Chapter 19
Speech acts

19.1 Speech acts: introduction

A discussion of sentence types must include reference to both the number of distinctions that a language makes in terms of morphosyntactic peculiarities that a particular sentence type possesses, and the different types of speech acts that may be carried out by the use of one and the same grammatical category. Most researchers into the topic (eg. Searle 1979) make a distinction between SITUATIONAL CATEGORIES, which are concerned with the intent of the speech act regardless of the sentence type used, and GRAMMATICAL CATEGORIES, which are sentence forms used to realise the different situational categories. Important to this thesis is that these different categories do not share a one-to-one relationship; whilst a statement is usually realised as a sentence with the grammatical category of declarative, for instance, this is not always the case. Sinclair and Coulthard (1975:29) state that

Of the nine possible combinations—declarative statement, declarative question, declarative command, and so on—there is only one we cannot instance: imperative statement.

They give the following example of an indirect correspondence between categories:

The interrogative, ‘What are you laughing at?’, is interpretable either as a question, or as a command to stop laughing.

The different situational and grammatical categories that they found necessary to distinguish their recorded data in English are as shown in figure 12:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Situational category</th>
<th>Grammatical category</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Statement</td>
<td>Declarative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Question</td>
<td>Interrogative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Command</td>
<td>Imperative</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Figure 12. Situational and grammatical categories*

The same facts are found in general terms in Tukang Besi; whilst a grammatically imperative clause is the most common way of expressing a command, it is not the only way, with both interrogative and declarative clauses used for the same function (though
often with different nuances in terms of politeness and abruptness). Note that each situational category has a grammatical category that corresponds to it, but is not restricted to using that grammatical category alone.

In addition to Sinclair and Coulthard’s categories, I would like to add some other sets. Declarative sentences have been amply illustrated in the rest of this description; in this chapter I will deal with the large categories of interrogative and imperative clauses, as well as several other minor clause types. This is all preceded by a discussion on negation. The different situational and grammatical categories that are discussed here are as shown in figure 13:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Situational category</th>
<th>Grammatical category</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Major:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Statement</td>
<td>Declarative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Question</td>
<td>Interrogative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Command</td>
<td>Imperative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minor:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Insult</td>
<td>Imprecative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Suggestion</td>
<td>Hortative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Summons</td>
<td>Vocative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Request</td>
<td>Requestive performative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Surprise</td>
<td>Exclamatory</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 13. Situational and grammatical categories in Tukang Besi

The major grammatical categories, the ones identified by Sinclair and Coulthard, are used for a large range of situational categories, whereas the minor grammatical categories tend to have a much more restricted use, generally being used only for their corresponding situational category. A vocative sentence, for instance, is only ever used for a summons, whereas an interrogative sentence can be used for a statement, question, command, insult, suggestion, or summons. An imprecative clause is only used in swearing and insulting, and a hortative clause type only used for suggestions.

19.2 Negation

Negation is expressed at the beginning of the predicate; in the case of a verbal predicate, the negator *mbeaka* appears in a position inside the verb phrase, in the same position as an auxiliary (see chapter 7). With non-verbal predicates, the negator appears immediately preceding the KP or PP that is the predicate in a positive clause, whether this is fronted or not. With a negative existential clause, *mbea’e* appears in place of the existential semi-verb *ane* (see chapter 14). Examples of these can be seen in the following:

(1) \[[Mbeaka]_{NEG} \text{ na-}w[u_m]i\text{a}_\text{VP} \text{ ilange.} \]
    not 3R-go.SI tomorrow
    ‘They don’t want to go tomorrow.’

(2) \[[[Te \text{ La Udi}]}_{KP} \text{ [mbeaka]_{NEG} [te \text{ ako} \text{ w[u_m]}i\text{a}}]_{KP} \text{ PRED} \]
    CORE La Udi not CORE PURP go.SI
    ‘La Udi isn’t the one who’s going to go.’
19.3 Interrogative clauses, questions and answers

Questions may be formed with interrogative or declarative grammatical structures, the use of a declarative form being on the whole more polite than an interrogative one. Interrogative structures may further be divided into yes-no questions, which question the polarity of a presented sentence or situation, and content questions, which seek further information about some aspect of the sentence or situation. These different types of questions are dealt with separately in 19.3.2 and 19.3.3

19.3.1 Declarative questions

A declarative pattern is used to make a question either very polite, or to express hesitancy on the speakers part about her/his knowledge. A declarative question is usually distinguished from a declarative statement by a drawn out intonation pattern. An example of this is:

(7) Ara te iaku, no-wila-mo i Mandati i rearea ai...
    if TOP 1SG 3R-go-PF OBL Mandati OBL morning ANA
    ‘If you ask me, they went to Mandati this morning.’
    (Implied question: ‘Did they?’)

