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The syntax of mood constructions in Old Japanese: A corpus based study

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Outline

- Introduction
  - The Oxford Corpus of Old Japanese (OCOJ)
  - The present study
- An overview of mood constructions in OJ
  - Imperatives
  - Prohibitives
  - Optatives
- Discussion
- Conclusions

Introduction: The OCOJ

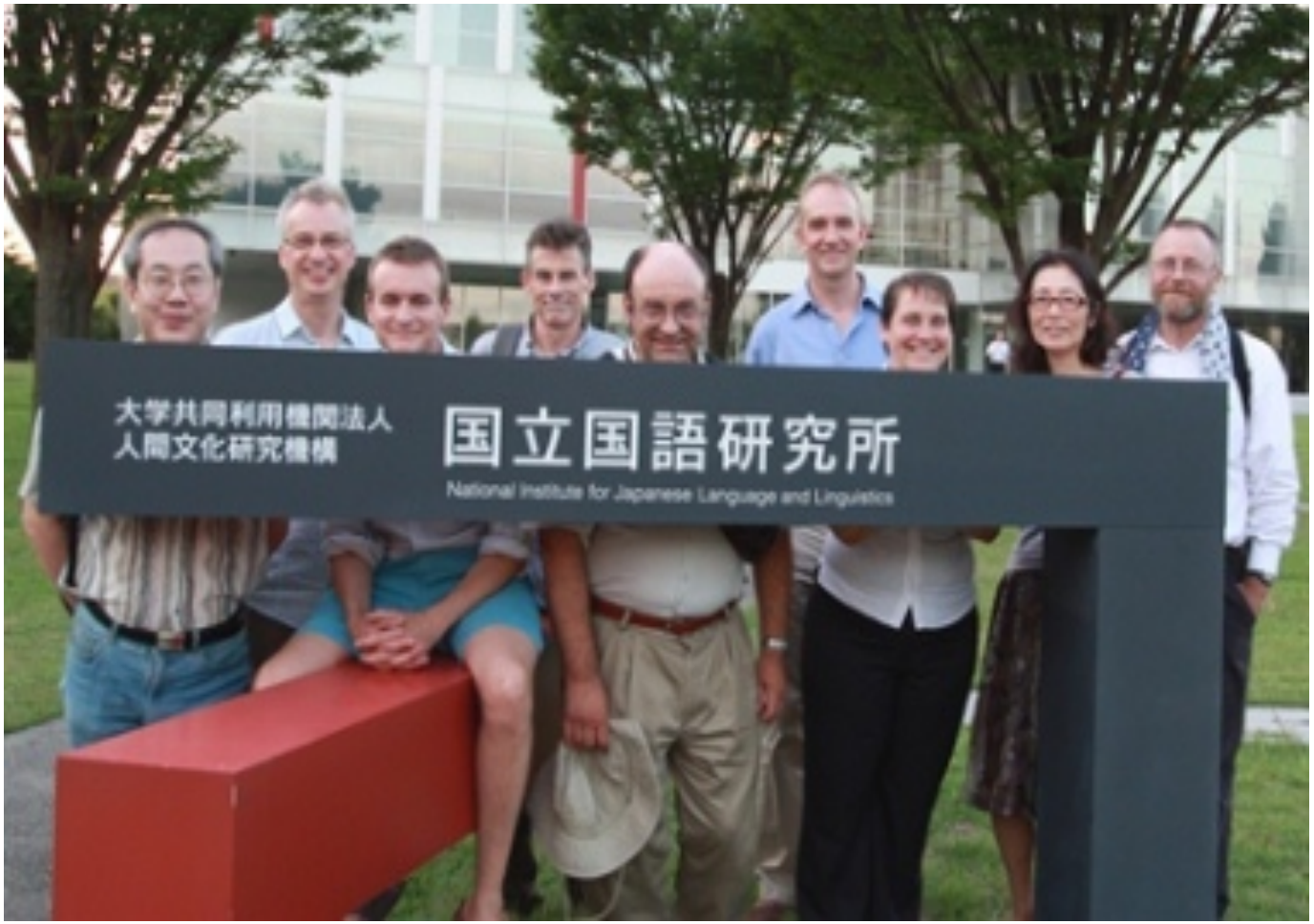
- The Oxford Corpus of Old Japanese (OCOJ) is an annotated digital corpus of all extant texts from the Old Japanese (OJ) period (7th and 8th century CE).
- It consists of about 90,000 words.
- Funding bodies:

