SG
 'I will go tomorrow.'
- 36 Tenda p-atoo.
 later go-1SG:VOLUNT
 'I shall go later.'

First person singular voluntative forms are considered imperatives only because they are highly interchangeable with other imperative forms in grammatical structures that require imperative forms. However, there is nothing about the morphology of first person singular voluntative forms to suggest that they are imperatives.

3.7 Semantic declaratives

The voluntative, neutral clusivity, and weak imperatives²⁴ often function semantically as simple declaratives when they are used as the main verb of a sentence. This is demonstrated by the fact that the quotative suffix *-na* is often added to these forms when they conclude quoted or reported speech. The quotative suffix *-na* should not be confused with the neutral clusivity suffix *-na*. They are different morphemes as indicated by the fact that the quotative suffix can be attached to the neutral clusivity suffix as in example 37 below. The quotative suffix is usually required only for declarative verbs that conclude quoted or reported speech, and it is very rarely added to imperative forms. Nevertheless, the quotative suffix is

²³ Draper (2002) documents the use of the suffix *-na* for non-basic first person singular forms in the closely related language of Kyaka Enga. This gives validity to the idea that the first person singular voluntative and the first person dual and plural neutral clusivity forms are related.

²⁴ These forms are referred to as the 'purposive' forms for reasons stated in section 3.2.

commonly added to voluntative, neutral clusivity, and weak imperatives when they are used as the main verb of an utterance and conclude quoted or reported speech.

The use of these forms as simple declaratives is also supported by the fact that there is no morphological tense for probable hodiernal future events. The hodiernal relative tense, when used verb finally, always occurs with the presuppositional mood suffix and emphasizes the speaker's belief that the stated event will definitely happen. The post-hodiernal future tense when used verb finally implies that the stated event will happen sometime after the day of the speech event. Therefore there is no morphological tense for probable (but not definite) same-day future events. The voluntative, non-inclusive, and weak imperative forms are often used to fill this gap. When they do function semantically as declaratives in quoted or reported speech, they take the quotative suffix as in examples 37-39. Examples 40-41 show that other imperative forms do not take the quotative suffix when occurring in quoted or reported speech.

- 37 Baa muni mendatupa mai-ma-na-na l-e-ami.
 3SG money some give:EXCL-1PL-NCLUS-QUOT say-PHEST-3PL
 'They said they would give him some money.' (lit. 'They said <(we) shall give> him some money.')
- 38 Baa-me dokaita l-amai-yoo, "Pupu l-apae baa-kisa s-ingi=lamo l-ao
 3SG-ERG them tell-EXCL.OBJ-SIM strong say-STAT 3SG-upon be-HAB=INFR say-SIM
 kanje-pa-le-na" l-e-a.
 see:HOD-2NSG-SIMIL-QUOT say-PHEST-3SG
 'He told them and said, "You (3 or more) shall see that²⁵ strength is evidently upon him."'
- 39 Wanaku doko-me yanu py-ao, "Namba p-atoa-na"²⁶ l-e-a.
 girl DEF.DET.ERG repayment hit-SIM 1SG go-1SG:VOLUNT-QUOT say-PHEST-3SG
 'The girl replied and said, "I shall go."'
- 40 Endakali dupa-me naima bui dupa kanje-pa l-e-ami.
 people DEF.DET.PL-ERG 1pl star DEF.DET.PL see:HOD-2NSG say-PHEST-3PL
 'The people told us to look at the stars.' (lit. 'The people said we <(you) look at> the stars!')
- 41 Maniosa-me naima l-angy-oo, "Namba-nya anda-ka mua" l-e-a.
 Maniosa-ERG 1PL tell-INCL.OBJ-SIM 1SG-POSS house-ALL go:1PL say-PHEST-3SG
 'Maniosa told us and said, "Let's go to my house!'"

3.8 First person weak forms

Although quite rare, certain non-canonical imperatives can also take the simulative suffix *-le* which weakens the force of the verb. Weakened forms can function either to give a sense of uncertainty about whether or not the action will actually be carried out (example 42) or to

²⁵ This word is literally 'saying' but has been translated as 'that' to keep the focus on the discussion at hand.

²⁶ For phonological reasons, the *-na* suffix causes the final vowel of the word *patoa* to shift to *a*.

make a statement more polite (example 43). The similitive suffix is not generally used with third person imperatives in the *Kaina* dialect of Enga.²⁷

- 42 Dopa pi-t-a-mo-pa, naima-me kand-at-ala,
 thus do-PHOD-3SG-PRESUP-DA 1PL-ERG see-COMPL-HOD
 baa mas-oo min-ama-na-le.
 3SG think-SIM hold-1PL-NCLUS-SIMIL

'When he does that, having seen we might believe (in) him.'

