

The Itelmen Inclusive Imperative: Composing Clusivity

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- (1) The Inclusive Imperative (Hortative); overview: Dobrushina & Goussev (2005)
 - a. Let's go! [English]
 - b. Gehen wir! (Gemma!) go.PL we [German]
 - c. pojd-em-(te)! go-1PL-(2PL) [Russian]
 - d. mn-ił-k(ičen)! 1PL.IRR-go-1PL or: mn-ił-sx! 1PL.IRR-go-2PL [Itelmen]
 - e. ıl-ıax! 'let's take! ('dual' = you and me)'; ıl-ıay-ııj 'let's take! (you-PL and me)' [Sakha] (Nevskaya 2005)

Three theoretical themes:

- (2) Clusivity (Zwicky 1977)

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

- (3) Treetop Syntax: Representing Speech Acts in the left periphery?
[ActP ... [CommitP ... [JudgeP ... [CP ... (Miyagawa 2022; Krifka 2023)
- (4) Multiple Exponence (Agreement vs. Allomorphy, Portmanteaus)
 - a. t'-ił-k(ičen)! 1SG-go-1SG 'I went'
 - b. t-əłčku-čen 1SG-see-1>3SG 'I saw it.'
 - c. n-əłčku-nen 3PL-see-3>3SG 'They saw it.'

1 Background: Chukotko-Kamchatkan Agreement

- (5) PREFIX - STEM - SUFFIX
- (5) $\left. \begin{array}{l} \textit{Subject} \\ \textit{Mood} \end{array} \right\} \quad \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \textit{Subject(Intransitive)} \\ \textit{Object(Transitive)} \end{array} \right.$
- (6) t- əłčku -(y)in 1SG.S- see -2SG.O ‘I saw you.’
- (7) t- k’ot- -k(ičen) 1SG.S- come -1(SG).S ‘I came.’
- (8) m(ə)n-ił-k(ič²n) 1PL.IRR-go-1PL.S ‘Let’s go!’
- (9) q-ił-sx 2PL.IRR-go-2PL.S/A ‘Go!’
- (10) m(ə)n-ił-sx 1PL.IRR-go-2PL.S/A ‘Let’s go!’
- Not recognized in previous descriptions (but see Ono 2021: 95-96)
 - Well attested in texts (1901, 1910, 1960s)
- (11) Imperative only, not indicative
- a. qat n-niŋ-kičen [*n-niŋ-sx], xałč mn-ənta-qzu-sx
1PL-load-1PLS 1PL-load-2PL HORT 1PL.IRR-CROSS-ASP-2PL
‘We’ve loaded up. Let’s go across!’
- b. desjat n-łəm-č²n [*-sx-ŋi²n], xałč čβanoke mn-əntxla-qzu-sx-ŋi²n
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)
- (12)
- All^(?) languages have some means to express Inclusive Imperative [1PL imperative always^(?) inclusive?] (Khrakovskij 1992; Goussev 2005; Dobrushina & Goussev 2005)
 - Even if they lack an inclusive category elsewhere
 - Subset draw the addressee-number distinction (composed incl) (Dobrushina & Goussev 2005: 202)
 - Subset of those: morphologically composed: 1PL + (2)PL (Also Udmurt; Masliukov 2024)

Table 2. Formal patterns of minimal vs. augmented inclusive imperatives

	Minimal inclusive	Augmented inclusive
Tuvan, Shor, Khakas, Altai	dedicated*	minimal + PL
Turkmen, Yakut	dedicated	minimal + 2PL
Luvale, Kanuri	1PL subjunctive	1PL subjunctive + 2PL
Russian, Chuvash, Hebrew	basic inclusive + IMP.2SG	basic inclusive + IMP.2PL
Éwé, Luo	1PL verb form + IMP.2SG	1PL verb form + IMP.2PL
Awa Pit	dedicated	dedicated + PL
Dogon	SG	PL
Makah, Kabardian	1PL.SUBJ + 2SG.OBJ causative	1PL.SUBJ + 2PL.OBJ causative