Arts & Humanities Research Council

BRITISH ACADEMY

Introduction: The OCOJ

- People:



Introduction: The OCOJ

- A poem (MYS.8.1606)

君待跡
吾戀居者
我屋戸乃
簾令動
秋之風吹

Introduction: The OCOJ

- A romanized version of poem (MYS.8.1606)

君待跡	kimi matu *to*
吾戀居者	wa ga kwopwi-woreba
我屋戸乃	wa ga yadwo *no*
簾令動	sudare ugokasi
秋之風吹	aki no kaze puku

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Introduction: The OCOJ

- Plain text view generated from the markup:

MYS.8.1606 gloss tree

君待跡	kimi matu *to*
吾戀居者	wa ga kwopwi-woreba
我屋戸乃	wa ga yadwo *no*
簾令動	sudare ugokasi
秋之風吹	aki no kaze puku

Introduction: The OCOJ

- Glossed view showing constituency, generated from the markup:

« { { { [kimi (L004266 lord)] matu (verb adnconc L031644a 35830 wait) *to* (L000531a [concessive conjunctional particle]) }

[wa (L042057 41100 1st person pronoun) ga (L000503 [genitive case particle])] kwopwi (verb stem L030731a 52566 love) -woreba (verb provisional progr

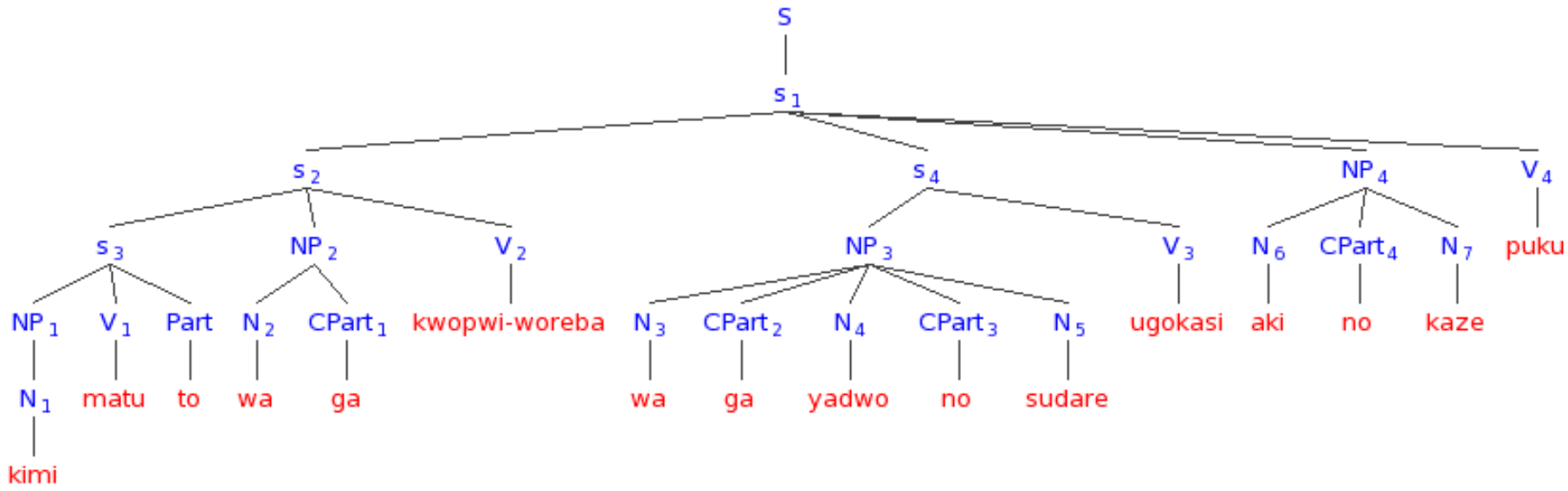
{ [wa (L042057 41100 1st person pronoun) ga (L000503 [genitive case particle]) yadwo *no* (L000520 [genitive case particle])

sudare] ugokasi (verb infinitive L030247a 3094 move t) }

[aki no (L000520 [genitive case particle]) kaze] puku (verb adnconc L031516a 32591 blow) } »

