Commands in Turkish Sign Language

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Abstract: This paper focuses on the properties of command constructions in Turkish Sign Language (TİD). The nature and function of nonmanual markers as well as the manual signs in command constructions in TİD are investigated to determine the prosodic, morphological and morphophonological properties of TİD commands. Cross-linguistically, the verb signs in command constructions have been observed to be tenser and more abrupt than their counterparts in declarative constructions. Morphologically some sign languages have been noted to exhibit agreement reduction in the marking of addressee-agreement in verbs. Among the properties commonly observed in command constructions of a number of sign languages is the manual sign 'PALM UP' occurring utterance finally. The paper provides a detailed linguistic description of the TİD command construction.*

Key words: command, manuals, nonmanuals, Turkish Sign Language

1. Introduction

The imperative form, along with declaratives, interrogatives and exclamatives, is one of the fundamental sentence types in languages. Research on spoken and sign languages have identified common properties of constructions that have been considered as imperatives. These include reduction on verbal morphology, restrictions on the overt expression of subjects, marked word order, requirement for a special construction such as subjunctives in negative imperatives, impossibility of embedding, special intonation, and possibility of occurring with a declarative for

expressing a conditional (Iatridou 2008, Portner 2007, von Fintel & Iatridou 2010, Donati et al. in press).

Even though the most common function of imperative constructions is command, imperatives express other functions such as instructions, suggestions, invitations, permissions and directives, as well. Conversely, the function 'command' is expressed not only in the form of imperatives but also other construction types such as questions and declaratives with modals.

For the object of our study, we focus on the most canonical function of imperatives, namely, commands in Turkish Sign Language (TİD), and investigate whether command constructions display any of the properties of imperatives that have been observed cross-linguistically.[1]

While imperatives in spoken languages have been analyzed in some typological (Aikhenvald 2012) and theoretical studies (Iatridou 2008, von Fintel & Iatridou 2012, Portner 2004, Han 2000, Zanuttini 2008), very little is known about such constructions in sign languages (Cecchetto 2012 is one of the few publications which analyzes imperative constructions in sign languages). Nevertheless, recent research on the construction has revealed a number of cross-linguistic and language particular features of imperative constructions in individual sign languages as well (Donati et al., in press). Among the (morpho-)syntactic properties listed as being distinctive of imperative/command constructions in sign languages are the absence of subject pronoun (LSC, NSL), the possibility of occurrence of third person subjects (LSF), the absence of subject agreement on the agreeing verbs, and the change in VO/OV order (LSC) as well as the special negative forms of the command constructions (NSL, LIS). Moreover, the following non-manual markers have been reported to mark commands: intensity of the movement of the verb (LSC), body lean, repetition and directionality of the verb signs (PJM), a number of head-related non-manuals such as head nod (TİD, NSL), furrowed brows (LSC, LIS, PJM), raised brows (LSF), and raised chin (PJM).[2] Also commonly, but not exclusively, an utterance final manual sign such as PALM-UP has been observed in the command constructions of a number of sign languages such as NGT (Maier et al. 2013).[3]

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[1] Throughout the paper, we will mostly refrain from calling the construction of our investigation as imperative, and refer to it as the command construction, except when we discuss the morphological properties of the construction and contrast it with declaratives.

[2] See Alba et al. (2013) for LSC, Schröder et al. (2013) for NSL, Brynjólfsdóttir & Jónsson (2013) for ÍTM, Zeshan (2003), Açan (2007) and Özsoy et al. (2013) for TİD. Rutkowski (2013) notes that there is no single form dedicated to imperative but a number of optional strategies to mark imperative in PJM. Schröder et al. (2013) and Zeshan (2003) take head nod as an imperative marker. Also see Donati et al. (in press) for a detailed discussion of imperatives in LIS, LSC, LSF.

