

The *pa/wa* of imperative alternatives

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This talk deals with the interaction of alternative sensitive particles in Slovenian (*pa*) and Japanese (*wa*) with imperative syntax and semantics. We show that although the two are mostly alike in terms of the semantic alternatives they can associate with, they differ in an important respect: only *pa* may associate with alternatives concerning the attitudes of different Speech Act Participants (SAPs). We argue that such cases show support for an analysis of imperatives that structurally disentangles their modal component from their speech act component and that the split in alternative association options can be linked to lexical differences between *pa* and *wa*.

Similarities. Both particles can be used to mark thematic topics (Kuno 1973 for *wa*, Marušič et al. 2011 for *pa*), and both can also mark contrast; see (1). In the latter case, they differ slightly in that *wa* has an additional ‘at least’ reading which *pa* lacks (Schwarz and Shimoyama 2011).

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| <p>(1) a. Trdonja je pa plesal.
 Thickhead AUX.3 PA danced.3.M
 ‘Thickhead <i>danced</i>.’
 (as opposed to <i>doing something else</i>)</p> | <p>b. John-ga odori-wa-sita.
 John-NOM dance-WA-did
 ‘John (at least) <i>danced</i>.’
 (as opposed to <i>doing something else</i>)</p> |
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In (1), the alternatives the two particles associate with are predicates, but both *pa* and *wa* can also associate with alternatives of non-verbal constituents, like NPs, which is illustrated in (2).

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| <p>(2) a. Kupil je pa losos-a.
 bought.3.M AUX.3 PA salmon-ACC
 ‘He bought <i>salmon</i>.’
 (as opposed to <i>something else</i>)</p> | <p>b. Sake-wa ka-tta.
 salmon-WA buy-PAST
 ‘<i>pro</i> bought (at least) salmon.’
 (as opposed to <i>something else</i>)</p> |
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Use in imperatives. Crucially, both *pa* and *wa* can also function as contrastive markers in imperative clauses. The examples in (3) are essentially parallel to the declarative ones in (2).

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| <p>(3) A: <i>I’m at the store, and they don’t have tuna.</i></p> | |
| <p>a. B: Kupi pa losos-a.
 buy.IMP.(2) PA salmon-ACC
 ‘Then buy <i>salmon</i>.’</p> | <p>b. B: Sake-wa ka-e-yo!
 salmon-WA buy-IMP-SFP
 ‘Then buy at least salmon!’</p> |

Interestingly, *pa* and *wa* show an asymmetry in possible semantic contributions in imperatives. As seen in (4a), *pa* can be used for concessions, while *wa* lacks this interpretation, cf. (4b).

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| <p>(4) A: <i>I know you think tuna is the better option, but I really don’t want to buy it.</i></p> | |
| <p>a. B: Pa kupi losos-a.
 PA buy.IMP.(2) salmon-ACC
 ‘Well, buy <i>salmon</i> then.’</p> | <p>b. B: #Sake-wa ka-e-yo!
 salmon-WA buy-IMP-SFP
 ‘int.: Buy (at least) salmon then!’</p> |

We argue that this asymmetry stems entirely from the fact that *pa* can attach at a higher point in the structure of the clausal spine than *wa*. This also provides support for treating SAP attitudes as present in the syntax and disjoint from the modal component in the case of imperatives.

Proposal. The sensitivity of *pa*’s alternative association properties to syntactic structure can be illustrated with how its placement is constrained by other alternative introducing particles. Slovenian *pa* is a 2nd position clitic and can either precede or follow other 2nd position clitics, but as noted by Marušič et al. (2011) and illustrated in (5), it can never follow focus sensitive elements like *že* (‘already’), also a clitic. We take this to indicate that in the syntactic structure of a clause *pa* must always c-command the alternatives it associates with in the semantics.

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| <p>(5) a. On pa že spi.
 He PA already sleeps
 ‘He’s already sleeping’.</p> | <p>b. *On že pa spi.
 He already PA sleeps
 int.: ‘He’s already sleeping’.</p> |
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Furthermore, when *pa* is used in concessive imperatives, where it marks a contrast between the speaker’s and addressee’s attitudes, this function is also reflected syntactically. As noted by Sheppard and Golden (2002), Slovenian 2nd position clitics may also occur in the 1st clausal position, the exception being imperatives, as (6a) shows. However, *pa* seems to be exempt to this distributional restriction, specifically in its concessive use, as shown in (6b). In that constellation, any other pronominal clitics can occur in 1st position together with it (forming a clitic cluster).