Introduction: The OCOJ

- Tree view generated from the markup:



Introduction: The OCOJ

- More information can be found on the OCOJ webpage: http://vsarpj.orinst.ox.ac.uk/corpus/
  - A fully romanized version of all OJ texts
  - Markup and display conventions

Introduction: The present study

- This paper investigates logical subjects in several mood-related constructions in central Old Japanese (OJ), the language of 8th century Japan. We focus on **imperative**, **prohibitive** and **optative** constructions, expressing the desire of the speaker for either the speaker or another entity to perform (or not) an event (or situation) (cf. Aikhenvald 2010, Bybee et al. 1994).
- These forms have not been discussed in any detail for OJ. Previous literature (e.g., Frellesvig 2010, Vovin 2009) briefly describes them, but does not investigate the grammatical properties.

Introduction: The present study

- OJ has several forms expressing these categories:
- *yuk-* 'go':

Imperative:	*yukye*	'Go!'
Prohibitive:	*yuku na*	'Don't go!'
	na-yuki	'Don't go!'
	na-yuki-so	'Don't go!
	na-yuki-sone	'I don't want you to go.'
Optative:	*yukana*	'I want to go./Let's go.'
	yukane	'I want you to go.'
	yukanamu/yukanamo	'I want him/her/it to go.'

The three mood forms

- Imperative
- Prohibitive
- Optative

Imperatives

- Imperatives canonically express a speaker's will to have an action performed with the expectation that someone (else) will perform the action. A canonical imperative encodes a Directive speech act (Searle 1975) on the part of the speaker (the one who "commands").
- A structural difference that sets imperatives apart from declaratives and interrogatives, is that the logical subject is often null, even for languages like English which typically require overt subjects.

Imperatives

- In OJ, the logical subject of the imperative is also often null: it is null in 160 of the 264 examples in the OCOJ (roughly 60%).
- The remaining 104 examples (40%) have overt logical subjects.
  - Of these examples, 86 do not occur with any particle.
  - The logical subject can be topicalized or focused.
  - What is significant is that the subject is never marked for case.

Imperatives

- Example of imperative with an overt subject, no particle (86 examples)

pito-pi	ni	pa	ti-pye	*sikusiku-ni*		wa	ga
1-day	DAT	TOP	1000fold	frequent-COP		I	GEN
kwopuru		imo	ga	atari	ni	[*sigure*]$_{LS}$	
love		beloved	GEN	area	DAT	[drizzle]$_{LS}$	
pur*e*		mimu					
fall.IMP		see-CONJ					

'For one day, [drizzle]$_{LS}$ **fall** 1000 times at the house of my beloved whom I love. I will see it.' (MYS.10.2234)

Imperatives

- The logical subject is marked with the topic particle *pa* (12 examples):

aratama	*no*	*tosi*	*yuki-gapyeri*	*paru*	*tataba*	
rough.jewel	COP	year	go-return	spring	begin	
madu	*wa*	*ga*	*yadwo*	*ni*	[*ugupisu*	*pa*]$_{LS}$
first	I	GEN	hut	DAT	[bush.warbler	TOP]$_{LS}$

nakye
sing.IMP

'If spring begins, the rough jewelled year has come and gone, first, [bush warbler]$_{LS}$, **sing** at my hut!' (MYS.20.4490)

Imperatives

- The logical subject is marked with the emphatic topic particle *mo* (2 examples):

[ametuti	no	kamwi	*mo*]$_{LS}$		**tasukeyo**		kusa
[heaven.earth	GEN	god	ETOP]$_{LS}$		**help.IMP**		grass
makura	tabi	yuku	kimi	ga	ipye	ni	itaru
pillow	travel	go	lord	GEN	house	DAT	reach
made							
RES							

'[Gods of heaven and earth]$_{LS}$ **help** (him) – until my lord, who is on a grass-pillowing journey reaches his home!' (MYS.4.549)

