

Inclusive Imperatives in Itelmen (and beyond)

Some Implications



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- (1) The Inclusive Imperative (Hortative, Khrakovskij 1992; Dobrushina & Goussev 2005)
 - a. Let's go! [English]
 - b. Gehen wir! (Gemma!) go-1PL we [German]
 - c. pojd-**em**-(**te**)! go-1PL-(2PL) [Russian]
 - d. il-**iax**! 'let's take!' il-**ia****y**-**ij** 'let's take! [Sakha] (Nevskaya 2005)
(‘dual’ = you and me) (you-PL and me)
 - e. **mn**-ił-**k(ičen)**! or: **mn**-ił-**sx**! [Itelmen]
1PL.IRR-go-1PL 1PL.IRR-go-2PL
- (2)
 - a. Why imperative only? Morph(eme)s are available in the indicative.
 - b. Itelmen: why 1PL-stem-2PL not why 2PL-stem-1PL?
 - c. Itelmen: why suffix replacement, not stacking?

Three theoretical themes:

- (3) Clusivity (Zwicky 1977) – Parameter or Syncretism?

Referents	Evenki	English	*n/a*
AUTH (not ADDR)	bu	we	*swe
AUTH and ADDR	mit	we	*syou
ADDR (not AUTH)	su	you	*syou
neither	nungartyn	they	they

- (4) Performative Hypothesis: Representing Speech Act (Participant)s in the left periphery? (Ross 1970; Wiltschko 2021; Miyagawa 2022; Krifka 2023; Baker 2024)

[ActP ... [CommitP ... [JudgeP ... [CP ...

- (5) Multiple Exponence (Agreement vs. Allomorphy, Portmanteaus)

- | | | |
|-------------------|-------------------------|------------------------|
| a. t'-ił-k(ičen)! | b. t'-əłčku- čen | c. n-əłčku- nen |
| 1SG-go-1.S | 1SG-see-1>3SG | 3PL-see-3>3SG |
| 'I went' | 'I saw it.' | 'They saw it.' |

1 Background: Chukotko-Kamchatkan Agreement

(6) The Itelmen finite verb

AGR1 – COND'L – AP – CAUS – √ – VB – DERIV* – ASP – TNS – CLASS – AGR2.COMPLEX

(7)
$$\begin{array}{c} \text{PREFIX} \quad - \quad \text{STEM} \quad - \quad \text{SUFFIX} \\ \left. \begin{array}{l} \text{Subject} \\ \text{Mood} \end{array} \right\} \quad \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Subject(Intransitive)} \\ \text{Object(Transitive)} \end{array} \right.$$

(8) t'- əɬčku -(y)in
1SG.S- see -2SG.O
'I saw you.'

(9) n- əɬčku -(y)in
3PL.S- see -2SG.O
'They saw you.'

(10) n- əɬčku -βum
3PL.S- see -1SG.O
'They saw me.'

(11) t- k'oɬ- -k(ičen)
1SG.S- come -1(SG).S
'I came.'

(12) Ø- k'oɬ- -č
2.S- come -2SG.S
'You came.'

(13) m(ə)n-iɬ-k(ičen)
1PL.IRR-go-1.S
'Let's go!'

(14) q-iɬ-sx
2PL.IRR-go-2PL.S/A
'Go!'

Imperatives

(15) Composed
Plural
Inclusive

m(ə)n-iɬ-sx
1PL.IRR-go-2PL.S/A
'Let's go!'

Not recognized in previous descriptions (Ono 2021: 95-96)
Well attested in texts (1901, 1910, 1960s)

(16) **Asymmetry I:** Composed inclusive: Imperative only, not indicative

a. qat n-niŋ-kičen [*n-niŋ-sx], xaɬč mn-ənta-qzu-sx
already 1PL-load-1PLS 1PL-load-2PL HORT 1PL.IRR-cross-ASP-2PL
'We've loaded up. Let's go across!'

