

IMPERATIVES AND OPTATIVES IN PARAGUAYAN GUARANÍ: INTERACTION WITH NEGATION¹

0. Introductory remarks

Paraguayan Guaraní < Tupí-Guaraní < Tupí

- ☞ split intransitivity (formerly known as “active-stative type”);
- ☞ distinctive system of cross-reference marking on transitive verbs, based on the person hierarchy;
- ☞ predominantly agglutinating (with person, command, and (most of) valency preceding and TAM following the root);

Current study mostly based on published texts, supplemented by fieldwork (Asunción, 2012; Central and Guaira Depts., 2015).

1. Specialized 2nd person imperative of active verbs

2SG: e-

- occupies the same prefixal slot as person-number markers;
- often accompanied by one or more suffixes denoting polite or categorical command (-*mi* DIM; -*nte* RESTR; -*ke* EMPH; -*na* RESP);
- in case of irregular verbs, has the same stem as the 2SG.A form, cf.:
a-ju ‘I come’, *re-ju* ‘you come’, *o-u* ‘s/he comes’, *e-ju* ‘come!’.
ha’e ‘I say’, *ere* ‘you say’, *he’i* ‘s/he says’, *ere* ‘say!’.

- (1) *E-poi-mí-nte-na* *che-hegui*,
 IMP-release-DIM-RESTR-RESP 1SG-ABL
na-che-tie-’ỹ-mo’ã-vé-i-ma-ko *araka’e-ve*.
 NEG-1SG-shame-CAR-IRR-CMPR-NEG-IAM-EMPH when-NEG
 ‘Please, just let me go, now I am not going to misbehave ever more’.

- (2) — *Mamá*, *e-ma’ẽ-mí-na*. — *he’i* *Koti*,
 Mom IMP-look-DIM-RESP 3A.say Clotilda
 — *Ro-gueru* *ndé-ve* *heta* *yvaviju*.
 1PL.EXCL.A-bring 2SG-OBL many guabiju
 “Look, Mom” — said Clotilda, — “We have brought you a lot of guabiju berries”.

2PL: pe-

- coincides with the 2PL.A form; treated as one in [Gusev 2013: 150].

- (3) *Néi*, *pe-raha* *pe-heka* *chu-pe* *ij-ao-rã*
 yes 2PL.A-carry 2PL.A-search 3-OBL 3-clothes-NPROSP
ha upéi *pe-japysaka* *áãa* *mba’é-pa* *he’i* *Pa’í-pe*.
 and later 2PL.A-listen now what-Q 3.say priest-OBL
 ‘Okay, take [the prisoner], find him new clothes, and then listen to what he will say to the priest’.

¹Supported by the Russian Scientific Foundation, grant No.14-18-03406.

- In 2PL>1SG combinations, both participants can be optionally expressed with distinct prefixes (4–5); the same is true of the imperatives (6):

(4) **Pe-che-henói-pa?**

2PL.A-1SG-call-Q
‘Did you guys call me?’ [elicited]

(5) *Péina a-mbo-hováí-ta-’a-ína ã vyro-rei-eta*
here 1SG.A-CAUS-3.front-PROSP-1SG.A-DUR DEM stupid-in.vain-many
he’í-va hikuái; peẽ pe-che-pytywõ-ta.
3A.say-REL PL YOU.PL 2PL.A-1SG-help-PROSP
‘I am going to answer all the stupid things they are saying; you guys will assist me’.

(6) **Pe-che-ra’arõ-ke áãa arete o-ú-va-pe**
2PL.A-1SG-wait-EMPH day festive 3A-come-REL-LOC
Mbatoví-pe; a-há-ta ña-ñembo’e-mi-ña-ina,
Mbatovi-LOC 1SG.A-go-PROSP 1PL.INCL.A-pray-DIM-1PL.INCL.A-DUR
pende erehe-pa-ite ndaje a-hendu.
you.PL heretic-TOT-AUG REP 1SG.A-hear
‘Wait for me next Sunday in Mbatovi; I will come and we will pray together, I’ve heard people say you are all heretics there’.

(6’) ***e-che-ra’arõ-ke**

- Attaches the same set of suffixes, including *na-*. which is not found in the indicative:

(7) **Pe-guerú-na la kuatia.**
IMP.PL-bring-RESP DET paper
‘Provide the document’. [MC: 22]

(8) RUSSIAN
?? *Ushli-ka otsyuda.*
‘Go away’.

