A Reanalysis of the Biloxi Causative*

JOHN KOONTZ

1. Introduction. Biloxi is the best documented of the several Southeastern Siouan languages. The only others with any degree of documentation are Ofo and Tutelo.¹ For Biloxi, the principal source of information is Dorsey & Swanton 1912, a dictionary and text collection prepared for publication by John R. Swanton using material originally collected by James O. Dorsey.² Recently the Dorsey & Swanton dictionary and texts have been analyzed by Paula Einaudi, to produce a grammar (Einaudi 1976; reviewed in Rankin 1986). The present paper is a revision of Einaudi's analysis of the Biloxi morphological causative, based on a critical re-examination of the data in Dorsey & Swanton.

Before proceeding, it is necessary to say something about Biloxi orthography. The Biloxi of the Dorsey & Swanton dictionary is in a phonetic transcription which is Swanton's modification and in some instances mutilation of Dorsey's usage in his fieldnotes. Neither the original nor its modification were on modern principles. Representation of vowel nasalization and stop aspiration, for example, were variable and context dependent. In addition, Dorsey's background as an English speaker resulted at least occasionally in difficulty in distinguishing aspirate and inaspirate stops, and simultaneously inclined him to overdifferentiate vowels.

Einaudi elected to normalize stop and vowel transcriptions largely by eliminating diacritics (1976:14-24). It has since been shown by Rankin (1982) that the somewhat variable opposition of aspirate vs. inaspirate recorded by Dorsey and suppressed by Einaudi was probably contrastive, though it is not always easy to determine the proper status of a particular graph. In addition, comparative evidence sometimes also suggests that normalizing the vowels by eliminating the diacritics does not always produce an accurate mapping of graphs onto phonemes.³ In the examples cited below Einaudi's normalization is the basis of the orthography is used, but aspiration is restored where there is evidence of it, and vowels may be revised judgmentally. All examples are attributed to their immediate source to facilitate retrieval of the originals.

Nasality is also a problem in Biloxi, as in other Siouan languages. Einaudi elected to convert some of Dorsey & Swanton's varied representations of vowel nasalization to vowels accompanied by a nasal hook diacritic (Y), but retained other representations as in-line n graphs (Vn), apparently in those cases where Dorsey used in-line n before a dental stop to represent nasality (Einaudi 1976:21-22). In the interests of consistency and convenience, the in-line n is used consistently below in the environments v_c and #_c, while superscript n is used elsewhere: thus, VnC and #nC, but VnV and Vn#.

In so doing, two aspects of Biloxi nasalization are somewhat concealed. First, some morphemes begin with a floating nasalization, as morpheme boundaries will show. This floating nasalization is now represented segmentally, as an initial n, even though in many cases it was realized in pronunciation supersegmentally, as nasalization of the preceding vowel. Second, some potential issues in pronominal allomorphy are suppressed notationally. Thus, what Einaudi writes as -hinye I cause you to ..., in which she perceives the pronominal as -in-becomes in this paper -hinye, in which the pronominal is taken to be -ny-. Both -in- and -ny- are attested as word initial variants of the AIP2 portmanteau (Einaudi 1976:71).

2. Preliminaries. Einaudi identifies the Biloxi causative auxiliary as a morpheme ve (1976:158). More precisely, causative constructions have the morphosyntactic form (1) (1976:159).

In this formula parenthetical ha represents a morpheme whose presence is conditioned by the shape that PRONOUN takes; Y represents a y ~ Ø alternation similarly conditioned; and E represents the Biloxi ablaut vowel, a stem final alternation of of e ~ a ~ i, conditioned by the identity of the following morpheme (cf. Rood 1983). This paper is concerned with the interactions of ha, PRONOUN and Y.

