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1. PRELIMINARIES

Whenever Hindi ¹ speakers make demands, requests, exhortations or, more in particular, commands, such utterances contain syntactic structures which can carry various aspects and moods. As in most natural languages, the most common command in Hindi is the imperative sentence type ². However, in contrast to many European languages, Hindi also makes use of two sorts of variants: 1) the Direct Imperative (either immediate or for a present response), 2) the Indirect Imperative (non-immediate, deferred to a future moment). Furthermore, Hindi allows the use of commands in subjunctive and conditional constructions, thereby employing the imperfective ³ participle. The difference between the two imperatives in Hindi has often been explained in terms of tense difference, i.e. a present

* I am grateful to Dick Geiger and Elena Bashir for comments on an earlier draft of the paper.

¹ Whatever observations are made about Hindi in this paper should also, we believe, be true of Urdu as well, although no attempts have been made to verify it.

² The term imperative has been used both by grammarians and philosophers. Whereas the former have used it to refer to a syntactic category, the latter have used it to discuss the directive illocution carried by commands and requests (see DAVIES, EIRLYS 1986, p. 1). Although the present study will be limited to the imperative as a syntactic category and therefore will not discuss other similar types such as 'pseudo-imperatives' (see LAKOFF, GEORGE, 1966 and CLARK, BILLY 1993) in Hindi, for the treatment of different Hindi imperative types, the philosophers' view will be taken into account.

³ In order to avoid terminological confusions, we have preferred the term 'imperfective participle' to 'present participle' or 'imperfect participle' which generally refer to tenses.

imperative, in contrast with a future one. But, as will be demonstrated below, the difference can be understood only pragmatically. While in the first kind the speaker (hereafter S, and where possible 'she') is aware that the addressee (hereafter H, and where possible 'he') will be able to enact the action desired by S either instantly or immediately after the utterance has been completed, in the second kind the same S knows or believes that H's action will remain unaccomplished because she realizes that he is already engaged in other activities (y, z) which would either require termination or suspension before action x can be carried out, and thus it will occur sometime in the future.

In the following attempt to present a fuller account of the meaning of Hindi imperatives, we shall not discuss possible syntactic analyses of imperatives⁴, as our aim in this paper is to present pragmatic parameters which will account for the different shades in meanings of imperatives which are a part of their 'core meaning' and which cannot be determined solely by context. Secondly, although there have been attempts in formal semantics to establish the usefulness of truth-conditional semantical analyses of imperative sentences which provide a characterization of their meanings⁵, until all contextual elements of imperative utterances are incorporated into possible world semantics it is safer to offer an orderly account of pragmatic principles to describe the meaning of Hindi imperatives. In non-declarative sentences such as the imperatives, it is insufficient simply to speak of truth conditions of the 'change in world and state of affairs' brought about by H's action; rather, it is necessary to sketch the mutual knowledge and beliefs of S&H, S's attitude towards the state of affairs described in the imperative sentence, as well as S's intentions for H's actions. It is equally inadequate to give a truth-conditional account of imperatives as has been suggested by providing characterization of a notion of satisfaction of an order along the line of truth-conditions of declarative sentences: 'Order δ is satisfied iff p is carried out'⁶. In non-declarative sentences such as imperatives

⁴ For a detailed analysis of the English imperative in the Government-Binding framework see, for example, BEUKEMA, F. and P. COOPMANS (1989).

⁵ On the possibility of presenting a truth-conditional semantic characterizations of imperatives, see, for example, HUNTLEY (1984).

⁶ CHIERCHIA, G. and S. MCCONNELL-GINET (1993, p. 80).

the problem can be seen in terms of the world still not present at the time of utterance: what do the imperative sentences represent then, if they do at all? The speaker's sincerity in issuing the command or hearer's cooperation in carrying out the task? The typical situation of non-declarative sentences cannot be compared with that of declarative sentences even if they indicate some actions in the future where, as in the imperatives, the action will take place at a later date. Instead, to understand the full meaning of imperative utterances, it is important to consider when (at what point on the time scale), where (the place where H is present) and how (what grammatical aspect of the verb is ordered) p is carried out because the proposition p contained in an imperative sentence does not aim to describe a possible world but rather a 'potential' and 'desirable' world⁷. Some of these so-called 'contextual' elements are integral in imperative utterances.

2. PRAGMATIC FACTORS WHICH PREPARE THE GROUNDS FOR ISSUING COMMANDS IN HINDI

As mentioned above, Hindi imperatives can express commands using different varieties of verbal aspects, moods and tenses which will serve S's various pragmatic and communicative purposes. The verbal aspects and tenses involved in Hindi imperatives depend on the semantic qualities of the various types of verbs. To understand the different kinds of imperatives in Hindi, it is necessary to describe them with at least the following pragmatic parameters: (described in 2.1 through 2.7.)

2.1 PRONOMINAL REFERENCE

In Hindi the pronominal forms of reference to H can be either *tu* ('you', intimate) which is a second-person singular, *tum* ('you', familiar or friendly) which is a second-person plural, and *aap* ('you', polite, formal) which is third-person plural, depending upon the kind of relation S has with H. When S issues a command, H can be either one person or more than

⁷ For a detailed discussion on the topic, see, for example, SPERBER and WILSON (1986, pp. 243-55).

one person. Therefore, for the distribution of pronominal forms referring to H the following possibilities may occur:

(1) <i>Type of relation with the addressee</i>	<i>Forms of pronominal reference</i>	
↓	One hearer	More than one hearer
I) Intimate	<i>tu</i> 2sg. 'you'	<i>tum</i> 'you', <i>tum log</i> 'you people', <i>tum sab</i> 'you all' etc.
II) Familiar, friendly	<i>tum</i> 2pl. 'you'	<i>tum log</i> 'you people', <i>tum sab</i> 'you all' etc.
III) Polite, formal	<i>aap</i> 3pl. 'you'	<i>aap log</i> 'you people' <i>aap sab</i> 'you all' etc.

In Hindi the addressee in imperative constructions can have all the pronominal references mentioned above, but, as will be seen later, at the level of verbal inflection only four forms of verbal inflection in imperatives are found. For example, the verb *jaanaa* 'go' can have four forms in imperative mood, namely, *jaa* (with 2sg. *tu*), *jaao* (with 2pl. *tum*), *jaaie* (with 3pl. *aap*) and *jaaiegaa* (with 3pl. *aap*). The *jaaiegaa* form is considered to be much more polite than *jaaie*, and sometimes thought to be the equivalent of a deferred command obtained by using the infinitival form of a verb. The *jaaiegaa* form has a certain dialectal flavor, too, as it is widely used in eastern Hindi, whereas in western Hindi *jaaie* is much more commonly found⁸. Whether an imperative sentence is an order, request, exhortation, or even permission also depends upon the pronominal form of reference used to refer to H. Though these pronominal forms of reference are indicators of the kind of relation S has with H, they are believed to indicate the illocutionary flexibility of the utterance; i.e. the selection itself of one of the pronominal forms of reference can render an imperative sentence an order, request, demand or permission. The present paper will discuss mainly the imperative verb form showing only inflection with the second-person plural pronominal reference

⁸ The *jaaiegaa* form is very often considered to be an example of an indirect (deferred) command rather than of a direct command, but we believe that, in addition to its dialectal use, it can also be used in standard Hindi to make a very polite direct command.

tum ('you' friendly, familiar). However, the verb form showing inflection with the third-person plural *aap* ('you', polite, formal) will also be examined because it is the only type of conditional imperatives which has the subjunctive verbal form.

2.2 TIME SCALE

Normally, the imperatives are used to tell H to begin to carry out an act x at a time later than the time of utterance, but they can naturally also be used to issue a command to terminate an action already started by H. In such cases the imperatives are also directed at a future point in time. A time scale can be presented in terms of the 'sequence in time' envisaged by S issuing the command. To this end, it is possible to adopt the unending and unbeginning time-scale that is widely used in the literature to describe the tenses in terms of sequences in time⁹:

$$(2) \quad \dots t_{n-3}, t_{n-2}, t_{n-1}, t_n, t_{n+1}, t_{n+2}, t_{n+3} \dots,$$

according to which each point in the time-scale represents the *states* of the world, while their increasing or decreasing degrees in respect to t_n (time of utterance) can be considered changes in *states*. Therefore, t_{n-1} and t_{n+1} , represent 'anterior' and 'successive' points in time, respectively.

2.3 DIFFERENCE IN THE WORLDS OF IMPERATIVES

Similar to the time scale discussed above, there is another factor which seems important with respect to the difference in S's intended worlds in which H is to carry out the required action. The expression 'sequence in time' in relation to the time of utterance and time of action can be presented in increasing sequence, e.g., utterance time t_n and action time t_{n+1} . But, what time gap can be permitted between the time of utterance t_n and the time of H's starting the task at t_{n+1} and between the latter and the time of completing the task at t_{n+2} ? While the time gap between t_{n+1} and t_{n+2} is expressed through

⁹ See HAMBLIN (1987, p. 138).

the aspectual elements linked to the verb as well as through certain inherent characteristics of the verb, the difference between t_n and t_{n+1} is also of real importance when studying the point of illocution. The difference between these two points is an arbitrary one and depends upon a mutual consensus between S and H, as well as on the type of action H is to carry out. It could be, for example, a few seconds or minutes if H is asked to jump or to eat etc., but it could be much longer if, for example, H were asked to undertake an intellectual activity, such as studying Latin or Sanskrit. When S asks H to undertake such a task she does not intend to have him do the task immediately after the utterance, though there could be such cases where H is simply asked to begin a lesson rather than being asked to complete it. Consequently, the point of commencing the task can be at a later date, be that next month or even next year, if H is asked to go to a distant location, say, Peru! What is pertinent to note, however, is S's 'intended world' in which the illocutionary point of the directive lies and in which H is asked to perform the action. In other words, after assessing a particular circumstance S has to communicate to H if the time expected by her is situated in w_1 or w_2 (where w_1 is the world of utterance and w_2 some distinct and distant other world)¹⁰. It is possible that S may wish to tell H to undertake the task either in w_1 or in w_2 . This factor is important for understanding the differences in meaning between direct and indirect imperatives in Hindi. In general, the two types can be defined in terms of their points in time: direct imperative is aimed at a point in time immediately after the utterance, indirect imperative is considered to be related to a point in time in future. But, this difference does not seem to hold since one kind of imperative can be used in place of the other. In fact, it is definitely misleading to call them present and future imperatives inasmuch as the intended time of action can take place equally in the imperatives: both can have the same time frames as in (3), where they may have any time reference:

¹⁰ The use of the concept 'different world' in this context is different from the one which is prevalent in the possible world semantics. The term is used here solely to underline the difference between the world in which an utterance has been made, say w_1 , and any other world, say w_2 , where the hearer may be asked to carry out a task.

- 'Just come over here!'
 [obligatorily¹²; at time t_{n+1} ; in w_1] ¹³
 [$\square!p/\bullet\text{---}\bullet$ ¹⁴/ $t_{n+1}/w_1/$]
- b. (tum) agle saal peru jaao
 you-2pl-fam next year Peru go-imp-2pl
 'Go to Peru next year!'
 [$\square!p/\bullet\text{---}\bullet$ / $t_{n+2}/w_2/$]
- c. (tum) zaraa yahaaN aanaa
 you-2pl-fam just here come-inf
 'Just come over here!'
 [$\square!p/\bullet\text{---}\bullet$ / $t_{n+2}/w_1/$]
- d. (tum) agle saal peru jaanaa
 you-2pl-fam next year Peru go-inf
 'Go to Peru next year!'
 [$\square!p/\bullet\text{---}\bullet$ / $t_{n+2}/w_2/$]

2.4 PLACE OF UTTERANCE AND OF ACTION

Another parameter with which to study the imperatives is the place in which the speaker asks the addressee to carry out the action. For this purpose, one could use three symbols, p_x , p_y and p_z , representing different places, where p_x is the place of utterance and p_y the place where H is found (in case H is not present at p_x) and p_z the place in which H is to carry out the action (in case the desired place of action is neither p_x nor p_y). So, for example, in p_x S may ask H to carry out an action in any of the following places: p_x , p_y , or p_z . Bearing in mind

according to the subject's number, and in the case of the imperatives the verb shows inflection according to both the subjects gender and number. We will, therefore, gloss the gender only where necessary. Furthermore, from the three forms of pronominal reference for H, mainly the *tum* (second person, plural and familiar) form will be considered though where necessary other forms, namely *tuu* ('you', second person, singular and intimate) and *aap* ('you', third person, plural, and polite) will also be taken into consideration.

¹² In this paper the words 'obligatorily' and 'necessarily' mean the 'deontic necessity', and hereafter will be represented with '!p'.

¹³ Throughout the paper we shall put the pragmatic information contained in the imperative utterance in the square brackets. The pieces of information in square brackets are of a different nature and are responsible for different conversational implicatures of the imperative utterances. These are what Grice calls cancelable, non-detachable calculable and non-conventional.

¹⁴ Unlike *kbaanaa* 'eat', *aanaa* 'come' is an achievement verb, but implies a process. It has been, therefore, roughly classified as a process verb and glossed with ' $\bullet\text{---}\bullet$ ' symbol.

the distinctions between the place of the speaker (POS), the place of the hearer (POH) and the place of the action (POA), the possible discourse situations in which an imperative might be used can be summarized in the following way:

(5)

	POS	POH	POA
Situation 1	p_x	p_x	p_x
Situation 2	p_x	p_x	p_z
Situation 3	p_x	p_y	p_x
Situation 4	p_x	p_y	p_y
Situation 5	p_x	p_y	p_z

It is possible, for example, that S makes an utterance in p_x where H is also found and he is to carry out an action in p_x , or to go to accomplish the act in p_z . Another possibility is that in which H is not present in the place of utterance, p_x , but in p_y . In this case S may ask H to carry out an action at any of the three sites: p_x , p_y and p_z .

2.5 KIND OF ACTION ENCODED IN IMPERATIVES

To clarify the nature of Hindi imperatives it is useful to understand the kind of action required by the imperative verb used to issue a command. We do not intend to make use of the German term *Aktionsart* to describe the phenomenon; instead we will use the general term 'kind of action'. Thus, we intend to distinguish verbs according to their inherent qualities rather than according to the grammatical aspect linked to them. It has already been established elsewhere that verbs indicating states differ greatly from those indicating events. For example, in contrast to 'dynamic' event verbs, stative verbs do not normally occur in the imperative. The discussion below will therefore be restricted to verbs indicating events only, as only these can be used to in the imperative mood. The verbs which indicate dynamic events can be divided approximately into three groups: first, those verbs which indicate instantaneous acts (e.g., *chiiNknaa* 'sneeze', *pheNknaa* 'throw', etc.), second, verbs which indicate durative processes which have onset, middle and end points (e.g., *khaanaa* 'eat', *paRhnaa* 'read', etc.), and third, those which indicate actions which usually last much longer than durative processes and presumably have some kind of

starting and ending points (e.g., *rahnaa* 'live', 'stay', or 'remain', etc.). The distinction between these end points, however, is very often ignored. Though the verbs indicating all these kinds of events have their onsets, middles and ends, these distinctions are not equally pertinent in all three cases. In the first type of events they are difficult to detect; in the second case they are distinctively encoded; and in the third case they are presumed, but ignored. To present this distinction in this paper and specifically for the purpose of imperatives, we shall, instead of presenting a fuller account of verbs indicating different aspectual situations, be adopting the following symbolism indicating the above-mentioned three categories:

A black round point preceded by an exclamation mark, as in (6), represents the imperative mood on a verb indicating an instantaneous act (e.g., *chiiNknaa* 'sneeze', *pheNknaa* 'throw', *kuudnaa* 'jump'):

(6) !•

A line closed by two points and preceded by an exclamation sign, as in (7), represents the imperative mood on a verb indicating a durative act (e.g., *khaanaa* 'eat', *paRbnaa* 'read'/'study', *sonaa* 'sleep') and when referred to an event with a definite action generally indicates a telic situation. This line has both beginning and end points, and therefore, their onset, middle and end can be distinctly observed and encoded if required:

(7) !•—•

A longer line with a point at the beginning and an arrow at the end and preceded by an exclamation mark, as in (8), represents the imperative mood attached to a verb indicating events which are to some extent similar to static events and normally may be thought to be referring to atelic like situations. This indicates a process lasting longer than that of the durative process and without a clear end (e.g., *rahnaa* 'live'/'stay'/'remain'):

(8) !•————→

2.6 VERBAL ASPECT

The Hindi verbal system allows for a verb to be used in imperative mood with or without a verbal aspect. The term 'aspect' for the present purpose is used in its general sense, however. Without making a deeper analysis of the category 'aspect' attached to a verb and a rigorous study of its different types found in Hindi, this paper will consider only the three aspects which are normally discussed in Hindi grammars, as an in-depth study of aspect is certainly beyond the limits of the present study. These aspects are the habitual, the continuous, and the perfective¹⁵. Nevertheless, in regard to the verbal aspects attached to imperatives in Hindi, the term 'aspect' is used to mean those compound constructions made of two or more verbs which correspond to the basic aspects attached to a single verb. We are also excluding from the present study the topic of different kinds of morphological derivation of Hindi aspect. For the present study it would suffice to say that, similar to the constructions with a verb in indicative mood and other moods, the constructions with a verb in imperative mood can also have aspectual information attached to them: a habitual aspect¹⁶ according to which S asks H to carry out an action regularly/habitually is obtained from the combination of a perfective participle¹⁷ of the main verb plus the verb *karnaa* ('do'), a continuous aspect¹⁸ attached to the imperatives is that which indicates continuity of the action required and is obtained by the combination of the imperfective participle of the main verb plus the verb *rahnaa* ('stay'/'remain'/'live'), *calnaa* ('move'/'go'), or *jaanaa* ('go'), and a perfective aspect¹⁹ attached to the imperative mood is that which indicates completion of the desired action by H and is obtained by the use of a compound verb in the imperative mood.

¹⁵ The habitual, the continuous and the perfective aspects will be represented respectively by the following symbols: η , χ and π .

¹⁶ In the formalism the habitual aspect on commands will be represented by the Greek letter eta η which can be translated as 'carry out x habitually'.

¹⁷ In this paper, we have preferred the term 'perfective participle' to 'past participle' or 'perfect participle' as the latter are related to tenses rather than to aspects.

¹⁸ The continuous aspect on commands will be represented by the Greek letter chi χ which may be translated as 'carry out x continuously'.

¹⁹ The perfective aspect on commands will be represented by the Greek letter pi π which means 'carry out x perfectly'.