Notable properties:

- raising intonation in assertive and imperative utterances, falling intonation in most interrogative utterances [Gregores & Suárez 1967: 76–78], unlike the majority of the world’s languages [Gusev 2013: 107].

- can be embedded under reportative markers and certain speech verbs:

(9) *Pa’i ei-ke ndaje ra’e; he’i-uka ndé-ve.*
priest IMP-enter REP DPAST 3A.say-CAUS 2SG-OBL
‘Father, please come in, he invites you’.

Cf. [Thomas 2014] on closely related Mbya (and op.cit):

(10) MBYA
He’i e-me’ẽ ka’ygua chevy pe.
3A.say IMP-give mate 1SG-OBL to
‘He_i said give me_{*i/j} the mate’. [Thomas 2014: 3]

- can only attach to active verbs (**e-mandu'a*, **e-resarái*);

- (11) **E-ñe-mo-mandu'a** *katu.*
 IMP-REFL-CAUS-remember but
 'Try to remember!'.
 (12) *Ne-re-menda-mo'ã-i-rõ-ke* **e-ñe-mby-esarái** *Mbatoví-gui,*
 NEG-2SG.A-marry-IRR-NEG-COND-EMPH IMP-REFL-CAUS-forget Matoví-ABL
ÿ-rõ, *e-mbo-sako'i* *nde-atua-rã*
 not-COND IMP-CAUS-be.ready 2SG-coffin-NPROSP
 'If you do not marry her, either forget about Matoví or prepare your coffin!'.
 (13) **T-a-ha-jeý-na** *upé-icha-rõ.*
 OPT-1SG.A-go-RE-RESP DEM-MNR-COND
 'If so, I'd rather go back'.
 (14) **Te-re-ho** *ha* *pya'é-ke* *ave* *nde-rei-potá-i-rõ*
 OPT-2SG.A-go and fast-EMPH also NEG-2SG.A-want-NEG-COND
sapatu *plantilla-rã-icha* *roi-nupã* *nde* *tekove* *aruru.*
 boot sole-NPROSP-MNR 1SG.A/2SG-beat you person useless
 'Go away , and quickly, if you don't want me to beat you like a piece of leather
 intended for a boot sole, you muddlehead'.
 (15) *I-katupyry* *rehe* **t-o'u** *peteĩ* *kamambu.*
 3-skillful across OPT-3A-consume one bubble
 'As he is so skillful, let him drink a bottle'. (i.e. 'let's present him a bottle of hard
 liquor as a sign of respect for his skillful work')

2. Imperative/optative

- prefix *t(V)*- immediately preceding person-number markers;
 - combines with all person-number combinations, though the actual command is usually aimed at the addressee:

- combines with inactive predicates (cf. also the second line of (17)):
 (16) *Ha* *t-o-pyta* *pe* *nde-rekove* *otro* *ÿva ári* **ta-'i-poty.**
 и OPT-3A-stay DEM 2SG-life another arm on OPT-3-bloom
 'And let your life remain to flourish in another man's arms'.
 - can be preceded by *tove* for emphasis (probably < *t-o-ho-ve* 'OPT-3A-go-CMPR', cf. [Dooley 2006: 117]); *tove* can be separated by other material (17);
 (17) **Tove** **t-o-ñe-ñandu** *hikuái* *hoga-pe-guá-icha,*
 OPT OPT-3A-REFL-feel PL 3.house-LOC-ASS-MNR
ha *ñande* **ta-ñande-py'a-guapy-mi** *avei.*
 and we.INCL OPT-1PL.INCL-heart-sit-DIM also
 'Let them feel at home and let us be at peace'.
 (18) **Tove** *oi-ke-sé-va* *Mbatoví-pe* **t-o-jerure** *ñandé-ve,*
 OPT 3A-enter-DES-REL Matoví-LOC OPT-3A-ask 1PL.INCL-OBL

ỹ-rõ *t-a-japyhara.*
 not-COND OPT-1SG.A-push

'Let those who wish to enter Matovi ask for our permission, otherwise we'll yank them off'.

- frequently forms a kinda serial construction with "proper" imperative:

(19) *Te-re-ho* *e-menda* *pe* *mitã-kuña* *rehe*
 OPT-2SG.A-go IMP-marry DEM child-woman across
ha *e-ampara* *nde-ra'y.*
 and IMP-protect 2SG-son
 'Go marry this girl and protect your son'.