- 43 Namba-me pii mende l-aa ep-o doko l-at-atoa-le.²⁸
 1SG-ERG word INDF.DET say-HOD come-HOD:1SG DEF.DET say-COMPL-VOLUNT-SIMIL
 'I shall first²⁹ say what I came to say (if you don't mind).'

3.9 Permissive interrogative forms

In section 3.2 the argument was made that the interrogative suffix strengthens canonical imperatives. However, when the interrogative suffix is used with non-canonical imperatives, it gives them a permissive meaning.³⁰

3.9.1 Basic permissive interrogative forms

When the interrogative suffix is attached to the basic first person dual and plural imperative forms, the result is a basic permissive interrogative form. Permissive interrogative forms are neutral with respect toclusivity. The speaker may use them to seek the permission or gain the consent of those with whom he/she would like to engage in the stated activity or to seek the permission of somebody outside of the speaker's group. The activity in mind is generally one that the speaker expects to be carried out immediately.³¹

- 44 Nee n-ama-pe?
 food eat-1PL-INTER
 'May we eat food?' (or 'Should we eat food?')

- 45 Bua-pe?
 go:1DU-INTER
 'May we two go?' (or 'Should we two go?')

²⁷ It is, however, used in the Laeyapo dialect.

²⁸ The addition of the similitive suffix causes the final vowel in the word *latoo* to shift to *a*.

²⁹ The completive suffix indicates that the speakers wishes to complete the action of saying what he wants to say before engaging in another activity. In this particular context, the addressees want the speaker to eat, but he wants to say something first and then eat. As a result the speaker uses the completive suffix to communicate his desire to say and complete his speech first and then eat.

³⁰ This is one practical reason why there are no strong non-canonical forms since the suffix used to strengthen canonical imperatives is used to make non-canonical imperatives permissive.

³¹ However the basic permissive interrogative forms can also be used to describe what the speaker's inner monologue regarding a possible future scenario.

The first person basic permissive interrogative is also formed by attaching the interrogative suffix. Unlike the basic first person imperative, which is very rarely used, the first person singular permissive interrogative form is commonly used. Just like the dual and plural basic permissive interrogative forms, the first person singular basic permissive interrogative generally concerns an event the speaker expects to be carried out immediately.

- 46 Dy-ua-pe?
 give:INCL-1SG-INTER
 'May I give (it to) you?' (or 'Should I give (it to) you?')

3.9.2 Other permissive/interrogative forms

When the interrogative suffix is attached to a neutral clusivity or voluntative form, it can result in either a permissive interrogative (example 47) or simple interrogative (example 48). In either case the question refers to action in the near future (same day) and not the present. These forms are rare.

- 47 Tenda nee n-atoa-pe?³²
 later food eat-1SG:VOLUNT-INTER
 'May I eat food later?' (or 'Should I eat food later?')
- 48 Nalimba-me dee aki l-amba-na-pe?
 1DU-ERG again what say-1DU-NCLUS-INTER
 'What else shall we two say (about it)?'

3.10 Vocative forms

Basic canonical imperatives with the vocative suffix *-oo* are used very frequently when taking leave of a person. (Adding the vocative to strong imperative forms is also acceptable.) Such imperatives are purely phatic. By far the most frequent verbs used in this manner are 'go' and 'stand', although it is possible for other verbs to take the vocative suffix in the appropriate context. When the vocative suffix is attached to second person nonsingular forms, the 'a' is deleted from the second person nonsingular *-pa* suffix.

- 49 Yakalum-oo! Pu-oo!
 okay-VOC go-VOC
 'Okay! (You) go!'
- 50 Kalye-p-oo!
 stand:HOD-2NSG-VOC
 '(You more than one) stay!'

³² The addition of the interrogative suffix causes the final vowel in the word *natoo* to shift to *a*.

3.11 Negative forms

Imperative forms, with the exception of permissive interrogatives and vocatives, can be negated. Negative strong imperatives are used mainly for prohibitions (examples 51 and 52). Negative polite imperatives are used for polite, yet urgent, requests that the addressee not do something (example 53). Negative weak imperatives are used for polite, but non-urgent, requests that the addressee not do something (example 54). Negative neutral clusivity imperatives state a possible event that the speaker desires or intends not to have happen (example 55). Negative voluntative imperatives states the speaker's desire or intension not to do something (example 56).