2.1 The ha morpheme. The ha morpheme is present, according to Einaudi, when PRONOUN is a first or second person (1976:159). From the examples supplied (159-160), it is plain that this description is intended to encompass first and second agents with all possible patients. See (2) for example, cf. Dorsey & Swanton 1912:273b.4

(2)	tehanke	'I kill him'		
	te-	ha-	nk-	e
	die	ha	A 1	CAUSE
	tehaye	'you kill him'		
	te-	ha-	y-	e
	die	ha	A2	CAUSE
	tehinye	'I kill you'		
	te-	ha-	in-	ye
	die	ha	A1P2	CAUSE
but	teye	'he kills him'		
	te-	Ø	ye	
	die	(A3)	CAUSE	

It turns out that the proposed conditioning for ha does not quite account for the facts, for ha also occurs in the circumstance of a third person agent acting on a second person patient (3) (cf. Dorsey & Swanton 1912:272:a).5

Since the various portmanteau combinations of first and second person with each other, third person, and case marking all have a non-zero form, while third person acting on third person is a zero-form, another possible statement of the conditioning might be that ha is present when there is an explicit surface form for Pronoun; when Pronoun is implicit (a zero-form), ha is omitted. In other words, ha occurs with all pronominal combinations but A3P3, the only zero-form.

This approach also fails, since a third person agent acting on a first person patient precludes ha, even though it employs the explicit pronominal yank A3PI. What is striking in this instance is that the homophonous pronominal yank A2PI does require ha.

(4)	kicuehiyanke		'you lend it to me'		
	ki-	cue-	hi-	yank-	e
	DAT	lend	ha6	A2P1	CAUSE
	kicueyank	e	'he	e lends it to me'	
	ki-	cue-		yank-	e
	DAT	lend		A3P1	CAUSE

These examples are from Dorsey & Swanton 1912:266b.

Thus neither of the two generalizations proposed actually accounts for the presence of ha, though both come close.

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2.2 The y morphophoneme. The conditioning of y, the $y \sim \emptyset$ alternation, is essentially identical to that of ha, but inverted. In Einaudi's formulation the Ø-alternant occurs when a first or second person pronominal precedes; y occurs otherwise. Thus it seems that y should be absent when ha is present, and present when ha is absent. That is, y and ha are in complementary distribution (as are y and explicit pronominals). This has already been illustrated in (2) and (3).

The fact that y and ha are in complementary distribution suggests immediately that they might be allomorphs. Arguing against this would be their disparity in form, and the fact that a pronominal slot seems to intervene between the slots for y and ha. Also arguing against an allomorphic analysis is the fact that the ha morpheme is unique to the causative construction, while Y is not. It also occurs, for example, in the verbs Yehon 'know' and Yihi 'think'.

(5)	yeho ⁿ	'he knows it
	Ø	yeho ⁿ
	(A3)	know
	nkehon	'I know it'
	nk-	ehon
	A1	know

These examples are from Dorsey & Swanton 1912:291a.

y is morphophonemically distinct from simple y (6) (Einaudi 1976:43-43), which does not disappear following the first and second person pronominals.

2.3 The ha ~ hi alternation. An interesting fact about ha is that it sometimes appears as hi (as in example 3 as above). As Einaudi puts it, "Morphophonemic rule 8 accounts for ha being reduced sometimes to h" (1976:159). Rule 8 is the standard Siouan vowel sequence reduction rule, which es V₁V₂ to V₂ (1976:39). Rule 8 is "optional with compounds and across word boundaries handatory otherwise" (39).

The substitution of h(i) for ha occurs optionally in forms where first or second person patients (7), cf. Dorsey & Swanton 1912:273b-274a.

Second person patients (7), cf. Dorsey & Swanton 1912:273b-274a. reduces V₁V₂ to V₂ (1976:39). Rule 8 is "optional with compounds and across word boundaries and mandatory otherwise" (39).

agents act upon third person patients (7), cf. Dorsey & Swanton 1912:273b-274a.

(7) -hanke ~ hinke 'I cause him to . . .'
-haye ~ hiye 'you cause him to . . .'

It occurs obligatorily in ha-forms where the patient is not a third person (8), cf. Dorsey & Swanton 1912:203a, 273b-274a.

(8) -hinye 'I cause you to . . .'
-hiyanke 'you cause me to . . .'
-hiye 'he causes you to . . .

3. Reanalysis. A preliminary reanalysis of the full paradigm of the Biloxi causative may now be presented.

(9)		P1	P2	P3
` '	A1		-hi-ny-E	-hi/a-nk-E
	A2	-hi-yank-E		-hi/a- y-E
	A3	-Ø-yank-E	-hi- y-E	-Ø −Ø - yE

Examples of all these forms can be found in Dorsey & Swanton 1912:266b-267a, 285b, 291b. Plurals are omitted because plurality is marked in Biloxi (as in other Siouan languages) with a system of verbal suffixes quite distinct from the pronominals.