2.7 CONCESSION TO H FROM S

To understand the meaning of an imperative, one has to understand S's attitude towards the degree of bindingness²⁰ in the imperative, i.e. whether S considers it obligatory for H to undertake the task or gives H the possibility of non-compliance²¹. It is possible that S may issue a command, by which H must fulfill the requirement described in the imperative, and it is also possible that H is given the choice of deciding whether to attempt x or not. We could use the following symbolism to present the intensity of a command where p means 'H does x ':

- (9) (a) $\Box!p$;
 (b) $\neg\Box!p$ ²²
 (b1) $\Diamond p \Rightarrow \Diamond!p$, or
 (b2) $\neg\Diamond p \Rightarrow \Diamond\neg!p$

Thus, in (9a), which means 'obligatorily do x ' or by paraphrasing 'it is obligatory for you (H) to do x ', you must perform x , while in (9b), which means 'not obligatorily do x ' or 'it is not obligatory for you (H) to do x ', H does not necessarily have to perform x . In (9b), S therefore intends to communicate both (9b1) and (9b2) which mean 'if it is possible for you (H) to do x , then you possibly do x '²³ and 'if it is not possible for you (H) to do x , then it is possible for you not to do x ', respectively, and therefore, it permits H to decide wheth-

²⁰ By 'bindingness' we mean that the speaker expects the hearer to necessarily undertake that task, and that the hearer is not given the possibility of not undertaking the task required or requested. This would be the stronger imperative form, whereas the second form (b, above) allows the hearer to personally determine whether or not to undertake the task.

²¹ Although, in Hindi the speaker's attitudes towards the strength of a command can be linked to the types of imperatives, it may, like in many languages, vary from one situation to another. It depends, therefore, not only on the selection of the type of the imperative but also on the shared knowledge and beliefs of S and H, and on the intonation in which the imperative utterance has been made. An utterance such as "Go to America!", for example, can carry an obligation as well as a suggestion, pronounced with a proper intonation.

²² The possible counterparts seems to be (9b1) $\Diamond!p$, and (9b2) $\Diamond\neg!p$ but in natural languages we obtain them of conditional nature, thus

(9b1) $\Diamond p \Rightarrow \Diamond!p$, or

(9b2) $\neg\Diamond p \Rightarrow \Diamond\neg!p$

²³ Throughout the paper the word 'possibly' means either epistemic or deontic possibility which are formally represented by symbol \Diamond or $\Diamond!p$, respectively.

er to take up the task or not. In both the direct and indirect imperatives an obligation is imposed upon H without any concession for his not fulfilling it, as shown in (9a). In the conditional imperatives with a subjunctive or an imperfective participle S gives H the choice of not fulfilling the obligation, as indicated in (9b) which implies both the alternates (9b1) and (9b2).

3. SPEAKER'S COMMANDS TO HAVE THE ADDRESSEE CARRY OUT AN ACTION X

In the following subsections various imperative verb forms will be discussed in detail. This is to make distinctions between those imperatives through which S asks H to take up a task *x*, as in these subsections, and those through which S makes H let a third party (hereafter TP) carry out an action *x*, which will be taken up in section 4.

3.1 IMPERATIVES WITHOUT A VERBAL ASPECT

As is common with most natural world languages, Hindi speakers also make use of the common strategy of employing commands and requests in an imperative verb form. However, what distinguishes Hindi from most European languages is that it is able to issue commands by two different and distinct syntactic constructions: the first with an imperative verb form of its own, i.e. the Direct Imperative, and a second, with an infinitival verb form, i.e. the Indirect Imperative. Both types of commands, though intended to express different types of illocutionary points, can be deemed by S to carry the same directive illocution according to which H must carry out a particular action in future. These two imperative sentence type constructions are thought to consist of two different tense identities: the first is said to carry the imperative message of the present tense, while the second is supposed to carry the imperative mood of the future tense. But, as will be outlined below, these different constructions do not have much in common with the present or future tenses. Rather they are employed to convey some specific kind of pragmatic meaning which S wishes to be contained therein.

3.1.1 *Direct Imperatives (immediate commands)*

The most frequent form of issuing commands in Hindi is to ask H to accomplish a particular act, x , through a distinct imperative verb form. Hindi possesses three imperative verb forms which correspond to three pronominal forms of reference in the second person, *tuu* ('you' intimate), *tum* ('you' friendly or familiar), *aap* ('you' honorific, polite or formal). In direct commands S asks H either to carry out an action x at a moment t_{n+1} or, if the action has already started at t_{n-1} , to bring it to a close at the moment of utterance, i.e. t_n , or immediately after the time of utterance, i.e. at t_{n+1} .

3.1.1.1 *Preparing grounds for making a command through direct imperative*

S issues a command through the direct imperative at time t_n under any of the following conditions:

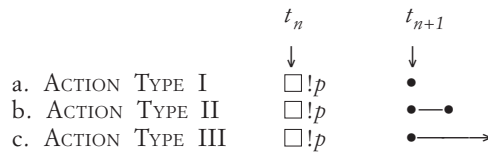
- (10) (a) S wishes H to carry out x .
 (b) S thinks that H is able to produce x .
 (c) At the moment of utterance, S believes that it is necessary for H to produce x , i.e.
 $B_s .\Box p$, and either
 $\{B_s .\neg K_h .\Box p /$
 $\neg B_s .K_h .\Box p (= \Diamond .K_h .\Box p; \Diamond .\neg K_h .\Box p)\}$.²⁴
 (d) S imagines that H's action in carrying out x will either be in H's, or in S's interest, or in the interest of a TP.
 (e) At the moment of utterance, t_n , S either knows or believes either that
 (e') H has not started action x , and thus S asks H to carry out x at t_{n+1} , or
 (e'') H has already initiated action x at a time t_{n-1} , but the task is still incomplete and so the aim of S's order is to ensure H completes the action process at t_{n+1} .
 (f) At the time of utterance S either knows or believes either that
 (f') At the time t_n H is engaged in carrying out action y that would prevent him from fulfilling x at t_{n+1} , or
 (f'') At the time in question, H is not engaged in some other activity that would prevent him from immediately undertaking x .
 (g) If F', then S asks H to abandon y and to start carrying out x . The speaker does not concede to the hearer the permission to carry

²⁴ (B_s = 'speaker believes'; $.$ = 'that'; \Box = 'it is necessary that'; p = 'H does x '; \neg = negation; K_h = hearer knows; \Diamond = 'it is possible that'; $\{\}$ = alternation brackets; $/$ = alternating slash).

- | | | | |
|----|---|----------|-------------------------|
| b. | (tum) | aam | khaao |
| | you-2pl-fam | mango(s) | eat-imp-2pl |
| | 'Eat a mango/mangos!' | | |
| | [□!p/●—●/t _{n+1} /w ₁ /] | | |
| c. | (aap) | aam | khaaie |
| | you-3pl-pol | mango(s) | eat-imp-3pl |
| | 'Please eat a mango/mangos!' | | |
| | [□!p/●—●/t _{n+1} /w ₁ /] | | |
| d. | (aap) | aam | khaaiegaa ²⁶ |
| | you-3pl-pol | mango(s) | eat-imp-diff-3pl |
| | 'Please eat a mango/mangos, will/won't you?!' | | |
| | [□!p/●—●/t _{n+1} /w ₁ /] | | |

As noted above, by making a command with direct imperatives S asks H either to take up the task at t_{n+1} time, if the imperative verb indicates Action Type I, or to begin it at time t_{n+1} and implicitly to finish it consequently at an unspecified time, if the imperative verb is a process of Action Type II, or to maintain the state, if the required action is Type III. The directive form of imperatives in all the three kinds of actions can be presented in the following diagram:

(12)



3.1.2 Indirect Imperatives (deferred commands)

In this variety of imperative, while a Hindi speaker may issue a command it will not require the addressee to carry out the task x immediately after the command has been given, because x will not necessarily be required to be carried out in the same location where the utterance was made, nor at the same point in time. The action required by this imperative is normally performed subsequently to one or more actions, whether these actions are going to be a part of the whole

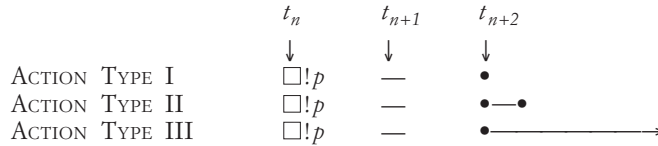
²⁶ This form is much more common in Eastern Hindi than in Western Hindi and is considered to be the most polite form of imperative. It is sometime compared with a deferred command which is made with an infinitival form of the verb.

process which ends with the required action x , or to any other unrelated actions which appear independent of the action x . Instead, if S asks H to carry out x at the same place and time, then S will require H to suspend any other actions or tasks (y , z), so as to be free to carry out x . When S wants H to carry out x she will be in one of the following discourse situations:

- (13) (a) S believes that H can carry out x and either knows or believes that the speaker is engaged in carrying out some other actions:
- (a') It is possible that, at the time of the utterance, H is involved in completing y , and therefore S believes that it would not be possible for H to carry out x before having accomplished y . Consequently, S asks H to perform the task immediately after the completion of y .
 - (a'') It is possible that, at the time of the utterance, H is involved in carrying out y , and S wants H to interrupt this task and to undertake x even before he has accomplished y . S will in such circumstances add certain terms to show politeness, or showing her concern that H is busy. She may either ask him to try to make an extra effort, or do something small such as a favor for S, i.e. using *zaraa* (a little, a bit), etc.
- (b) S either knows or believes that H is not busy doing something which will not prevent H from carrying out x , but,
- (c) Whether or not H is involved in other tasks than x , S wants H to carry out x at some future moment in time:
- (c') Though H is not carrying out an act deemed by S as preventing the completion of x by H, x will still occur either at a different location from the site of utterance or at a distant point in time in the future. H will therefore only be able to carry out x at a future time, and S will not oblige him to perform it immediately following the issue of the order.
 - (c'') The action will be performed at a different site and S will not be present to check if the task has been fulfilled or not. Thus, H will not be required by S to be responsive, or to report back on the completion of the activity. Any actions will be permissible in the following for H from the time that the command was issued to the accomplishment of the task.
- (d) By issuing a command through the 'indirect imperative' the speaker intends to let the hearer know one of the following: 1) that she is not interested in seeing the outcome of the action and leaves it to the hearer to decide whether to accomplish the action or not; 2) in cases where the speaker wants the hearer to abandon the action y to carry out x , she may want to communicate that she is interested in seeing the outcome and completion of the desired action.

The main distinguishing factor between direct and indirect imperatives is that in the case of indirect imperatives S ex-

(15)



There are cases where this imperative is employed by S to ask H to carry out the task in a world not different from the world in which both S and H find themselves. In such cases, the meaning of the imperative derives from S's recognition of H's being busy in some other task. S is well aware that H is engaged in carrying out a task y and therefore asks H to interrupt y to take up x by using the deferred command. The deferment of the action by H in this case is not evident from any situational element and can be understood only in terms of the interruption in the action in which H is engaged.

3.1.3 *Commands through subjunctive: optative or conditional constructions (exhortations or requests)*

A very polite way of issuing conditional commands in Hindi is with subjunctive type sentences. However, these can only be utilized with the third person honorific pronoun *aap* (you) as only the person referred to with this pronominal reference is given the possibility of refusing to comply with the command²⁷. The subjunctive form is in reality that which is left from the complete sentence form, without the 'joining clause' or the 'if-clause' connected to the subjunctive. The role of a subjunctive has often been seen as having to do with the distinction between *realis* and *irrealis* worlds referred to by propositions: while a declarative sentence is thought to represent a *realis* world, the subjunctive verbal form is considered to represent the *irrealis* world. Thus, the subjunctive form of verb is almost always comes as either a subordinate clause dependent on verbs of wanting etc. or a clause of a conditional sentence.

²⁷ The subjunctive commands with the two other second person pronominal forms of reference are not found. Whereas the person referred to by the *tu* ('you', intimate) form is not given the possibility of non-compliance and therefore no subjunctive command is possible, the subjunctive and the imperative forms with *tum* ('you', familiar or friendly) are homophonous.

In the first case, S's desires are associated to the residual sentence form; in the second case, a conditional possibility or desirability is presented to H. In order to get the full meaning of such sentences there needs to be a further clause, which will be presented in brackets here, showing S's expected wish to be performed by the agent, H. This residual form can be joined to another clause through either a conjunction *ki* (that), ('*main caahtaa huuN ki...*', 'I want that...'/ '*acchaa hogaa ki...*', 'It will be nice that...') or through one of the conditional elements, i.e., either 'if- element' (*yadi*) or 'then-element' (*to/tab*) dropping one of them. In (16), for instance, to get its full meaning the subjunctive form of the clause requires another clause (in brackets) which expresses the speaker's desire about the action referred to to be carried out by the agent:

- (16) (maiN caahtaa huuN ki (aap) yahaaN aaeN
 I want aux that you-3pl here come-sub-3pl
 (I want that (you)) 'Please come here, will/won't you?!'²⁸
 [◊!p /●—●/t_{n+1}/w₁/]

Other kinds of bracket elements include those expressing possibility, desirability etc. in a conditional sentence form. Normally, the bracket elements are in the form of an 'if clauses' which are not uttered but only understood, though they can also be in a 'then-clause' form. Which bracket element to choose in interpreting the utterance at times depends upon S and H's mutual knowledge and sometimes it does not make much difference to interpret the utterance according to any of the alternates. In (17a) the elliptical elements express the 'if clause' element indicating H's desires, while in (17b) the elliptical 'if clause' elements express H's possibility of carrying out the task. In (17c), on the other hand, the 'then clause' is elliptical. The imperative in this example can be thought to be in the 'if clause' form which is retained and the 'then clause' has been deleted. Also the 'if' word is elliptical and 'then clause' contains the meaning carrying reasons suggested by S's for H's taking up the task.

²⁸ Throughout the paper, the English translation of an imperative with a subjunctive verb form is done through English tag questions, although the English tag questions can be rendered in Hindi differently. Both the tag which requires confirmation from the hearer, i.e. 'will you?', and the tag which needs information from the hearer, i.e. 'won't you?', are used here to render the modality expressing 'deontic possibility'.

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- (17) a. (yadi caahṭe haiN tō (aap)) yahaaN aaeN
 if want-impf-m-pl aux-pl then you-3pl here come-sub-3pl
 ‘Please come here!’
 [‘if you wish... then do it’; $\diamond!p / \bullet \text{---} \bullet /$; at time $/t_{n+1}/$; in $/w_1/$]
- b. (yadi ho-sake tō (aap)) yahaaN aaeN
 if become possible-sub-sg then you-3pl here come-sub-3pl
 ‘Please come here!’
 [‘If it is possible... then do it’; $\diamond!p / \bullet \text{---} \bullet /$; at time $/t_{n+1}/$; in $/w_1/$]
- c. (yadi (aap)) yahaaN aaeN (tō acchaa ho/hogaa)
 if you-3pl here come-sub-3pl then good be-sub-sg/be-fut-sg-m
 ‘Please come here!’
 [‘It will be nice if you do’; $\diamond!p / \bullet \text{---} \bullet /$; at time $/t_{n+1}/$; in $/w_1/$]

When S issues commands through the subjunctive, she asks H to perform x in the same way as direct commands. Both types have the same preparatory grounds. Though in the case of imperative through subjunctive after providing good reasons for the execution of the action, S still eventually allows H the choice whether to perform the action or not. This kind of verbal encoding with the option for H to refuse undertaking the act x derives from the understood element either ‘then-clause’ or ‘if-clause’ of the conditional imperative. This element that is attached to the uttered command is the sole element which adds an air of politeness to such commands, transforming them from orders into requests. S seems to suggest that it is not obligatory for H to do x ; nonetheless, it would be nice of H, if he decides to do it. As described in (9), the subjunctive imperative has, in addition to being joined with a verb of wanting, a string which can be understood in the terms of conditional structures. Thus, (9) will be repeated here in (18).

- (18) (a) $\square!p$; (‘obligatorily do x ’ or ‘it is obligatory for you (H) to do x ’)
 (b) $\neg\square!p$ (‘not obligatorily do x ’ or ‘it is not obligatory for you (H) to do x ’), i.e.
 (b1) $\diamond p \Rightarrow \diamond!p$, (if it is possible for you (H) to do x , then possibly do x), and
 (b2) $\neg\diamond p \Rightarrow \diamond\neg!p$ (if it is not possible for you (H) to do x , then it is possible for you not to do x)²⁹

While the direct and indirect commands are of the type (18a), the imperative through subjunctive is of the type (18b). Thus through a conditional imperative made of a subjunctive

²⁹ Note, however, that only (b1) is deontic. (b2) is permission rather than a command and is essential for (b1)’s realization.

form of the verb, S communicates both (18b1) and (18b2) together. This underlying logico-pragmatic string makes this command special. It is anchored in the same time frame as is the direct imperative described in 3.1.1, but its pragmatic inference is totally different. Its pragmatic strings are of two types. One is that which contains an element expressing S's desires (expressed through δ in (19)) that can be joined though the conjunction *ki* (that) to the imperative as is the case in (19a) and second is similar to that of a pure conditional utterance as seen in (19b):

- (19) a. $\delta. \phi \Rightarrow f(\psi)$ at t_{n+1}
 i.e., I want (δ) that if ϕ then $f(\psi)$ at time t_{n+1} .
 = 'I want that if it is possible for you to do/ if you like it etc., then do x.'
 b. $\phi \Rightarrow f(\psi)$ at t_{n+1}
 i.e., if ϕ then $f(\psi)$ at time t_{n+1} .
 = 'If it is possible/ If you like/ etc., then do x.'

As noted earlier, this kind of imperative in Hindi can have either the 'if clause' or the 'then clause' of a conditional sentence. If the imperative has the form of a residual 'if clause', i.e. ϕ , then H completes it by providing the 'then element', i.e. ψ , to understand its meaning, and in the reverse situation he makes a sense out of it by completing the utterance with further element that has the form of 'if element', i.e. ϕ . (20a-b-c-d) are the complete forms of the conditional sentences, whereas the imperative utterances (20a'-b'-c'-d') are residual forms of the conditional sentences which require some additional elements from the complete sentences in (20a-b-c-d). For example, (20a') can have either ϕ or ψ elliptical clauses. (20b') can have only ϕ elliptical clause. Likewise, (20c') and (20d') both have ψ elliptical clauses with some minor differences.