Imperatives

- The logical subject is marked with the restrictive particle *dani* (2 examples):

koto sige-mi kimi pa ki-*masa-zu*
rumours lush-ACOP lord TOP come-be-NEG
pototogisu [nare *dani*]$_{LS}$ **ki-nakye**
cuckoo [you RES]$_{LS}$ **come-sing.IMP**
asatwo piraka-mu
morning.door open-CONJ
'The rumours are thick, so my lord doesn't come. Cuckoo,
[only you]$_{LS}$ **come sing**! The morning door will open.' (MYS.8.1499)

Imperatives

- The logical subject is marked with the particle *sapeni* (1 example):

piru		pa	saki	yworu	pa	kwopwi-nuru
day.time		TOP	bloom	night	TOP	love-sleep
nebu	no	pana	kimi	nomwi	mi-me	ya
onion	GEN	flower	lord	RES	look.at-CONJ	FOC
[wake	sapeni]$_{LS}$		**miyo**			
[you	RES]$_{LS}$		**look.at.IMP**			

'Will only my lord will look at the onion flowers, which in the daytime bloom and at night sleep yearning? [You]$_{LS}$ **look at** them too!' (MYS.8.1461)

Imperatives

- The logical subject is marked with the particle *yo* (1 example):

tukur-eru ipye *ni* *ti-yo* *madeni*
make-STAT house DAT 1000-generations RES
ki-mase [opo-kimi *yo*]$_{LS}$ ware *mo*
come-RESP.IMP [PFX-lord VOC]$_{LS}$ I ETOP
kaywopa-*mu*
return-CONJ
'**Come** to the home that was built for 1000 generations, [my lord]$_{LS}$!
I will also return.' (MYS.1.79)

Imperatives

- Imperatives may be embedded with complementizer *to*, in two different types. One type, Type A, retains a command interpretation, i.e., “(I said) do X!”.
- There are 30 tokens of the command type embedded construction. (out of a total of 264 imperatives).
- Of these examples 2/30 have overt logical subjects; they are not followed by any particles.

Imperatives

- Example of embedded command-type imperative with overt logical subject (2 examples):

[watarimori]$_{LS}$			pune	**watase**	***wo***	***to***	
[ferrymen]$_{LS}$			boat	**ferry.IMP**	**INTJ**	**COMP**	
ywobu	kowe	no	itara-neba	ka	mo	kadi	no
call	voice	GEN	arrive-NEG	FOC	ETOP	oar	GEN
oto	no	se-nu					
sound	GEN	do-NEG					

'Is it because the voice that calls "[Ferrymen]$_{LS}$ **ferry** the boat!" has not arrived, that the sound of the oars are not heard?' (MYS.10.2072)

Imperatives

- Example of embedded command-type imperative with overt logical subject (2 examples):

[yo-tu	no	pune]$_{LS}$	paya	**kapyeri-ko**			
[4-CL	COP	boat]$_{LS}$	quick	**return-come.IMP**			
to		siraka	tuke	wa	ga	mo	no
COMP		perfume	attach	I	GEN	skirt	GEN
suswo	*ni*	ipapite	mata-mu				
hem	DAT	pray	wait-CONJ				

'(Saying) "[Four boats]$_{LS}$, **come back** quickly" attaching perfume on the hem of my skirt, I will wait praying.' (MYS.19.4265)

Imperatives

- The second type, Type B, is used to mean “in order to do”; (so) that X” and is *not* used to imply the will of the speaker to have an action carried out.
- There are 32 examples of Type B embedded “imperatives”, which share an interpretation of some future action with true imperatives, but differ in that there is no Directive speech act.
- There are 6 examples with an overt subject. Significantly, 4 of these examples are case marked with the accusative *wo*. (But 1 of the examples is not a reliable example.) The subjects of other 2 examples are followed by the particle *mo*.