The analysis used in (9) (i.e., the placement of morpheme boundaries) is designed to maximize the separation of ha ~ hi and YE (E ~ YE) from the pronominals, and especially to enhance the frequency of the E allomorphs of YE. The sequence hi/a represents free variation between hi and ha. This analysis differs somewhat from that of Einaudi 1976:159-160, where the use of underlining in examples suggests that Einaudi evaluates what is here -hi-ny-E 'he causes you' as -h-in-yE (per the comment in section 1); -hi-y-E 'he causes you' as -h-i-yE; and the -hiyE alternant of -hi/a-y-E 'you cause him', again, as -h-i-yE. Unfortunately, that analysis, though consistent with Einaudi's explanation of -h(i) forms as the Rule 8 contraction of -ha-i . . . forms, does not work very well. Apart from the problematical distribution of ha (or hi, as the case may be), it violates the generalization that first and second person (agent?) forms have E, not yE, and it offers no explanation for the i vowel of -hi in -hiyankE 'you cause me' or --hinkE 'I cause him', or hinkE 'I cause him', the hi alternate of -hi/a-nk-E.

Paradigm (9) should be compared with the ordinary transitive paradigm in (10), based on Einaudi 1976:70-73.

The forms given here are mostly Einaudi's underlying forms, for which she employs the prevocalic allomorphs of a rather variable set of pronominals. The A3P2 form iy, however, is the present author's, elected on a basis of numerous examples in Dorsey & Swanton 1912 (e.g., 190b, 215b, 265a).

(11) iy-ukhade 'he talks to you'
i-khu 'he gives it to you'
yi-dakacke 'he ties you'

Einaudi assumes to the contrary that the A3P2 and A2P3 forms are both ay (1976:72), though she supplies no ay-forms for the former. The allomorphs of A3P2 that actually appear are iy ~ i ~ yi, more or less paralleling Einaudi's A2P3 (~A3P2) set ay ~ i ~ ya ~ aya. The prevocalic iy-allomorph of the newly recognized A3P2 forms has been selected as underlying, by analogy with Einaudi's practice.

Comparing the causative and transitive paradigms reveals that of the two causative forms in which hi alternates with ha - A1P3 and A2P3 - one, -haye A2P3, corresponds to the single transitive pronominal, ay A2P3, recognized as beginning with the vowel a. The other, -hanke A1P3, corresponds to nk A1P3, which begins with a floating nasalization realized as n in initial position. Morpheme initial prenasalized stops are a rare phenomenon in Biloxi, though not unparalleled (cf. Dorsey & Swanton 1912:234b, 237b, 238b). Usually they are found in a free variation of nC with inC or naC. In other words, there is a strong probability that initial nC-forms are all fast speech variants of VnC- or nVC-forms. It may therefore be hypothesized that first person nk is a fast speech variant of some underlying shape Vnk. The A1P3 form of the causative paradigm, -hanke, plainly suggests that Vnk is ank, a form which corresponds well with such other Siouan forms as Dakotan u(k) 'first person inclusive; Dhegiha a(g) 'first person plural agent'; or Winnebago waag-a 'first person inclusive patient.'

If this hypothesis is adopted, it becomes easy to explain the $hi \sim ha$ alternation in the causative paradigm. In fact, the prepronominal ha-morpheme should be analyzed as hi. The haallomorph occurs only when hi contracts with a following a-initial pronominal: $hi + ank \Rightarrow hank$ and $hi + ay \Rightarrow hay$, with vowel contraction governed by Einaudi's Rule 8 for vowel contraction: $V_1V_2 \Rightarrow V_2$. The alternative forms with hink and hiy can be explained as over-generalizations of the surface principle that the causative always has hi before an explicit pronominal. There is, in fact, no allomorph with the shape ha at all. Einaudi has simply misanalyzed the contraction of hi + a as ha- and concluded too hastily that ha not hi is the basic form.

This produces the revised causative paradigm of (12).

(12)		P1	P2	P3
	Al		-hi-ny-E	-hi-(a)nk-E
	A2	-hi-yank-E		-hi- (a)y-E
	A3	-Ø -yank-E	-hi-iy-E	-Ø - Ø-уЕ

In (12), (a) indicates a regular initial a-vowel which is sometimes deleted by analogy with non-a forms.