- (20) a. (maiN caahtaa huuN ki aap) $_{\delta}$ (aam khaaeN) $_{\psi/\phi}$
 I want aux that you-3pl-pol mango(s) eat-sub-3pl
 a'. (aam khaaeN) $_{\psi/\phi}$
 mango(s) eat-sub-3pl
 'Eat a mango/mangos, will/won't you?!'
 [I want you to do x; $\langle !p / \bullet \text{---} \bullet / t_{n+1} / w_1 / \rangle$]
 b. (agar aap caahaeN to) $_{\phi}$ (aam khaaeN) $_{\psi}$
 if you-3pl-pol wish-sub-pl then mango(s) eat-sub-3pl
 b'. (aam khaaeN) $_{\psi}$
 mango(s) eat-sub-3pl
 'Eat a mango/mangos, will/won't you?!'
 ['if you like to do x'; $\langle !p / \bullet \text{---} \bullet / t_{n+1} / w_1 / \rangle$]

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- c. (acchaa hogaa yadi aap)_ψ (aam khaaeN)_φ
 good be-fut-m if you-3pl-pol a mango(s) eat-sub-3pl
- c'. (aam khaaeN)_φ
 mango(s) eat-sub-3pl
 'Eat a mango/mangos, will/won't you?!'
 ['it will/would be nice if you do/did *x*'; $\diamond!p / \bullet \text{---} \bullet / t_{n+1} / w_1 /$]
- d. (agar aap aam khaaeN)_φ (to acchaa ho)_ψ
 if you-3pl-pol a mango(s) eat-sub-3pl then nice be-sub-sg
- d'. (aam khaaeN)_φ
 mango(s) eat-sub-3pl
 'Eat a mango/mangos, will/won't you?!'
 ['it will/would be nice if you do/did *x*'; $\diamond!p / \bullet \text{---} \bullet / t_{n+1} / w_1 /$]

3.1.4 *Commands with imperfective participle: speaker's reproach*

To express commands through another kind of 'conditional' ³⁰ imperative, Hindi employs the imperfective participle of the verb ³¹. This is a very special kind of imperative in Hindi in that, similar to the imperative with the subjunctive, it appears a residue if-clause of a complete conditional sentence in which the consequent '... to acchaa hotaa...' ('... then it would be/would have been nice.') is dropped and the antecedent if-clause 'agar kbiRkii band kar dete ...' ('if you could/could have closed the window ...') is retained. The full meaning of such contrafactual commands presupposes that H should have already undertaken a required action prior to the utterance, but so far he hasn't fulfilled the obligation. S therefore believes that H will deduce from the utterance that he is still under the obligation to accomplish the task and will possibly carry it out. The pragmatic constraints on this kind of imperative can be summarized in the following way:

- (21) (a) S believes that H had to obligatorily carry out an action *x* at a time t_{n-1} (i.e. prior to the time of utterance t_n).
 (b) S either knows or believes that H, by the time of utterance, has not carried out *x*.
 (c) S knows or believes that H either knows or believes that S knows

³⁰ The imperative with a subjunctive verb form and the imperative with an imperfective participle are roughly called here 'conditional imperative' because both of them, in order to be interpreted, require some additional elements, though they are not always of conditional nature.

³¹ Although this is an example of a contrafactual mood, we call this imperative an 'imperative with an imperfective participle' in order to avoid confusion.

that H has not carried out x , i.e., $B_s/K_s \cdot B_h/K_h \cdot K_s \cdot p$ (where p stands for the proposition 'H has not yet carried out x ').

- (d) S believes that from her utterance H will be able to deduce that he is still asked to possibly carry out x at time t_{n+1} , t_{n+2} or t_{nn} .
- (e) S believes that by uttering the imperative with an imperfective participle she can still persuade H to take up the task.

Although, the imperative with a subjunctive verb form too can be used in conditional senses, but it doesn't entail the information regarding H's unfulfilled obligation, as is the case of the imperative with imperfective participle. In fact, in the commands with subjunctive, S does not intend to inform the addressee that he has not done the action x . So we have an imperative of this form:

- (22) (aap) khiRkii to band kar dete
 you-3pl window-sg-f at least closed do-root give-impf-m-pl
 'If only you had closed the window, at least!' ³²
 ['you haven't done that'; 'you were and still are obliged to do it';
 possibly do it; at time t_{n+1} ; in w_1]
 [$\diamond!p / \bullet \rightarrow \bullet / t_{n+1} / w_1 /$]

This variant of command is dependent upon different types of shared knowledge between S and H, and the form itself expressed will have a different meaning for the person involved. For example, it may be expressed by S as irritation, disappointment, or rebuke; though at the end of the dialogue S may have modified his initial mood towards his addressee by conceding something more desired by H.

- (23) a. (~~kam-se-kam~~ tum) aam to khaa lete
 at least you mango(s) just eat-root take-impf-pl
 'If only you had eaten a mango/mangos, at least!'
 'If only you {would /were to} eat a mango/mangos!' ³³

³² An imperative with imperfective participle (i.e. contrafactual) in Hindi may, depending on context, have past, present or future reference. Thus, a sentence such as 'tum itne jor se na bolte!' can be translated as 1) 'If only you hadn't spoken so loudly' (Past Reference), 2) 'If only you didn't speak so loudly' (Present Reference), and 3) 'If only you wouldn't speak so loudly' (Present/Future Reference). Throughout the paper, for the sake of brevity, we shall be translating this imperative with one of these forms. Although all three translations can be considered acceptable, in some cases only one or two translations are possible. However, we shall not make any such distinction.

³³ As can be seen from this translation, the imperatives with an imperfective participle can have a future time meaning as well. However, due to lack of space we shall not give this translation at each and every place.

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- [‘you haven’t carried out *x* yet’; ‘it was required of you’; ‘you are still obliged to do it’; ‘I want you to do it; $\diamond!p / \bullet \text{---} \bullet /$; at time $/t_{n+1}/$; in $/w_1/$]
- b. (acchaa hotaa tum) aam khaa lete
 good be-impf-m-sg you-2pl-fam mango(s) eat-root take-impf-m-pl
 ‘It would have been nice if you had eaten a mango/mangos!’
 ‘If only you had eaten a mango/mangos!’
 ‘If only you {would /were to} eat a mango/mangos.’
 [‘you haven’t carried out *x* yet’, ‘it was required of you’, ‘I want you to do it’; possibly do it; at time t_{n+1} ; in w_1] [$\diamond!p / \bullet \text{---} \bullet /$; at time $/t_{n+1}/$; in $/w_1/$]

Similar to the imperative with subjunctive form of the verb, the imperative with imperfective participle too can have a reading which can express S’s desire for H’s action. As can be seen in (24), through this kind of imperative S wishes to communicate to H her desire for his action.

- (24) (maiN caahtaa ki tum) aam to khaa lete
 I would want that you-2pl mango(s) just eat-root take-impf-m-pl
 ‘I would have liked it if only you had eaten a mango/mangos, at least!’
 [‘you haven’t done *x* yet’; ‘it was required of you’; ‘I want you to do it’;
 $\diamond!p / \bullet \text{---} \bullet / t_{n+1} / w_1 /$]
 ‘If only you had eaten a mango/mangos, at least!’
 ‘Shouldn’t you have eaten that mango/mangos already!’ (by now)?’

The imperative with an imperfect participle should have the following diagrammatic version. (25a), (25b) and (25c) present Action Type I, Action Type II and Action Type III, respectively.

- (25) a. *At any time prior to t_n*
 $t_n(\text{unspecified})$
 \downarrow
 \bullet
- t_n t_{n+1}
 \downarrow \downarrow
 $\leftarrow \square!p \rightarrow$
 $\diamond!p \rightarrow \bullet$
- b. *At any time prior to t_n*
 $t_n(\text{unspecified})$
 \downarrow
 $\square! \bullet \text{---} \bullet$
- t_n t_{n+1}
 \downarrow \downarrow
 $\leftarrow \square!p \rightarrow$
 $\diamond!p \rightarrow \bullet \text{---} \bullet$
- c. *At any time prior to t_n*
 $t_n(\text{unspecified})$
 \downarrow
 $\square! \bullet \text{---} \rightarrow$
- t_n t_{n+1}
 \downarrow \downarrow
 $\leftarrow \square!p \rightarrow$
 $\diamond!p \rightarrow \bullet \text{---} \rightarrow$

3.2 IMPERATIVES WITH VERBAL ASPECT

Hindi has at least three Verbal Aspects which are noted in the verbal conjugation: the habitual, the continuous (or progressive), and the perfective. It is interesting to note that, as demonstrated previously in section 2.6, imperative verb forms used to issue commands in Hindi may be linked to a verbal aspect. (26a) is a case of an imperative without any aspect linked to the verb, whereas (26b,c,d) are examples of imperative with aspectual element linked to the verb. While habitual and progressive aspects are evidenced in a word or grammatical item, as seen in (26b) and (26c) respectively, the perfective aspect is observed through a compound verb construction in an imperative mood, as in (26d). In the later case S's command aims at making H to bring the action to a terminative point, reaching the final desired outcome *x*.

- (26) a. (tum) akhbaar paRho
 you-2pl-fam newspaper read-imp-2pl
 'Read the newspaper!'
 [□!p/•—•/t_{n+1}/w₁/]
- b. (tum) akhbaar paRhaa karo
 you-2pl-fam newspaper(s) read-perf do-imp-2pl
 'Read newspapers every day!'
 'Make it a habit to read newspapers every day!'
 [obligatorily and habitually³⁴ do *x*; at times t_{n+1}, t_{n+2} ... t_{nn}; in w₁]
 or
 [□!p/η/•—•/t_{n+1}, t_{n+2} ... t_{nn} /w₁ w₂ w₃ w_n/]
- c. (tum) akhbaar paRhte raho
 you-2pl-fam newspaper(s) read-impf-m-pl stay-imp-2pl
 'Continue to read the newspaper!'
 [□!p/χ/•—•/t_{n+1} → t_{nn} /w₁/]
 'Continue reading the newspaper!'
 [□!p/χ/•—•/t_{n+1} → t_{nn} /w₁/]
 'Continue to read newspapers!'
 [□!p/χ/•—•/t_{n+1}, t_{n+2} ... t_{nn} /w₁ w₂ ... w_n/]
 'Continue reading newspapers!'
 [□!p/χ/•—•/t_{n+1}, t_{n+2} ... t_{nn} /w₁ w₂ w₃ w_n/]
- d. (tum) is akhbaar ko paRh Daalo
 you-2pl-fam this-obl newspaper dat read-root put-imp-2pl
 'Read this paper through!'
 [obligatorily complete the action *x*; at time t_{n+1}; in w₁]
 [□!p/π/•—•/t_{n+1}/w₁/]

³⁴ Throughout the paper the term 'habitually' is used to indicate something carried out 'regularly' or 'frequently' and therefore intentionally rather than 'by habit' and therefore unknowingly.

3.2.1 *Habitual aspect: the speaker gives commands making the addressee do an action habitually*

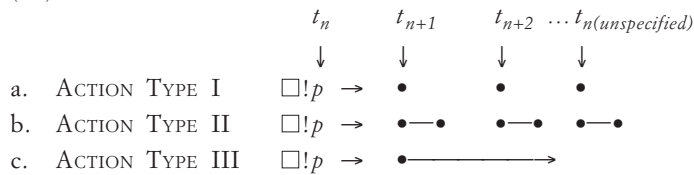
When S issues a command through an imperative construction in habitual aspect, she asks H to carry out an action *x* repetitively, if the verb belongs to Type I or Type II, as in (27a) and (27b), respectively, but in the case of verb Type III the habitual aspect may mean two things: she may ask H to repeat the action, as in (27c) where H is asked to stay in the hotel in question regularly, or she may ask H to continue the action, as in (27d); in the latter case, though, the aspectual element is ineffective as in this case the verb does not indicate repetitive actions; it is the habit of doing *x* that has to be continued.

- (27) a. (tum) kuudaa karo
 you-2pl-fam jump-perf do-imp-2pl
 'Jump!'
 'Make it a habit to always jump!'
 [obligatorily and habitually do $x(\bullet)$; at times $t_{n+1}, t_{n+2} \dots t_{nn}$; in w_1]
 $[\square!p/\eta/\bullet/t_{n+1}, t_{n+2} \dots t_{nn} /w_1 w_2 w_3 w_n/]$
- b. (tum) aam khaayaa karo
 you-2pl-fam mango(s) eat-perf do-imp-2pl
 'Eat mangos!'
 'Make it a habit to always eat mangos!'
 $[\square!p/\eta/\bullet\text{---}/t_{n+1}, t_{n+2} \dots t_{nn} /w_1 w_2 w_3 w_n/]$
- c. (tum) is hotal meN rahaa karo
 you-2pl-fam) this hotel in stay-perf do-imp-2pl
 'Stay in this hotel!' [habitually and/or continuously, until unspecified time]
 'Make it a habit to always stay in this hotel!'
 $[\square!p/\eta/\bullet\text{---}/ t_{n+1}, t_{n+2} \dots t_{nn} / w_1]$
- d. (tum) acchii tarah rahaa karo
 you-2pl-fam good kind stay-perf do-imp-2pl
 'Always keep well!' [habitually and/or continuously, until unspecified time]
 'Make it a habit to keep well always!'
 $[\square!p/\eta/\bullet\text{---}/ t_{n+1}, t_{n+2} \dots t_{nn} / w_1]$

(27a) is an instantaneous act and therefore when issuing a command for this action with a habitual aspect S is asking H to carry out the action at different points in times until an unspecified point in time. Similarly, in (27b) a process is used in habitual aspect. Here too H is asked to repeat the action indefinitely, though the intended action is a process which has

starting and ending points. In contrast, in (27c) and (27d) the same verb has two explanations: in (27c) repetition of staying in the hotel in question is asked for, in (27d) there is not an action to be repeated, but rather a general state that H has to maintain.

(28)



As can be seen from the figure (28), the imperative verb using Action Type I in the habitual aspect, as in (28a), refers to the occurrences of actions at the times mentioned, while in Action Type II, S asks H to begin the task at the mentioned times, as seen in (28b). The imperative in this kind of action implies that different events will be completed at a subsequent moment, without mentioning the precise time of completion. In Action Type III, the habitual aspect does not indicate an action at a specific time, but rather indicates a static process, as in (28c).

3.2.1.1 Habitual verbal aspect on direct imperative

As noted above, while most natural languages normally have set sentence constructions which S uses when issuing commands demanding a single occurrence of immediate or future actions by H, Hindi has a further construction which focuses on the habitual aspect of the verb. The general meaning of such a construction may be summarized in the following way: S wants H to make it a habit to do x habitually, i.e. S asks H to perform x regularly. Implications: Whether or not you have ever done that, but from now onward do it at times after t_n and keep the habit of doing it at any place but at time t_{n+1} , t_{n2} , until $t_{n(\text{unspecified})}$.

3.2.1.1.1 Action Type I (jump, etc.)

To ask H at time t_n to accomplish an act x pertaining to this category of action with habitual aspect is to persuade H to carry out x at times t_{n+1} , t_{n+2} , t_{n+3} ,...; $t_{n(\text{unspecified})}$. Thus, to ask H to jump habitually, as in (29), is to ask him to jump at times t_{n+1} , t_{n+2} , t_{n+3} ,...; $t_{n(\text{unspecified})}$, as shown in (30), though these points in time can be either in a sequence or at intervals.

- (29) (~~tum~~) kuudaa karo
 you-2pl jump-perf do-imp-2pl
 'Jump habitually!'
 'Make it a habit of jumping every day!'
 [obligatorily and habitually do $x(\bullet)$; at times $t_{n+1}, t_{n+2} \dots t_{nn}$; in w_1]

Unlike many European languages where such type of meaning is obtained from a separate word indicating regularity of the action, this aspectual information attached to imperatives in Hindi is grammaticized. So, through the imperative sentence with habitual aspect (29) S wants H to make it a habit to jump from time t_{n+1} until time $t_{n(\text{unspecified})}$, as shown in (30).

- (30) t_n t_{n+1} t_{n+2} $t_{n+3} \dots t_{n(\text{unspecified})}$
 \downarrow \downarrow \downarrow \downarrow \downarrow
 $\square!p$ \bullet \bullet \bullet \bullet

3.2.1.1.2 Action Type II (*eat, read etc.*)

To ask H at time t_n to accomplish an act x of Type II with a habitual aspect involves persuading H to carry out x at times $t_{n+1}, t_{n+2}, t_{n+3} \dots t_{n(\text{unspecified})}$. Thus, to ask H to eat something habitually is to ask him to start eating at times $t_{n+1}, t_{n+2}, t_{n+3} \dots t_{n(\text{unspecified})}$, though these starting points in time can be either in a sequence or at intervals. The actions mentioned in the scale begin at the point indicated, but the point of cessation is not mentioned by the speaker. Naturally, they are supposed to end at a subsequent moment in time which can only be pragmatically inferred.

- (31) (~~tum~~) axbaar paRhaa karo
 you-2pl newspaper(s) read-perf do-imp-2pl
 'Read newspapers!' [obligatorily and habitually do $x(\bullet\text{---}\bullet)$; at times $t_{n+1}, t_{n+2} \dots t_{nn}$; in w_1]

This kind of action can be represented in the following way where actions have two boundaries. S asks H to carry out these durative acts habitually:

- (32) t_n t_{n+1} t_{n+2} $t_{n+3} \dots t_{n(\text{unspecified})}$
 \downarrow \downarrow \downarrow \downarrow \downarrow
 $\square!p$ $\bullet\text{---}\bullet$ $\bullet\text{---}\bullet$ $\bullet\text{---}\bullet$ $\bullet\text{---}\bullet$

3.2.1.1.3 *Action Type III (stay, etc.)*

The role of the habitual aspect in the imperative with a verb which indicates an Action Type III is minimal. Indeed, S can ask H to accomplish the act referred to by this type of verb, but its pragmatic meaning only means prolonging the action, instead of carrying it out repeatedly. To ask H to do *x* in this aspect, thus, means persuading him to behave in the manner described by the verb and not to perform a real action.

- (33) a. (t_{um}) khush rahaa karo
 you-2pl happy stay-perf do-imp-2pl
 'Be happy!'
 $[\square!p/\eta/\bullet \rightarrow / t_{n+1}, t_{n+2} \dots t_{nn}/ w_1]$
- b. (t_{um}) is hoTal meN rahaa karo
 you-2pl this hotel in stay-perf do-imp-2pl
 'Stay in this hotel!'
 $[\square!p/\eta/\bullet \rightarrow / t_{n+1}, t_{n+2} \dots t_{nn}/ w_1]$

In (33a) S asks H to carry on his state of being happy until an unspecified point in time. (33b), on the other hand, means that H is asked to repeat the action of staying in a particular hotel until an unspecified point in time. (33a) and (33b) should have the mapping shown in (34a) and (34b), respectively.