(8) Te korang a na te an(u) u La Hadi atu ai.
    CORE garden this CORE property GEN La Hadi that ANA
    ‘This garden is your friend La Hadi’s.’
    (Implied question: ‘Isn’t it?’)

This type of question is very commonly found with mbea’e ‘not exist’ used as a tag question particle following after the pause, as in the example below:
Declarative questions are answered in the same way as yes-no questions, described in the following section.

19.3.2 Yes-no interrogatives

Polar questions, not involving the use of question words (see 4.6.2, and the following section in this chapter), involve no special restrictions or grammatical forms; there is no clause order found in a yes-no question that is not found in a normal declarative clause. It is very uncommon to hear a question without an illocutionary force particle at the end in all but the most formal speech, but this is not a grammatical requirement, more the need to grab attention. The intonation pattern of a polar question is more constantly rising than a content question, which relies more on a high intonational peak on the questioned word. A positive reply to a polar question may be answered with a repeat of the predicate; this is the most explicit, and most formal, way of responding. Other alternatives are to simply agree with the questioner verbally (the responses are oho or oo, with strong falling intonation), or through body language (raising the eyebrows and tilting the head backwards), or a combination of any of these. For instance, in response to the question in (10):

\[(10) \text{Te iko’o ‘uka nu-wil(a) i karia’a la?} \]
\[\text{‘Are you going to the festival as well?’}\]

appropriate answers include (using the convention ‘’ to represent raised eyebrows), from most to least formal:

\[(10)’ \]
\[\begin{array}{ll}
\text{a. Oho, ku-wila. (’’ )} & \text{b. Ku-wila.} \\
\text{yes 1SG-go} & \text{1SG-go} \\
\text{‘I’m going.’} & \text{1SG-go} \\
\text{d. Oo. (’’ )} & \text{e. Wila.} \\
\text{yeah go} & \text{go} \\
\end{array}\]

Negative responses are likely to become positive ones due to the constraints of politeness and the desire to give an answer that will please the questioner. If a negative reply is actually given, the same pattern of predicate repetition is found, but with the negator mbeaka added. A simple mbea’e ‘no’ may be used as a complete answer, or less formally [mbeaka] and stare. Again, these may be combined (though stare (here represented by ‘oo’) is not very polite, and incompatible with formality). Some negative responses to (10) are seen in (10)”, again ranged in a rough order from most to least formal:

\[(10)” \]
\[\begin{array}{ll}
\text{a. Mbeaka, mbeaka ku-wila.} & \text{b. Mbeaka, ku-wila.} \\
\text{no not 1SG-go not 1SG-go} & \text{1SG-go no} \\
\text{‘I’m not going.’} & \text{1SG-go no} \\
\text{f. (’’ )} & \text{g. (’’ )} \\
\text{h. (’’ )} & \text{i. (’’ )} \\
\end{array}\]
d. Mbeaka. (o o)  e. [ ] (o o)  f. (o o)

uh-uh  hmm

With a non-verbal clause, an entire non-verbal clause is likely to be used in the response (if formal), with the predicate fronted. For instance, in response to (11):

(11) Te tolida-'u Uruwii iso ai te guru 'uka da?
CORE cousin-2SG.POSS Urfin yon ANA CORE teacher also ILL.FORCE
‘Is your cousin Urfin a teacher as well?’

the following responses (by no means exhaustive) are possible:

yes CORE teacher NOM 3SG yes CORE teacher
‘Yes, he’s a teacher.’

c. Oho. ( ) d. Mbea’e, mbeaka te guru na ia.
yes no CORE teacher NOM s/he
‘No, he’s not a teacher.’

e. Mbea’e. (o o)  f. [ ] (o o)

no

19.3.3 Content questions

Content questions involve the use of a question word to query a piece of information. If the questioned word would otherwise be nominative, a cleft construction with a relative clause must be used (this was illustrated in chapter 5). If the questioned argument is not nominative, there is no change in the clausal order, whether the argument questioned was core or oblique:

(12) Te iko’o ehi(a) i-rato-mi-kita?
TOP 2SG when.PAST 2SG.R-arrive-DIR-1PL.OBJ
‘Hey, when did you come to us?’