There are still two obvious anomalies in the paradigm. First, the absence of hi in the A3P1 and A3P3 forms; second, the presence of ye, not e, as the auxiliary stem in the A3P3 form. The A3P1 form is doubly peculiar, though, because as noted in section 2 it is the only one with an explicit pronominal to lack hi. Implicit in the regular homophony of the A2P1 and A3P1 markers yank is another peculiarity of the A3P1 form, for it seems surprising that A3P1 should lack hi while the A2P1 form, with an identical pronominal, does not.

Why, in fact, should the regular A2P1 and A3P1 forms both be yank in Biloxi? The A2P1 form clearly suggests ay 'you' + ank 'me.' Given that the preconsonantal ya-alternant of the second person is probably the original Siouan form, with the prevocalic ay-alternant arising through

Muskogean influences (Rankin 1984), an analysis of yank A2PI as ya 'you' + ank 'me' seems certain. This approach would explain why the pronominal does not appear as ayank, contracting with preceding hi as hayank.

But this does not account for the identical looking A3PI yank, unless it is taken to be an extension of the A2PI form to a neighboring slot in the paradigm under a reanalysis as, say, a generalized first person inverse form (A7PI). Actually, a more plausible source of yank as the A3PI form is i 'third person' + ank 'me.' The third person in *i is widely attested in Siouan (cf. Holmer 1947:7; Wolff 1950:IV.198).

If the two yank pronominals are only superficially identical, then their underlying differentiation is probably behind their different behaviors in the causative. The use of i to account for the initial y of yank as ASPI suggests its use to explain the similarly exceptional initial y of the causative morpheme yE in the ASPI slot, with the highly desirable result of making the causative morpheme itself an exceptionless E. The whole reanalysis yields (13), a revision of the last row of the causative paradigm in (12).

Outside the causative paradigm the introduction of i as also explains y in the verb Yehon and Yihi. The stems would be reanalyzed as ehon and ihi, and their initial y in the third person explained by their belonging to a minor paradigm which employs the explicit pronominal i to mark third persons. The causative belongs to the same paradigm, of course.

After the revision in (13) the only two causative forms that lack hi are the two that have i A3. It appears that the hi marker is somehow deleted or precluded before the pronoun i A3. In fact, if hi were present in the paradigm in these forms, they would be the only ones with a three vowel sequence: hi + i + V (14).

Einaudi's vowel sequence reduction rule (Rule 8) would presumably eliminate the first i vowel in the two offending forms (A3P1 and A3P3), but this would still leave a two vowel sequence: h + i + E. It was already assumed in (13) and the associated discussion that there is a vowel reduction rule which changes iV to yV. If this rule applied after Einaudi's Rule 8 and the i-reduction rule would yield the last line of (15).

(15) A3P1 A3P2 A3P3

Underlying -hi-i-ank-E -hi-iy-E -hi-i-E

$$V_1V_2 \Rightarrow V_2$$
 -h-i-ank-E -h-iy-E -h-i-E

 $iV \Rightarrow yV$ -h- y-ank-E -h-iy-E -h-y-E

Then to derive the attested surface forms from the last stage of (15) it would only be necessary to postulate a third rule, reducing hy to y.

(16) A3P1 A3P2 A3P3
Previous -h-y-ank-E -h-iy-E -h-y-E
$$hy => y \qquad -y-ank-E \qquad -h-iy-E \qquad -y-E$$

Such a rule might reflect nothing more than a mishearing of hy as y by Dorsey.

Since there seems to be nothing implausible about any of the assumptions in the last line of reasoning, it is therefore tentatively proposed that hi was originally present in all of the causative paradigm forms, and that something like the proposed phonological rules have operated historically to reduce hi to zero (or aspiration on the y), in the two forms that are attested without hi. This has the advantage of making the underlying forms of the paradigm perfectly regular.

Though the rules and rule sequencing of (14) through (16) produce the correct result, it could be argued that they do so in a somewhat artificial and mechanistic fashion. In fact, the actual history of the forms may have been somewhat different. Lest it be overlooked, the initial y of the third persons of ehon and ihi has also been attributed to i 'third person'. But in these cases i + V becomes yV by i-reduction in a two vowel sequence, where it would ordinarily be expected that Rule 8 would operate first to produce V. This fact, plus some unexpected instances of two vowel sequences which Einaudi notes elsewhere in Biloxi (1976:39), show that vowel contraction in Biloxi may be somewhat more complex than has been implied in the preceding discussion. Consideration of this aspect of the problem will be set aside at this point.