- (34) a. $t_{n+1}, t_{n+2}, t_{n+3} \dots t_{n(\text{unspecified})}$
 $\square!p \bullet \xrightarrow{\hspace{10em}}$
- b. t_n t_{n+1} t_{n+2} $t_{n+3} \dots$ $t_{n(\text{unspecified})}$
 \downarrow \downarrow \downarrow \downarrow \downarrow
 $\square!p$ $\bullet\text{---}\bullet$ $\bullet\text{---}\bullet$ $\bullet\text{---}\bullet$ $\bullet\text{---}\bullet$

(34b) shows that even a durative act such as *rahnaa* (stay) may have a reading that is similar to that which one encounters in the verb type II, as in (32).

3.2.1.2 *Habitual verbal aspect on indirect imperative*

By issuing commands with this imperative S invites H to carry out the task at a subsequent point in time at which she may not be present to verify whether he has accomplished the task or not. In all three kinds of verbs this imperative will have almost the same characterization of meaning as that in the direct habitual imperative discussed in 3.2.1.1-2-3. All three types of actions have similar properties in that none of the tasks are being carried out at the moment of utterance, they all

will have a starting point in the future and none of them will have a terminative point. The second kind of verb will have the following characterization ³⁵:

- (35) a. (तुम) aam khaayaa karna
 you-2pl-fam mango(s) eat-perf do-inf
 'Eat mangos/a mango!'
 [□!p/η/•→/ t_{n+1} , t_{n+2} ... t_{nn} / w_2]

In (35) S makes a command at t_n asking H to make it a habit to eat mangos from the point in time t_{n+2} until $t_{n(unspecified)}$ as shown in (36).

- (36) t_n t_{n+1} t_{n+2} $t_{n+3...}$ $t_{n(unspecified)}$
 ↓ ↓ ↓ ↓ ↓
 □!p→ — •—• •—• •—•

3.2.1.3 *Habitual verbal aspect on imperatives with subjunctive: optative imperative*

A semantic characterization of this kind of imperative will include S's concession for H's denial of the obligation. H is therefore given the possibility of non-accomplishment of the required action. All examples of this imperative can be assigned the same semantic characterization as that of the direct imperative discussed in 3.2.1.1.

- (37) a. (आप) aam khaayaa kareN
 you-3pl-pol mango(s) eat-perf do-sub-3pl
 'Eat mangos/a mango every day, will you/won't you?!'
 [◇!p/h/•—•/ t_{n+1} , t_{n+2} ... t_{nn} / w_1]

In (37) S asks H at t_n to possibly carry out the task habitually from t_{n+1} until $t_{n(unspecified)}$ as shown in (38)

- (38) t_n t_{n+1} t_{n+2} $t_{n+3...}$ $t_{n(unspecified)}$
 ↓ ↓ ↓ ↓ ↓
 ◇!p •—• •—• •—• •—•

3.2.1.4 *Habitual verbal aspect on imperative with imperfective participle: S' reproach*

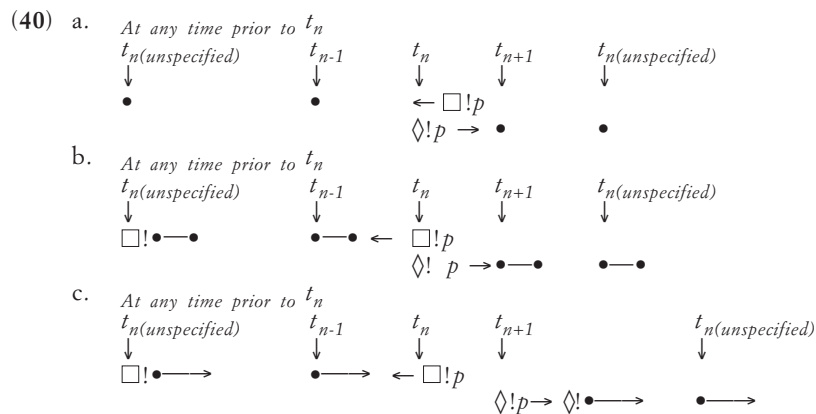
The general meaning of this imperative can be summarized in the following way: S communicates to H that he was sup-

³⁵ For the sake of brevity, not all types of verbs will be discussed in detail from this point on.

posed to obligatorily carry out the task x regularly at unspecified points in time prior to the time of utterance, but he has not done it and doesn't seem to undertake such tasks without her asking him to do it. She further believes that H will deduce from her utterance that he is still asked to possibly carry out the task x habitually until an unspecified point in time.

- (39) a. (~~tum~~) kuudaa karte
 you-2pl-fam jump-perf do-impf-m-pl
 'If only you had jumped!'
 [obligatorily and habitually do $x(\bullet)$; at times $t_{nn} \dots t_{n-2}, t_{n-1}$; in w_1
 \therefore possibly and habitually do $x(\bullet)$; at times $t_{n+1}, t_{n+2} \dots t_{nn}$; in w_1]
- b. (~~tum~~) aam khaayaa karte
 you-2pl-fam mango(s) eat-perf do-impf-m-pl
 'If only you had eaten a mango/mangos habitually, at least!'
 'If you would have eaten mangos/a mango habitually!'
 [obligatorily and habitually do $x(\bullet \rightarrow \bullet)$; at times $t_{nn} \dots t_{n-2}, t_{n-1}$; in w_1
 \therefore possibly and habitually do $x(\bullet \rightarrow \bullet)$; at times $t_{n+1}, t_{n+2} \dots t_{nn}$; in w_1]
- c. (~~tum~~) cup rahaa karte
 you-2pl-fam silent remain-perf do-impf-m-pl
 'If only you had kept quiet!'
 'If you would have kept quiet!'
 'If only you {would/ were to} keep quiet.'
 [obligatorily and habitually do $x(\bullet \rightarrow \rightarrow)$; at times $t_{nn} \dots t_{n-2}, t_{n-1}$; in w_1]
 \therefore possibly and habitually do $x(\bullet \rightarrow \rightarrow)$; at times $t_{n+1}, t_{n+2} \dots t_{nn}$; in w_1]

The diagrammatic representation of this imperative is two-layered because of its complexity in expressing commands. S reminds H of his obligations which should have been fulfilled prior to the time of utterance and also asks him to possibly carry out the task after t_n .



This kind of utterance may at times be used without expressing any command in that S may simply inform H of his unfulfilled obligation rather than ask him to undertake such a task.

3.2.2 *Continuous (progressive) aspect: S issues a command to have H continue doing x*

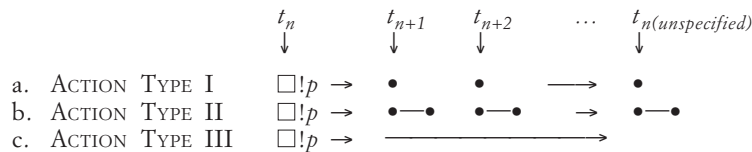
If S intends to issue a command requiring H to continue the action x , there could be two distinct situations: first, the action x has already been undertaken at t_{n-1} and H is asked at t_n to carry it on until $t_{n(\text{unspecified})}$ and, second, H is asked to begin the action x at t_{n+1} and continue until $t_{n(\text{unspecified})}$. In both cases, H is not asked to terminate x , even when he is asked to do at different points in time regularly, as is the case of Action Type I. A verb indicating Action Type I in this verbal aspect, for instance (41a), gives a meaning which is quite similar to that obtained from the habitual aspect. For example, to ask H to continue to jump does not mean he must prolong the act of jumping, rather it means that he must jump repeatedly or habitually. The use of Action Type III in continuous aspect, for instance in (41c), indicates, like in the habitual aspect, a prolongation of the required action. Whereas, the Action Type II in this aspect gives meanings that can serve both telic/atelic purposes, i.e. they can be used both as a terminative or as a continuous act which is, in reality, not one act but a set of different terminative acts: to ask H to continue to eat, as in (41b), may mean both 1) asking him to prolong the act of eating mangos (an atelic act), and, 2) asking him to eat mangos repeatedly at different times (a set of telic acts). In all three cases, however, there is no indication of end-points and therefore they can be thought of as continuing forever.

- (41) a. (~~tu~~) kuudte raho
 you-2pl-fam jump-impf-m-pl remain-imp-2pl
 'Continue to jump!'
 'Keep on jumping!'
 [obligatorily and continuously do x (•); at times $t_{n+1}, t_{n+2} \dots t_{nm}$; in w_1]
 [□!p/χ/•/ $t_{n+1}, t_{n+2} \dots t_{nm}$ / w_1]
- b. (~~tu~~) aam khaate raho
 you-2pl-fam mango(s) eat-impf-m-pl remain-imp-2pl
 'Continue to eat mangos!'
 'Eat mangos regularly!'
 'Carry on eating mangos!'
 'Continue eating mangos!'
 [□!p/χ/•—•/ $t_{n+1}, t_{n+2} \dots t_{nm}$ / w_1]

- c.??(tum) is hotal meN rahte raho
 you-2pl-fam this hotel in stay-impf-m-pl remain-imp-2pl
 'Continue to stay in this hotel!' [habitually/regularly]
 [□!p/χ/●→/ t_{n+1}, t_{n+2} ... t_{nn}/ w₁]
- d.??(tum) acchii tarah rahte raho
 you-2pl-fam good kind stay-impf-m-pl remain-imp-2pl
 'Continue to remain always well!'
 [□!p/χ/●→/ t_{n+1}, t_{n+2} ... t_{nn}/ w₁]

As has been seen before, the imperative utterances of the verbs belonging to Action Type III in the habitual aspect are both semantically and pragmatically acceptable, although their meanings do not mean occurrence of the event; in the continuous aspect they are pragmatically unacceptable because the action in this category is not an event, and therefore cannot be prolonged. Such actions are in reality processes without a coda and therefore their continuation cannot be envisaged. In any case the aspectual element attached to these imperatives of all the three actions can be presented as in (42).

(42)



3.2.2. Continuous aspect on Direct Imperative

The implications of this imperative can be summarized in the following manner: if you have already started eating at place p_x at time t_{n-1} then continue to eat at the same place until $t_{n(unspeified)}$. If you have not started eating at time t_n then start eating at time t_{n+1} and continue afterwards until $t_{n(unspeified)}$. In the later case, although H is asked to continue x afterwards even though the action has not started yet, the command aiming at H's starting the job is presumed both by S and H. Commands through continuous imperative can be issued of all three types of actions.

3.2.2.1.1 Action Type I (jump, etc.)

To ask H to carry out an action indicated by this kind of verb means asking him to continue repeating it, rather than prolonging the action up to an unspecified point in time, be-

cause an act carried out instantaneously cannot have a continuous aspect. Thus, although the continuous aspect can be linked to an imperative verb, only the meaning of repeating the action can be obtained from this construction. In this sense, its meaning is similar to that obtained from an imperative construction showing the habitual aspect of the verb.

- (43) a. (~~tum~~) kuudte raho
 you-2pl-fam jump-impf-m-pl remain-imp-2pl
 'Continue to jump!'
 [□!p/χ/•/ t_{n+1}, t_{n+2} ... t_{nn}/ w₁]

In fact, asking H to continue jumping or to jump means directing him to repeat the act of jumping, whether in continuation or over a period with intervals. The meaning obtained from this construction is distinct in one sense, though. As can be seen in (44), in the continuous aspect, the action at least once has taken place at the time of utterance, whereas in habitual aspect no information is encoded or implied whether it has already been taken up by H or not.

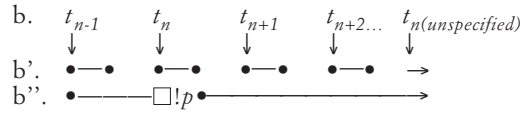
- (44) t_{n+1} t_n t_{n+1} $t_{n+2}...$ $t_{n(unspecified)}$
 ↓ ↓ ↓ ↓ ↓
 • □!p • • → •

3.2.2.1 Action Type II (eat, read etc.)

The imperative of the Verb type II in this aspect can have two different meanings, one of continuity of the action and another of repetition of the action. Thus, the imperative utterance in (45) can mean two things: first, S asks H to prolong the action started at time t_{n-1} , as in (46a), or, two, she can ask H to carry it out repeatedly at times $t_{n+1}, t_{n+2}...t_{n(unspecified)}$ as in (46b). As shown in (46a') in the first sense H is asked to prolong the action, in the second sense, H is asked to carry out a series of actions, as in (46b'), which are joined together under a continuity line, as shown in (46b'').

- (45) (~~tum~~) aam khaate raho
 you-2pl-fam mango(s) eat-impf-m-pl remain-imp-2pl
 'Continue to eat a mango/mangos!'
 [□!p/χ/•—•/ t_{n+1}, t_{n+2} ... t_{nn}/ w₁]

- (46) a. t_{n-1} t_n t_{n+1} $t_{n+2}...$ $t_{n(unspecified)}$
 ↓ ↓ ↓ ↓ ↓
 a'. •————□!p————→



3.2.2.1.3 *Action Type III (stay, etc.)*

Though it is possible to use the verb type III in all three aspects, the verb of this kind is a static situation indicating durativity and therefore in itself has an inherent continuous aspect. The situations indicated by this kind of verb do not, therefore, require any further element that could add a continuous aspect to the action. The meaning obtained from the imperative with this kind of action is vague as far as its event time is concerned.

- (47) a.?? (tum) is hotal meN rahte raho
 you-2pl-fam this hotel in stay-impf-m-pl remain-imp-2pl
 'Continue to stay in this hotel!'
 [□!p/χ/●→ / $t_{n+1}, t_{n+2} \dots t_{nn} / w_1]$
 b. $t_{n+1}, t_{n+2} \dots t_{n(unspecified)}$
 b'. ●—□!p—→

Since to stay is not a dynamic verb but a durative process, S does not specify to H whether he has to stay in the hotel round the clock until an indefinite point in time or he has to maintain only the continuity of the 'action' x with some minimum interruptions. Thus, adding an extra element that encode continuous aspect through the element *rahnaa* 'remain' to the action indicated by verb *rahnaa* 'stay' becomes redundant.

3.2.2.2 *Continuous aspect on Indirect Imperative*

The implication of this imperative is that you have not yet started carrying out the action x at a place p_x or p_y at time t_n and therefore now start the job at either p_x or at p_y at time t_{n+1} or at t_{n+2} and, afterwards, continue it until $t_{n(unspecified)}$. All the three types of verb may be found in this imperative, although the continuity element with the Verb Type III, as in (48c) becomes totally redundant.

- (48) a. (tum) kuudte rahnaa
 you-2pl-fam jump-impf-m-pl remain-inf
 'Continue to jump!'

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- [start at a time and continue jumping afterwards]
 $[\square!p/\chi/\bullet/ t_{n+1}, t_{n+2} \dots t_{nn}/ w_2]$
- b. (tum) aam khaate rahnaa
 you-2pl-fam mango(s) eat-impf-m-pl remain-inf
 'Eat a mango/mangos!' [start then and continue eating afterwards]
 $[\square!p/\chi/\bullet\text{---}\bullet/ t_{n+1}, t_{n+2} \dots t_{nn}/ w_2]$
- c. (tum) hotal meN rahte rahnaa
 you-2pl-fam hotel in stay-impf-m-pl remain-inf
 'Eat a mango/mangos!' [start then and continue afterwards eating]
 $[\square!p/\chi/\bullet\text{---}\rightarrow/ t_{n+1}, t_{n+2} \dots t_{nn}/ w_2]$

(48a) has the semantico-pragmatic representation as in (49a) according to which S asks H to jump at a time and place related to a world w different from the world w in which S and H are present. In this case the meaning of the imperative is tantamount to the repetition of the action rather than to the continuation of it.

- (49) a. t_n t_{n+1} $t_{n+2} \dots$ $t_{n(\text{unspecified})}$
 \downarrow \downarrow \downarrow \downarrow
 a'. $\square!p$ — \bullet \bullet \rightarrow
 a''. — \bullet \bullet \rightarrow
- b. t_n t_{n+1} $t_{n+2} \dots$ $t_{n(\text{unspecified})}$
 \downarrow \downarrow \downarrow \downarrow
 b'. $\square!p$ — \bullet \bullet \bullet \bullet
 b''. — \bullet \bullet \bullet \bullet \rightarrow
- c. t_n t_{n+1} $t_{n+2} \dots$ $t_{n(\text{unspecified})}$
 \downarrow \downarrow \downarrow \downarrow
 c'. $\square!p$ — \bullet \bullet \bullet \bullet \rightarrow

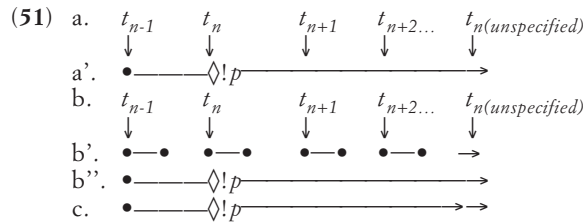
3.2.2.3 Continuous aspect linked to the subjunctive imperative

The only difference between this kind of imperative and the direct imperative with continuous aspect (discussed in) is this that while S through the previous one provides H with the possibility of non compliance to the command, through the later she does not give him any such option.

- (50) a. (aap) kuudte raheN
 you-3pl-pol jump-impf-m-pl remain-sub-3pl
 'Please, keep on jumping, will/won't you?'
 $[\diamond!p/\chi/\bullet/ t_{n+1}, t_{n+2} \dots t_{nn}/ w_1]$
- b. (aap) aam khaate raheN
 you-3pl-pol mango(s) eat-impf-m-pl remain-sub-3pl
 'Please keep on eating mangos, will/won't you?'
 $[\diamond!p/\chi/\bullet\text{---}\bullet/ t_{n+1}, t_{n+2} \dots t_{nn}/ w_1]$

- c. (aap) is hotal meN rahte raheN
 you-3pl-pol this hotel in stay-impf-m-pl remain-sub-3pl
 'Please, keep on staying in this hotel, will/won't you?!'
 [$\diamond!p/\chi/\bullet \rightarrow / t_{n+1}, t_{n+2} \dots t_{nn}/ w_1$]

The illocutionary points of the commands issued by the subjunctive verb forms in (50a), (50b) and (50c) are the same as that issued by direct imperative verbs in (43), (45) and (47), the only difference being that in this type of imperative S is given the choice of non-compliance with the command.