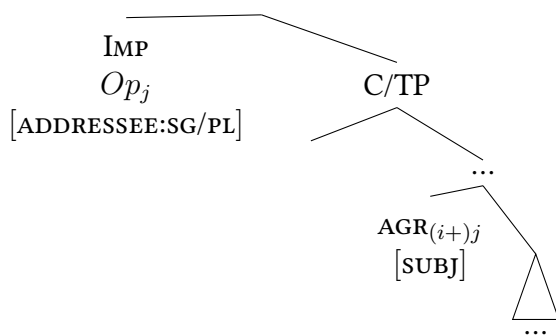
b. desjat n-ɬəm-čeʔn [*-sx-ŋiʔn], xaɬč čβanoke mn-əntxla-qzu-sx-ŋiʔn
10 1PL.S-kill-1>3PLO -2PLS-2>3PLO HORT to.camp 1PL.S-take-ASP-2PLS-2>3PLO
'We killed 10. Let's take them to camp.' (Bogoras 1901, Bobaljik et al. 2023)

(17) **Asymmetry II:** Itelmen-specific questions (composed inclusive)

- Why suffix replacement, not stacking (cf. Russian, Turkic) esp. if calque?
- Why 1PL-V-2PL not 2PL-V-1PL?

2 Asymmetry I: Composed inclusivity without an “inclusive”

(18) Imperative operator



- cf. Jussive: Zanuttini (2008) (but see also Kaufmann 2011)

note: no -sx in Itelmen Jussive

- Semantics: ADDRESSEE-oriented, ADDRESSEE must be included in subject

- (Relation to allocutive agreement? Antonov 2015; McFadden 2020)

- ADDRESSEE-# vs. SUBJECT-# at distinct nodes!

(19) (Basic) 1PL imperative always inclusive (Dobrushina & Goussev 2005; Goussev 2005)

(20) a. Imperative: requires that ADDRESSEE be (part of) subject (cf. Daniel & Volkov 2017)

b. vs. Jussive, others: ADDRESSEE control, but not part of subject

(21) Diverse morphological strategies

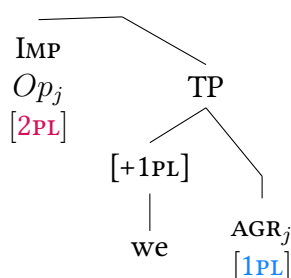
- **Attested:** Composed plural inclusions in imperative, no inclusive in indicative
 - Even if they lack an inclusive category elsewhere
 - Subset draw addressee-number distinction (composed incl)
 - Subset of those: morphologically composed: 1PL + (2)PL
- **Unattested?** Composed inclusivity in indicative only

(22) Composed Minimal-Augmented Imperative (Dobrushina & Goussev 2005: 202):

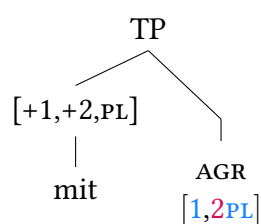
- | | 2PL | 1PL | 1PL+2PL | |
|----|--------|---------------------|------------------------|--|
| a. | idi-te | id ⁱ -em | id ⁱ -em-te | [Russian] (from 17 th C) |
| b. | -yŋ | -yax | -yay-yŋ | [Sakha] |
| c. | -yŋ | -aly | -aly-yŋ | [Turkmen] < Middle Turkish, 13 th C (Erdal 2004: 237) |

Aside: I suggest the Russian *poj-d-em-te* form (17th C) may be a calque from Turkic (see Appendix)

(23) Composed Inclusive
Itelmen, Russian, Siberian Turkic



(24) Contrast True Inclusive
Evenki etc.