(13) 'U-manga te paira wa?
2SG.R-eat CORE what ILL.FORCE
‘What are you eating, girl?’

(14) Te amai ana no-mai mina di 'umpa ka?
CORE 3PL this 3R-come from OBL Q ILL.FORCE
‘Where did these guys come from?’

If the questioned constituent is nominative, then a cleft construction must be used; compare (13) with two versions that question the subject:
(13) b. Te emai na [m]anga te kaujawa wa?
CORE who NOM eat.SI CORE cassava ILL.FORCE
‘Who is eating the cassava, girl?’

c. No-manga-’e na kaujawa te emai?
3R-eat-3OBJ NOM cassava CORE who
‘Who is eating the cassava?’

The usual response to a content question is to repeat the NP, KP or PP that was questioned. Sample responses to (12) - (14) are given as (12)’ - (14)’:

(12)’ Gana-’olo-o-mo.
4-day-PF
‘Four days ago.’

(13)’ Te pandola, Wa Ama.
CORE eggplant Wa father
‘Eggplant, father.’

(14)’ Mina di Lia.
from OBL Lia
‘From Lia.’

Content questions with declarative sentence forms may be made, but this is rare. This usually takes the form of an assertion of something happening, though a declarative question without a tag of some sort is rare:

(15) Ku-’ita-ko 1SG see-2SG.OBJ OBL earlier 2SG.R-eat CORE eggplant ILL.FORCE-TAG
‘I saw you eating some eggplant earlier on…’

(16) Ku-ro-dongo kua 1SG hear : CORE younger.sibling-3POSS
te sisua 2SG.R-eat CORE university.student OBL Haluoleo TAG
‘I heard that his younger sister is a university student at Haluoleo university.’

19.4 Imperative verb forms and commands

The imperative form of a word is the normal verbal root without subject prefixes. The addressee is necessarily second person, and if plural the subject prefixes may be used (either for a plural addressee, or if the speaker wishes to show more respect to the addressee), though they are normally omitted for second person singular addressees. The following sentences illustrate the use of the imperative:

(17) Wila-tinti!
go-run
‘Go away!’
(18) *Kabi-‘e na kaluku atu wa!*

throw.away-3OBJ NOM coconut that ILL.FORCE

‘Throw that coconut away!’

(19) *I-sumbere-waliako!*

2PL.R-immediate-return

‘Go back home this instant, you lot!’

The sentence final particles are often used in imperatives, especially amongst friends; use of an imperative without these particles is not ungrammatical, nor even explicitly rude, but is felt to be somewhat abrupt, perhaps overly domineering. Softening the imperative can also be accomplished by adding the perfective *-mo* to the verb; this is more common with verbs that do not already have object suffixes. Accompanying the use of *-mo* to make a command more polite is an exaggerated intonation pattern, with a greater drop in pitch after the accent than is normal:

(20) *kede-mo.* [ke’deo] [ _ __ ]

sit-PF

‘Sit down.’

The same sentence, segmentally, can be used with a different intonation pattern to signify an irritated or impatient command:

(21) *Kede-mo!* [ke’deo] [ _ — ]

sit-PF

‘Sit down’!

A similar irritated tone is indicated by the use of *garaa* ‘SURPRISE following the verb:

(22) *Kede garaa.*

sit SURPRISE

‘Sit down!’

Excessive frustration and impatience involve the use of the second person demonstrative *atu* to refer to the addressee pronominally, and making the sentence a negative question:

(23) *Eak(a) o-k[um]ede na atu!*

not 3R-sit.SI NOM that

‘Aren’t you going to sit down?!!’