3.2.2.4 *Continuous aspect linked to the imperative with imperative participle*

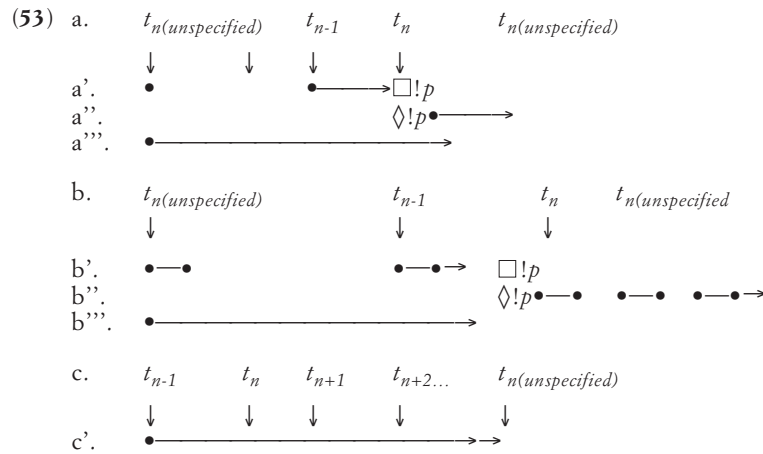
This kind of imperative too has an underlying pragmatic string which is, like the imperative with the subjunctive, of a conditional nature. The major difference between this kind of imperative and the imperative with subjunctive is that in the latter case H is not informed of his obligation related to the period prior to the time of utterance, whereas in the imperative with present participle he is. S in this case asks H to carry out the task by reminding him of his obligation. The continuous aspect linked to the imperative verb here means, therefore, that you (H) should have continued the task but you have not. The hearer then indirectly draws the conclusion that he can still take up the task and then continue until an unspecified point in time.

- (52) a. (tum) kuudte rahte
 you-2pl-fam jump-impf-m-pl remain-impf-m-pl
 'If only you would have been jumping!'
 [obligatorily and continuously do $x(\bullet)$; at times $t_{nn} \dots t_{n-2}, t_{n-1}$; in w_1
 ∴ possibly and continuously do $x(\bullet)$; at times $t_{n+1}, t_{n+2} \dots t_{nn}$; in w_1]
 b. (tum) aam khaate rahte
 you-2pl-fam mango(s) eat-impf-m-pl remain-impf-m-pl
 'If only you would have been eating a mango/mangos!' [start then and continue afterwards eating]!

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- [obligatorily and continuously do $x(\bullet \rightarrow \bullet)$; at times $t_{nn} \dots t_{n-2}, t_{n-1}$; in w_1
 \therefore possibly and continuously do $x(\bullet \rightarrow \bullet)$; at times $t_{n+1}, t_{n+2} \dots t_{nn}$; in w_1]
- c. (tum) is hotel meN rahte hote
 you-2pl-fam this hotel in stay-impf-m-pl be-impf-m-pl
 'If only you would have stayed in this hotel!' [start then and continue afterwards staying in this hotel]!
 [obligatorily and continuously do $x(\bullet \rightarrow \bullet)$; at times $t_{nn} \dots t_{n-2}, t_{n-1}$; in w_1
 \therefore possibly and continuously do $x(\bullet \rightarrow \bullet)$; at times $t_{n+1}, t_{n+2} \dots t_{nn}$; in w_1]

In (52a) H is reminded of his obligation to have continued jumping from $t_{n(unspeficied)}$, t_{n-2} , t_{n-1} up to t_n as shown in (53a) and in (52b) he is asked to have continued the task of eating mangos from $t_{n(unspeficied)}$, t_{n-2} , t_{n-1} up to t_n , as shown in (53b). The continuous aspect reading of (52c), however, is problematic: in this example it gives the meaning that is similar to the meaning of (52b), though there are cases where it may mean the prolongation of an act which is similar to a process. The double arrow at the coda of the line indicating the continuous aspect means that there is a redundant element attached to the verb: it is difficult to imagine a continuous aspect linked to a process.



All the varieties of this imperative imply that S has not continued the required action, though it is certain that H has at least once carried out the action, sometime prior to the

utterance. At the same time S indicates that the unfulfilled command can still be taken into consideration by H. Without such kind of reasoning H would find it difficult to understand the real intention of S.

3.2.3 *Perfective Aspect: the speaker gives commands asking the addressee to bring the action x to completion*

Hindi allows for S to issue a command through an imperative which carries a perfective aspect. This aspect does not have a specific morphemic element which could be thought to be responsible for this aspect, however. Rather, it is expressed through a compound verb form, as opposed to the simple verb form. While a simple verb indicates the initiation of the action and leaves it to the hearer's imagination that at a certain point the action will come to an end, the compound verb constructions insist on the completion of the action. In the imperatives with perfective aspect, then, S does not intend simply to ask H to start carrying out the action. Rather she asks him to bring it to completion. In fact rather than asking him to begin the task, she asks him to complete it. This is different from asking H with any other verbal aspect to bring to an end an action already in process because in that case the action is going on whereas in this case the required action has not yet started. Thus, instead of asking H to start x , S is telling H to complete it. The completion of the action will naturally imply an initiation of it as well. The phenomenon of a compound verb is a very important lexical device for expressing the perfective aspect in Hindi. In this way it adds aspectual elements to the simple verb encoding extra information regarding the nature of action, i.e. whether the action is in the interest of S or H or a TP, or what H is going to do after x has been accomplished, i.e. whether he is going to leave the place of action or remain there, and also provides information regarding the manner in which H has to carry out x . In the case of the imperative, though, such kind of aspectual information is imposed upon a future activity by H and therefore envisaged by S.

3.2.3.1 *Perfective aspect on Direct Imperative*

In this case S invites H to complete the action at time t_{n+1} . This aspect can be seen in any Action Types. In the case of an

ness placed after the Action Type III, as in (55c), is pragmatically unacceptable.

(55)

	t_n	t_{n+1}	
a. ACTION TYPE I	↓ □!p	↓ →	•#
b. ACTION TYPE II	□!p	→	•—•#
c.?? ACTION TYPE III	□!p	→	•————→#

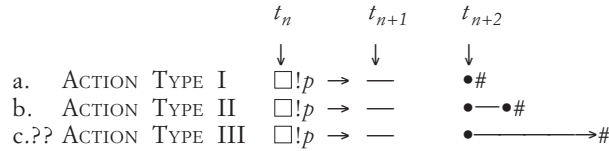
3.2.3.2 *Perfective aspect on indirect imperative*

As in the direct imperative, the perfective aspect can be linked to the indirect imperative through the compound verbal form. In this case S asks H to carry out the action at a moment subsequent to the moment of utterance. The perfective aspect imposed on the indirect imperative makes it necessary to link the required action to some other contemporaneous action showing deferred time reference. For example (56a) and (56b) both have some deferred time reference linked to the imperatives, namely, 'when the policeman comes' and 'in the evening', respectively.

- (56) a. jab sipahii aae tab kuud jaanaa
 when policeman come-sub-sg then jump-root go inf
 'When the policeman comes, jump away!' [(then) (there)]
 [□!p/π/•/ t_{n+1} / w_2]
- b. shaam ko aam khaa lenaa
 evening time-adv mango(s) eat-root take-inf
 'Eat up the mangos this evening!'
 [□!p/π/•—•/ t_{n+1} / w_2]

Thus the perfective aspect in (56a) and (56b) makes the hearer complete the action at a deferred time, though in (56a) it is not needed at all since the jumping does not require any extra element to add perfectiveness to the action. The unacceptability of an imperative with a verb indicating Action Type III is due to the fact that this kind of verb is normally atelic, and therefore cannot be used with perfective aspect linked to it.

(57)



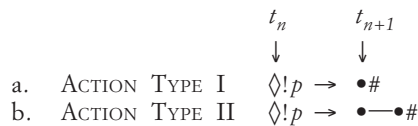
3.2.3.3 *Perfective aspect on Subjunctive Imperative*

The subjunctive verb form in imperative mood can carry a perfective aspect. In this case too it is obtained through a compound verb form. It is almost the same as the perfective in direct imperative except that the hearer in this case is given the possibility of refusal to take up the task.

- (58) a. (aap) kuud jaaeN
 you-3pl-pol jump-root go-sub-3pl
 ‘Please jump, will/won’t you?’ (now) (here) (if you can)
 [◇!p/π/•/ t_{n+1} / w_1]
- b. (aap) yah kitaab paRh DaaleN
 you-3pl-pol this book read-root throw-sub-pl
 ‘When you get some time, please read this book through!’ [(now) (here) (if you can)]
 [◇!p/π/•—•/ t_{n+1} / w_1]

In (58a) S asks H to complete the task at t_{n+1} and in (58b) to begin the job, though H is asked to complete it. It is assumed that the hearer will finish the task at a subsequent moment as shown by (59b).

(59)



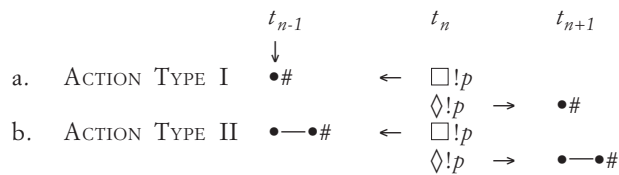
3.2.3.4 *Perfective aspect on imperative with imperfective participle*

The perfective aspect on conditional imperatives requires that H should have already completed the task without S’s asking him to do that. It implies therefore that H has not at the time of utterance carried out the task. Thus, by issuing a command to H through this type of imperative, S expresses her disappointment etc. about the fact that H has not completed the task.

- (60) a. (tum) kuud jaate
 you-2pl-fam jump-root go-impf-m-pl
 'If only you would have jumped out!'
 [obligatorily and perfectly do x ($\bullet\#$); at time t_{n-1} ; in w_1]
 ∴ possibly and perfectly do x ($\bullet\#$); at times t_{n+1} ; in w_1]
- b. (tum) aam to khaa lete
 you-2pl-fam mango(s) emp eat-root take-impf-m-pl
 'If only you would have eaten a mango/mangos!'
 [obligatorily and perfectly do x ($\bullet\text{---}\bullet\#$); at time t_{n-1} ; in w_1]
 ∴ possibly and perfectly do x ($\bullet\text{---}\bullet\#$); at times t_{n+1} ; in w_1]

The pragmatic strings of this imperative are the same as that of the direct imperative discussed in 3.2.3.1. Any atelic action with perfective aspect tends to become telic and therefore here too it is difficult to find examples of this imperative with the Action Type III.

(61)



4. SPEAKER'S COMMANDS MAKING THE ADDRESSEE LET A THIRD PARTY (TP) CARRY OUT AN ACTION X

When S asks H to let a TP do x , she does not really ask him to carry out some action, but simply not to create obstacles for TP in carrying out the task. In other words, she asks him to permit TP to take up the task. In this kind of deontic modality, the same imperative Hindi verb pattern can be seen in the structure of the verb *denaa*, 'give', preceded by an oblique infinitive which indicates the action a TP has to perform. Whereas an imperative which is directed at H can be represented by an imperative sign placed before the content of the utterance, i.e. $!p$, the imperative with let verb requires another element placed before the content of an imperative as in (62):

(62) $!\lambda/p/$

i.e., (you) let a TP carry out an action x .

The two slashed elements are to separate H's action form

TP's action. The command is therefore directed at the H's action (i.e., H's permitting TP to do x) rather than the real action mentioned by the verb. The real action which is to be carried out by TP is not expressed by deontic modality.

4.1 ASKING H TO OBLIGATORILY LET A TP CARRY OUT x IMMEDIATELY

In this kind of imperative S asks H to obligatorily let a TP carry out the tasks mentioned by the verbs immediately. Since the action mentioned by the verb in such an imperative is to be carried out by a TP rather than by H, H's role in this imperative, therefore, is simply not to carry out an action himself but not to obstruct TP carrying out x .

- (63) a. $\langle \text{tum} \rangle$ use kuudne do
 you-2-pl-fam he/she-dat jump-inf-obl give-imp-2pl
 'Let him/her jump!'
 a'. $[\square! \lambda/p/\bullet / t_{n+1} / w_1 /]$
- b. $\langle \text{tum} \rangle$ use aam khaane do
 you-2-pl-fam he/she-dat mango(s) eat-inf-obl give-imp-2pl
 'Let him/her eat a mango/mangos!'
 b'. $[\square! \lambda/p/\bullet \rightarrow \bullet / t_{n+1} / w_1 /]$
- c. $\langle \text{tum} \rangle$ use kamre meN rahne do
 you-2-pl-fam he/she-dat room in stay-inf-obl give-imp-2pl
 'Let him/her remain in the room!'
 c'. $[\square! \lambda/p/\bullet \rightarrow / t_{n+1} / w_1 /]$

4.2 ASKING H TO OBLIGATORILY LET A TP CARRY OUT x AT A FUTURE POINT IN TIME

In this kind of imperative S asks H to obligatorily let a TP carry out the action mentioned by the verb at a future point in time. Both S and H share the knowledge of or beliefs regarding the TP's intention of carrying out the action. S leaves it to H to fulfill the obligation by not obstructing TP and in doing so implies that she is not going to check whether H will indeed fulfill the obligation.

- (64) a. (t_{um}) use kuudne denaa
 you-2-pl-fam he/she-dat jump-inf-obl give-inf
 'Let him/her jump! (at a future point in time)
 a'. [□!λ/p/●/ t_{n+2}/ w₂/]
- b. (t_{um}) use aam khaane denaa
 you-2-pl-fam he/she-dat mango(s) eat-inf-obl give-inf
 'Let him/her eat a mango/mangos!' (at a future point in time)
 b'. [□!λ/p/●—●/ t_{n+2}/ w₂/]
- c. (t_{um}) use kamre meN rahne denaa
 you-2-pl-fam he/she-dat room in stay-inf-obl give-inf
 'Let him/her remain in the room!' (at a future point in time)
 c'. [□!λ/p/●—→/ t_{n+2}/ w₂/]

4.3 ASKING H TO POSSIBLY LET A THIRD PARTY (TP) CARRY OUT X IMMEDIATELY

By uttering this imperative sentence S invites H to possibly fulfill the obligation by not obstructing a TP in carrying out an action mentioned by the verb at a point in time subsequent to the utterance. As is common with all the cases of imperative with subjunctive verb form, this type also gives the possibility to H not to fulfill the task. This means that H is free to obstruct TP in carrying out the task if wants to.

- (65) a. (a_{ap}) use kuudne deN
 you-3pl-pol he/she-dat jump-inf-obl give-sub-pl
 'Let him/her jump, will you?'
 a'. [◇!λ/p/●/ t_{n+1}/ w₁ /]
- b. (a_{ap}) use aam khaane deN
 you-3pl-pol he/she-dat mango(s) eat-inf-obl give-sub-pl
 'Let him/her eat a mango/mangos!'
 b'. [◇!λ/p/●—●/ t_{n+1}/ w₁ /]
- c. (a_{ap}) use kamre meN rahne deN
 you-3pl-pol he/she-dat room in stay-inf-obl give-sub-pl
 'Let him/her remain in the room, will you?'
 c'. [◇!λ/p/●—→/ t_{n+1}/ w₁ /]

4.4 S REPROACHING H FOR NOT HAVING LET A TP CARRY OUT X AND INVITING HIM TO POSSIBLY LET A TP CARRY OUT X IMMEDIATELY

In this case S simply reminds H of his not having fulfilled

an obligation by letting a TP take up a task at a time prior to the time of utterance. S believes that H should have let a TP carry out the task mentioned by the verb. The utterance of this imperative, therefore, is a reproach rather than an example of deontic modality. However, in some cases this utterance might mean that it is still possible for H to fulfill the obligation by allowing a TP to carry out the task. In this sense only it becomes deontic.

- (66) a. (tūm) use kuudne dete
 you-2-pl-fam he/she-dat jump-inf-obl give-impf-m-pl
 'If only you would let him/her jump!'
 a'. [$\langle \lambda/p/\bullet / t_{n-1} / w_1 / \rangle$]
- b. (tūm) use aam khaane dete
 you-2-pl-fam he/she-dat mango(s) eat-inf-obl give-impf-m-pl
 'If only you would let him/her eat a mango/mangos!'
 b'. [$\langle \lambda/p/\bullet \bullet / t_{n-1} / w_1 / \rangle$]
- c. (aam) use kamre meN rahne dete
 you-2-pl-fam he/she-dat room in stay-inf-obl give-impf-m-pl
 'If only you would let him/her remain in the room!'
 c'. [$\langle \lambda/p/\bullet \longrightarrow / t_{n-1} / w_1 / \rangle$]

5. PROPOSALS: THE SPEAKER PROPOSES TO THE ADDRESSEE TO JOIN HIM IN CARRYING OUT X

When S has to request H to join her in performing an action together, she makes use of the imperative carrying the subjunctive verb form. Such commands are in reality issued to invite H to join her in accomplishing a task together, rather than making the hearer do it alone. They are polite requests or proposals rather than orders. In making such proposals S can refer to H, according to the kind of relation she wants to maintain with him, by any of the three pronominal references found in Hindi:

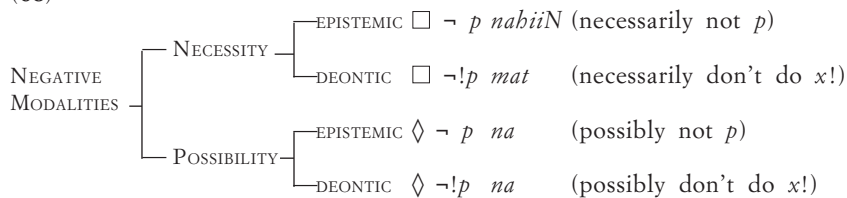
- (67) a. (tūm) aa caay piyeN
 you-sg-inti come-imp-2sg tea drink-sub-pl
 'Come on, let us have some tea!'
- b. (tūm) aao caay piyeN
 you-pl-fam come-imp-2pl tea drink-sub-pl
 'Come on, let us have some tea!'
- c. (aap) aaie caay piyeN
 you-3pl-pol come-imp-3pl tea drink-sub-pl
 'Please come on, let us have some tea!'