- (25) cf. Russian (roughly): *davaj-(te)* *po-id-em* cf. *nu=te, na=te, brys'=te*
davaj-(te) *po-id-em-te* INTERJ=PL clitic
 let's-2PL PO-go-1PL-(2PL) (Jakobson 1932; Kasenov 2024)

(26) Interim conclusions

- Zwicky's puzzle: clusivity (as a person Category) is parametrized
- Languages without an inclusive person category may compose inclusives
- One strategy: limited to imperatives (ADDRESSEE) plus subject (1PL)
- Always 1PL subject, plus ADDRESSEE number
- Apparent duals in languages with no dual number

3 Itelmen

3.1 Itelmen form is not a direct calque from Russian

- (27) a. regular b. composed c. unattested d. phon OK e. morph OK
 [mn-ił-k] [mn-ił]-sx *[mn-ił-k]-sx q-ŋiksx-č q-ančp-mirj-sx
 [mn-ił-kičen] [mn-ił]-sx *[mn-ił-kičen]-sx 2.IRR-sleep-2SG 2.IRR-teach-1SG.O-2PL
 1PL.IRR-go-1.S 1PL.IRR-go-2PL 1PL.IRR-go-1.S-2PL 'sleep!' 'teach me!'

Portmanteaus – not stacking:

- (28) t'- əłčku -čeʔn (29) t'- əłčku -čen < -čen + ⟨ʔ⟩
 1SG.S- see -1>3PL.O 1SG.S- see -1>3SG.O 1>3SG.O + PL
 'I saw them.' 'I saw it.'
- (30) n- əłčku -neʔn (31) Ø- əłčku -sxen cf. -sx
 3PL.S- see -3>3PL.O 2.S- see -2PL>3PL.O -2PL>3SG.O
 'They saw them.' 'Y'all saw them.' (Kov.)
- (32) last ... łəm-sxŋiʔn? skažem desjat n-łəm-čeʔn [portmanteaus]
 how.many kill-2PLS-2>3PLO say 10 1PL.S-kill-1>3PLO
 'How many did y'all kill? Let's say we killed 10.' (Bogoras 1901)

- (33) Attested 2PLA>3O Corresp. 1PLA>3O forms:
- | | | | | |
|----------------------|-------------------|----------------------|------|----------|
| mən-čanzo-sx | let's follow (it) | mən-čanzo-čen | Bog. | Class I |
| mán-łam-sxen | let's kill them | mán-łam-čeʔn | Joch | |
| x[ă]n-əntxla-s[x]ŋin | let's take him | x[ă]n-əntxla-kičen | Vol. | Class II |
| mn-əntxla-qzu-sxŋiʔn | let's take them | mn-əntxla-qzu-kičeʔn | Bog. | |

3.2 Chukotko-Kamchatkan Agreement: Portmanteaus as contextual allomorphy

(34) Portmanteaus as contextual allomorphy (Bobaljik 2000; Fenger 2018, 2024)

/-sxen/	⇔	[3PL]	/	[2PL ...[__
/-čeʔn/	⇔	[3PL]	/	[1 ...[__
exponent		exponed features		context (allomorphy)
		primary exponence		secondary exponence

(35)

	AGR.PREFIX	-	STEM	-	CLASS		AGR.SUFFIX-complex
Exponent of:	Subject				Class II		Object
Allomorphy for:	Mood				Mood, Subj, Obj		Mood, Subj

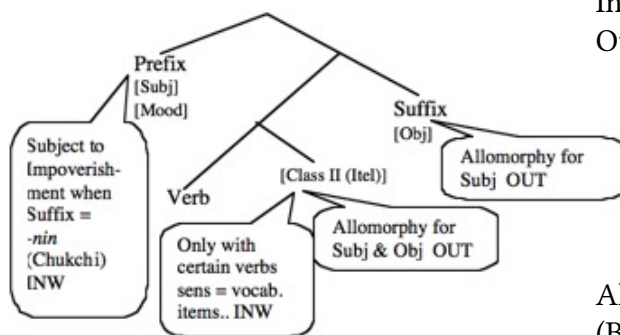
(36) [t]- tφ -s -ki -čeʔn (č'eβuzlayaʔn kičleʔn)
1SG.SUBJ- bring_{II} -PRES -CL_{II} -1SG>3PL (tasty rotten.heads)
'I'm bringing tasty rotten (mouse) heads.' (field notes: KL25)