[3] Donati et al. (in press) discuss such manual signs in three sign languages: B-INDEX and MOVIMP, with different functions in LIS; MOVIMP$_G$ (for commands) and MOVIMP$_B$ (for all other imperatives but commands) in LSF; particles in IX-handshape (for commands) and B-handshape (polite request) in LSC. Schröder et al. (2013) report that manual

Our investigations have revealed that TİD does not possess a manual marker such as PALM-UP that marks the construction as a command. However, we have observed that command constructions in TİD share certain properties with other sign languages: tense signing of the verb, single HEAD-TILT articulated simultaneously with the plain verb, eye gaze directed towards the addressee, furrowed brows and HEAD-TILT which follows the agreement path in the production of agreement verbs. Further, we have also observed that TİD commands may exhibit absence of the 2nd person subject pronoun while it is licensed utterance-finally. However, we note that the absence of the 2nd person subject pronoun is not particular to the command constructions in TİD. As a pro-drop language, TİD also licenses the subjects in other constructions to be phonologically null (Sevinç 2006: 21–26).

The organization of the paper is as follows. In Section 2, we describe our methodology. In Sections 3 and 4 we discuss potential manual and non-manual markers of commands in TİD. In Section 5 we search for the clues of the imperative form, focusing on the morpho(phono)logical properties of verbs in commands. We investigate whether verbs in this type of construction display reduction in aspectual or agreement morphology. In Section 6 we turn to syntactic properties of commands and discuss presence/absence of subject pronouns and negative imperatives. Section 7 summarizes our findings and concludes the paper.

2. Methodology
2.1. Informant profile

The data analyzed in this study were elicited from a total of 20 fluent deaf signers (6 male and 14 female) of TİD (3 of which were born to deaf parents), and one bilingual hard of hearing interpreter (aged 25) of the project. At the time of recording the informants were aged between 19–55. All informants attended schools for the deaf, and their educational levels range from primary school to university. They are located in Istanbul and are actively involved in the deaf community.

2.2. Data collection procedure

In the data elicitation sessions, the signers sat facing each other and interacted. The interpreter pre-recorded the instruction videos of the elicitation tasks and monitored the recording sessions. The stimuli were presented either on a laptop computer or with the help of other materials (e.g., pictures, maps, recipes) all of which were located on a small table positioned between the two signers. For the present study we made use of three HD camcorders (Sony HDR-PJ10, recording resolution display 1920 × 1080 interlaced), two capturing the frontal views of the signers, and the third camera capturing side views of both of the signers. All of the recordings took place at the linguistics laboratory of Boğaziçi University. The total

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articulators of positive imperatives in NSL are observed to have "two B-handforms with palms down and orientation out."

length of footage recorded for the purposes of this study is approximately 6 hours. The video data used in the present study were edited via Adobe CS5 Premiere Pro and Adobe Media Encoder and transcribed/annotated by a hard of hearing (Turkish-TİD bilingual) interpreter of the TÜBİTAK project 111K314.[4]

2.3. Data elicitation tasks

We made use of tasks with varying degrees of structuring, aimed at eliciting (semi-)controlled data. Some of the tasks were (i) responding to different situations described and pre-recorded by the TİD interpreter to elicit affirmative/negative commands, recommendations, etc., (ii) responding to pictographic stimuli that imply positive or negative obligations with commands, (iii) giving directions on the map and (iv) using construction identification tasks designed to investigate the aspectual properties of the imperative constructions. The procedure of the last set of tasks is described in detail in Section 5.1.

3. PALM-UP

In many sign languages, PALM UP has been observed to be a distinctive feature of the command (or the imperative) construction, functioning as a construction marking particle. In TİD PALM UP is a sign/gesture formed with an open flat hand with the palm facing upwards. It follows the verb and occurs in utterance-final position. It can be cliticized to the verb it follows or it can be articulated as a free sign with a considerable break (pause) after the verb. In the latter case, the utterance ends with a single forward HEAD-TILT and an optional eye blink on the verb. The HEAD-TILT is articulated simultaneously with the production of PALM UP in these instances. (1) is an instance of PALM UP following the verb.

(1) a.

b.   IX2   WHY   EAT^

---

a. (continued)

                                                 __ht

b. (continued)   NOT   EAT   PALM-UP[5]
       'Why don't you eat? Eat!'

With respect to its articulatory properties, PALM UP is more commonly signed with one hand but instances in which both hands are used are also observed. In most cases, this is due to assimilation with the previous double-handed sign. We have observed the following variations of PALM UP in TİD:

    i)   a one-handed verb can be followed by a one-handed PALM UP,
    ii) a two-handed verb can be followed by two-handed PALM UP,
    iii) a two-handed verb can be followed by a one-handed PALM UP.

PALM UP can also partially assimilate in location and hand-shape to the previous verb sign but this is not consistent.