Negative imperatives are formed by the same two methods used to form negative non-imperatives. The first method is to add the negative prefix *na-* to the verb stem (examples 52, 54-56). The second method is to use the verb stem plus hodiernal relative tense suffix followed by the imperative form of the negative verb stem *nae* (examples 51 and 53). In general, shorter verb stems prefer the negative prefix, and longer verb stems prefer the negative verb root. Some verbs can use either method. As such, there is no hard and fast rule about which verbs use which method, and some of the choices may be based on speaker preference.

- 51 Endakali waka mende l-amai-ya nae-yal-apa-pe.
 person other INDF.DET tell-EXCL.OBJ-HOD NEG-HOD-2NSG-INTER
 '(You more than one) don't tell another person!'
- 52 Pii koo na-l-ape.
 word bad NEG-say-INTER
 'Don't say bad words!'
- 53 Emba-me naima-nya kaita doko lyok-ala nae-yap-oko.
 2SG-ERG 1PL-POSS path DEF.DET block-HOD NEG-INTER-POL
 'Please don't block our path!'
- 54 Emba na-p-aa-le.
 2SG NEG-go-HOD-SIMIL
 'Please don't go!'
- 55 Nalimba tange etete-na, nalimba-nya kaina-nya imbu kae-yapae na-s-ina.
 1DU relative very-CNJ 1DU-POSS middle-LOC anger feel-STAT NEG-be-NCLUS
 'We two are true relatives, so there shall not be anger between us.'
- 56 Anda-ka na-p-atoo.
 house-ALL NEG-go-1SG:VOLUNT
 'I shall not go home.'

Basic imperative forms are rarely negated. When they are negated, it is usually in the context of singling somebody out from a group as in example 57 below.

- 57 Nyakama p-upa. Yakolasa, emba na-pu.
 2PL go-2NSG Yakolasa 2SG NEG-go
 'You (three or more) go! Yakolasa, don't go!'

3.12 Impersonal forms

Second person singular imperatives are used for impersonal commands issued directly to one or more addressees. The impersonal forms are useful when the speaker is not sure which addressee will respond (example 58) or when an individual imperative applies in general to multiple addressees (example 59). Impersonal commands can be stated in their strong, weak, polite, and negative forms.

58 Mende-me itaki pyaa.
INDF.PRO-ERG count hit
'Someone read!'

59 Pake n-ala nae-yape.
steal eat-HOD NEG-INTER
'Don't steal!'

The strong impersonal form can also take the habitual suffix *-enge* which causes the imperative force to be replaced with obligative force. The addition of the *-enge* suffix causes the vowel of the interrogative suffix to drop. This form can be used with any grammatical subject regardless of person or number. It can also take the place of nouns and adjectives.

60 Baa taita ip-up-enge.
3SG tomorrow come-INTER-HAB
'It is necessary for him to come tomorrow.'

61 Pake n-ala nae-yap-enge.
steal eat-HOD neg-INTER-HAB
'You/People shouldn't steal.'

62 Emba-me naima=kisa na-l-ap-enge³³ mende l-ap-i.
2SG-ERG 1PL=to NEG-say-INTER-HAB INDF.PRO say-HEST-2SG
'You said to us something that should not be said.'

63 Mena py-ap-enge³⁴ doko anja ka-ly-a-pe?
pig hit-INTER-HAB DEF.DET where stand-PRES-3SG-INTER
'Where is the pig that should be killed?'

There are two other impersonal imperative forms that are built by adding the suffix *-ni* to the basic first person singular imperative. The addition of the suffix *-ni* nominalizes the verb and adds a desiderative meaning. The first form uses the verb 'feel' to indicate a felt desire (example 64). The second form attaches the instrumental suffix *-mi*³⁵ to the nominalized verb form and uses a form of the verb stem *kum* ('die') to indicate strong desire (example 65). These nominalized imperatives can be used with first person, second person, and third person actors.

³³ Here the word *nalapenge* occurs in the spot where nouns typically occur.

³⁴ Here the word *pyapenge* occurs in the spot where adjectives typically occur.

³⁵ The instrumental suffix is the same as the ergative suffix and may occur as *-mi* or *-me* depending on the preceding vowel.

- 64 Namba mapu n-aowa-ni³⁶ kae-ly-o.
 1SG sweet.potato ingest-1SG-NMLZ feel-PRES-1SG
 'I feel the desire to eat sweet potato.'
- 65 Baa mapu n-aowa-ni-mi kum-ily-a-mo.
 3SG sweet.potato ingest-1SG-NMLZ-INST die-PRES-3SG-PRESUP
 'He is dying to eat sweet potato.' (lit. 'He is dying by means of the desire to eat sweet potato.')