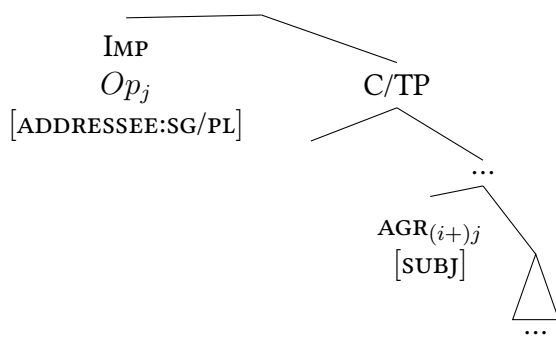
* Non-analysable affixes are considered dedicated.

(13) Composed Minimal-Augmented contrast (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-ŋ	[Turkmen] < Middle Turkish, 13 th C (Erdal 2004: 237)

2 Step I: Getting ‘you’ into the picture

(14) Imperative operator



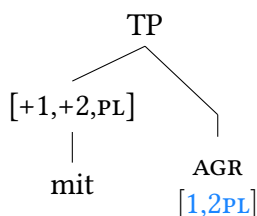
• cf. Jussive: Zanuttini (2008) (but see also Kaufmann 2011)

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

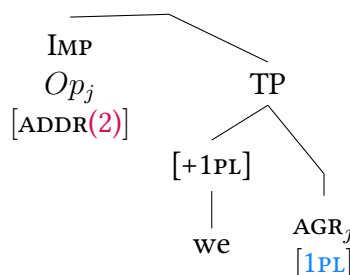
• Only posited (or only with binding?) when addressee (2) is or is included in subject

• 2PL only attested in 1PL imperative, not true jussive (‘Have them go!’);

(15) True Inclusive
Evenki etc.



(16) Composed Inclusive
Itelmen, Russian, Siberian Turkic



(17) cf. Russian (roughly):
 davaj-(**te**) po-id-**em**
davaj-(te) po-id-**em-te**
 let’s-2PL PO-go-1PL-(2PL)

2.1 Russian contact? Catalyst not calque

(18)	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-miŋ-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!’

(19) last ... łəm-sxŋi[?]n? skažem desjat n-łəm-če[?]n [portmanteaus]
 how.many kill-2PLS-2>3PLO say 10 1PL.S-kill-1>3PLO
 ‘How many did you.all kill? Let’s say we killed 10.’ (Bogoras 1901)

(20) Attested 2PLA>3O

mən-čanzo-**sx**

let's follow (it)

mán-lam-sxen

let's kill them

x[ǣ]n-əntxla-s[x]ŋin

let's take him

mn-əntxla-qzu-sxɲiʔn

let's take them

Corresp. 1PLA>3O forms:

mən-čanzo-čen

Bog. Class I

mán-ɬam-čeʔn

Joch

x[ă]n-əntxla-kičen

Vol. Class II

mn-əntxla-qzu-kičeʔn

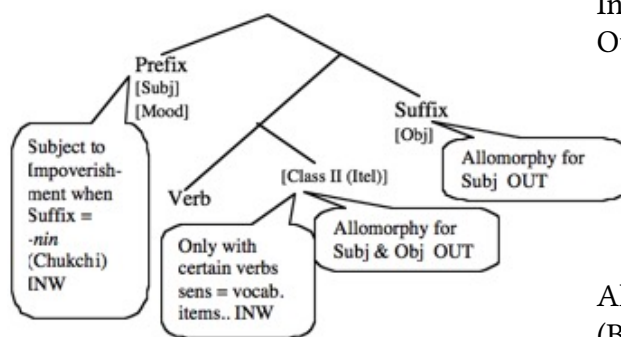
Bog.

(21) • Why suffix replacement, not stacking (cf. Russian)?
• Why 1_{PL}-V-2_{PL} not 2_{PL}-V-1_{PL}?