- in addition to imperative and optative uses, plays a role in concessive/free choice constructions:

(20) ...*ha o-ku'énte-rõ* *o-hó-vo* *hesa-kua-ité-pe-ma* *pe-japi,*
 and 3A-continue-COND 3A-go-SIM 3.eye-hole-AUG-LOC-IAM 2SG.A-shoot
ta-ha'é-pa ra'e *vaka,* *pombéro,* *térã* *arriéro* *ka'u.*
 OPT-COP-Q DPAST cow forest.demon or man drunk
 '...and if it continues to advance [after callout and warning shot], shoot it right into the eyes, whether it be a cow, a forest demon, or a drunken man'.

- also, can function as complements of speech verbs (21) and purpose clauses (22):

(21) *Ere* *chu-pe-kuéra* *t-o-ha'arõ.*
 IMP.say 3-OBL-PL OPT-3A-wait
 'Tell them to wait'.

(22) *Te-re-ho* *e-ru* *ché-ve* *tata'y,*
 OPT-2SG.A-go IMP-bring 1SG.OBL fire
t-a-hécha *máva-pa* *ko* *a-juká-ta-va.*
 OPT-1SG.A-see who-Q DEM 1SG.A-kill-PROSP-REL
 'Go bring me some light so that I could see who it is that I am going to kill'.

- [Schmidtke-Bode 2009]: optative markers often participate in encoding of purpose; no statements about directionality, however;

- [Rose 2015], based on data from Xipaya: "optative" and "purposive" *ta*-clauses in Tupí-Guaraní languages result from two different grammaticalization paths involving a verb of movement; their functional similarity is epiphenomenal; for PG, in practice, it is very difficult to distinguish between the two.

3. The Imperative paradigm

- specialized 2nd pers. imperative + parallel set of regular forms for all three persons;
- judging by [Golovko 2001], a similar system is found in Aleut;
- no other language of this kind described in either [Xrakovskij (ed.) 2001; Aikhenvald 2010; Gusev 2013];
- as a rather imperfect parallel, cf. Russian constructions with *pust'* and *davaj(te)*.

4. Optative /epistemic *hi'ã*

- preverbal particle *hi'ã*;

- described as a defective (3rd person only) verb 'to be desired' in [Gregores & Suárez 1967: 76–78];

- (23) *Hi'ã-nte niko pe-pytu'u-mi ha ja-portiju-raẽ.*
OPT-RESTR EMPH 2PL.A-rest-DIM and 1PL.INCL.A-have.a.bite-PRIOR
'But first let you rest a bit and us have a bite together'.

- can introduce a participant and have a desiderative (rather than optative) interpretation:

- (24) *Hi'ã ché-ve a-studía-ve*
OPT 1SG-OBL 1SG.A-study-CMPR
'It suits me to continue my studies'. [elicited]

- also has a meaning of epistemic modality:

- (25) *Hi'ã ché-ve pé-va pé-icha ñane-mbo-juru-he'ẽ-ta*
OPT 1SG-OBL DEM-REL DEM-MNR 1PL.INCL-CAUS-mouth-sweet-PROSP
o-hó-vo ja-so peve...
3A-go-SIM 1PL.INCL.A-loosen until
'It seems to me that this one will flatter us while we have money...'

- (26) *O-je-kutu-pa Ulo Miranda, hi'ã-che o-manó-ma...*
3A-REFL-stub-TOT Eulogio Miranda OPT-IRR2 3A-dia-IAM
'Eulogio Miranda has been stubbed, he is probably dead already...'

- morphologically, indeed, looks like a 3rd person form of an irregular verb;

- cf. Mbya *-'ã* 'to stand, to be in a vertical position' [Dooley 2006: 3], not found in PG;

- cf. also *mo'ã* 'to think, to believe' (>IRR), CAUS of the above; in [Dooley 2006: 3, 117] *mo'ã* is analyzed as such, with the meanings of 'to build, to erect, to put vertically, to put on one's feet', but no mention of uses as a mental activity predicate.

5. Negation of *hi'ã*

- attaches standard sentential negation, which provides another argument for deverbal origins:

- (27) *Ñande-rapicha mba'é-va na-hi'ã-i jai-puru-vai,*
1PL.INCL-person thing-REL NEG-OPT-NEG 1PL.INCL.A-use-bad
ha nd-oi-kó-i ramo umí-va
и NEG-3A-be-NEG COND DEM.PL-REL
na-hi'ã-i ña-ñe'ẽ-rei.
NEG-OPT-NEG 1PL.INCL.A-speak-in.vain

'We should not misuse our neighbours' own, and if there are no such, let's not talk in vain'.