Imperatives

- Example of embedded non-command-type imperative with overt logical subject (6 examples):

ama	no	gapa	se	gotoni	nusa	wo
heaven	GEN	river	shallows	RES	staff	ACC
tate-maturu		kokoro	pa [kimi	*wo*]$_{LS}$		
offer		heart	TOP [lord	ACC]$_{LS}$		
saki-ku			**ki-mase**		***to***	
fortunate-ACOP			**come-RESP.IMP**		**COMP**	

'My heart, offering a staff at each of heaven's river's shallows, is (doing this) **in order for** [my lord]$_{LS}$ **to come** safely.' (MYS.10.2069)

Imperatives

- The properties of overt subjects in Type A and Type B are summarized as follows:

		total examples	overt subjects	subjects raised and marked with *wo*
Type A	command	30	2	0
Type B	non-command	32	6	4

Imperatives

- There are two facts of primary interest in these data:
  - Case marked logical subjects do not occur with the imperative in a command structure (either embedded or main clause), they do occur with embedded Type B (non-command structure) imperatives.
  - Case-marked logical subjects must be raised.

Prohibitives

- Prohibitives are “negative imperatives”. Aikhenvald (2010: 165) notes that negative imperatives have different morphology and/or syntax from both negative declaratives and positive imperatives in many languages.
- There are a total of 194 examples of prohibitive constructions in the OCOJ.

Prohibitives

- There are 4 ways to create prohibitive structures: *na*-verb-*so*; *na*-verb-*sone*; final particle *na*; and prefix *na*, as shown below, listed by order of frequency in the OCOJ.

na-verb-*so*	*na-yuki-so*	75
final particle *na*	*yuku na*	64
na-verb-*sone*	*na-yuki-sone*	28
prefix *na*	*na-yuki*	27
TOTAL		**194**

Prohibitives

- Cross-linguistically, it is common for the logical subject of prohibitives, like imperatives, to be null.

inoti	*araba*	*apu*	*koto*	*mo*	*ara-mu*	*wa*	*ga*
life	exist	meet	thing	ETOP	exist-CONJ	I	GEN
yuwe	*ni*		*pada*		***na-omopi-so***		*inoti*
reason	COP		frequently		**PROH-think-PROH**		life
dani	*peba*						
RES	elapse						

'If we have life, we will meet. For me, **don't think** (of me) often - even if life passes (by).' (MYS.15.3745)

Prohibitives

- In OJ, however, it is more common for the logical subject to be overt in 3 of the 4 prohibitive constructions.
- Only the prohibitive formed by the particle *na* (and this is the sole prohibitive which survives into NJ) has more null logical subjects than overt ones.
- The total number of overt subjects for all prohibitive constructions is just slightly higher than null subjects.
- The logical subject is never case marked; it can be followed by the topic particles *mo* or *pa* or focus particle *ya*, but is most frequently not marked at all.

	null	overt	% overt	particles with LS
na-V-*so*	33	42	56%	30 Ø-marked 10 *pa* 1 *mo* 1 *ya*
na-V-*sone*	11	17	63%	17 Ø-marked
particle *na*	39	25	39%	20 Ø-marked 3 *pa* 2 *ya*
prefix *na*	12	15	56%	12 Ø-marked 2 *pa* 1 *mo*
Total	95	99	51%	79 Ø-marked 15 *pa* 3 *ya* 2 *mo*

Prohibitives

- The logical subject of a prohibitive is Ø-marked:

asamo	*yo-si*		*kwi*	pye	yuku	kimi	*ga*
morning.cloth	good-ACOP		Ki	ALL	go	lord	GEN
*matuti*yama	kwoyu	ramu	kyepu	*zo*	[ame]$_{LS}$		
Mt. Matuti	cross	CONJ	today	FOC	[rain]$_{LS}$		

na-puri-so*ne*
PROH-rain-PROH
'It is today that my lord, going to Ki, where the morning cloth is good, will probably cross Mt. Matuti. [Rain]$_{LS}$ **don't fall!**' (MYS.9.1680)

Prohibitives

- The logical subject of a prohibitive is topicalized with *pa*:

[*yasumisisi*	*wa*	*ga*	*opo-kimi*	*pa*]$_{LS}$	*ubenaubena*
[8.corner.ruler	I	GEN	PFX-lord	TOP]$_{LS}$	indeed
ware	*wo*	***twopa-su***	***na***	*akidusima*	*yamato*
I	ACC	**ask-RESP**	**PROH**	Akidu.island	Yamato
no	*kuni*	*ni*	*kari*	*kwo-mu*	*to*
GEN	country	DAT	goose	lay.egg-CONJ	COMP
ware	*pa*	*kika-zu*			
I	TOP	hear-NEG			