- Why 1PL-V-2PL not 2PL-V-1PL?

3 Chukotko-Kamchatkan Agreement

(22) Bobaljik (2000); Bobaljik & Wurmbrand (2001)



Inwards-sensitive = (morpho)-phonology

Outwards-sensitive = (morpho)-syntax

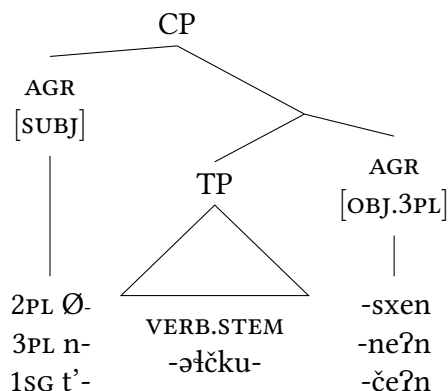
Alternatives: Cyclic Agree
(Béjar & Rezac 2009)

(23) [t]- tɕ -s -**ki** -čəʔn (č'əɸuzlaxaʔn kɪčləʔn)
 1SG.SUBJ- bring -PRES -CL_{II} -1SG>3PL (tasty rotten.heads)
 'I'm bringing tasty rotten (mouse) heads.' (field notes: KL25)

1SG.SUBJ- bring -PRES -CL_{II} -1SG>3PL (tasty rotten.heads)

'I'm bringing tasty rotten (mouse) heads.' (field notes: KL25)

(24) 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)