- (28) *...ryguasu rupi'a na-hi'ã-i ho-'u*
chicken egg NEG-OPT-NEG 3A-eat

n-o-mombe-sé-i-gui *i-pire-kue...*
 NEG-3A-throw-DES-NEG-ABL 3-crust-NPAST

‘[They are so mean and greedy that] God forbid them eat an egg, for they don’t want to throw away the shell shards...’

- Lower position of negation ([?]*hi’ã nda-V-i*) seems to be illicit, but more thorough check is due.

6. Negation of optative

- *ta*-optative is incompatible with standard clausal negation, but takes a caritive suffix *-’ỹ* (<**e’ym*), which is used for negation of some types of dependent clauses [Jensen 1998: 546–547; Chousou-Polydouri et al. 2015 and references therein]:

(29) *Losánto* *t-o-sẽ-ve-’ỹ-nte* *Mbatoví-gui*
 Losanto OPT-3A-exit-CMPR-CAR-RESTR Matoví-ABL
 ‘Let Losanto not leave the confines of Matovi any more’.

(29’) **Losánto* *ndo-t-o-sẽ-vé-i-nte/ to-no-sẽ-vé-i-nte* *Mbatoví-gui*

- cf., in a relative clause:

(30) *Pyhare niko jaguarete o-gueraha kuri*
 night EMPH jaguar 3A-carry PAST
peteĩ-mi kure o-guerekó-va upe kuña-karai
 one-DIM pig 3A-have-REL DEM woman-signor
i-mena-ve-’ỹ-va, héra-va Huana.
 3-husband-CMPR-CAR-REL 3.name-REL Juana

‘That night the jaguar carried away the only pig of a widowed woman named Juana’.

- this suggests that *ta*-optative may have evolved from a non-finite construction; however, this is compatible both with development from purpose clause via insubordination scenario and with the hypothesis put forward in [Rose 2015].

6. Prohibitive

- specialized imperative is incompatible with either standard clausal negation or caritive;

- prohibitive and preventive meanings are expressed by means of a preverbal particle *ani*;

- < innovative prohibitive marker *ã-* (vs. **-eme*) [Dietrich 2003; 2015]

- free negative response [Chousou-Polydouri et al. 2015], cf. also [Jensen 1998: 549]

(31) *Aní* *re-je-py’a-py* *che-irũ,*
 PROH 2SG.A-REFL-heart-squeeze 1SG-friend
kuña *ko* *ñande-tantedá-va* *voí-nte.*
 woman DEM 1PL.INCL-test-REL at.once-RESTR
 ‘Do not grief, my friend, women always make trials for us’.

- prospective can not appear under negation and is normally changed for irrealis:

(32a) *A-há-ta* *Paraguay-pe.*
 1SG.A-go-PROSP Asunción-LOC
 'I am going to go to Asunción'.

(32b) **Nd-a-há-ta-i* *Paraguay-pe.*
 NEG-1SG.A-go-PROSP-NEG Asunción-LOC
 Expected.: 'I am not going to go to Asunción'.

(32c) ?*Nd-a-há-i-ta* *Paraguay-pe.*
 NEG-1SG.A-go-PROSP-NEG Asunción-LOC
 "I am not going to go to Asunción'.

(32d) *Nd-a-há-mo'ã-i* *Paraguay-pe.*
 NEG-1SG.A-go-IRR-NEG Asunción-LOC
 "I am not going to go to Asunción'. [Tonhauser 2009: 529]

- the same effect seems to obtain in combinations of prospective with prohibitive:

(33) ...*ha* *aní-ke-na* *avei* *re-jekyty-mo'ã* *che-rehe*
 and PROH-EMPH-RESP also 2SG.A-REFL-rub-IRR 1SG-чepeз
cháke *che-rendy-pota-ité-ko* *ai-kó-vo.*
 watch.out 1SG-burn-IMM.PROSP-AUG-EMPH 1SG.A-be-SIM
 '...and also please don't you rub me, watch out, I am already at the point of
 combustion'.