'[My great lord, ruler of the eight corners]$_{LS}$, indeed, **please do not ask** me! I have not heard that in Akidu island in the province of Yamato the goose has laid an egg.' (NSK.63)

Prohibitives

- The logical subject of a prohibitive is topicalized with *mo*:

yupubye	*ni*	*nareba*	*iza*	*neyo*	*to*
evening	DAT	become	INTJ	sleep.IMP	COMP
te	*wo*	*tadusapari*	[titipapa	*mo*]$_{LS}$	*upe*
hand	ACC	join.hands	[father.mother	ETOP]$_{LS}$	above
pa	***na-sagari***				
TOP	**PROH-go.down**				

'When it became evening, (we said) "now, go sleep!" and (our child) clasped his hands (and said), "[Father, mother]$_{LS}$, **don't leave** (me) up here!"' (MYS.5.904)

Prohibitives

- The logical subject of a prohibitive is focused with *ya*:

[daniwoti	*ya*]$_{LS}$	sika	mo	**na-ipi-so**		
[Daniwoti	FOC]$_{LS}$	thus	ETOP	**PROH-say-PROH**		
*satwo*wosa	*ga*	etukwi		pataraba	imasi	*mo*
village.leader	GEN	pay.tribute		levy	you	ETOP
naka-mu						
cry-CONJ						

'[Daniwoti]$_{LS}$, **don't talk** like that! If the village leader levies a tribute, you will cry.' (MYS.16.3847)

Optatives

- All languages have an imperative and a prohibitive (Sadock & Zwicky 1985), but not many have a dedicated optative; thus OJ, which has optatives as part of the inflectional system, is unusual.
- The optative is used to indicate the wish of a speaker for an event to occur, but, unlike the imperative, there is no expectation on the part of the speaker that the logical subject will perform the event or situation; the optative expresses a desire while the imperative expresses a command.

Optatives

- OJ has 3 inflectional optative forms depending on agreement with the logical subject, i.e., the entity the speaker wishes to do something.
- This is unusual, as it is the only inflection in OJ for which there is agreement between the verb and an argument.

Optatives

- There are three types of optatives in OJ, depending on whether the logical subject is 1st, 2nd, or 3rd person:

Optative *ana* 'I want to go./Let's go.'	*yukana*	61
Optative *ane* 'I want you to go.'	*yukane*	50
Optative *anamu/o* 'I want him/her/it to go.'	*yukanamu/yukanamo*	21
Total		**132**

Optatives

- An overt logical subject with optative -*ana*:

ya-ti-kusa	*no*	*pana*	*pa*	*uturopu*		*tokipa*
8-1000-grass	GEN	flower	TOP	change		eternal.rock
naru	*matu*	*no*	*sa-yeda*	*wo*	[*ware*	*pa*]$_{LS}$
COP	pine	GEN	PFX-branch	ACC	I	TOP]$_{LS}$

musubana
tie.OPT

'The flowers of the 8000 grasses will change. **I want** [me]$_{LS}$ **to tie** the branch of the pine tree, which is like the eternal rock.'
(MYS.20.4501)

Optatives

- An overt logical subject with optative -*ane*:

[*asipikwi*		*no*	*yama*		*tobi-kwoyuru*	*kari*	*ga*
[ashipiki		COP	mountain		fly-pass.over	geese	GEN
ne	*pa*]$_{LS}$	*miyakwo*		*ni*	*yukaba*	*imo*	
cry	TOP]$_{LS}$	capital		DAT	go	beloved	
ni	*apite*	***kone***					
DAT	meet	**come.OPT**					

'[Cries of the geese flying over the Ashipiki mountain]$_{LS}$, if you go to the capital, **I want** (you) **to meet** my beloved **and come back**.'
(MYS.15.3687)

Optatives

- An overt logical subject with optative -*anamu* ~ *anamo*:

ware	nomwi	si	kike*ba*	sabusi	*mo*	[pototogisu]$_{LS}$	nipu
I	RES	RES	hear	sad	ETOP	[cucko]$_{LS}$	Nipu
no	yamapye		*ni*	*i*-yuki		**naka*namo***	
COP	mountain.side		DAT	PFX-go		**sing.OPT**	