More polite requests can be made by the use of a statement with *labi* ‘better’:

(24) *Labi nu-kede meana’e la…*

better 2SG.R-sit now ILL.FORCE

‘You should sit down now.’

19.4.1 Prohibitives

There are two forms that function as the prohibitive in Tukang Besi, *bara* and *ka’ulu*
‘don’t’. These are placed immediately before the verb in a verbal clause, or before the predicative KP or PP in a non-verbal clause, and prohibit the whole of the following sentence. The first of these is by far the most common, and is much more polite and less conclusive than *ka'ulu*, which has a sense of meaning ‘don’t (ever)’ (and has only been observed on verbal clauses). The realis set of subject prefixes are obligatorily used with the prohibitive construction, unlike the imperative, and the last vowel of *bara* is often lost to the first vowel of the verb, even if a glottal consonant intervenes:

(25)  
*Bar(a) (')u-kede i atu!*

> Bar(a) (’)u-kede i atu!  
> don’t 2SG.R-sit OBL there  
> ‘Don’t sit there!’

(26)  
*Bara te ia na ako [m]opo-talo wa!*

> Bara te ia na ako [m]opo-talo wa!  
> don’t CORE 3SG NOM PURP SOC.SI-beat ILL.FORCE  
> ‘Don’t let her win!’

(Lit., ‘Don’t let it be her that is the one that will win!’)

(27)  
*Bara di atu ga!*

> Bara di atu ga!  
> don’t OBL there ILL.FORCE  
> ‘Not there, fool!’

(28)  
*Ka'ul(u) 'u-wila-mo pe'esa-'u i iso!*

> Ka'ul(u) 'u-wila-mo pe'esa-'u i iso!  
> don’t 2SG.R-go-PF own-2SG.POSS OBL yon  
> ‘Don’t you ever go over there alone again!’

The prohibitive can also be used in expressions in which an undesired result is discussed, forming the negative equivalent of *ka'ano* ‘in order’.

19.4.2 Use of pronouns

Free-form personal pronouns can be used to soften an imperative, whether or not the verb is used with subject prefixes or not. It is common to see the demonstratives used as replacements for pronouns in this position.

(29)  
*E, iko'o na atu, mai-mo la!*

> E, iko'o na atu, mai-mo la!  
> Hey 2SG NOM that come-PF ILL.FORCE  
> ‘Hey, you there, come here!’

(30)  
*Mai-mo na atu la!*

> Mai-mo na atu la!  
> come-PF NOM that ILL.FORCE  
> ‘Come here, you!’

19.4.3 Modifying the imperative

Firm commands can be made from normal imperatives by not using the perfective *-mo*, as described already, or any sentence final particles, but by beginning the sentence with *ma'inde* ‘COMMAND’:
Imprecatives and insulting

Imprecatives form a special sub-type of clauses in that they consist of bare possessed NPs; unlike almost all other sentence types in Tukang Besi, which require all non-time expressions to occur in either PPs or KPs; even when eliciting vocabulary, completely out of any sentential context, a core article (usually te) is given with the word. Chapter 3 deals with the normal constituency of clauses. The nominals in an imprecative utterance are simply NPs in the sentence alone, a structure that is ungrammatical in any other sentence type (see Quang (1971) for similar observations on English.). An example of this is:

(32) Pe'i-(')u la!
stupidity-2SG.POSS ILL.FORCE
‘Geeze you’re stupid!’

Other typical examples of the use of this sentence type include:

(33) Ta'i-(')u!
faeces-2SG.POSS
‘Shit on you!’

(34) Lau-'u!
penis-2SG.POSS
‘Fuck you!’
(male addressee only)

(35) Buta-'u!
vagina-2SG.POSS
‘Fuck you!’
(female addressee only)

An interesting variant of the first of these is kempeta’i, in which ta’i is the same as in (33), and the apparent ‘prefix’ kempe- carries no overt meaning. The derivation of the word goes back to World War II, when the Japanese secret police, the kempetai (Japanese), were known and feared on the islands. Kempeta’i is thus a formation based on the name of the loathed organisation, combined with a native imprecative. It has a much stronger effect than ta’iu alone, and is used without possessive suffixes (since the kempetai belonged to noone on the islands).