    We, however, hold that PALM UP is not a distinctive feature of the command construction in TİD, but carries more of a pragmatic function than a syntactic one of marking the clause type. For one, it has not been observed consistently across informants. Also, even a single informant was not consistent in signing PALM UP in all occurrences of command, but produced it mainly to convey impatience with the addressee or strong obligation on the part of the addressee to carry out the action of the command. Maier et al. (2013) point out that in NGT, PALM-UP resembles co-speech gestures and consider it to be a discourse particle rather than a linguistic sign. We propose that PALM UP in commands in TİD has a function similar to PALM UP in NGT, i.e. it is not a construction-marking particle but possibly a co-speech gesture, reflecting the emotional state of the signer. In conclusion, we hold that PALM UP is not a manual sign that exclusively marks

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[5] We follow the general convention in transcribing sign languages. Lexemes are represented by capital letters. The nonmanuals are represented above the lexeme with which they co-occur. The domain of the spreading of the nonmanual is represented by a line that has the abbreviation of the nonmanual at the right edge of the domain. The list of abbreviations and conventions used in the paper is given in the appendix.

commands/imperatives in TİD.

4. Non-Manual Markers of Commands

In addition to brow position (furrowed brows and/or eyebrow raise) illustrated in (2) below, the two non-manual markers associated with TİD commands, are squint and HEAD-TILT. Of these, eyebrow raise has also been noted by Açan (2007: 223).

(2) a.

	ht
b. BALL	PLAY

    'Play ball!'

With respect to the head-related non-manual marker—labeled as 'head nod', 'inclined head' and 'forward head lean' reported for other sign languages (NGT: Maier et al. 2013; LIS: Bonifacio et al. 2011)—TİD commands are formed with a single (forward/sideward) HEAD-TILT which is co-articulated with the verb and with eye gaze directed towards the addressee.[6]

We have noted that one significant property of single HEAD-TILT in commands is that its direction is conditioned by the category of the verb. In commands—as well as instructions and suggestions—with agreement verbs, in contrast with plain verbs, the HEAD-TILT which is co-articulated with the verb parallels the direction of the movement of the hand towards the goal/theme arguments. In this, HEAD-TILT in command constructions differs from HEAD-TILT in declarative constructions as is illustrated in the contrast between (3) and (4), respectively.

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[6] We label this non-manual marker as HEAD-TILT rather than head-thrust or head-nod (cf. Zeshan 2003: 53–54). Given the forward or sideward nature of the head movement as discussed in the text, we hold that the term HEAD-TILT better captures the nature of the nonmanual.

(3) a.

_____ht

b.   IX3   LOAN   TAKE
       'Let him borrow some money.'

(4) a.

b.   IX2   LOAN   TAKE
       'You borrowed some money.'

In (3) (command) but not in (4) (declarative), HEAD-TILT parallels the direction of the hand movement expressing the agreeing verb (final picture).

We take the contrast between (3) and (4) as evidence that single HEAD-TILT exhibits properties unique to command constructions (and possibly in imperatives, in general) in TİD. The head is forward with plain verbs as observed in (1), but sideward with agreeing verbs. In contrast, no sideward HEAD-TILT occurs with agreeing verbs in declaratives.

Another distinctive property of HEAD-TILT is that its intensity shows gradation across different functions. It is most abrupt in commands, with gradual relaxation of intensity/abruptness from commands to instructions/suggestions.

Based on the fact that HEAD-TILT has been observed consistently across informants and (almost) every informant was consistent in producing HEAD-TILT in all occurrences of command, we hold that the nature of the HEAD-TILT (forward for plain verbs and sideward for the agreement verbs) is closely related to the properties of the command constructions and that HEAD-TILT is the main distinctive nonmanual marker of commands in TİD.

5. Morphological Properties of Verbs in Commands: Is There Reduction in Verbal Morphology?

Cross-linguistically, imperative constructions have been associated with a number of morphological properties. Among these are the reduced or special verbal inflec-

tions observed in better-studied spoken languages and the intensity and abruptness of the manual sign in sign languages. Therefore the description of the command construction in the language under investigation needs to specify whether the construction exhibits either or both of these properties.