3.13 Modifications for direction, voice, and aspect

All of the imperative forms discussed to this point can be modified for direction, voice, and aspect. These modifications are made directly to the verb root (or compound stem) and form a complex stem. In particular, verb roots (and compound stems) can take the following suffixes: direction³⁷ (example 66), *-s* for causative voice (example 67), *-k* for applicative voice³⁸ (example 68), *-mai* for exclusive object (example 69), *-p/-t* for completive aspect.³⁹ Completive aspect commands the addressee both to do and finish the stated action (example 70), but it can also increase the urgency of the request (example 71).

- 66 Kand-alya.
 see-UPWARDS
 'Look up!'
- 67 Baa py-ao kum-as-ema.
 3SG hit-SIM die-CAUS-1PL
 'Let's kill him!' (lit. 'Let's hit and cause him to die!')
- 68 Emba-nya kalai py-ak-aowa-pe?
 2SG-BEN work do-APPL-1SG-INTER
 'May I do work for you?' (or 'Should I do work for you?')
- 69 Emba-me akali datupa-nya mapu yang-ak-amai.
 2SG-erg man these-BEN sweet.potato cook-APPL-EXCL.OBJ
 'Cook sweet potato for these men!'

In example 70 below, the context is a meal in which food has not been served yet. Some people inform the host that they are planning on leaving before the food is served, and the host asks them to eat first before they go. The use of the completive aspect in the imperative conveys that the speaker is asking them to complete the activity of eating. The implication is that they may go once they have finished eating.

- 70 Nyakama nee n-ap-al-apa-p-oko.
 2PL food eat-COMPL-HOD-2NSG-INTER-POL
 'You (three or more) please eat (and complete the act of eating)!'

³⁶ The underlying verb form is *naoani*, however rules of Enga orthography do not permit three consecutive vowels to occur in the middle of a word. As a result *w* is inserted after *o*.

³⁷ The various directional suffixes are *-aly* (upwards), *-an* (downwards), *-am* (horizontal), *-amb* (detrusive/away from speaker), *-ae* (towards speaker), *-apily* (towards prior location), and *-and* (inside).

³⁸ Unless followed by the exclusive object suffix *-mai*, the applicative voice suffix implies an inclusive object.

³⁹ Further investigation needs to be done on the difference between the suffixes *-p* and *-t*. It may be that *-p* represents atelic completive aspect and *-t* represents telic completive aspect.

- 71 Endaki mendalapo⁴⁰ n-atoo di-t-ap-oko.
 water INDF.DET.DU ingest-1SG:VOLUNT give:INCL-COMPL-INTER-POL
 'Please give me a little water so that I can drink (because I really need it)!'

4 Imperatives in complex sentences

Most of the examples given so far in this article have been of imperatives used in simple sentences. However, imperatives are widely used in complex sentences, where they sometimes take on different shades of meaning. There are four main types of complex sentences in which imperatives commonly occur: same-actor medial verb constructions, imperative clause chains, direct discourse reported speech constructions, and complex constructions that consist of both imperative and non-imperative clauses.

4.1 Same-actor medial verb constructions

Like many Papuan languages, Enga makes extensive use of medial verbs. Medial verbs are those which take their specification for outer operators such as person, number, tense, or mood from a following fully inflected verb form (Foley 1986). Enga uses two types of same-actor medial verbs: sequential and simultaneous. When same-actor medial verbs are followed by an imperative, they also take on the same force as the imperative. The same-actor sequential medial verb form is the verb stem inflected for completive aspect and hodiernal relative tense. The same actor simultaneous medial verb is the verb stem with the suffix *-ao* (or its phonological variants *-oo*, *-uo*, *-uu*).

- 72 Yuu dake yakin-ao paka puu.
 land this leave-SIM fearfully go
 'Leave this land and run away!'
- 73 Emba-me palao epe longo ny-ep-ala, yapa betesa was-oo yanga.
 2SG-ERG flour good much take-COMPL-HOD quickly bread make-SIM cook
 'Get a lot of good flour, and then quickly make bread and cook (it)!'

Simultaneous medial verbs connected to a verb formed from an existential stem⁴¹ like *kat* ('stand') are used for commands that have a continuous aspect.

- 74 Kalai py-oo kat-ape.
 work do-SIM stand-INTER
 'Continue doing work!'

4.2 Imperative clause chains

While coordinate same-actor verb clauses in Enga can be chained together with the use of medial verbs, that is not the case for different-actor verb clauses. When the actor of the following clause in a non-imperative sentence changes, the verb must be marked with the different actor suffix *-pa* or *-sa*.⁴²

⁴⁰ The use of the indefinite dual determiner softens the effect of the imperative without decreasing its urgency.