6. NEGATIVE COMMANDS THROUGH IMPERATIVES (PROHIBITIVES)

6.1 DISTRIBUTION OF NEGATIVE MARKERS IN COMMANDS

Hindi possesses three negative markers: *nahiiN*, *mat*, and *na*. The negative marker *nahiiN* is mainly used to negate declarative sentences to which truth-values can be attached. It expresses an epistemic necessity rather than an epistemic possibility and is not normally used to express deontic modalities (necessity and possibility). The negative marker *mat* expresses solely deontic necessity. The negative marker *na*, on the other hand, expresses both epistemic and deontic possibilities. The distribution of negative markers in Hindi sentences is not an arbitrary one but is governed by the type of sentence they are employed in. Their distribution is determined by pragmatic factors, rather than by semantic or syntactic rules. The negative markers in Hindi imperative, therefore, present differences in meaning for the four kinds of imperatives discussed in this paper. While by attaching the negative marker to direct imperatives S prohibits H either from carrying out an action immediately after the utterance or completing an incomplete action, in the case of the indirect imperative S asks H to obligatorily not perform the action at a deferred point in future. In both the cases, though, S does not give H the possibility of not fulfilling the obligation thus making it an example of the deontic necessity. H is bound in both the cases to carry out the action. This negative deontic necessity is expressed by the negative marker *mat* (i.e. necessarily don't do *x*!). By employing imperatives with a subjunctive verb form or with an imperfective participle, on the other hand, S gives H the possibility of non compliance with the command, hence she issues a command inherently made of deontic possibility. Both these imperatives therefore require the negative marker *na* (deontic possibility, possibly don't do *x*!). The distribution of negative markers in Hindi can be presented in (68):

(68)



Since imperative utterances are concerned with deontic necessity and possibility, only two negative markers can be found in Hindi imperatives: *mat* and *na*³⁶.

6.2 NEGATIVE POLARITY ON IMPERATIVE WITHOUT ASPECT

6.2.1 *Direct Negative Imperative (direct prohibitive)*

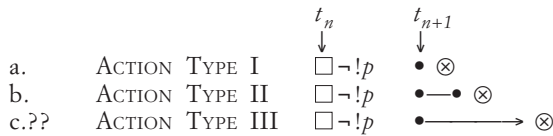
By attaching a negative marker to a direct imperative S prohibits H from taking up a task he is set to carry out. S thus imposes her command on H with regard to H's planned action. With respect to different kinds of verbs this prohibition may imply different things: in the case of the verb 'jump', H has not begun the task, while in the case of (69b) he may or may not have begun the task. In (69c) it is most likely that H has already started the task.

- (69) a. {*tum*} *mat* *kuudo*
 you-2pl-fam don't jump-imp-2pl
 'Don't jump!'
 [□-!p/●/t_{n+1}/w₁/]
- b. {*tum*} *aam* *mat* *khaao*
 you-2pl-fam mango(s) don't eat-imp-2pl
 'Don't eat a mango/mangos!'
 [□-!p/●-●/t_{n+1}/w₁/]
- c. {*tum*} *yahaaN* *mat* *raho*
 you-2pl-fam here don't stay-imp-2pl
 'Don't stay here!'
 [□-!p/●●->/t_{n+1}/w₁/]

³⁶ There are languages which do not possess negative markers to show the distinction between epistemic negation and deontic negation. English, for example, is one of them: both 'It is not good' showing the epistemic negation and 'Do not eat it!' showing the deontic negation have the same negative marker 'not'. A further group of languages does not make any distinction between negative necessity and negative possibility. English, again, is an example of this tendency: both 'It is not necessarily good' (i.e. epistemic negative necessity) and 'It is possibly not good' (i.e. epistemic negative possibility) carry the negative marker 'not'. Likewise, both 'Necessarily don't eat it!' (i.e. deontic negative necessity) and 'Possibly don't eat it!' (i.e. deontic negative possibility) carry the same negative marker 'not'. Hindi shows differences in all the negation types. The role of Hindi negative markers in expressing a modality, however, is supplementary and determined primarily by the modality of the main verb or the auxiliary.

The diagrammatic presentation of (69) will be (70).

(70)



(69a), (69b) and (69c) all require a simultaneous or immediate response by H. This involves forbidding action already in process or about to be commenced. They all presuppose that S has some knowledge or beliefs that H is already involved in an action which in future will be forbidden. They all stress suspension of the action already begun or about to begin, and they all presuppose that S believes or knows that H is already carrying out the action which is forbidden. It is also possible that the hearer is about to undertake such action immediately following the order, and thus the speaker feels it necessary to tell the hearer not to carry it out. On the other hand, examples (71a), (71b) and (71c) each prohibit the actions which are not to be carried out immediately after the utterance. In other circumstances the situation the speaker believes that hearer will carry out an action at a place different from the place of utterance or at a future point in time. The negative marker in such cases has validity only in the light of the speaker's beliefs of the hearer's intentions of carrying out the action. In (71a-b-c) the speaker does not oblige the hearer to inform him whether the hearer has fulfilled the necessary requirements demanded by the speaker or not.

6.2.2 *Indirect negative imperative (indirect prohibition)*

To ask H not to carry out a task through indirect imperative is to forbid him to take it up at a future point in time. On the basis of her knowledge and beliefs S foresees H's taking up the task and wants to inform H that his taking up the task would not be acceptable according to her judgment. Since in the indirect imperatives S will not be in a position to check H's fulfilling the command, it is up to H whether to obey her or not.

- (71) a. (tum) nadii meN mat kuudnaa
 you-2pl-fam river in don't jump-inf
 'Don't jump in the river!'
 [□¬!p/●/t_{n+2}/w₂/]
- b. (tum) aam mat khaanaa
 you-2pl-fam mango(s) don't eat-inf
 'Don't eat a mango/mangos!'
 [□¬!p/●—●/t_{n+2}/w₂/]
- c. (tum) vahaaN mat rahnaa
 you-2pl-fam there don't stay-inf
 'Don't stay there!'
 [□¬!p/●—→/t_{n+2}/w₂/]

There seems to be no difference in meaning among the three action types used in this kind of imperative as none of the actions presupposes its beginning at the time of utterance. The prohibition on H's activities is based on S's assessment of the likelihood of H's taking up the tasks habitually at a place and time different from that of the utterance. S may or may not know or believe that H has indeed been involved in carrying out the tasks regularly prior to the time of utterance. The situation can be presented in (72) where the actions are put in the brackets to show their reference rather than any real occurrences.

- (72)
- | | | | | |
|------|-----------------|-------|-----------|-----------|
| | | t_n | t_{n+1} | t_{n+2} |
| | | ↓ | ↓ | ↓ |
| a. | ACTION TYPE I | □¬!p | → | ⊗ (●) |
| b. | ACTION TYPE II | □¬!p | → | ⊗ (●—●) |
| c.?? | ACTION TYPE III | □¬!p | → | ⊗ (●—→) |

6.2.3 Negative command through subjunctive

In issuing a negative command through an imperative with the subjunctive form of the verb S does not oblige H not to carry out the action. She intends to communicate that it is up to H to take up the task or not, although she would like him to carry it out. The negative marker in this kind of imperative is *na*, rather than *mat*, as *na* carries a deontic possibility whereas *mat* expresses deontic necessity.

- (73) a. (aap) nadii meN na kuudeN
 you-3pl-pol river in not jump-sub-3pl
 'Would you please not jump in the river?'
 [◇¬!p/●/t_{n+1}/w₁/]

- b. (aap) aam na khaaeN
 you-3pl-pol mango(s) not eat-sub-3pl
 'It would be better if you didn't eat a mango/mangos, (will you/won't you?)!' [but I see you are planning to]
 [$\diamond \neg !p / \bullet \bullet / t_{n+1} / w_1 /$]
- c. (aap) vahaaN na raheN
 you-3pl-pol there not stay-sub-3pl
 [$\diamond \neg !p / \bullet \longrightarrow / t_{n+1} / w_1 /$]

In (73a), (73b) and (73c) the pronominal form of reference is *aap* only and hence the deontic possibility only is expressed.

(74)

		t_n	t_{n+1}
		↓	↓
a.	ACTION TYPE I	$\diamond \neg !p$	$\bullet \otimes$
b.	ACTION TYPE II	$\diamond \neg !p$	$\bullet \bullet \otimes$
c.??	ACTION TYPE III	$\diamond \neg !p$	$\bullet \longrightarrow \otimes$

6.2.4 Negative command through imperfective participle

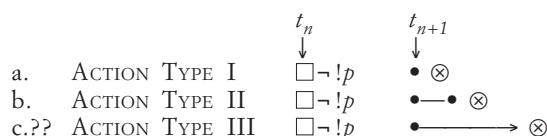
While issuing a command consisting of an imperative sentence with an imperfective participle S implies that H has not, at the time of S's utterance, carried out or taken up the task, in issuing negative commands comprising the imperfective participle of the verb she implies that H has already carried out the task or is in the process of taking it up. Thus this is a statement denoting a fact rather than a command carrying deontic modality. S is aware that there is nothing H can do about it. It is therefore a sort of lamentation.

- (75) a. (aap) nadii meN na kuudte
 you-3pl-pol river in not jump-impf-m-pl
 'If only you didn't jump into the river!'
 [$\square \neg !p / \bullet \bullet / t_{n-1} / w_1 /$]
- b. (aap) aam na khaate
 you-3pl-pol mango(s) not eat-impf-m-pl
 'If only you didn't eat a mango/mangos, (will you/won't you?)!'
 [but I see you are planning to]
 [$\square \neg !p / \bullet \bullet \bullet / t_{n-1} / w_1 /$]
- c. (aap) vahaaN na rahte
 you-3pl-pol there not stay-impf-m-pl
 'If only you didn't stay there!'
 [$\square \neg !p / \bullet \longrightarrow / t_{n-1} / w_1 /$]

The difference in meanings of (75a), (75b) and (75c) is as

follows: in (75a) it is unlikely that H is still engaged in carrying out the task, in (75b) and (75c) it is possible that H is still in the process of carrying out the tasks.

(76)



6.3 NEGATIVE POLARITY ON IMPERATIVES WITH ASPECT

Hindi imperatives which carry aspectual elements can be negated through a negative marker making them prohibitive commands. Such prohibitions presuppose that S knows that H has either begun the task or has made plans to carry it out.

6.3.1 *Negative Commands (prohibitive) with ‘make it a habit not to do x’*

Although a negative marker attached to a habitual direct imperative means that H is prohibited from carrying out *x* habitually, but the implicature is that S asks H not to carry out the action at all. Thus S does not allow H to carry it out occasionally as it would seem semantically. In such prohibitive commands S knows that H has carried out the action at different points in time prior to her issuing the command.

6.3.1.1 *Direct prohibitions of habitual actions: negative marker on direct habitual imperative*

By uttering (77a), (77b) and (77c) S pragmatically means that she knows that H has either more than once or at least once carried out the tasks mentioned by their respective verbs. She therefore forbids him from taking up the tasks at future points in time. While habitual commands are normally related to various future points in time, their negative counterparts seem to exclude H’s taking up *x* at all. She therefore cannot be taken to mean prohibiting him from carrying out *x* habitually after the utterance, she asks him not to carry it out at all.

- (77) a. (tum) nadii meN mat kuudaa karo
 you-2pl-fam river in don't jump-perf do-imp-2pl
 'Don't make it a habit to jump into the river habitually!
 'Stop jumping into the river!
 [$\square \neg !p/\eta/\bullet/t_{n+1}, t_{n+2}\dots t_{nn}/w_1/$]
- b. (tum) aam mat khaayaa karo
 you-2pl-fam mango(s) don't eat-perf do-imp-2pl
 'Don't make it a habit to eat a mango/mangos habitually!
 'Stop eating a mango/mangos!
 [$\square \neg !p/\eta/\bullet \rightarrow /t_{n+1}, t_{n+2}\dots t_{nn}/w_1/$]
- c. (tum) yahaaN mat rahaa karo
 you-2pl-fam here don't remain-perf do-imp-2pl
 'Don't make it a habit to remain here!
 'Stop staying here habitually!
 [$\square \neg !p/\eta/\bullet \rightarrow /t_{n+1}, t_{n+2}\dots t_{nn}/w_1/$]

(77a), (77b) and (77c) all presuppose that H has carried out the task mentioned by the respective verbs at a point in time prior to the time of utterance. The prohibition against any further occurrences of the action, however, imply the prohibition on any single occurrence as it is to be considered an indication of repetition of its occurring regularly.

6.3.1.2 *Deferred prohibitions of habitual actions: negative marker on indirect habitual imperative*

Semantically, in (78a), (78b) and (78c) S simply asks H not to carry out x habitually at future points in time, pragmatically she implies that she knows that he has at least once carried out x and foresees that he will, if not warned against it, carry it out again at a place and time different from that of the utterance. Another pragmatic element is that she knows that he is not carrying it out at the time of utterance. Therefore by asking him not to carry out x habitually, she pragmatically implies not to carry it out at all. In deferred prohibitions S leaves it to H whether to fulfill the command or not.

- (78) a. (tum) nadii meN mat kuudaa karnaa
 you-2pl-fam river in don't jump-perf do-inf
 'Don't make it a habit to jump in the river regularly!
 'Stop jumping in the river regularly!
 [$\square \neg !p/\eta/\bullet/t_{n+2}, t_{n+3}\dots t_{nn}/w_2/$]
- b. (tum) aam mat khaayaa karnaa
 you-2pl-fam mango(s) don't eat-perf do-inf
 'Don't make it a habit to eat a mango/mangos regularly!
 'Stop eating a mango/mangos regularly!
 [$\square \neg !p/\eta/\bullet \rightarrow /t_{n+2}, t_{n+3}\dots t_{nn}/w_2/$]

- c. (tum) yahaaN mat rahaa karnaa
 you-2pl-fam here don't stay-perf do-inf
 'Don't make it a habit to stay here regularly!
 'Stop staying here regularly!'
 [$\square \neg !p/\eta/\bullet \longrightarrow /t_{n+2}, t_{n+3} \dots t_{nn}/w_2/$]

6.3.1.3 *Polite prohibition of habitual actions: negative marker on habitual imperative with subjunctive*

While through a 'direct prohibition' S asks H necessarily not to carry out the task *x* habitually thus necessarily excluding that H repeats it, as in (77), by selecting 'polite prohibition' she asks H to possibly not take it up habitually, thus conceding to him the possibility of doing it at least once.

- (79) a. (aap) nadii meN na kudaa kareN
 you-3pl-pol river in not jump-perf do-sub-pl
 'If it is possible, don't make it a habit to jump into the river, please!
 'Possibly stop jumping regularly into the river, please!'
 [$\diamond \neg !p/\eta/\bullet /t_{n+1}, t_{n+2} \dots t_{nn}/w_1/$]
- b. (aap) aam na khaayaa kareN
 you-3pl-pol mango(s) not eat-perf do-sub-pl
 'If it is possible, don't make it a habit to eat a mango/mangos regularly, please!'
 'If it is possible, stop eating a mango/mangos regularly, please!'
 [$\diamond \neg !p/\eta/\bullet \bullet /t_{n+1}, t_{n+2} \dots t_{nn}/w_1/$]
- c. (aap) yahaaN na rahaa kareN
 you-3pl-pol here not stay-perf do-sub-pl
 'Possibly don't make it a habit to stay here regularly, please!'
 'Possibly stop staying here regularly, please!'
 [$\diamond \neg !p/\eta/\bullet \longrightarrow /t_{n+1}, t_{n+2} \dots t_{nn}/w_1/$]

6.3.1.4 *Reproachful prohibitions of habitual actions: negative marker on habitual imperative with imperfective participle*

The imperatives with an imperfective participle take the negative marker *na*, and by uttering them S simply reproaches H about his carrying out *x* regularly in the past, but does not ask him not to carry it out in the future. In this sense it is not deontic at all. The reproachful prohibitions therefore do not ask H for any action.

- (80) a. (tum) nadii meN na kudaa karte
 you-2pl-fam river in not jump-perf do-impf-m-pl
 'If only you didn't make it a habit to jump in the river regularly!'
 [$\square \neg !p/\eta/\bullet /t_{n+1}, t_{n+2} \dots t_{nn}/w_1/$]

- b. (tum) aam na khaayaa karte
 you-2pl-fam mango(s) not eat-perf do-impf-m-pl
 'If only you didn't make it a habit to eat a mango/mangos!'
 $[\square \neg!p/\eta/\bullet \dashrightarrow /t_{n+1}, t_{n+2} \dots t_{nn}/w_1/]$
- c. (tum) yahaaN na rahaa karte
 you-2pl-fam here not stay-perf do-impf-m-pl
 'If only you didn't make it a habit to stay here!'
 $[\square \neg!p/\eta/\bullet \dashrightarrow /t_{n+1}, t_{n+2} \dots t_{nn}/w_1/]$

6.3.2 Negative commands with continuous aspect

Negative commands can be made through imperatives in a continuous aspect as well. By such an imperative S asks H not to carry out an action or a string of actions continuously. This means that H has already been engaged in carrying out the action or is supposed to carry it out at a particular point in time in the future.

6.3.2.1 Direct prohibitions of continuity of actions: negative marker on direct imperative in continuous aspect

By using this imperative S asks H to interrupt the action or a string of actions he has already undertaken. In this kind of imperative the third kind of action cannot be used: its use is anomalous in that it contains double continuity of action.

- (81) a. (tum) nadii meN mat kuudte raho
 you-2pl-fam river in don't jump-impf-m-pl remain-imp-2pl
 'Don't continue to jump into the river!'
 'Stop jumping into the river continuously!'
 $[\square \neg!p/\chi/\bullet \dashrightarrow /t_{n+1}, t_{n+2} \dots t_{nn}/w_1/]$
- b. (tum) aam mat khaate raho
 you-2pl-fam mango(s) don't eat-impf-m-pl do-imp-2pl
 'Don't continue to eat a mango/ mangos!'
 'Stop eating a mango /mangos continuously!'
 $[\square \neg!p/\chi/\bullet \dashrightarrow /t_{n+1}, t_{n+2} \dots t_{nn}/w_1/]$
- c.?? (tum) yahaaN mat rahte raho
 you-2pl-fam here don't stay-impf-m-pl do-imp-2pl
 'Don't continue to stay here!'
 'Stop staying here continuously!'
 $[\square \neg!p/\chi/\bullet \dashrightarrow /t_{n+1}, t_{n+2} \dots t_{nn}/w_1/]$

6.3.2.2 Deferred prohibitions of continuity of actions: negative marker on indirect imperative in continuous aspect

By uttering (82a-b) S asks H not to continue the actions mentioned by their respective verbs at a future point in time.

This future point in time is related to some other simultaneous event that might occur. S believes that H is likely to begin the tasks at a future point in time and is likely to continue until the future point in time mentioned earlier.