5.1. Perfective vs. imperative form

It is well established that aspectual notions such as perfective-imperfective (and their sub-notions) are expressed manually and non-manually in sign languages. With respect to the cross-linguistic distinction between the perfective and imperfective aspects, the verb with the perfective aspect is generally produced with more intensity and abruptness of the manual sign than the corresponding imperfective form. It is also well reported that in sign languages verbs are signed with more intensity and abruptness in commands (see the references in footnote 3). Cases where aspectual differences are expressed in manual signs therefore present a testing ground for the identification of the command constructions. In other words, a complete description of the command construction in TİD would have to specify whether TİD distinguishes verbs in commands versus declaratives manually with respect to reduced duration or special verbal inflection. We therefore tested two parameters of reduction in verbal signs—intensity and abruptness of the movement of the hand as well as the number of repetitions in verb signs involving repetition of the hand movement—to see if signers respond to both, or either, of the parameters.

Crucial for the marking of aspect in verbs, TİD distinguishes between the perfective and imperfective forms of the verb in declaratives by means of the intensity and abruptness of the manual sign. The perfective form is shorter and tenser than the imperfective with the imperfective being signed with relatively longer duration and repetitive head nods (Zeshan 2003: 49–55, Kubuş 2008: 75–76).[7] Thus, the description of TİD commands has to clearly state whether TİD signers can distinguish between the verb in a command construction and its counterpart in a perfective declarative construction. Therefore to determine whether (i) the two verb forms are morphologically distinguished manually, or (ii) signers identify commands (as opposed to declaratives) by other means such as non-manual markers or simply by context, a construction identification task was designed. Within the assumption that statements are expressed in a declarative and commands in different clause types, signers were tested to see whether they could identify the two types of utterance—commands vs. statements—without the help of a context.

The task was designed and applied in two stages: (i) Pre-recording of the test items, and (ii) a construction identification task. In the first stage, the sentences including two agents (second person subject and third person object) and five

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[7] With respect to aspectual marking in TİD verbs, Kubuş (2008: 74) distinguishes between completive and continuative aspects. Zeshan (2002: 256–257), Dikyuva and Zeshan (2008: 113–114) and more recently Dikyuva (2011: 46–51) distinguish between completive continuative and inceptive aspects.

agreement verbs (each) namely TAKE, SHOW, PAY, ASK and GIVE were signed by the interpreter in their perfective (past), imperfective (future) and imperative forms, and were recorded. The items were scrambled randomly, and numbered in a particular way to be identified by the researchers. In the construction identification stage 10 fluent signers of TİD (3 male, 7 female) were asked to identify the command when they watched the videos of scrambled items. Care was taken not to use any written material in administering the task. Each of the informants was given a card on which there was an exclamation sign (!). The informants were asked to raise the sign anytime they thought the sentence on the video expressed a command. The participants were allowed to watch the videos as many times as they wished. The responses were recorded both via camcorders and by the researcher present during the recording session. The results of this task are summarized in Table 1 below:

Table 1.   Results of the construction identification task

Response as: Input:	Command	Declarative-Perfective/Completive	Declarative-Imperfective
Command	72%	28%	0%
Declarative perfective/completive	52%	48%	N/A
Declarative imperfective	44%	N/A	56%

As a follow-up to this study, the informants were asked the question whether the so-called inflectional reduction could be observed more clearly with the verbs whose lexical features include repetition. Our hypothesis was that if repetition is a lexical feature of a verb, then we would expect it to be articulated with repetition in perfective declaratives but with reduced repetition in imperatives. It has been observed that sign languages distinguish telic versus atelic verbs phonologically (Wilbur 2010); namely, while atelic verbs are articulated with repetition of movement, telic verbs are articulated with a single movement. While it may be hard to distinguish the perfective and the imperfective forms of telic verbs, we hypothesized that a potential reduction may be easier to detect with atelic verbs. Simply put, the question we asked was "Is there a reduction in the number of repetitions of movement in atelic verbs in command constructions, as compared to their perfective declarative counterparts?"

A verb such as CRY is considered to be an atelic verb in TİD. It exhibits inherent repetition of movement twice which corresponds to the atelicity of the action. The dominant hand in V-handshape is moved on the vertical plane twice in front of the glabella, as depicted in (5) below:

(5) a.

b.   BABY   CRY
    'The baby is crying.'