⁴¹ Enga has seven existential verbs that are paired with various categories of nouns based on the physical characteristics of the nouns. The seven verb stems are *kat* ('stand'), *pit* ('sit'), *pali* ('lie'), *s* ('be'), *ly* ('hang'), *ip* ('come'), and *mand* ('carry') (Lang 1975). The verb stem *j* ('exist') is possibly an eighth existential verb that is used to describe the existence of situations as opposed to nouns.

⁴² The suffix *-pa* is used to mark comitative case with noun phrases and carries the meaning 'in association with'. This suffix is used for simultaneous and immediate sequential actions. If the verb is modified for completive

- 75 Wane dupa ep-e-ami-no-pa,
 child DEF.DET.PL come-PHEST-3PL-PRESUP-DA
 Maniosa-me dokaita mana l-amai-y-a.
 Maniosa-ERG them instruction tell-EXCL.OBJ-PHEST-3SG
 'When the children came, Maniosa taught them.'

Imperatives clauses, however, do not require a suffix to indicate a different actor. Rather, they can be chained together without requiring any additional grammatical notation to show that they are dependent different-actor clauses. However, only certain forms can be used in this manner in dependent imperative clauses, namely the voluntative, neutral clusivity, and weak forms. Dependent clauses in imperative clause chains state the purpose for the action of the following imperative. Consequently, the voluntative, neutral clusivity, and weak imperatives as a group will be referred to as the purposive forms. Main imperative clauses can use any semantically acceptable form, although the voluntative and basic forms are the most common.

- 76 Endaki nyakama n-al-apa-le di-too.
 water 2PL ingest-HOD-2NSG-SIMIL give:INC-1SG:VOLUNT
 'I shall give you (3 or more) water so that you can drink.'
 (lit. 'You (3 or more) shall drink water; I shall give.')
- 77 Namba-nya anda-ka p-ato, nyakama-me namba yakin-al-apa.
 1SG-POSS house-ALL go-1SG:VOLUNT 2PL-ERG 1SG release-HOD-2NSG
 'You (3 or more) release me so that I can go home.'
 (lit. 'I shall go to house; you (3 or more) shall release me.')
- 78 Naima andakote ip-uma-na, kaitini lumba.
 1PL inside come-1PL-NCLUS door open
 'Open the door so that we can come inside!'
 (lit. 'We shall come inside; you shall open door.')
- 79 Nyakamba-me pisa ny-al-apa-le mana l-angi-too,
 2DU-ERG fish take-HOD-2NSG-SIMIL instruction tell-INC.OBJ-1SG:VOLUNT
 namba wat-ao ip-upa.
 1SG follow-SIM come-2NSG
 'Come follow me so that I can teach so that you two can catch fish!'
 (lit. 'You two shall take fish; I shall tell instruction; come and follow me!')

Notice that example 79 above has three imperatives clauses chained together including the weak form *nyalapale*, the voluntative form *langitoo*, and the basic form *ipupa*.

When the verb formed from the stem *kae* ('cease') is the main verb in an imperative clause chain the sentence often has jussive force. Its formulation and usage is very similar to English constructions that begin with the word 'let' such as 'let him say something' or 'let me do it'.

aspect, then the suffix marks sequential actions that are not immediate. The *-sa* suffix is related to the causative voice suffix (*-s*) and indicates that the action of the verb has caused the following actor to perform the action stated in the following verb.

80 Baa-me pii mende l-ena kaeya.
 3SG-ERG word INDF.DET say-NCLUS cease
 'Let him say something!' (lit. 'He shall say a word; cease!')

81 Namba-me pi-too kaeya.
 1SG-ERG do-1SG:VOLUNT cease
 'Let me do (it)!' (lit. 'I shall do; cease!')

When the verb formed from the stem *l* ('say') is the main verb in an imperative clause chain it often functions as a causative in which the addressee is commanded to tell someone else do something. Usually the speaker is commanding the addressee to make a third person do something, however sometimes the speaker is commanding the addressee to make the speaker himself or the speaker's party do something.

82 Baa-me kalai pi-na laa.
 3SG-ERG work do-NCLUS say
 'Tell him to do work!' (lit. 'Say he <shall do> work!')

83 Anda-ka p-upa l-ap-oko.
 house-ALL go-2NSG say-INTER-POL
 'Please tell us to go home!' (lit. 'Please say <(you more than one) go home>!')