(37)

Agr Prefix	Subject	Class		Agr Suffix (Complex)	Object
	Mood				S, Mood
m(ə)n-	1PL.IRR	-čiŋ-	3SG>3	-βuʔm	>1PL
m-	1SG.IRR	-čŋ-	%2SG>3.IN	-βum	>1SG
nt-	1PL	-čŷ ^w (i)-	3P>3; 2S>3P.IR %2S>3.IN	-sx	>2PL
t-	1SG	-ik	2P>3S; 2S>3S.IR	-(y)in	>2SG
q-	2PL.IRR	-xk-	2P>3P; >2S; >1	-sxen	2PL>3PL
xǎn-	3.IRR	-ki-	>2P; {1,∅}>3; >3IO	-ne(?)n	3>3(PL)
n-	3PL.TR	-kn-	PRTC = INTRANS	-če(?)n	1>3(PL)
∅	<else>	-k-	NON-FINITE = INTRANS		INTRANS
				-k	1>∅
				-sx	2PL>∅
				-č	2SG>∅
				...	...

Bobaljik (2000)
Bobaljik & Wurmbrand (2001)

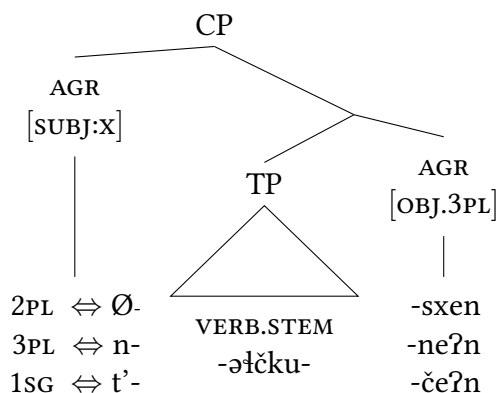
(38)



Inwards-sensitive = (morpho)-phonology
Outwards-sensitive = (morpho)-syntax

Alternatives: Cyclic Agree
(Béjar & Rezac 2009)

(39) Portmanteaus as contextual allomorphy (Bobaljik 2000; Fenger 2018, 2024)



Contextual allomorphy (asymmetric)
(Primary vs. secondary exponence; Noyer 1997 a.o.)

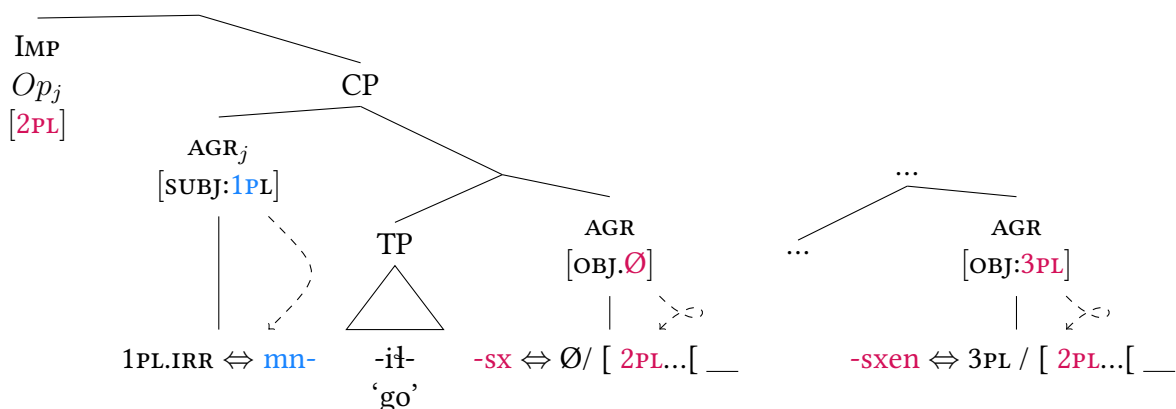
Object agr shows allomorphy for subject:
(simplified - suffixes have internal complexity)