A verb such as BREAK, however, is telic and is articulated with a single movement, as shown in (6) below:
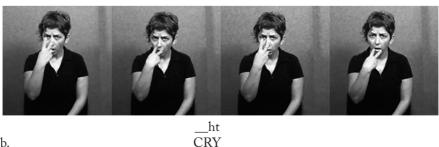
(6) a.

b.   GIRL   PEN   BREAK
    'The girl broke the pen.'

Now, consider the following example of command with CRY, an atelic verb. Contrary to expectations, no reduction in the number of repetitions of movement in the articulation of the verb was observed.

(7) a.

                          __ht
b.   CRY
   'Cry!'

The only observable difference we noted was that verbs in commands are signed with a higher degree of intensity and with a shorter duration than their cor-

responding declarative counterparts without any change in the number of repetitions. Thus, we conclude that repetition of movement, which expresses a lexical aspectual feature such as telicity, is not subject to inflectional reduction in commands.

To summarize, both the perfective and the imperative forms of verbs in TİD are articulated with intensity and abruptness. Given the results of the construction identification task, we conclude that even if there is a difference between the degrees of intensity and abruptness in perfective and imperative forms of verbs in TİD, the difference is not sufficiently perceivable to distinguish them. TİD may employ other means to distinguish commands from declaratives such as nonmanual markers and context.

In the next section we turn to another potential case of reduction in commands, i.e. reduction in agreement morphology.

5.2. Agreement

With respect to the reduced or special verbal inflection, Iatridou (2008) has shown that the verb in an imperative construction can appear in the root, infinitival or participial form. Based on this robust cross-linguistic fact, as a null hypothesis, inflectional reduction on the verb can be expected in sign languages as well (see Zhang 1990; Mauck 2005 as cited in Donati & Branchini 2012).

TİD is considered to be an SOV language (Sevinç 2006, Açan 2007, Gökgöz & Arık 2011: 66) and, similar to other sign languages, exhibits morphological agreement with double and single agreement verbs. To determine whether reduction can be observed in commands in TİD, agreement verbs in which the two arguments of the verb are marked via location specifications in the signing space were tested. This group of verbs includes items such as GIVE, TAKE, PAY, and SHOW.

Significantly, we have observed that agreement with the 2nd person subject is possible in commands in cases where the direction of the HEAD-TILT parallels the direction of the movement path of the sign in the course of the signing of the agreement verb. (8) below illustrates this:

(8) a.

b.   IX2 $_2$DEBT^PAY$_3$ ‾‾‾‾‾‾ht
         'Pay your debt!'

Furthermore, the reduction of the 2nd person subject was more commonly observed in commands than in declaratives, as will be discussed in depth in the next section. Crucially, in all of these cases the eye gaze of the signer was necessarily directed towards the addressee. However, as a word of caution, we note that since subject agreement is not obligatory even in declaratives in TİD, the absence of agreement with the 2nd person subject should at this point be taken as a tendency rather than a distinctive marker of the command construction in TİD.[8]

6. Syntactic Properties of Command Constructions

In this section we discuss three syntactic phenomena regarding the command constructions in TİD in the context of the question whether they are distinctive properties of the command form. The three syntactic phenomena we focus on are (i) the presence/absence of subject pronouns in TİD commands, (ii) properties of negative commands, and (iii) the description of our investigation of a cross-linguistic phenomenon that has been proposed as a litmus test to show whether a particular construction is imperative.

6.1. Subject pronouns

The literature on spoken languages has shown that if a particular language allows for the occurrence of overt subjects in the imperatives, these can only be overt 2nd person pronouns, bare noun phrases (proper names and bare nouns) and certain quantificational subjects (cf. Donati & Branchini 2012). Moreover, Portner (2007: 361) states that in a particular function of the imperative (i.e. command) only the 2nd person pronoun is possible as an overt subject. As for sign languages Valli & Lucas (1992: 142–143) have reported that in ASL imperatives the subject is often omitted or it follows the verbs. Likewise in NGT the subject is deleted in imperative constructions (Maier et al. 2013).