- asymmetrical negation of imperatives is widespread typologically [van der Auwera 2006, 2010]; however, the construction with *ani* is not just an irregular negative counterpart to *e-/pe*-imperatives;

- it can attach to inactive predicates:

(34) *Aní-nte-ke-na* *nde-resai-ete* *ore-he.gui*
 PROH-LIM-EMPH-RESP 2SG-forget-AUG 1PL.EXCL-ABL
ha *nde-reko-há-gui.*
 and 2SG-live-NMR-ABL
 'Only, please, do not forget us and your home village'.

- it combines with other persons:

(35) *Aní-ke* *a-hendu* *eré-rõ*
 PROH-EMPH 1SG.A-hear 2SG.A.say-ABL
rei-ko *asý-ha,* *re-mba'apó-ha* *ha* *mba'e.*
 2SG.A-be hard-COMPL 2SG.A-work-COMPL and thing
 'May I not hear you saying that you are having a tough time, that you are
 working, etc.'.

(36) *Aní-ke* *partiku* *o-ñe-mo-mbarete* *peẽ-me*
 PROH-EMPH civilians 3A-REFL-CAUS-strong 2PL-OBL
 'Never let civilians get an upper hand on you'.

- it has broader semantics, appearing in avertive/negative purpose clauses (37-38), participates in expression of modality (39-40):

(37) *Viru-mi niko ai-kotevẽ*
 money-DIM EMPH 1SG.A-need
ani haḡua a-ha po-nandi-ete.
 PROH PURP 1SG.A-go hand-bare-AUG
 ‘I need some money, lest I would go empty-handed’.

(38) *E-mbo-ja’o ñandé-ve ñande-ra’y-kuéra mbohapy atý-pe*
 IMP-CAUS-be.divided 1PL.INCL-OBL 1PL.INCL-son-PL tree team-LOC
ha t-o-jo-pyru o-karu haḡua, .
 and OPT-3A-REC-substitute 3A-lunch PURP
ani ñane-rembi-apo o-so.
 PROH 1PL.INCL-thing-do 3A-loosen
 ‘Divide our boys into three teams and let them relieve each other for lunch, so that our work would not stop’.

(39) **Aní-che-arã-ko.**
 PROH-IRR2-DEB-EMPH
 ‘But this is not what should have happened’.

(40) **Aní-ché-ne niko che-memby o-japo.**
 PROH-IRR2-POT EMPH 1SG-child 3A-do
 ‘My son would have never done this’.

- the functions of the prohibitive do not mirror those of the imperative; it looks rather like a negative counterpart of the optative, which, however, has regular negative forms of its own;

- the diachronic scenario leading to the present distribution is not clear so far, but gradual functional extension of the original prohibitive does not appear very likely;

- similar overall distributions attested in Supyire (Senufo) [Carlson 1994: 586-587], Tendet (Eastern Sudanic) [Randall 1998: 249], Sisaala-Paasale (Gur) [McGill et al. 1999: 139], Awatime (Kwa) [van Putten 2014: 87], probably also Khmer (Austroasiatic) [Spatar 2001: 482];

- prohibitive should in general be treated not as just a “negative imperative”, but as a cross-linguistic phenomenon on its own right, something that existing typological and theoretical studies [Zanuttini 1994, 1997; Birjulin & Xrakovskij 2001; van der Auwera & Lejeune 2005; van der Auwera 2006, 2010; Aikhenvald 2010; Gusev 2013; Alcázar & Saltarelli 2014] tend to overlook, mostly focusing on the issues raised by (in)compatibility of (true) imperatives with standard negation.

Abbreviations

1, 2, 3 – person; A – cross-reference marker of the active series; ABL – ablative; CAR – caritive; CAUS – causative; CMPR – comparative/continuative; COND – conditional; DES – debitative; DES – desiderative; DEM – demonstrative; DIM – diminutive; DPAST – distant past; DUR – durative; EMPH – emphatic; EXCL – exclusive; IAM – iamitive; IMM.PROSP – immediate prospective; IMP – imperative; INCL – inclusive; IRR – irrealis; LOC – locative; MNR – manner/comparison; NEG – negation; NMR – nominalization; NPAST – nominal past; NPROSP – nominal prospective; OBL – oblique; OPT – optative; PAST – (retrospective) past; PL – plural; POT – potential future; PRIOR – priorative; PROSP – prospective; RE – (semel)repetitive; REC – reciprocal; REFL – reflexive; REL – relativization; REP – reportative; RESP – respective; RESTR – restrictive; SG – singular; SIM – simultaneity; TOT – totalitative/completive.

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