'When I hear it alone, I am saddened. **I want** [the cuckoo]$_{LS}$ **to sing** going to Nipu mountain side.' (MYS.19.4178)

Optatives

- As with the imperatives and prohibitives, the logical subject is often null for -*ana* and -*ane*, but not as frequently null for -*anamu* ~ -*anamo*. This may be because the logical subject of -*ana* and -*ane* is 1st person or 2nd person respectively, and recoverable from context, whereas the logical subject of -*anamu* ~ -*anamo* is a 3rd person referent and it may not always be clear from context who the referent is.
- The ratio of overt subjects in each type:

	null	overt	% overt	particles with LS
Optative *ana* 'I want to go./ Let's go.'	54	7	11%	2 Ø-marked 4 pa 1 *mo*
Optative *ane* 'I want you to go.'	28	22	44%	15 Ø-marked 4 *pa* 2 *si* 1 mo
Optative *anamu/o* 'I want him/her/it to go.'	8	13	62%	5 Ø-marked 5 *pa* 2 si mo 1 dani mo
Total	92	42	32%	22 Ø-marked 13 pa 2 mo 2 si 2 si mo 1 dani mo

Discussion: Subjects of imperatives

- In languages where imperatives are built on the 2nd person form of the verb, the verb would restrict any overt subject to be one with 2nd person features (i.e., you).
- 1st or 3rd person phrases would be vocatives, as in examples like:

[getting ready for a photo]
Boys, you stand on the left; **girls**, you stand on the right

Discussion: Subjects of imperatives

- In a study of imperative subjects, however, Zanuttini (2008) argues that overt subjects in examples like this are not vocatives:

[getting ready for a photo]

Tall people stand in the back, **shorter people** stand in the front!

Discussion: Subjects of imperatives

- Due to differences in the grammars of English and OJ, Zanuttini's arguments do not carry over directly to OJ. However, we can still argue that OJ mood clause subjects are not vocatives. The evidence is very direct – there is a vocative marker in OJ, and it appears exactly once in all the mood constructions, repeated here:

tukur-eru	ipye	*ni*	*ti-yo*	*madeni*	
make-STAT	house	DAT	1000-generations	RES	
ki-mase		[opo-kimi	*yo*]$_{LS}$	ware	*mo*
come-RESP.IMP		[PFX-lord	VOC]$_{LS}$	I	ETOP
kaywopa-*mu*					
return-CONJ					

'**Come** to the home that was built for 1000 generations, [my lord]$_{LS}$!
I will also return.' (MYS.1.79)

Discussion: Subjects of imperatives

- What is significant is that this is the only instance of vocative marking on any of the overt subjects in our examples. We would surely expect to find many more examples of overt subjects marked with the overt vocative marker *yo* if they were indeed vocative phrases.
- There are also quite a few examples of imperatives with right-dislocated subjects, 48 out of 264 imperatives, which might favour vocative marking, but only this one example has the vocative marking.

Discussion: Semantics of mood clauses

- One approach to the meaning of imperatives is the "Semantic Type View" as described in Zanuttini et al. (2012) and Portner (2012).
- This view takes an imperative to be formally interpreted as a property, an instruction on a To-Do List, and the subject of the imperative is the one whose To-Do List is at issue. So if "Close the door" is directed to John, then John's To-Do List gets the instruction on it; it is on his list of things to do.
- An advantage of this approach is that there can be lists of different types, and this immediately allows an account of the different "forces" that imperatives can have, as well as extending easily to prohibitives and optatives.

Discussion: Semantics of mood clauses

- A prohibitive can straightforwardly be interpreted with respect to a “Don’t-Do” list.
- For an optative, there is no expectation that the logical subject can or will bring about the action. Hence we can wish the clouds to part to reveal the sun, but we cannot order them to. An optative, then, involves a semantic “Wish list”.