TİD signers we have consulted have had a tendency to drop the 2nd person subject pronoun in utterance initial position but preferred to produce it in utterance final position, if at all. As we mentioned earlier, since TİD has been argued to be a pro-drop language (Sevinç 2006: 63–64), we refrain from claiming the absence of the 2nd person subject pronoun in utterance initial position to be a syntactic property unique to the command construction. Moreover, a possible but less frequent occurrence of subject doubling was also reported by the informants.
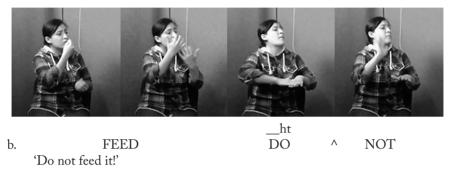
6.2. Negative commands

In a large number of spoken languages, negative forms of the imperatives significantly differ from their declarative counterparts, e.g., in many languages imperatives cannot be negated, instead subjunctive or infinitive forms are used

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[8]   Carlo Geraci, (p.c.) suggested that if the imperative construction in a sign language does not allow subject reduction at all with double agreement verbs, it might be because agreement in that language is semantically motivated rather than syntactically. For an elaborate discussion on how agreement in sign languages is motivated, see Meir (1998).

(Iatridou 2008). In our TİD data we have observed that negation of verbs in command constructions does not differ from the negative forms of the verbs in the corresponding declarative sentences. This holds true for both simplex and complex predicates.[9] In the command forms of both types of predicates, negation is associated with the verbal element. See the figure below:

(9) a.


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                                    __ht
 b.              FEED                DO      ^     NOT
     'Do not feed it!'
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(9) illustrates that the negative form of complex predicates are formed by the cliticization of the negative sign to the verb DO. An alternate construction would be an example like (10) in which negation follows the simple verb *feed*.

(10) FEED^NOT
     'Do not feed it !'

Given that negation of verbs in command constructions does not differ from the negative forms of the verbs in the corresponding declarative sentences, we conclude that negation does not provide sufficient evidence for the presence of an imperative construction in TİD in the sense of Iatridou (2008).

The next section presents a discussion of a special linguistic context which has been proposed by von Fintel and Iatridou (2012) to conclusively provide evidence with respect to whether a language possesses imperatives.

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[9] Complex predicates in TİD are formed by the sign of the lexical verb and the sign for DO which functions as the AUX element bearing the functional categories aspect and agreement. Regarding the forms with the negative auxiliary (VERB DO^NOT) in commands, no restrictions with respect to verb categories, plain or agreement verbs, were observed in the data. The complex predicate VERB DO^NOT seems to occur freely in negative commands. Further, although the affirmative counterparts of the negative auxiliary (e.g., "Do break!") have not been encountered in the data, it has been reported as possible by our informants.

6.3.   Does TİD have imperatives?

Von Fintel and Iatridou (2012) show that in a number of languages, when an imperative is followed by a declarative, as in the following example, the entire sentence is interpreted as a conditional. They call such constructions "Imperative and Declarative" IaD for short.

(11)   Continue watching TV and you will not get any dessert.

In (11) above, the first conjunct of the complex sentence is in the form of an imperative, but it does not convey any of the canonical functions of an imperative. Crucially, it is not a command. Rather, semantically it expresses the antecedent of a conditional. So, (11) can be paraphrased as "If you continue watching TV, you will not get any dessert."

    Von Fintel and Iatridou (2012) argue that if a construction cannot occur in an IaD construction, then it is not an imperative. In order to determine whether TİD has imperatives in the sense of von Fintel and Iatridou, we designed a task to test whether IaD structures are part of TİD. The data elicitation procedure consisted of two stages: (i) Pre-recording of stimuli, and (ii) grammaticality judgments of these test items. In the first stage, two fluent signers of TİD acted out 10 dialogues, such as a conversation between a mother and a child or a teacher and a student. In these conversations there are situations where one of the participants performs an act which is against a rule or a requirement, and the second participant is asked to warn the first one by making use of an IaD construction. The conversations acted out by two fluent signers were recorded to be used as stimuli items. One of the scenarios we used in the task is given below in (12):

(12)
Situation: A conversation between a student and a teacher

Context: The student always has a fight with his friends. The teacher regularly warns the student and punishes him/her. However the student continues to fight. Seeing that, the teacher gets very angry, she/he calls the student and says the following:

Stimulus sentence in the form of an IaD:

YOUR FRIENDS ONE MORE TIME FIGHT, I YOUR PARENTS CALL!
'Fight with your friends one more time, I will call your parents!'