4.3 Imperatives in direct discourse reported speech

Imperatives are widely used in reported speech, which always uses direct discourse for verbs and indirect discourse for pronouns. There are three main types of reported speech. The first type of reported speech is inner monologue speech, which reports a person's inner monologue in order to convey the purpose of a person's actions or their desire to engage in a particular activity. The second type of reported speech is causative reported speech, in which the verb stem *l* ('say') is used to indicate that the actioner causes the imperative to happen. The third type of reported speech is actual reported speech, in which the content of a prior speech act is reported.

4.3.1 Imperatives in inner monologue reported speech

The use of imperatives in inner monologue reported speech can either (1) indicate the purpose behind someone's actions or (2) simply report a person's desire. In either case, only the purposive forms⁴³ may be used. Inner monologue imperatives that indicate desire use only the first person purposive forms and must be accompanied by the verb 'think'. Inner monologue reported speech is never actually spoken, but rather it is a report of someone's thoughts or inner monologue. As with all reported speech in Enga, the verbs are reported using direct discourse and the pronouns are reported using indirect discourse. This can make for a rather complicated construction when the speaker is reporting the inner monologue of a second person addressee as illustrated in example 85. Examples 84-87 illustrate inner monologue imperatives that indicate purpose. Examples 88-90 illustrate inner monologue imperatives that indicate desire.

84 Namba-nya wane doko emba-me nis-at-ale l-ao lamin-ao ep-o.
 1SG-POSS boy DEF.DET 2SG-ERG help-HOD-SIMIL say-SIM bring-SIM come-HOD:1SG
⁴³ come and brought my boy so that you could help him.
 (lit. 'I came and brought the boy of me, saying, you <shall help>'.)

⁴³ That is the voluntative, neutral clusivity, and weak forms.

- 85 Emba-nya wane doko namba-me nis-at-ale l-ao lamin-ao ip-up-i
 2SG-POSS boy DEF.DET 1SG-ERG help-HOD-SIMIL say-SIM bring-SIM come-PHEST-2SG
 'You came and brought your boy so that I could help him.'
 (lit. 'You came and brought the boy of you, saying, I <(you) shall help!>')
- 86 Martin anda-ka kat-e-a-mo-pa, baa-nya kaiminingi dupa ip-ao,
 Martin house-LOC stand-PHEST-3SG-PRESUP-DA 3SG-POSS brother DEF.DET.PL come-SIM
 baa pii l-amai-ma-na l-ao, kamaka kat-e-ami.
 3SG word tell-EXCL.OBJ-1PL-NCLUS say-SIM outside stand-PHEST-3PL
 'While Martin was at home, his brothers came and stood outside so that they could talk to him.'
 (lit. 'While Martin stood at home, the brothers of him came and stood outside, saying, <(we) shall tell> word.')
- 87 Enda doko-me mas-epae epe ny-otoo l-ao ep-e-a.
 woman DEF.DET-ERG think-STAT good take-1SG:VOLUNTsay-SIM come-PHEST-3SG
 'The woman came so that she could receive wisdom.'
 (lit. 'The woman came, saying <(I) shall take> good thinking.')
- 88 Namba anda-ka p-atoo l-ao mas-ily-o.
 1SG house-ALL go-1SG:VOLUNT say-SIM think-PRES-1SG
 'I want to go home.' (lit. 'I am thinking, saying, <(I) shall go> home.')
- 89 Baa mapu n-atoo l-ao mas-ily-a-mo.
 3SG sweet.potato ingest-1SG:VOLUNT say-SIM think-PRES-3SG-PRESUP
 'He wants to eat sweet potato.' (lit. 'He is thinking, saying, <(I) shall eat> sweet potato.')
- 90 Nyakamba-me pii mende l-amba-na l-ao mas-ily-ambi-pi?
 2DU-ERG word INDF.DET say-1DU-NCLUS say-SIM think-PRES-2DU-INTER
 'Do you two want to say something?' (lit. 'Are you two thinking and saying <(we two) shall say> a word?')

4.3.2 Imperatives in causative reported speech

Imperatives used in causative reported speech are very similar to the imperative clause chains that use a form of the verb stem *l* ('say') as the main verb (see examples 82-83). The verb stem *l* functions as a causative and is used to report what the actor causes someone else to do. This form does not technically require the actor to actually say something, but rather it is focused on the actor as the cause of something happening.

- 91 Baa-me wane doko p-ena l-e-a.
 3SG-ERG boy DEF.DET go-NCLUS say-PHEST-3SG
 'He sent the boy away.' (lit. 'He said the boy <shall go>'.)