Although there is a special imprecative sentence type, it is quite possible to insult someone with declarative, interrogative or exclamatory sentence types as well. Some example include:
Declarative:

(36) *Ku-kalu-kompo-ko!*

1SG-string-stomach-2SG.OBJ

‘I’ll have your guts for garters!’

(Lit., ‘I’ll disembowel you!’)

Interrogative:

(37) *Te rou-'u salalu awan(a) atu ala'a la?*

CORE face-2SG.POSS always manner that just ILL.FORCE

‘Has your face always been like that?’

Exclamatory:

(38) *Ke molau-'u!*

and stink-2SG.POSS

‘You stink to high heaven!’

19.6 Suggestions and hortatives

There are two forms that determine a sentence as being hortative, and they may combine together. The first is the use of *mai* ‘come’ at the beginning of the sentences, and the second is the use of *ako* ‘purpose’, either as a sentence-initial particle, or as a suffix to the verb. In both cases the verb is subject prefixed with the realis form of a first person non-singular pronoun, usually the plural.

(39) *Mai to-rambi-ako!*

come 1PL.R-play.music-APPL

‘Let’s go and join in the orchestra.’

(40) *Ako to-wila i lapanga.*

PURP 1PL.R-go OBL sport.field

‘Let’s go the sports field.’

(41) *Mai to-wila-ako i wombo ka’ano mbeak(a)*

come 1PL.R-go-APPL OBL upstairs in.order not

o-ganggu-kita te mia.

3R-annoy-1PL.OBJ CORE person

‘Let’s go upstairs so that we don’t get bothered.’

(42) *To-manga-ako.*

1PL.R-eat-APPL

‘Let’s eat.’

Suggestions may also be phrased with interrogatives, declaratives and exclamations, such as seen in (43) - (45):

(43) *Ea-do to-manga ka?*

not-EMPH 1PL.R-eat ILL.FORCE

‘Aren’t we eating yet?’

(Implication: ‘Let’s eat.’)
(44) Ar(a) e iaku ana, labi ta-manga-mo meana'e ala'a.
if TOP 1SG this better 1PL.I-eat-PF now just
‘If you ask me, we should just start eating now anyway.’
(Implication: ‘Let’s eat.’)

(45) Ke mo’aro-nto ka-i.
and hungry-1PL.POSS ILL.FORCE-TAG
‘We’re really hungry, huh?’
(Implication: ‘Let’s eat.’)

19.7 Summonses and vocatives

A common attention getting and summoning strategy is to replace the last vowel of the
name or title of the person called with an accented -ó. The word-accent always attaches to
this final syllable, and is then placed at each alternating syllable before it. In the case of a
drawn-out series of calls, every second repetition of the name is without this vocative
suffix, but with the aberrant accent placement.

(46) Dauná! Daun-ó! Dauná! Daun-ó!
Dauna Dauna-VOC Dauna Dauna-VOC
‘Dauna! Oh, Dauna! Dauna! Oh, Dauna!’

A summons may also be made using an imperative, interrogative or declarative form:

(47) Mai-mo la!
come-PF ILL.FORCE
‘Come here lad!’

(48) Mbeaka ko-mai la?
not 2SG.I-come ILL.FORCE
‘Aren’t you coming?’

(49) Ku-’elo-ko garaa!
1SG-call-2SG.OBJ SURPRISE
‘I’m calling you, you know.’

19.8 Requests and performatives

Requests can be easily formed in Tukang Besi by starting the sentence with membali or o-
jarí ‘become’. The use of sentence final particles is less common in this speech act than in
others.

(50) Membali ku-ada te sipeda-’u?
become 1SG-borrow CORE bicycle-2SG.POSS
‘May I borrow your bicycle?’

(51) O-jari to-manga-dodua-ngkita?
3R-become 1PL.R-eat-be.two-1PL.OBJ
‘Will you have dinner with me?’
An alternative, and very common, way of forming a request is to phrase the request as a performative, the speech-act explicitly part of the request:

(52) *Ku-melu te uwe mena.*
    1SG-request CORE water hot
    ‘May I have some hot water?’
    (Lit., ‘I request some hot water.’)