- (40) OBJ:3PL $\Leftrightarrow$ -sxen / [2PL ...[__
OBJ:3PL $\Leftrightarrow$ -neʔn / [3 ...[__
OBJ:3PL $\Leftrightarrow$ -čeʔn / __

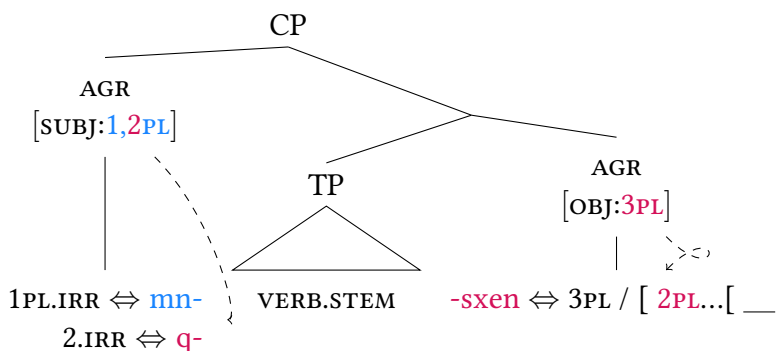
- (41) [SUBJ:X] INTRANS [OBJ:Ø]
2PL $\Leftrightarrow \emptyset$ - -sx
1PL $\Leftrightarrow nt'$ - VERB.STEM -k
3PL $\Leftrightarrow \emptyset$ - -iʔn

- OBJ:Ø $\Leftrightarrow$ -sx / [2PL ...[__
OBJ:Ø $\Leftrightarrow$ -k(ičeʔn) / [1PL ...[__
OBJ:Ø $\Leftrightarrow$ -(y)iʔn / [PL ...[__

(42) Putting the pieces together: (cf. (17))



(43) If clusivity not parameterized (Ackema & Neeleman 2018)
unexplained: restriction to imperatives (cross-linguistic); prefix-suffix difference (Itelmen)



4 Conclusion

- Clusivity is parametrized (categories) – languages without inclusive *category* can have **composed** inclusive *forms* (inclusive imperative/hortative = imperative(2SG/PL) + 1PL)
- Performativity – ADDRESSEE feature is introduced by IMPERATIVE Operator, so only (morpho-syntactically) able to compose with 1PL in IMPERATIVE
- Portmanteaus as contextual allomorphy: prefix-suffix asymmetry in composed forms is a contingent property of the Itelmen agreement exponent inventory and their independently observable allomorphy contexts

A History of Russian *id-em=te*

“13th C: loss of distinct forms of the imperative conjugation of the 1st and 2nd pl. (and others) (in *-ěmъ*, *-ěte* “appearance of forms of the type *nesite*, *vedite*, *tolknite* with *-ite* in place of the Old Russian *-ěte*, e.g., *vozmite* in place of *vōzměte*” in Dukhovaja Klimenta 1270. (Иванов 1983: 357)

“The earliest examples of ...the formation [with *-te*] are noted in the historical texts of the 17th C:” (Белоусов 1982: 152)

- (44) поспѣш^{имъ}^{те}, милая братья, къ своему царю Соломону
po-spěš-^{imъ}-^{te}, milaja brat’ja къ своему tsarju Solomonu
PRF-hurry-1PL-2PL dear brothers to self’s tsar Solomon
‘Let’s hurry, dear brothers, to our tsar, Solomon!’ (Pov. ts. Dav.)

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Source material (Bogoras 1901) at:
<https://dh-north.org/publikationen/bogoras-s-1901-itelmen-notebooks/>