The verb stem *mai* ('give') can also be used in a causative sense. Consider the difference between examples 92 and 93 below. In example 92, the mother gives her son something to drink. She doesn't just offer a drink or give him the container, but she actually causes her son to drink either by giving the water to him and putting it into his mouth to drink. In example 93, however, there is no causative force, but rather purposive force. As a result, example 93

uses *lao*⁴⁴ while example 92 does not. Example 93 is inner monologue reported speech while example 92 is a causative (although not causative reported speech since there is no report of any speech and no use of *lao*).

92 Endangi-mi penge doko-nya endaki kamu-o mandy-uu,
mother-ERG container DEF.DET-LOC water fill-SIM carry-SIM

ikiningi n-ena mai-y-a.
son ingest-NCLUS give:EXCL-PHEST-3SG

'The mother filled water in the container, carried [it], and gave [it to the] son to drink.'

93 Enda doko-me baa endaki kamu-o n-ena l-ao mai-y-a
womanDEF.DET-ERG 3SG water fill-SIM ingest-NCLUS say-SIM give-PHEST-3SG
'The woman filled water and gave [it to] him so that he could drink.'

4.3.3 Imperatives in actual reported speech

Imperatives in actual reported speech are used to report the content of an actual speech act.

94 Kuaka namba anda-ka p-atoos l-ap-u.
yesterday 1SG house-ALL go-1SG:VOLUNT say-HEST-1SG
'Yesterday I said that I would go home.' (lit. 'Yesterday I said <(I) shall go> home.')

95 Kuaka baa anda-ka p-atoos l-apy-a.
yesterday 3SG house-ALL go-1SG:VOLUNT say-HEST-3SG
'Yesterday he said that he would go home.' (lit. 'Yesterday he said <(I) shall go> home.')

96 Kuaka emba-me namba anda-ka p-upi l-ap-i.
yesterday 2SG-ERG 1SG house-ALL go-INTER say-HEST-2SG
'Yesterday you said that I should go home.' (lit. 'Yesterday you said I <(you) shall go> home.')

4.4 Complex sentences with imperative and non-imperative clauses

Other than their use in reported and quoted speech, imperatives do not generally occur in dependent clauses that have a non-imperative main clause. However imperative clauses may be joined with non-imperative clauses when occurring in conjunction with the verb stem *kae* ('cease'), when joined by the clausal conjunction *-na*, and when the non-imperative clause is conditional.⁴⁵

4.4.1 Imperatives with the verb stem *kae* ('cease')

Imperatives can occur as dependent clauses of the verb 'cease'. This communicates that the grammatical subject of the main verb allows the action signified in the imperative to take place.

⁴⁴ *Lao* is the same actor simultaneous medial verb form of

⁴⁵ There are also isolated instances of imperative forms that function as semantic declaratives occurring with other types of non-imperative dependent clauses.

- 97 Endakali dupa-me namba py-ao kum-as-et-ala,
 people DEF.DET.PL-ERG 1SG hit-SIM die-CAUS-COMPL-HOD
 emba pilya-le kae-yal-ami-no.
 2SG sit:HOD-SIMIL cease-HOD-2PL-PRESUP
 'The people will kill me and then let you live.'

4.4.2 Imperative clauses joined with the clausal conjunction

The most common strategy for joining imperative clauses to non-imperative clauses is with the clausal conjunction *-na*.⁴⁶ In these constructions, the non-imperative clause preceding the conjunction provides the basis for the imperative that follows. When the verb of the non-imperative clause is in the post-hodiernal future tense, it often conveys apprehensional mood. When such is the case, the imperative commands the addressee to follow certain instructions to avoid what the speaker fears may happen as in example 100.

- 98 Namba p-ely-o-na, emba kata.
 1SG go-PRES-1SG-CNJ 2SG stand
 'I am going, so you stay!'
- 99 Namba-me yuu dake emba d-ily-o-na, kand-ao aowali laa.
 1SG-ERG land this 2SG give:INCL-PRES-1SG-CNJ see-SIM around say
 'I am giving you this land, so walk around and look (at it)!'
- 100 Nyakama t-at-ami-na, yuu manda s-ily-a-mo omo-nya
 2PL burn-PHOD-2PL-CNJ landmountain be-PRES-3SG-PRESUP over.there-ALL
 yapa p-upa.
 quickly go-2NSG
 'You will be burned (if you stay here), so go quickly to that mountain land over there!'

4.4.3 Combining imperative clauses with dependent conditional clauses

There are two common ways of combining imperative clauses with dependent conditional clauses. The first is by means of the definite determiner *doko*, which in this case functions as a complementizer (example 101).⁴⁷ The second way is to suffix the different actor morpheme *-pa* to the main verb of the dependent conditional clause (example 102).