- (82) a. (tum) nadii meN mat kuudte rahnaa
 you-2pl-fam river in don't jump-impf-m-pl do-inf
 'Don't continue to jump in the river!'
 'Stop jumping continuously in the river!'
 [$\square \neg !p/\chi/\bullet/t_{n+1}, t_{n+2} \dots t_{nn}/w_2/$]
- b. (tum) aam mat khaate rahnaa
 you-2pl-fam mango(s) don't eat-impf-m-pl do-inf
 'Don't continue to eat a mango/mangos!'
 'Stop eating continuously a mango/mangos!'
 [$\square \neg !p/\chi/\bullet \dashrightarrow /t_{n+1}, t_{n+2} \dots t_{nn}/w_2/$]
- c.?? (tum) yahaaN mat rahte rahnaa
 you-2pl-fam here don't stay-impf-m-pl do-inf
 'Don't continue to stay here!'
 'Stop staying continuously here!'
 [$\square \neg !p/\chi/\bullet \dashrightarrow /t_{n+1}, t_{n+2} \dots t_{nn}/w_2/$]

6.3.2.3 *Polite prohibitions of continuity of actions: a negative marker on imperative with a subjunctive in the continuous aspect*

This kind of imperative implies that H has been carrying out the action since a point in time prior to the time of speaking. It can normally be used with a H who is referred to by the pronominal reference *aap* only and is generally employed to ask him to possibly abandon the task, giving him the possibility of not fulfilling the obligation if he so wishes.

- (83) a. (aap) nadii meN na kuudte raheN
 you-3pl-pol river in not jump-impf-m-pl remain-sub-pl
 'If it is possible, don't continue jumping in the river, please!'
 [$\diamond \neg !p/\bullet/\chi /t_{n+1}, t_{n+2} \dots t_{nn}/w_1/$]
- b. (aap) aam na khaate raheN
 you-3pl-pol mango(s) not eat-impf-m-pl remain-sub-pl
 'If it is possible, don't continue eating a mango/ mangos, please!'
 [$\diamond \neg !p/\chi/\bullet \dashrightarrow /t_{n+1}, t_{n+2} \dots t_{nn}/w_1/$]
- c.?? (aap) yahaaN na rahte raheN
 you here not stay-impf-m-pl remain-sub-pl
 'If it is possible, don't continue staying here, please!'
 [$\diamond \neg !p/\chi/\bullet \dashrightarrow /t_{n+1}, t_{n+2} \dots t_{nn}/w_1/$]

The prohibition on a continuous action in continuous aspect, as in (83c), is pragmatically absurd.

6.3.2.4 *Reproachful prohibition: negative marker on imperative with imperfective participle in continuous aspect*

This imperative implies that S believes that H had been at a point in time in the past carrying out the task mentioned by the imperative verb. By making this utterance she simply reproaches H for carrying out the actions he was not supposed to. There is nothing she wants him to carry out after the utterance, and therefore this utterance does not carry any deontic modality at all.

- (84) a. (tum) nadii meN na kuudte rahte
 you-2pl-fam river in not jump-perf remain-impf-m-pl
 'If only you didn't continue jumping in the river!'
 'If only you hadn't continued jumping in the river!'
 $[\square \rightarrow !p/\chi/\bullet / t_{n+1}, t_{n+2} \dots t_{nm}/w_1/]$
- b. (tum) aam na khaate rahte
 you-2pl-fam mango(s) not eat-perf remain-impf-m-pl
 'If only you didn't continue eating a mango/ mangos!'
 'If only you hadn't continued eating a mango/ mangos!'
 $[\square \rightarrow !p/\chi/\bullet \rightarrow \bullet / t_{n+1}, t_{n+2} \dots t_{nm}/w_1/]$
- c.?? (tum) yahaaN na rahte rahte
 you-2pl-fam here not stay-perf remain-impf-m-pl
 'If only you didn't continue staying here!'
 'If only you hadn't continued staying here!'
 $[\square \rightarrow !p/\chi/\bullet \rightarrow / t_{n+1}, t_{n+2} \dots t_{nm}/w_1/]$

6.3.3 *Negative commands with perfective aspect*

The perfective aspect in Hindi is expressed by a compound verb rather than by a simple verb. Such compound verb constructions include the main verb and a second verb which shows the perfective aspect linked to the verb. As has been seen in paragraphs 3.2.3.1 through 3.2.3.4, Hindi also allows for imperatives to be used in the compound verb constructions. In the negative commands, however, it is not normally possible to make an imperative utterance with a compound verb construction, as it is possible for S to prevent H from commencing an action *x*, but his asking H to begin the task and not asking him to complete it does not make sense. If S were to make such a command by which she requires H to

simply begin the task without completing it, then she could do so by making an utterance containing a different verb rather than making a negative command with a compound verb. Thus it does not make sense to utter (85).

- (85) ??(tum) nadii meN mat kuud jaayaa karo
 you-2pl river in don't jump-root go-perf do-imp-2pl
 'Don't jump (plus perfectivity) in the river!'
 $[\square - !p/\pi/\bullet \longrightarrow /t_{n+1}, t_{n+2} \dots t_{nn}/w_1/]$

6.4 NEGATIVE COMMANDS WITH 'LET A TP NOT DO X'

Whereas the negative markers in imperative sentences are directed at H's carrying out an action x and, therefore, both the negation and deontic modalities (deontic necessity and deontic possibility) have as their scope H's action only, in the case of an imperative with a 'let a TP do x ' construction they show different applications. The negative markers in a 'let a TP do x ' imperative cover both the let verb (demanding H's action or inaction) and the real action which is to be carried out by a TP. Likewise, although both the deontic necessity and deontic possibility are directed at H (it is H on which deontic modalities are imposed), they seem to be related to TP as well (since it is the TP's action which will show if H has fulfilled his task according to the type of modality he was under). The negative marker in Hindi shows differences according to the kind of deontic modality it is to carry: *mat* ('don't') carries deontic necessity and *na* ('don't') carries deontic possibility.

6.4.1 *Direct commands: asking H to obligatorily not let the TP do x after the utterance*

To ask H to obligatorily not let a TP carry out x , a Hindi speaker attaches *mat* ('don't', showing deontic necessity) to the 'let the TP do x ' construction. In these cases the scope of deontic necessity remains uncertain in that it can be thought to be attached to the let verb, i.e. asking H to obligatorily not let TP carry out x or it can be thought to be related to TP's carrying out x , i.e. asking H to do something so that TP obligatorily does not carry out x . As mentioned above, although both the deontic necessity and negative markers in the 'let a TP do x ' imperatives can be thought to cover both H's action

and TP's action, the negative marker seems to apply mainly to TP's action as it only is to be prohibited. In other words, though the negative marker is directed at H as he is asked by S to obligatorily not let a TP carry out the task, it has as its scope the action to be carried out by a TP.

- (86) a. (t_{um}) use mat kuudne do
 you-2-pl-fam he/she-dat don't jump-inf-obl give-imp-2pl
 'Don't let him/her jump!'
 a'. [$\square \neg !\lambda/p/\bullet / t_{n+1}/ w_1/$]
- b. (t_{um}) use aam mat khaane do
 you-2-pl-fam he/she-dat mango(s) don't eat-inf-obl give-imp-2pl
 'Don't let him/her eat a mango/mangos!'
 b'. [$\square \neg !\lambda/p/\bullet \rightarrow \bullet / t_{n+1}/ w_1/$]
- c. (t_{um}) use kamre meN mat rahne do
 you-2-pl-fam he/she-dat room in don't stay-inf-obl give-imp-2pl
 'Don't let him/her remain in the room!'
 c'. [$\square \neg !\lambda/p/\bullet \rightarrow / t_{n+1}/ w_1/$]

6.4 DEFERRED COMMANDS: ASKING H TO OBLIGATORILY NOT LET THE TP DO X AT A FUTURE POINT IN TIME

When S has to ask H not to let a TP carry out an action *x* at a point in time when she will not be able to check whether he has indeed prevented the TP from carrying out *x* or not she uses a deferred command with a negative marker which carries deontic necessity, i.e. *mat*. Here too both the deontic necessity and prohibition seem to cover both H and TP.

- (87) a. (t_{um}) use mat kuudne denaa
 you-2-pl-fam he/she-dat don't jump-inf-obl give-inf
 'Don't let him/her jump! (at a future point in time)
 a'. [$\square \neg !\lambda/p/\bullet / t_{n+2}/ w_2/$]
- b. (t_{um}) use aam mat khaane denaa
 you-2-pl-fam he/she-dat mango(s) don't eat-inf-obl give-inf
 'Don't let him/her eat a mango/mangos!' (at a future point in time)
 b'. [$\square \neg !\lambda/p/\bullet \rightarrow \bullet / t_{n+2}/ w_2/$]
- c. (t_{um}) use kamre meN mat rahne denaa
 you-2-pl-fam he/she-dat room in don't stay-inf-obl give-inf
 'Don't let him/her remain in the room!' (at a future point in time)
 c'. [$\square \neg !\lambda/p/\bullet \rightarrow / t_{n+2}/ w_2/$]

6.4.3 *Polite commands: asking H to possibly not let the TP do x after the utterance*

When S has to ask H to possibly not let a TP carry out an action *x* after the utterance she does so by using a negative deontic possibility marker *na*. This marker gives H the possibility of non-compliance of the command. In other words, though he is requested to possibly not let the TP carry out the action *x*, he is free not to fulfill the obligation, if he so wishes.

- (88) a. (aap) use kuudne na deN
 you-3pl-pol he/she-dat jump-inf-obl not give-sub-pl
 'Possibly don't let him/her jump, please?'
 a'. [\diamond $\neg!$ $\lambda/p/\bullet/$ $t_{n+1}/$ $w_1/$]
- b. (aap) use aam na khaane deN
 you-3pl-pol he/she-dat mango(s) not eat-inf-obl give-sub-pl
 'Possibly don't let him/her eat a mango/mangos, please!'
 b'. [\diamond $\neg!$ $\lambda/p/\bullet\bullet/$ $t_{n+1}/$ $w_1/$]
- c. (aap) use kamre meN na rahne deN
 you-3pl-pol he/she-dat room in not stay-inf-obl give-sub-pl
 'Possibly don't let him/her remain in the room, please?'
 c'. [\diamond $\neg!$ $\lambda/p/\bullet\rightarrow/$ $t_{n+1}/$ $w_1/$]

6.4.4 *Reproaching H for having a TP let carry out x*

This is an example of a reproach rather than of a deontic modality. By uttering this sentence, S does not ask H to not let a TP carry out an action *x*. Rather she informs him that he was supposed to prevent the TP from carrying out the task at a point in time prior to the utterance, and implies that he did not fulfill the obligation. (89a) and (89b) imply that TP did at least once carry out the tasks mentioned by the verbs and H did not prohibit TP from carrying them out. (89c) does not specify whether the action was completed or not as the verb is a durative one rather than one with a specific endpoint.

- (89) a. (tum) use na kuudne dete
 you-2-pl-fam he/she-dat not jump-inf-obl give-impf-m-pl
 'If only you had not let him/her jump!'
 a'. [\diamond $\neg!$ $\lambda/p/\bullet/$ $t_{n+1}/$ $w_1/$]
- b. (tum) use aam na khaane dete
 you-2-pl-fam he/she-dat mango(s) not eat-inf-obl give-impf-m-pl
 'If only you had not let him/her eat a mango/mangos!'
 b'. [\diamond $\neg!$ $\lambda/p/\bullet\bullet/$ $t_{n+1}/$ $w_1/$]

- c. (tum) use kamre meN rahne dete
 you-2-pl-fam he/she-dat room in stay-inf-obl give-impf-m-pl
 'If only you had not let him/her remain in the room!'
 c'. [\diamond $\neg!$ $\lambda/p/\bullet \longrightarrow$ / $t_{n+1}/ w_1/$]

7. SUMMARY OF THE UNDERLYING PRAGMATIC STRINGS OF THE IMPERATIVE UTTERANCES IN HINDI ³⁷

In order to account for the difference in meaning of various types of Hindi imperatives seven semantico-pragmatic elements were discussed at the beginning of this article. To attribute these elements to the imperative sentences listed here, two of them, namely the pronominal reference and the place of utterance, have not been taken into account, as they cannot be linked to the imperatives as an integral part of their meaning. They can vary from one verb to another and from one situation to another. A further two elements have been merged into one: the 'time scale' and the 'verbal aspect' are represented by one slash only. The remaining four elements are listed here, under every imperative sentences, between slashes: slashes contain one of the five elements which have been taken into consideration.

I ASKING H TO DO X

(90)(a)Do *x* at time t_{n+1} (*kuudnaa* jump, *khaanaa* eat, *rahnaa* stay)

DIMP

(tum) kuudo (jump!)
 $\square!p/\bullet/ t_{n+1}/ w_1 /$

INDIMP

(tuu/ tum) kuudnaa (jump!)
 $\square!p/\bullet/ t_{n+1}/ w_2 /$

³⁷ The symbolism used here is special and does not resemble that used in various formal semantic theories. The use of λ , for example, is not in the sense of lambda variable as is prevalent in the Montague grammar. Its meaning here is only 'let', i.e., S asks H to let someone do *x*. Other logical operators may have different logical values: \square and \diamond operators normally used to represent epistemic 'necessity' and 'possibility' respectively, are used here to indicate 'deontic necessity' and 'deontic possibility' respectively. In other words, rather than characterizing 'it is necessary or possible that *p*' they are used to represent 'necessarily or possibly do *x*'. Other abbreviations are as follows: DIMP = direct imperative; INDIMP = indirect imperative; SUBJIMP = subjunctive imperative (polite imperative); IMPEFTIMP = imperfective imperative (with an imperfective participle).

A PRAGMATIC SURVEY OF HINDI IMPERATIVES

(~~tum~~) khaao (eat!) (tuu/ tum) khaanaa (eat!)
 $\square!p/\bullet\bullet/ t_{n+1}/ w_1 /$ $\square!p/\bullet\bullet/ t_{n+1}/ w_2 /$

(~~tum~~) raho (stay!) (tuu/ tum) rahnaa (stay!)
 $\square!p/\bullet\rightarrow/ t_{n+1}/ w_1 /$ $\square!p/\bullet\rightarrow/ t_{n+1}/ w_2 /$

SUBJIMP

(~~aap~~) kuudeN (jump!)
 $\diamond!p/\bullet/ t_{n+1}/ w_1 /$

(~~aap~~) khaaeN (eat!)
 $\diamond!p/\bullet\bullet/ t_{n+1}/ w_1 /$

(~~aap~~) raheN (stay!)
 $\diamond!p/\bullet\rightarrow/ t_{n+1}/ w_1 /$

IMPEFTIMP

(aap/ tum) kuudte (jump!)
 $\diamond!p/\bullet/ t_{n+1}/ w_1 /$

(aap/ tum) khaate (eat!)
 $\diamond!p/\bullet\bullet/ t_{n+1}/ w_1 /$

(aap/ tum) rahte (stay!)
 $\diamond!p/\bullet\rightarrow/ t_{n+1}/ w_1 /$

(91)(b) CONTINUE DOING *x* from t_{n+1} until t_{nn} (unspecified)

DIMP

(~~tum~~) kuudte raho
 $\square!p/\chi/\bullet/ t_{n+1} \rightarrow t_{nn} / w_1 /$

(~~tum~~) khaate raho
 $\square!p/\chi/\bullet\bullet/ t_{n+1} \rightarrow t_{nn} / w_1 /$

(~~tum~~) rahte raho
 $\square!p/\chi/\bullet\rightarrow/ t_{n+1} \rightarrow t_{nn} / w_1 /$

SUBJIMP

(~~aap~~) kuudte raheN
 $\diamond!p/\chi/\bullet/ t_{n+1} \rightarrow t_{nn} / w_1 /$

(~~aap~~) khaate raheN
 $\diamond!p/\chi/\bullet\bullet/ t_{n+1} \rightarrow t_{nn} w_1 /$

(~~aap~~) rahte raheN
 $\diamond!p/\chi/\bullet\rightarrow/ t_{n+1} \rightarrow t_{nn} / w_1 /$

INDIMP

kuudte rahnaa
 $\square!p/\chi/\bullet/ t_{n+1} \rightarrow t_{nn} / w_2 /$

khaate rahnaa
 $\square!p/\chi/\bullet\bullet/ t_{n+1} \rightarrow t_{nn} / w_2 /$

rahte rahnaa
 $\square!p/\chi/\bullet\rightarrow/ t_{n+1} \rightarrow t_{nn} / w_2 /$

IMPEFTIMP

kuudte rahte
 $\diamond!p/\chi/\bullet/ t_{n+1} \rightarrow t_{nn} / w_1 /$

khaate rahte
 $\diamond!p/\chi/\bullet\bullet/ t_{n+1} \rightarrow t_{nn} / w_1 /$

rahte rahte
 $\diamond!p/\chi/\bullet\rightarrow/ t_{n+1} \rightarrow t_{nn} / w_1 /$

(92)(c) MAKE IT A HABIT TO DO *x* at times $t_{n+1}, t_{n+2}, t_{n+3}$ until t_{nn} (unspecified)

DIMP

(~~tum~~) kuudaa karo
 $\square!p/\eta/\bullet/ t_{n+1}, t_{n+2} t_{nn} / w_1 /$

(~~tum~~) khaayaa karo
 $\square!p/\eta/\bullet\bullet/ t_{n+1}, t_{n+2} t_{nn} / w_1 /$

INDIMP

kuudaa karnaa
 $\square!p/\eta/\bullet/ t_{n+1}, t_{n+2} t_{nn} / w_2 /$

khaayaa karnaa
 $\square!p/\eta/\bullet\bullet/ t_{n+1}, t_{n+2} t_{nn} / w_2 /$

(tum) rahaa karo rahaa karnaa
 $\square!p/\eta/\bullet \longrightarrow / t_{n+1}, t_{n+2} t_{nn} / w_1 /$ $\square!p/\eta/\bullet \longrightarrow / t_{n+1}, t_{n+2} t_{nn} / w_2 /$

SUBJIMP

(aap) kuudaa kareN
 $\diamond!p/\eta/\bullet / t_{n+1}, t_{n+2} t_{nn} / w_1 /$

(aap) khaayaa kareN
 $\diamond!p/\eta/\bullet / t_{n+1}, t_{n+2} t_{nn} / w_1 /$

(aap) rahaa kareN
 $\diamond!p/\eta/\bullet \longrightarrow / t_{n+1}, t_{n+2} t_{nn} / w_1 /$

