

Imperative Subordination in Slovenian

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One of the most typical general syntactic properties of orders (at least in the majority of well described European languages) is their formal inability to persist in subordinate constructions; if syntactically embedded, imperative forms mostly show a change of mood, as soon as a conjunction appears, or they are replaced by an infinitival construction;

- (1) a. Mum said: “Eat!” b. *Mum said *that* eat!
b’. Mum said (*that*) you should eat.
b’’. Mum said you to eat.

This is strikingly different in Slovenian (Dvořák, 2005), where imperatives can generally be embedded and are often found in subordinate clauses (2 (b)), even though speakers can replace them by using indicative mood instead of the imperative form (b’);

- (2) a. *Mama je rekla: “Jèj!”* b. *Mama je rekla, da jèj!*
Mum aux ppaf: IMP2Sg Mum aux ppaf, that IMP2Sg
‘Mum said : “Eat!”’ ‘Mum said, that you should eat.’
b’. *Mama je rekla, da jéš!*
Mum aux ppaf, that IND2Sg
‘Mum said, that you should eat.’

The most frequent cases of embedded imperatives in Slovenian are those after the conjunction *da* (that, see (2b)), followed by those licensed by interrogative (3) or relative (4) pronouns appending object (4a) or subject (4b) supplements, as further sources of their clausal subordination; the analysis of those forms, their use and occurrence is the aim of our presentation. The research includes the spoken language as well as written sources.

- (3) *Povédala ti bó, kaj stòri in kam pójdi.*
tell ppaf to you will what do IMP2Sg and where go IMP2Sg
‘She will tell you what to do and where to go.’

- (4) a. *Tó je móž, ki se ga **bój!***
 that is man rel refl Cl.3.Gen.m fear IMP2Sg
 'This is a man you should be afraid of.'
- b. *Ti si móž, ki se **ožēni** z mano!*
 you be2 man, rel refl marryIMP2Sg with me
 'You are the man who should marry me.'

Even though being mentioned several times in the literature, the fact that imperative clauses can be embedded in Slovenian, remains mostly unknown or at least seemingly unconsidered in the modern linguistic frame, and, additionally, still lacks a systematic overview and explanation of the crosslinguistically rare phenomenon; our aim is therefore a systematic presentation of the embedded imperative clause types found in the modern standard Slovenian and a functional analysis of those embedded imperatives. Some of the slovenian verbs can easily licence imperative subordination whereas others do not. Besides the three main types mentioned above – the complement clauses with *da* (2), the interrogative clauses (3) and the relative clauses (4) – there is an additional group among the first type, represented by *da*-constructions without any embedding verb at all – the consecutive clauses (5), (6):

- (5) *Takó je mráz, da se **obléci!***
 so be3 cold that refl put on IMP.2.Sg
 'It's so cold, that You should put on some warm clothes.'
- (6) *Palma ima ráda vlágo, takó da jo **posádi** v senco.*
 palm loves hum. so that her IMP2 into sh.
 'A palm likes a humid place, so that You should plant it into shadow.'

Many embedding effects in these subordinated imperatives are common with those of embedded questions, as eg the clitic and/or inversion movement, as described in Bošković (2001), Ilc and Sheppard (2003) or Dvořák (2005); in fact, the clitic movement, as shown in (4) - ...*se ga bój!* as moved from *bój se ga!* – represents a part of the imperative embedding without any subordination.

As far as the conjunction *da* is concerned, its use is obligatory in many constructions (generally in all Slavonic languages) in which it can (and must) be dropped in Germanic languages;

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|---|---|
| <p>(7) a. Slovenian</p> <p>A: <i>Kóga vidiš?</i>
 whoAcc see2
 'Whom do you see?'</p> <p>B: <i>Míslim, <u>da</u> njêga.</i>
 think1 that him
 'I think (that) I see him.'</p> | <p>b. German</p> <p>A: <i>Wen siehst Du?</i>
 whoAcc see2 you</p> <p>B: <i>Ich denke ihn.</i>
 I think1 him</p> |
|---|---|

B': * Míslim njêga.

B': *Ich d., daß ihn.

In all cases of independent and dependent clauses with an imperative verb form, the hearer is addressed to (8). Consequently, the Slovenian imperative can be involved in control structures (as in Korean, Gamerschlag, 2005) only in a very restricted way;

- (8) *Ôče právi mami, da obêri kákije.*
 dad say3 mumDat that gather IMP2Sg persimmonsAcc
 'Dad says to mum that you should gather the persimmons.'

For the 3rd person the optative particle *naj* + indicative form is used, which is also an alternative for the imperative of the 1st person D1 and Pl, when embedded;

	Sg.			Dl.			Pl.		
	OPT	IND	IMP	OPT	IND	IMP	OPT	IND	IMP
1. <u>da</u>	naj	jém		naj	jéva/	<u>da jèjva</u>	naj	jémo/	<u>da jèjmo</u>
2. <u>da</u>	#naj	jěš →	<u>da jèj</u>	#naj	jěsta →	<u>da jèjta</u>	#naj	jěste →	<u>da jèjte</u>
3. <u>da</u>	naj	jé		naj	jěsta		naj	jèjo/jedò	

For the 2nd person, the use of this particle is not compatible and even fully impossible in indicative sentences; it can be claimed, therefore, that the slovenian optative paradigm is a mixture of analytic optative and synthetic imperative verb forms. For the 2nd person singular, dual and plural, the imperative verb forms are used instead of the optative.

- (9) a. *Naj jé.*
 OPT eat3
 '(S)he should eat.'
- b. **Naj jěš.*
 OPT eat2
 'You should eat.'

References

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