(53) *No-melu-do te soami lagi.*
    3R-request-EMPH CORE cassava.bread now
    ‘He would like some cassava bread first.’
    (Lit., ‘He asks for some cassava bread now.’)

The requestive prefix *hepe-* can similarly be used to make a performative request out of many verbal bases:

(54) *Hepe-’ita-aku te lonsi-’u.*
    REQ-see-1SG.OBJ CORE watch-2SG.POSS
    ‘Can I see your watch?’
    ‘Could you show me your watch?’

(55) *Hepe-ala-ako-naku te karatasi.*
    REQ-fetch-APPL-1SG.DAT.OBJ CORE cards
    ‘Could you bring the cards along?’

19.8.1 Permission-giving

Responding to a request is normally be expressed using either *mbula* ‘let’ or *membali* ‘become’ (use in an ambient serial verb construction – see chapter 8) and then a simple short clause, usually nothing more than the inflected verb.

(56) *Mbula no-manga.*
    let 3R-eat
    ‘Let them keep on eating.’

(57) *Mbula na-manga.*
    let 3I-eat
    ‘Let them (start to) eat.’

(58) *Membali nu-wila.*
    become 2SG.R-go
    ‘You may go.’

19.9 Exclamatory sentences and surprise

Exclamations concerning an attribute or distinguishing feature of something can be expressed by topicalising the referent about which the exclamation is made, and placing the attribute in a reduced conjunct phrase (as described in chapter 18). These constructions are discussed in chapter 20 as well, concerning their lack of pivot properties.
Exclamatory sentence types are typically used to present unusual or surprising information; they seem to be the only way of representing genuine surprise verbally.

19.10 Sentence-final particles

Illocutionary Force particles are used in all situational categories; the difference between categories is signalled by the intonation, not by the choice of particle itself. The different illocutionary force particles do not signal a particular situational category, but rather the relationship, between the two participants in the speech act.

The more common illocutionary force particles are listed below. The correct use of the different particles is determined by reference to the relationship that the speaker and the addressee share (casual, joking or formal and distant), and is also dependent on the sex of the addressee, and relative age of the speaker and the addressee. Often more than one particle is appropriate to any two persons speaking to each other; in these situations, the use of the particle may be taken to show the speaker’s degree of empathy with her or his audience. For example, between two sisters, (63) is much colder and more pompous than is (64):

Whilst both are appropriate to the situation, the use of the less casual wa in (63) can be construed as excluding the listener from the relationship that would be signalled by the use of da. Further work remains to be done on the use of the illocutionary force particles.

The particles so far identified are:
-a casual, joking address
-da expressing camaraderie; ‘as you know’, between (rough) equals
-ga (close) family relation
-ka child or very familiar addressee
-la male addressee
-na familiarity and certainty of message
-wa female addressee
(all glossed as ILL.FORCE)

-i ‘isn’t it?’ (used in combination with the other IF particles)
(glossed as TAG or FAMILIAR)

Of these, la and wa are by far the most common in use, and ga the least common. Individuals show variation as to the degree of flexibility they use in the application of da or ka; a seventy year old shaman, for instance, has no qualms with using ka to the author, and even da as the situation demands (expressing solidarity), but would not use ga. Some children will use ga to distant relatives in order to try and force them to do something normally only required of an immediate parent or cousin, but would not use ka to the same person (even if the same age).

The common male and female particles la and wa serve an interesting function when addressing a mixed group: a speaker can single out only the male, or only the female members of the group as the addressee of a command through the addition of the appropriate particle:

(63) Mai t[um]ulungi-aku wa!
come help.SI-1SG.OBJ ILL.FORCE
‘Come on (you girls) and give me a hand!’
(boys: keep on playing)

(63) Mai, hena'u soro te kolikoli-no na ikomiu
come descend push CORE canoe-3POSS NOM 2PL
saba'ane la!
all ILL.FORCE
‘Hey, go on all of you (boys) and push my canoes (further up the beach)!’
(so the tide won’t carry them away)
(girls: keep on playing)

This use is not often found with the other, less rigidly defined illocutionary force particles (such as ka) since the commands are then more ambiguous. In those cases, the current activity (in a headless relative clause) or (nick)name of the desired performer is used.