(6) a. {*Mu} pomaga-j {mu}.
 3.M.DAT help-IMP.(2) 3.M.DAT
 ‘Help him!’

b. **Pa** {mu} pomaga-j {mu}.
 PA 3.M.DAT help-IMP.(2) 3.M.DAT
 ‘Well, help him then!’

We propose that this behavior of concessive *pa* reflects a syntactic placement possibility that allows it to range over SAP attitudes which are encoded syntactically. The main options for *pa* and *wa* in terms of the different alternatives that they can range over are illustrated in (7).

(7) [*pa*/**wa* SAP_{attitude} [_{CP} [_{MoodP} *pa*/*wa* OP_{IMP} [_{IP/VP} *pa*/*wa* I/v [*pa*/*wa* DO]]]]]

Both can combine with alternatives at the level of: NPs (cf. (2)), propositions/predicates, i.e. IP/vP (cf. (1)), modals/mood (cf. Tomioka 2010 for *wa*, cases with *pa* discussed in talk), but only *pa* can combine with alternatives of SAP attitudes. The contrast between the last two options requires that: (i) the modal component of imperatives is expressed in the syntax (see, a.o. Kaufmann 2012), and (ii) attitudes of SAPs are syntactically encoded (see Speas and Tenny 2003; Pearson 2012 for two distinct approaches) and separately from the modal imperative component.

Crucially, the SAP-attitude structure must only be present in matrix clauses (see Speas and Tenny 2003), as evidenced by the root/embedded asymmetry illustrated in (8). Imperatives can be embedded in speech reports in Slovenian (Sheppard and Golden 2002; Stegovec and Kaufmann 2015), but in such cases the use of *pa* with an imperative cannot yield a concessive reading.

(8) Zvitorepec je rekel, da **pa** pleši.
 Slyboots AUX.3 said.3.M that PA dance.IMP.(2)

i. ‘Slyboots said that you should *dance*.’ (as opposed to *doing something else*)

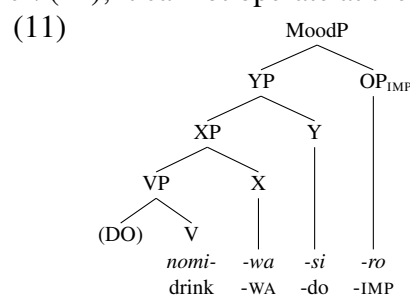
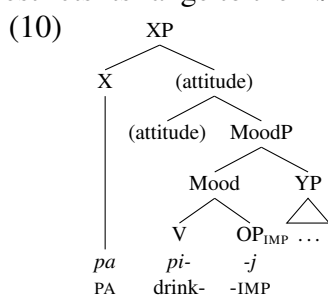
ii. ‘#Slyboots_i said you that should *dance* then.’ (even though *he_i* doesn’t approve)

The attitude alternatives effect can also be observed with declarative uses of *pa*, although it must be coerced with special contexts and other discourse particles. The exchange in (9) shows *pa* marking the contrast of B’s new attitude with B’s old attitude (after learning new information).

(9) a. **A:** *You said that the book was Hungerpot’s, but your name is on it.*

b. **B:** Prav. **Pa** je moja.
 right PA AUX.3 mine
 ‘Alright. Then it’s mine.’

But why does *wa* not yield a concessive reading? As a 2nd (and 1st) position clitic, *pa* has no unique syntactic position in Slovenian (Bošković 2001); as long as its placement meets its prosodic requirements it is not excluded. In matrix clauses, 1st position *pa* can thus scope over the syntactic representation of SAP attitudes, cf. (10). Conversely, Japanese *wa* is suffixal, which restricts its range to the N/V complex it attaches to, cf. (11); it cannot operate at the SAP level.



Thus, in Japanese, concessive imperatives equivalent to Slovenian ones like (12a) can only be expressed using a different construction involving *nara* (‘if’), as illustrated in (12b).

(12) a. **Pa** pojdi! [concession]
 PA GO.IMP.(2)
 ‘Well, go then!’

b. **Nara**, ik-e! [concession]
 If GO-IMP
 ‘Well, go then!’

Conclusion. *Pa* and *wa*, two contrastive particles from unrelated languages, are mostly the same in terms of the alternatives they can associate with. The main difference between them concerns the ability to yield concessive imperatives. We argued that this stems from the former, but not the latter, having the ability to range over a syntactic representation of SAP attitudes. This proposal has implications for both the theory of imperatives and discourse particles, specifically with respect to how morpho-syntax can directly restrict semantic and pragmatic interpretation.

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