4. Revisions. As indicated, the new morphophonemic and morphological analysis of the causative paradigm implies a new morphosyntactic analysis as well, given in (17).

The frequency of more or less hidden hV-sequences in Siouan causative constructions has already been remarked by Jones (1983), making it no surprise to find a moderately obscured hi in the Biloxi syntagm. Jones himself mentions Einaudi's ha morpheme. In Dakotan, to use another of Jones' examples, the causative construction has the form of (18).

(18)
$$VERB + PRONOUN + (k + hi) + yA$$

In this sequence, khi marks volitional action (Rood & Taylor ms:83), and the initial k of this k-hi can be recognized as an allomorph of the Proto-Siouan dative-possessive marker *k(i). Dative marking should not be unexpected in causative syntagms. Comrie's work on causatives has demonstrated the cross-linguistic tendency of causatives to recode the direct or original agent as a dative in causativizations of transitive frames. It is not clear, however, what function the following hi fulfills. The least that could be said is that like the Biloxi hi it may be inherited from Proto-Siouan. It would be better, however, if hi could be explained functionally and not merely attributed to Proto-Siouan perversity.

Part of the difficulty of analyzing hi in Dakotan is its position. Occurring as it does between the dative marker k and the causative stem yA, it suggests little more than an extension of one or the other. The Biloxi syntagm, in which hi precedes the pronominal, is much more suggestive. Jones' view of the likely function of hi, given that it precedes the pronoun, is that it probably reflects a Proto-Siouan complementizer, and that the analog of (17) in Proto-Siouan may have been a complementation structure (Jones pc). This analysis is depicted in (19).

Under this analysis, the sequence VERB + hi is an uninflected complement with its subordinating conjunction hi, and the sequence PRONOUN + E is the inflected main verb to cause.' This historical construction has been reduced in Biloxi to a single word, and is now treated as complex derived form with infixed pronouns. Though rare in Biloxi, the infixed conjugational

pattern is widespread in the Siouan family as a whole, for verbs with locative complementary incorporated nominals, and so forth.

In support of this analysis of the Biloxi morphological causative as a reduced causative construction, it is possible to cite another hi complement construction in Biloxi, which has not been reduced. The Dorsey & Swanton dictionary glosses hi as "a particle used to modify other verbs when they occur before [i.e., are governed by] verbs of saying or thinking." (1912:197b)

axkive di hi (20) teye I tell him DECLARATIVE he kills it COMPLEMENTIZER (Dorsey & Swanton 1912:143.18) 'I told him to kill it' nkihi ua hi she boils it COMPLEMENTIZER I think it 'I think she ought to stew it' (Dorsey & Swanton 1921:143.22)

Since the causative, 'tell', and 'think one ought' all three carry a sense of obligation, it is possible that hi-complements are specifically restricted to expressing obligation, though there is so far no conclusive evidence bearing on this.

5. Conclusion. In summary it appears that Einaudi's analysis of the Biloxi transitive and causative paradigms should be modified in certain respects. The revised transitive paradigm is given in (21).

(21)		P1	P2	P3
	A1		-ny-	-ank-
	A2	-ya-ank-		-ay-
	A3	-i -ank-	-iy-	-(i)-

The variants of the pronouns given are the prevocalic ones, which are also used in the causative construction because the causative auxiliary E is vowel-initial. The causative construction's morphosyntax has already been given in (17) and (19), and will not be repeated here. The analysis offered for this construction rests on phonological rules exemplified in (15) and (16) (some new over Einaudi 1976), and upon recognition of the hi complement construction (expressing obligation?) discussed in the preceding section.

The analysis also has important implications for the Proto-Siouan causative, but these will not be elaborated upon here.

Notes

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the implications of the Biloxi causative for the proto-Siouan causative, was delivered at the 6th Annual Conference on Siouan and Caddoan Linguistics, Wisconsin Rapids, 1986.

The following abbreviations are used in glossing Biloxi pronominals: A = agent; P = patient; 1,2,3 = first, second, third person.