Discussion: Overt Subjects

- As we have noted above, imperatives show a considerable proportion of overtly expressed subjects: of 264 imperative clauses (main and subordinate), 104 have an overt subject.
- This ratio of approximately 40% overt subjects appears to be consistent with other clause-types in OJ.
- As a comparison, we consider exclamative clauses, which are probably the closest comparison clauses for imperatives: both types are typically used as main clauses, both are non-declaratives, and both express some desire, affect, or emotion on the part of the speaker.

Discussion: Overt Subjects

- Exclamative example:

sasu	take		no	*yo*		gomorite	
grow	bamboo		GEN	section		be.secluded	
are		wa	ga	sekwo	ga	wa-gari	si
exist.IMP		I	GEN	beloved	GEN	I-SFX	RES
kozupa		[ware]$_{LS}$		**kwopwi-me**			
come.NEG		[I]$_{LS}$		**yearn-CONJ.EXCL**			
ya	mo						
FOC	ETOP						

'Be secluded like a section of growing bamboo! If my beloved does not come to me, **would** [I]$_{LS}$ **yearn** so much?' (MYS.11.2773)

Discussion: Overt Subjects

- The OCOJ shows 611 exclamatives, of which 247 have overt subjects. So this is a ratio of just about 40% overt subjects, once again.

Discussion: Case marking

- Another surprising aspect of the syntax of all the mood clauses is that there are no examples of overt subjects which are case marked.
- Overt subjects may appear as bare NPs, or be marked by various kinds of discourse or emphasis markers, but none have the grammatical case that one would expect to find on subjects, which is actually Genitive in OJ.
- In OJ, Genitive case is found on overt subjects of most clause types, primarily those which are subordinate or non-declarative (Frellesvig 2010, 127).

Discussion: Case marking

- If we look in the corpus, at least some instances of Genitive subjects are found with every inflectional form of the predicate, with the exception of the 3 mood types we discuss here. Again using exclamatives as a comparison, 59 out of 247 overt exclamative subjects are case marked (24%) – roughly 1 in 4.
- However, in our three mood types, the ratios of case marked to overt subjects are as follows:

  Imperative: 0/104

  Prohibitive: 0/99

  Optative: 0/42

Discussion: Case marking

- Nevertheless, as can be seen from the following chart, there are plenty of overt subjects which should have the potential to be case-marked:

	null	overt	% overt
Imperative	**160**	**104**	**40%**
Prohibitive *na*-V-*so*	33	42	56%
Prohibitive *na*-V-*sone*	11	17	56%
Prohibitive particle *na*	39	25	39%
Prohibitive prefix *na-*	12	15	56%
Prohibitive Total	**95**	**99**	**51%**
Optative -*ana*	54	7	11%
Optative -*ane*	28	22	44%
Optative -*anamu/o*	8	13	62%
Optative Total	**92**	**42**	**32%**

Discussion: Case marking

- So there is certainly something to explain about why mood clauses do not show case-marked subjects. There must be a reason why subjects are never case marked in these clause-types.
- One consequence of the Semantic Type view described above is that the subject of an imperative picks out the individual whose list is to be updated with a new instruction.
- The imperative clause does not have a canonical subject-predicate relationship.

Discussion: Case marking

- It is possible that the lack of subject case marking with mood-marked predicates is a reflex of this non-canonical relationship – the subject picks out the one(s) whose To-Do list (or other list) is to be updated, and the rest of the clause specifies the update.
- It should be stressed that all other expected case marking (Accusative, Dative, oblique markers) is found in all three types of mood clause in OJ, so there is nothing otherwise unusual about the grammar of these clauses.

Conclusion

- We have shown here that mood constructions in OJ have the following notable properties:
    a. Imperatives allow overt subjects.
    b. Imperatives may be embedded.
    c. Prohibitives allow overt subjects.
    d. These overt subjects are not vocatives.
    e. OJ has a set of dedicated optative forms.

Conclusion

- All mood forms allow overt subjects, but these subjects are never case-marked as regular clausal subjects (in contrast to subjects of every other form of the predicate). These aspects of OJ syntax are quite unusual.
- In the development from OJ to NJ, the optative forms were replaced by other optative forms in EMJ (Frellesvig 2010), and then disappeared. NJ has a 'desiderative' form, which is formally unrelated to these earlier optative forms. The imperative and the prohibitive with post-verbal *na* remain in NJ. The other prohibitive forms have been lost.

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