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

O:3PL $\Leftrightarrow$ -če?n / ____

(26)	[SUBJ]	INTRANS	[OBJ:Ø]
	2PL Ø-		-sx
	1PL nt'-	VERB.STEM	-k
	3PL Ø-		-i?n

2PL Ø- -SX

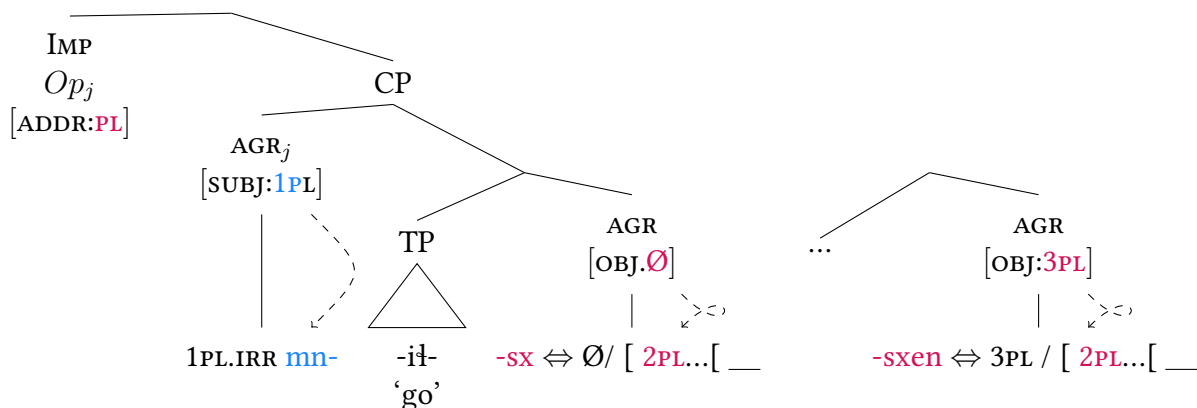
1PL nt'- VERB.STEM -k

3PL Ø- -i?n

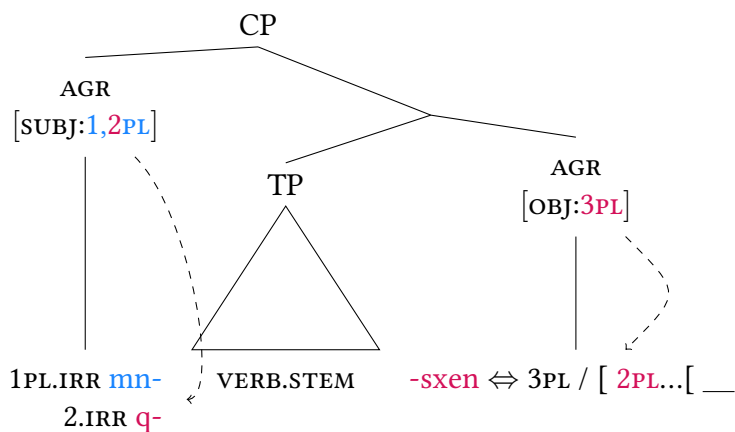
$$O:\emptyset \Leftrightarrow -SX \quad / [2PL \dots [_$$
$$O:\emptyset \Leftrightarrow -k(i\check{c}e?n) \quad / \quad [1PL \dots [_$$
$$0:\emptyset \Leftrightarrow \neg(y) i?n \quad / \quad [PL \dots [$$

4

(27) Putting the pieces together: (cf. (21))



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



4 Composed Clusivity (Redux) (see also: Bobaljik & Sauerland 2023)

(29) Nishnaabemwin (Ojibwe, Algonquian, Independent Pronouns (Long forms))

		SINGULAR	PLURAL		
EXCL	[1,]	niin	niinwin	g- ⇔ 2	
INCL	[1, 2]	-	giinwin	n- ⇔ 1	-win ⇔ 1PL
SECOND	[, 2]	giin	giinwaa		-waa ⇔ PL
THIRD	[]	wiin	wiinwaa		

Valentine 2001: 122, McGinnis 2005, Oxford 2024

(30)		Evenki	Nishnaabemwin	Itelmen	*impossible?
	[1,2] forms:	Yes (mit)	Composed	Composed*	Yes
	[1,2] category:	Yes	Yes	No	No
				*imperative only	

- (31) Desiderata for a theory of person (Zwicky 1977; Noyer 1997 and many others):
- categories $\neq$ exponents (syncretism)
 - if no INCL then generalized *we*; issue for $[\pm\text{AUTH}], [\pm\text{ADDR}]$ (hierarchy?)
 - INCL = AUTHOR + ADDRESSEE; issue for $[\pm\text{AUTH}], [\pm\text{PART}]$ (sui generis INCL)
 - optional clusivity within one language; issue for Harbour (2016)

(32) “Optional” clusivity (Mandarin PL pronouns, Ross & Ma 2006: 25)

	SUBJ only	elsewhere
AUTH (not ADDR)	wǒmen	wǒmen
AUTH and ADDR	(% zánmen)	wǒmen
ADDR (not AUTH)	nǐmen	nǐmen
NEITHER	tāmen	tāmen

(33) Mixed clusivity (Daur) Siewierska & Bakker (2005: 162)

	Pronouns	Agreement
AUTH (not ADDR)	ba:	-bəi-ba:
AUTH and ADDR	bed	-bəi-ba:
ADDR (not AUTH)	ta:	-bəi-ta:
NEITHER	a:n	-bəi-sul

- (34) a. $[[\text{AUTHOR}]]^c = \lambda x . \text{author}(c) \sqsubseteq x$
 b. $[[\text{ADDRESSEE}]]^c = \lambda x . \text{addressee}(c) \sqsubseteq x$... and *not* AUTHOR
 c. $\hookrightarrow [[\text{PARTICIPANT}]]^c = \lambda x . \text{author}(c) \sqsubseteq x \vee \text{addressee}(c) \sqsubseteq x$ (+ Exhaustification)
 d. Clusivity via sum $\oplus$ (Holladay 2023) or cumulativity $\sqcup$ (Bobaljik & Sauerland 2023)

5 Conclusion

- Clusivity is parametrized (categories) - languages w/o an inclusive *category* can have composed inclusive *forms* (inclusive imperatvie)
- Treetops – only some features of context are (morpho-)syntactically accessible
- Multiple exponence: probes aren’t the only game in town

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)

- (35) 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/>