1The inclusion of Tutelo in the same Siouan subgroup as Biloxi and Ofo is considered debatable (cf., e.g., Carter 1981 and Rood 1979. Besides the three languages mentioned, there are some early materials labeled Saponey, which may be either early Tutelo or a closely related dialect, and various data suggest that other Southeastern Siouan languages now extinct may have existed at the time of contact.

2This is also the principal source of data on Ofo. The Ofo material is wholely the work of Swanton.

3For example, Dorsey & Swanton's <sup> 'black' might be better treated as /sap/ than as /sup/, given cognates like Dakota /sapa/, Omaha /sabe/, etc.

4These are Einaudi's analyses, which will be altered below.

5Again, this is Einaudi's analysis and will be modified below.

6The discrepancy in the vowel of ha will be dealt with below.

7One potential example is iyanoxte di 'she wishes to chase you' (cf. Einaudi 1976:72). However, Einaudi's underlining shows that she herself believes the pronominal to be iy. Since the stem is noxe, it is not quite clear what a following iy is.

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16.61-66, 113-21, 168-78; 17.197-204.

Politeness and Subjunctive in Spanish and Japanese

ANTHONY LOZANO Kumiko Takahara

- 1. The objective of this paper is to investigate the uses of the subjunctive and its illocutionary effect in Spanish and Japanese. The syntactic representations of the notion of subjunctive is quite different in these totally unrelated languages, yet when their distributional patterns are compared with respect to the accompanying communicative situations a certain similarity seems to surface. The notion of subjunctive is possibly tied to the socio-cultural background of the speakers and its linguistic realization is constrained by socio-linguistic factors rather than purely linguistic rules. One of such factors is assumed to be the speaker's politeness for communicative effect and, subsequently the interactions of the politeness consideration and the system of subjunctive will be observed through the data from these languages. The selection of Mexican Spanish and Japanese for our comparative study of subjunctive is neither arbitrary nor accidental, since the patterns of interpersonal relationships in the speech communities of these languages have some resemblance and for this reason any common characteristics in the uses of the subjunctive should be accountable systematically on the similar semantic and socio-cultural bases.
- 2. A language speaker can talk about things in the real world as well as in the non-real, hypothetical world. Traditionally, the illocutionary force of these utterance types are grammatically abstracted and designated by the three moods of indicative, subjunctive, and imperative. The indicative mood refers to statements in declarative or interrogative forms which assert or question about a fact or near-fact. In contrast, the subjunctive mood represents non-fact or counter-fact or fact of varying degrees of possibility. Of the two subcategories of the subjunctive, optative and potential, we are interested in optative subjunctive (Curme 1966: 235-37) which is primarily concerned with the desideratives such as a speaker's desire, wish, hope, will and thought about the yet unrealized world. The imperative mood refers to the directive actions such as command, demand, request, entreaty, prohibition, but the independent status of this modality is questionable, since it is hard to draw a clear boundary between the notions of desideratives and directives in that both manifest in essence a speaker's mood to have the non-factual world to come true. As a matter of fact, when they are reduced to abstract formulae such as in 'I want x to bring about p' and 'Let x bring about that p' (Lyons 1978: 826), they are strikingly similar. In fact, in many languages the functions of subjunctive and imperative seem to merge and the notions of possibility and obligations are associated with the same non-factive, or subjunctive mood, and this is commonly also the mood of prediction, supposition, intention, and desire (Lyons 1978: 817).

In fact after a speaker conceives of the non-factual world, through the process of his merely desiring it, intending to have it become fact, and commanding the hearers to cooperate with him to realize his desire, there may be a point at which the modality of 'will' in the form of 'I want it to come true' in disguise of the likelihood mood of 'May it come true'. Of all the dimensions of these desiderative and directive speech acts, this transitional stage where the optative subjunctive and imperative beginning to converge seems to be the most exploited linguistically, since the effective linguistic means for directives guarantee the successful interpersonal execution of desideratives. As we see later, the communicative interactions become very complex and the degrees of complexity increases proportionate to the intricacy of interpersonal relationships generated by the particular social structure. In this respect, we may generalize that the subjunctive and imperative share the same semantic domain in common and the imperative can be treated by a single semantic notion of 'subjunctive'. Accordingly, throughout the present study, the term 'subjunctive' is used in this sense and it refers to the notions ranging from desideratives at one end to directives at the other end. notion of 'subjunctive'. Accordingly, throughout the present study, the term 'subjunctive' is used in g