IMPEFTIMP

kuudaa karte
 $\diamond!p/\eta/\bullet / t_{n+1}, t_{n+2} t_{nn} / w_1 /$

khaayaa karte
 $\diamond!p/\eta/\bullet / t_{n+1}, t_{n+2} t_{nn} / w_1 /$

rahaa karte
 $\diamond!p/\eta/\bullet \longrightarrow / t_{n+1}, t_{n+2} t_{nn} / w_1 /$

II ASKING H TO LET A TP DO x

(93) LET HIM/HER DO x (addressee's action demanded)

DIMP

(tum) (use) kuudne do
 $\square!\lambda/p/\bullet / t_{n+1} / w_1 /$

(tum) (use) khaane do
 $\square!\lambda/p/\bullet / t_{n+1} / w_1 /$

(tum) (use) rahne do
 $\square!\lambda/p/\bullet \longrightarrow / t_{n+1} / w_1 /$

SUBJIMP

(aap) kuudne deN
 $\diamond!\lambda/p/\bullet / t_{n+1} / w_1 /$

(aap) khaane deN
 $\diamond!\lambda/p/\bullet / t_{n+1} / w_1 /$

(aap) rahne deN
 $\diamond!\lambda/p/\bullet \longrightarrow / t_{n+1} / w_1 /$

INDIMP

kuudne denaa
 $\square!\lambda/p/\bullet / t_{n+1} / w_2 /$

khaane denaa
 $\square!\lambda/p/\bullet / t_{n+1} / w_2 /$

rahne denaa
 $\square!\lambda/p/\bullet \longrightarrow / t_{n+1} / w_2 /$

IMPEFTIMP

kuudne dete
 $\diamond!\lambda/p/\bullet / t_{n+1} / w_1 /$

khaane dete
 $\diamond!\lambda/p/\bullet / t_{n+1} / w_1 /$

rahne dete
 $\diamond!\lambda/p/\bullet \longrightarrow / t_{n+1} / w_1 /$

(94) CONTINUE LETTING ONE DO x (continuity of the addressee's action demanded)

DIMP

(tum)(use) kuudne dete raho
 $\square!\lambda/p/\bullet / t_{n+1} \rightarrow t_{nn} / w_1 /$

(tum)(use) khaane dete raho
 $\square!\lambda/p/\bullet / t_{n+1} \rightarrow t_{nn} / w_1 /$

INDIMP

kuudne dete rahnaa
 $\square!\lambda/p/\bullet / t_{n+1} \rightarrow t_{nn} / w_2 /$

khaane dete rahnaa
 $\square!\lambda/p/\bullet / t_{n+1} \rightarrow t_{nn} / w_2 /$

A PRAGMATIC SURVEY OF HINDI IMPERATIVES

(**tum**)(use) rahne dete raho rahne dete rahnaa
 $\square! \lambda/p/\bullet \rightarrow / t_{n+1} \rightarrow t_{nn} / w_1 /$ $\square! \lambda/p/\bullet \rightarrow / t_{n+1} \rightarrow t_{nn} / w_2 /$

SUBJIMP

(**aap**) kuudne dete raheN
 $\diamond! \lambda/p/\bullet / t_{n+1} \rightarrow t_{nn} / w_1 /$

(**aap**) khaane dete raheN
 $\diamond! \lambda/p/\bullet \bullet / t_{n+1} / \rightarrow t_{nn} w_1 /$

(**aap**) rahne dete raheN
 $\diamond! \lambda/p/\bullet \rightarrow / t_{n+1} \rightarrow t_{nn} / w_1 /$

IMPEFTIMP

kuudne dete rahte
 $\diamond! \lambda/p/\bullet / t_{n+1} \rightarrow t_{nn} / w_1 /$

khaane dete rahte
 $\diamond! \lambda/p/\bullet \bullet / t_{n+1} \rightarrow t_{nn} / w_1 /$

rahne dete rahte
 $\diamond! \lambda/p/\bullet \rightarrow / t_{n+1} \rightarrow t_{nn} / w_1 /$

(95) LET HIM/HER CONTINUE DOING *x* ('continuous aspect' imposed on a TP, not on the addressee)

DIMP

(**tum**) (use) kuudtaa rahne do
 $\square! \lambda/p/\bullet / t_{n+1} \rightarrow t_{nn} / w_1 /$

(**tum**) (use) khaataa rahne do
 $\square! \lambda/p/\bullet \bullet / t_{n+1} \rightarrow t_{nn} / w_1 /$

??(**tum**) (use) rahtaa rahne do
 $\square! \lambda/p/\bullet \rightarrow / t_{n+1} \rightarrow t_{nn} / w_1 /$

INDIMP

kuudtaa rahne denaa
 $\square! \lambda/p/\bullet / t_{n+1} \rightarrow t_{nn} / w_2 /$

khaataa rahne denaa
 $\square! \lambda/p/\bullet \bullet / t_{n+1} \rightarrow t_{nn} / w_2 /$

??rahtaa rahne denaa
 $\square! \lambda/p/\bullet \rightarrow / t_{n+1} \rightarrow t_{nn} / w_2 /$

SUBJIMP

(**aap**) (use) kuudtaa rahne deN
 $\diamond! \lambda/p/\bullet / t_{n+1} \rightarrow t_{nn} / w_1 /$

(**aap**) (use) khaataa rahne deN
 $\diamond! \lambda/p/\bullet \bullet / t_{n+1} / \rightarrow t_{nn} w_1 /$

??(**aap**) (use) rahtaa rahne deN
 $\diamond! \lambda/p/\bullet \rightarrow / t_{n+1} \rightarrow t_{nn} / w_1 /$

IMPEFTIMP

kuudtaa rahne dete
 $\diamond! \lambda/p/\bullet / t_{n+1} \rightarrow t_{nn} / w_1 /$

khaataa rahne dete
 $\diamond! \lambda/p/\bullet \bullet / t_{n+1} \rightarrow t_{nn} / w_1 /$

??rahtaa rahne dete
 $\diamond! \lambda/p/\bullet \rightarrow / t_{n+1} \rightarrow t_{nn} / w_1 /$

(96) MAKE IT A HABIT TO LET HIM/HER DO *x* AND LET HIM/HER MAKE IT A HABIT TO DO *x* ('habituality' of the action imposed on either the addressee or implicitly also on a TP demanded)

DIMP

(**tum**)(use) kuudne diyaa karo
 $\square! \lambda/p/\bullet / t_{n+1}, t_{n+2} t_{nn} / w_1 /$

(**tum**)(use) khaane diyaa karo
 $\square! \lambda/p/\bullet \bullet / t_{n+1}, t_{n+2} t_{nn} / w_1 /$

INDIMP

kuudne diyaa karnaa
 $\square! \lambda/p/\bullet / t_{n+1}, t_{n+2} t_{nn} / w_2 /$

khaane diyaa karnaa
 $\square! \lambda/p/\bullet \bullet / t_{n+1}, t_{n+2} t_{nn} / w_2 /$

(**tum**) (use) rahne diyaa karo rahne diyaa karnaa
 $\square !\lambda/p/\bullet \longrightarrow / t_{n+1}, t_{n+2} t_{nn} / w_1 /$ $\square !\lambda/p/\bullet \longrightarrow / t_{n+1}, t_{n+2} t_{nn} / w_2 /$

SUBJIMP

(**aap**) (use) kuudne diyaa kareN
 $\diamond !\lambda/p/\bullet / t_{n+1}, t_{n+2} t_{nn} / w_1 /$

IMPEFTIMP

kuudne diyaa karte
 $\diamond !\lambda/p/\bullet / t_{n+1}, t_{n+2} t_{nn} / w_1 /$

(**aap**) (use) khaane diyaa kareN
 $\diamond !\lambda/p/\bullet \bullet / t_{n+1}, t_{n+2} t_{nn} / w_1 /$

khaane diyaa karte
 $\diamond !\lambda/p/\bullet \bullet / t_{n+1}, t_{n+2} t_{nn} / w_1 /$

(**aap**) (use) rahne diyaa kareN
 $\diamond !\lambda/p/\bullet \longrightarrow / t_{n+1}, t_{n+2} t_{nn} / w_1 /$

rahne diyaa karte
 $\diamond !\lambda/p/\bullet \longrightarrow / t_{n+1}, t_{n+2} t_{nn} / w_1 /$

(97) MAKE IT A HABIT TO LET ONE CONTINUE DOING X ('continuous aspect' imposed on a TP and 'habituality' imposed on the addressee)

DIMP

(**tum**) (use) kuudtaa rahne diyaa karo
 $\square !\lambda/p/\bullet / t_{n+1}, t_{n+2} t_{nn} / w_1 /$

INDIMP

kuudtaa rahne diyaa karnaa
 $\square !\lambda/p/\bullet / t_{n+1}, t_{n+2} t_{nn} / w_2 /$

(**tum**) (use) khaataa rahne diyaa karo
 $\square !\lambda/p/\bullet \bullet / t_{n+1}, t_{n+2} t_{nn} / w_1 /$

khaataa rahne diyaa karnaa
 $\square !\lambda/p/\bullet \bullet / t_{n+1}, t_{n+2} t_{nn} / w_2 /$

(**tum**) (use) rahtaa rahne diyaa karo
 $\square !\lambda/p/\bullet \longrightarrow / t_{n+1}, t_{n+2} t_{nn} / w_1 /$

rahtaa rahne diyaa karnaa
 $\square !\lambda/p/\bullet \longrightarrow / t_{n+1}, t_{n+2} t_{nn} / w_2 /$

SUBJIMP

(**aap**) (use) kuudtaa rahne diyaa kareN
 $\diamond !\lambda/p/\bullet / t_{n+1}, t_{n+2} t_{nn} / w_1 /$

IMPEFTIMP

kuudtaa rahne diyaa karte
 $\diamond !\lambda/p/\bullet / t_{n+1}, t_{n+2} t_{nn} / w_1 /$

(**aap**) (use) khaataa rahne diyaa kareN
 $\diamond !\lambda/p/\bullet \bullet / t_{n+1}, t_{n+2} t_{nn} / w_1 /$

khaataa rahne diyaa karte
 $\diamond !\lambda/p/\bullet \bullet / t_{n+1}, t_{n+2} t_{nn} / w_1 /$

(**aap**) (use) rahtaa rahne diyaa kareN
 $\diamond !\lambda/p/\bullet \longrightarrow / t_{n+1}, t_{n+2} t_{nn} / w_1 /$

rahtaa rahne diyaa karte
 $\diamond !\lambda/p/\bullet \longrightarrow / t_{n+1}, t_{n+2} t_{nn} / w_1 /$

III NEGATIVE COMMANDS

(98) DON'T DO X

DIMP

(**tum**) mat kuudo
 $\square \neg !p/\bullet / t_{n+1} / w_1 /$

INDIMP

mat kuudnaa
 $\square \neg !p/\bullet / t_{n+1} / w_2 /$

(**tum**) mat khaao
 $\square \neg !p/\bullet \bullet / t_{n+1} / w_1 /$

mat khaanaa (eat!)
 $\square \neg !p/\bullet \bullet / t_{n+1} / w_2 /$

SUBJIMP

(~~aap~~) kuudaa na kareN
 $\diamond \neg!p/\bullet/ t_{n+1}, t_{n+2} t_{nn} / w_1 /$

(~~aap~~) khaayaa na kareN
 $\diamond \neg!p/\bullet\text{---}\bullet/ t_{n+1}, t_{n+2} t_{nn} / w_1 /$

(~~aap~~) rahaa na kareN
 $\diamond \neg!p/\bullet\text{---}\rightarrow/ t_{n+1}, t_{n+2} t_{nn} / w_1 /$

IMPEFTIMP

kuudaa na karte
 $\diamond \neg!p/\bullet/ t_{n+1}, t_{n+2} t_{nn} / w_1 /$

khaayaa na karte
 $\diamond \neg!p/\bullet\text{---}\bullet/ t_{n+1}, t_{n+2} t_{nn} / w_1 /$

rahaa na karte
 $\diamond \neg!p/\bullet\text{---}\rightarrow/ t_{n+1}, t_{n+2} t_{nn} / w_1 /$

(101) DON'T LET HIM/HER DO X

DIMP

(~~tum~~) (use) kuudne mat do
 $\square \neg!\lambda/p/\bullet/ t_{n+1}/ w_1 /$

(~~tum~~) (use) khaane mat do
 $\square \neg!\lambda/p/\bullet\text{---}\bullet/ t_{n+1}/ w_1 /$

(~~tum~~) (use) rahne mat do
 $\square \neg!\lambda/p/\bullet\text{---}\rightarrow/ t_{n+1}/ w_1 /$

INDIMP

kuudne mat denaa
 $\square \neg!\lambda/p/\bullet/ t_{n+1}/ w_2 /$

khaane mat denaa
 $\square \neg!\lambda/p/\bullet\text{---}\bullet/ t_{n+1}/ w_2 /$

rahne mat denaa
 $\square \neg!\lambda/p/\bullet\text{---}\rightarrow/ t_{n+1}/ w_2 /$

SUBJIMP

(~~aap~~) (use) kuudne na deN
 $\diamond \neg!\lambda/p/\bullet/ t_{n+1}/ w_1 /$

(~~aap~~) (use) khaane na deN
 $\diamond \neg!\lambda/p/\bullet\text{---}\bullet/ t_{n+1}/ w_1 /$

(~~aap~~) (use) rahne na deN
 $\diamond \neg!\lambda/p/\bullet\text{---}\rightarrow/ t_{n+1}/ w_1 /$

IMPEFTIMP

kuudne na dete
 $\diamond \neg!\lambda/p/\bullet/ t_{n+1}/ w_1 /$

khaane na dete
 $\diamond \neg!\lambda/p/\bullet\text{---}\bullet/ t_{n+1}/ w_1 /$

rahne na dete
 $\diamond \neg!\lambda/p/\bullet\text{---}\rightarrow/ t_{n+1}/ w_1 /$

(102) DON'T MAKE IT A HABIT TO LET HIM/HER DO X

DIMP

(~~tum~~) (use) kuudne mat diyaa karo
 $\square \neg!p/\bullet/ t_{n+1}, t_{n+2} t_{nn} / w_1 /$

(~~tum~~) (use) khaane mat diyaa karo
 $\square \neg!p/\bullet\text{---}\bullet/ t_{n+1}, t_{n+2} t_{nn} / w_1 /$

(~~tum~~) (use) rahne mat diyaa karo
 $\square \neg!p/\bullet\text{---}\rightarrow/ t_{n+1}, t_{n+2} t_{nn} / w_1 /$

INDIMP

kuudne mat diyaa karnaa
 $\square \neg!p/\bullet/ t_{n+1}, t_{n+2} t_{nn} / w_2 /$

khaane mat diyaa karnaa
 $\square \neg!p/\bullet\text{---}\bullet/ t_{n+1}, t_{n+2} t_{nn} / w_2 /$

rahne mat diyaa karnaa
 $\square \neg!p/\bullet\text{---}\rightarrow/ t_{n+1}, t_{n+2} t_{nn} / w_2 /$

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SUBJIMP

(~~aap~~)(use) kuudne na diyaa kareN
 $\diamond \neg!p/\bullet/ t_{n+1}, t_{n+2} t_{nn} / w_1 /$

(~~aap~~)(use) khaane na diyaa kareN
 $\diamond \neg!p/\bullet\bullet/ t_{n+1}, t_{n+2} t_{nn} / w_1 /$

(~~aap~~) (use) rahne na diyaa kareN
 $\diamond \neg!p/\bullet\longrightarrow/ t_{n+1}, t_{n+2} t_{nn} / w_1 /$

IMPEFTIMP

kuudne na diyaa karte
 $\diamond \neg!p/\bullet/ t_{n+1}, t_{n+2} t_{nn} / w_1 /$

khaane na diyaa karte
 $\diamond \neg!p/\bullet\bullet/ t_{n+1}, t_{n+2} t_{nn} / w_1 /$

rahne na diyaa karte
 $\diamond \neg!p/\bullet\longrightarrow/ t_{n+1}, t_{n+2} t_{nn} / w_1 /$

8. CONCLUSION

Hindi imperative utterances can have different aspectual elements linked to the main verb and they can imply a different temporal scope to H's actions. Like many natural languages, the Hindi imperative can be used to make utterances to issue various kinds of commands which depend not only on the three pronominal references which are used to refer to H but which also depend on S's concession to H whether to carry out the task or not. The deontic modalities also make a difference in meaning to the imperative utterances. By attaching a deontic necessity S may compel H to obligatorily carry out *x*, whereas through a deontic possibility she may invite him to possibly carry out the task, thus providing him with the possibility of non compliance. By explaining the Hindi imperatives in all their illocutionary flexibility, it has been argued that a complete semantic picture of their utterances cannot be obtained by merely giving a semantic characterization of their sentences. Though a truth-conditional or truth-functional account of the imperatives can be envisaged along the lines of declarative sentences, until other logical tools have been developed to cope with the peculiarity of the imperatives, their veracity or falsity cannot be thought to be semantically related either to S's intention in issuing commands or to H's sincerity in obeying the commands. If one were to go along these lines in giving a semantic account of the phenomenon, however, it would not be very different from a pragmatic analysis of the imperatives.

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ABSTRACT

The paper deals with different types of Hindi imperatives and aims at providing a pragmatic framework that can account for various ways of expressing commands. Although the paper is a sort of descriptive survey of Hindi imperatives, it indirectly argues, in particular, that any formal semantic theory which intends to study the phenomenon will have to take into account many of those elements of meaning of non-declarative sentences which cannot be properly dealt with in any truth-conditional analysis. A truth-conditional analysis of imperatives remains incomplete in that it does not have the necessary tools to study all the elements of meaning of imperative utterances. While a declarative sentence can be studied giving a characterization in which a sentence S is said to be true iff its truth-conditions are met, an imperative sentence, in pragmatic terms, has two directional fits: first, an imperative sentence S can be thought to be true iff its command is carried out by the hearer, and secondly, an imperative sentence S can be thought to be true iff the speaker really intends that the hearer carry out the action. Nevertheless, none of the cases is potentially truth-conditional. They tend to be non-truth-conditional in that they carry the speaker's various commands rather than some definite state of affairs to which truth-values can be attached. The difference in meanings of various types of Hindi imperatives has been studied here in the light of pragmatic theories of meaning that take into account the speaker's intended meaning in making an imperative utterance.

KEY WORDS

Hindi imperatives. Pragmatics.