- 101 Emba Wapaka p-at-e-no doko,
 2SG Wapaka go-PHOD-2SG-PRESUP DEF.DET
 namba-nya wua mende samb-ak-ape.
 1SG-BEN axe INDF.DET buy-APPL-INTER
 'If you go to Wapaka, but an axe for me!'
- 102 Akali mende-me emba py-at-a-mo-pa, baa py-ala nae-yape.
 man INDF.DET-ERG 2SG hit-PHOD-3SG-PRESUP-DA 3SG hit -HOD NEG-INTER
 'When/If a man hits you, don't hit him!'

⁴⁶ This is the same morpheme that has been described previously as the quotative suffix. It should not be confused with the neutral clusivity suffix.

⁴⁷ It is also acceptable to say *kandao doko* or simply *kandao*. The word *kandao* is the simultaneous medial form for the verb root *kand* ('see').

5 Summary

Enga imperatives have a variety of regular and irregular forms. (See Tables 2 and 3 for the basic paradigms of the regular verb 'eat' and the irregular verb 'do'). Imperatives in Enga are not marked morphologically for imperative mood, and they are morphologically set apart by the lack of an absolute tense formative. Additionally, second and third person forms do not use regular person/number suffixes. First person imperative forms are always inclusive of the addressee(s) unless they are inflected with the neutral clusivity suffix. Basic canonical imperatives and first person non-canonical imperatives can be weakened in force by the addition of the similative suffix, which functions much like a diminutive. Basic canonical imperatives can be strengthened by the addition of the interrogative suffix, which in turn can take the polite suffix to make the command more polite (but not necessarily less urgent). When the interrogative suffix appears on non-canonical imperatives, however, it does not strengthen them; rather it gives them either a permissive interrogative force or simple interrogative force (for some neutral clusivity and voluntative forms). The voluntative first person singular form permits a speaker to tell the addressee(s) his/her desire or intention to do something. This voluntative form along with the neutral clusivity and weak imperatives constitute a special category of imperatives called the purposive forms. When occurring as the main verb of a sentence, the purposive forms often function as semantic declaratives. When occurring in a dependent clause, however, the purposive forms state the purpose of another action. Other than their use in quoted and reported speech and with forms of the verb stem *kae* ('cease'), imperatives generally do not occur in dependent clauses if the verb of the main clause is not also an imperative. However, they can occur in dependent clauses when the main verb is an imperative. In such cases change of actor suffixes are not required as they are for non-imperative dependent clauses. Such constructions are called imperative clause chains. When occurring as the final verb in imperative clause chains, the forms of the verb stem *kae* ('cease') and *l* ('say') give the construction jussive and causative force respectively. When a string of imperatives occur in same-actor coordinate clauses, medial verbs are used and only the final verb is fully inflected. Imperative clauses may be conjoined with non-imperative clauses by use of the clausal conjunction. Alternatively, they may take on a dependent clause if the dependent clause is conditional.

Table 2 - Imperative paradigm for the regular verb *naa* (lan'eat')

Form	1SG	1DU	1PL	2SG	2NSG	3
Basic	naowa	namba	nama	naa	nalapa	–
Strong	–	–	–	nape	nalapape	–
Polite	–	–	–	napoko	nalapapoko	–
Neutral Clusivity	–	nambana	namana	–	–	naa
Weak	natoale	nambanale	namanale	natale	nalapale	–
Voluntative	natoo	–	–	–	–	–
Basic Permissive	naowape	nambape	namape	–	–	–
Interrogative	–	nambanape	namanape	–	–	nenape
Voluntative	natoape	–	–	–	–	–

Permissive						
Obligative	napenge					
Desiderative	naowani					

Table 3 - Imperative paradigm for the irregular verb *pü* ('do')

Form	1SG	1DU	1PL	2SG	2NSG	3
Basic	pyua	pimba	pima	pü	pyepa	–
Strong	–	–	–	pipi	pyepape	–
Polite	–	–	–	pipoko	pyepapoko	–
Neutral Clusivity	–	pimbana	pimana	–	–	pina
Weak	pitoale	pimbanale	pimanale	pyaale	pyepale	–
Voluntative	pitoo	–	–	–	–	–
Basic Permissive	pyuape	pimbape	pimape	–	–	–
Non-Inclusive Permissive	–	pimbanape	pimanape	–	–	pinape
Voluntative Permissive	pitoape	–	–	–	–	–
Obligative	pipenge					
Desiderative	pyuani					

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