In the second stage, 10 such pre-recorded scenarios were shown to 8 fluent signers of TİD who were asked to judge the grammaticality of the final utterance of the conversations which included the IaD structure. During the grammaticality judgment task, each of the signers was asked by the interpreter to comment on the naturalness of the sentences, whether there are any other possible ways to react to the same scenarios, whether a PALM UP particle can be inserted after the com-

mand part of the sentences, and how the sentences are interpreted. With respect to whether it is possible to use PALM UP following the imperative part of the IaD structures, the informants unanimously stated that it is not. This is contrary to predictions since, as stated earlier, PALM UP is optionally available in commands in TİD. Donati et al. (in press) also maintain that in LIS, which is argued to possess IaD constructions, PALM UPs can occur after the command component of these constructions. Moreover, our informants reported that they preferred to use conditional sentences instead of the IaD structures. We also compared the nonmanuals used in conditional sentences and those of the command part of the IaD constructions (raised brows, body lean forward, single HEAD-TILT) in the pre-recorded scenarios. These were observed to be similar.[10] Our findings led us to the conclusion that TİD does not prefer to have IaD type constructions. Instead it prefers conditional constructions.

To summarize, no conclusive evidence was found for the existence of imperative constructions in TİD. Further research on the inflectional properties of verbs in perfective declarative and commands (regarding both manual signs and nonmanual markers) and other syntactic properties associated with imperative constructions will shed more light on the issue.

7. Conclusion

To recapitulate, in this paper focusing on the data elicited from 11 fluent signers of TİD, we attempted to provide a preliminary linguistic description of the command constructions. As shown in Sections 4 and 5.1, intensity of the verb sign and HEAD-TILT appear to be the salient morpho-phonological properties of commands in TİD. Furthermore, in command constructions addressee agreement tends to be dropped whereas agreement with the other arguments of the verb such as goal or theme is not reduced at all. Also the 2nd person subject can optionally occur in either utterance-initial, or utterance-final positions, or can possibly be duplicated. PALM-UP, which has been listed as an obligatory element in other sign languages, does not have a syntactic function in TİD. Furthermore, it was discussed that in TİD, both lexical verbs and complex predicates mark their negation in a similar manner on the verbal element. This raises the issue of the nature of the signs that function both as lexical verbal head and also as the element that does not bear the inflectional properties of a canonical predicate in complex predicates. Lastly, it is also argued that TİD may not have imperative constructions, at least in the sense of von Fintel and Iatridou (2012).

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[10] Such similarity may show that the informants in the first stage (recording) produced conditional sentences instead of IaD constructions, as the nonmanuals found on the first part (imperative) of these constructions were absent in their bare forms. It is likely that such nonmanuals express a conditional operator.

Abbreviations & Conventions

2	Hearer
3	Non-participant
AUX	Auxiliary
ht	HEAD-TILT
IaD	Imperative and Declarative
IX	Index
SL	Sign language
^	Cliticization

ASL	American Sign Language	
ÍTM	Icelandic Sign Language	*Íslenskt táknmál*
LIS	Italian Sign Language	*Lingua Italiana dei Segni*
LSC	Catalan Sign Language	*Llengua de Signes Catalana*
LSF	French Sign Language	*Langue des Signes Française*
NGT	Sign Language of the Netherlands	*Nederlandse Gebarentaal*
NSL	Norwegian Sign Language	*Norsk tegnspråk/NTS*
PJM	Polish Sign Language	*Polski Język Migowy*
TİD	Turkish Sign Language	*Türk İşaret Dili*

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【要　旨】

トルコ手話における命令

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　本稿はトルコ手話（TİD）における命令構文の特徴を扱う。命令構文の超分節的，形態論的，形態音韻論的特徴を明らかにするため，命令構文に見られる手指要素および非手指要素の性質や機能を検討する。通言語的な観察から，命令構文の動詞サインは，対応する陳述的構文における動詞サインに較べ，より緊張し急激な状態で現れることが，すでに知られている。また，形態論的レベルにおいては，受け手一致動詞（addressee-agreement verb）における一致要素の省略が，いくつかの手話言語で見られること，さらに，多くの手話言語において，発話の最後に現れる PALM-UP の手形が，命令構文で見られることが知られている。本稿では，これらの知見を踏まえつつ，トルコ手話の命令構文の詳細な記述を提供する。