The Itelmen Inclusive Imperative: Composed Clusivity

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SinFonIJA 17

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Background: Chukotko-Kamchatkan verb

PREFIX - STEM - SUFFIX

Subject, *Mood* | *Subject*(*Intransitive*), *Object*(*Transitive*)

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

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

(Itelmen: field notes)

Background: Chukotko-Kamchatkan verb

Irrealis Conjugation:
Imperative-Hortative-Jussive, Uncertain/Negative future

(1) m(ə)n-iɬ-k(iče^{ʔ}n)
1PL.IRR-go-1PL.S
'Let's go!'

(2) q-iɬ-sx
2PL.IRR-go-2PL.S/A
'Go!'

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

Goals

- Describe form/construction
- Why does it have the properties it has?
- Broad
  - Why composed inclusive in imperative only?
  - Answer: structure of imperative + clusivity parameter
- Narrow
  - Above + existing theory of CK-agreement =
  - Why 1-V-2, not 2-V-1?
  - Why not [[1PL.IMP]-2PL], cf. Russian *pojd-em-te* ?
- Key points
  - Imperative/Jussive/Hortative [2(PL)] in syntax
  - Clusivity parameter (contra Ackema & Neeleman, a.o.)
  - allomorphic theory of portmanteaus (Bobaljik, Fenger)
  - neutralization via agreement or via exponence (Zwicky, Weisser)


ATLANTIC OCEAN
ARCTIC OCEAN
EUROPE
RUSSIA
Kamchatka Peninsula
PACIFIC OCEAN
KAZAKHSTAN
JAPAN
MONGOLIA
ASIA
CHINA
0 500 1,000 mi
0 500 1,000 km
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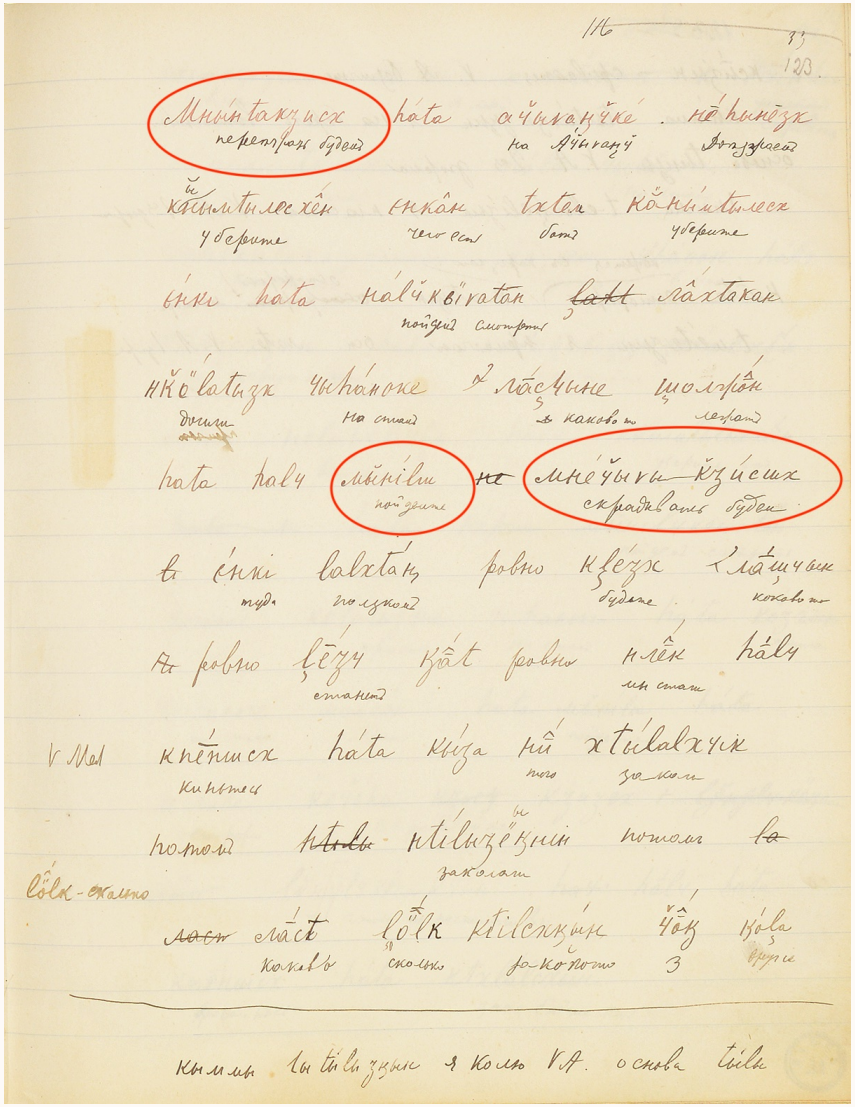
Introduction

The Itelmen Inclusive Imperative

a. normal	b. mixed (augmented)	
m(ə)n-iɬ-k(ičen)	m(ə)n-iɬ-sx	
1PL.IRR-go-1PL.S	1PL.IRR-go-2PL.S/A	
'Let's go!'	'Let's go!' (PL.ADDR)	
pojd-em	pojd-em-te	Russian
go-1PL	go-1PL-2PL	

a. - All authors
b. - Ono (2021, 95-96); one form from one speaker (b. 1920s); suggests it may be a Russian calque.

Sources: Older attestations (Bogoras 1901 notebooks)



mn-ənta-qzu-sx ənta- ‘go across’

mn-iɬ-s(x) iɬ- ‘go’
mn-eč’eβi-qzu-sx eč’eβi- ‘hide’

Bobaljik, Pupynina & Syuryun (2023)

I: Only as imperative; never indicative

Bogoras 1901

mən-čanzo-sx	follow
mn-iɬ-sx	go
mn-ənta-qzu-sx	go across
mn-eč’eβi-qzu-sx	hide
mn-əntxla-qzu-sx-ŋi?n	take them
mən-nu-qzu-sx	eat
mən-ɸi-qzu-sx	go.downstream
mn-unmi-sx	stop
mn-ilβin-t-qzu-sx	throw net

Jochelson 1910-11†

mín-iɬ-sx	go
mín-sxezi-sx	ride
min-sxezi-qzu-sx	ride
mán-ɬam-sx-en	kill them

Volodin (1960-70s)

xăn-iɬ-sx	go
xăn-tχes-sxin-sx	pee
x[ă]n-əntxla-s[x]ŋin	take.him

SW dialect uses *xăn-* in place of *mən-*

†original transcriber: Aleksandr Maksimovich Danilov

I: Only as imperative; never indicative

(4) qat n-niŋ-kičen, xaɬč mn-ənta-qzu-sx
1PL-load-1PLS 1PL.IRR-cross-ASP-2PL
*n-niŋ-sx
'We've loaded up. Let's go across!'

(5) desjat n-ɬəm-čeʔn, xaɬč čβanoke mn-əntxla-qzu-sx-ŋiʔn
10 1PL.S-kill-1>3PLO, to.camp 1PL.S-take-2PLS-2>3PLO
*n-ɬəm-sx-ŋiʔn
'We killed 10. Let's take them to camp.'

Bogoras 1901

I: Only as imperative: fits typological pattern

Khrakovskij (1992); Goussev (2005); Dobrushina & Goussev (2005)

- All$^{(?)}$ languages have some means to express Inclusive Imperative
- Even if they lack an inclusive category elsewhere
- Subset draw the addressee-number distinction (composed incl)

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

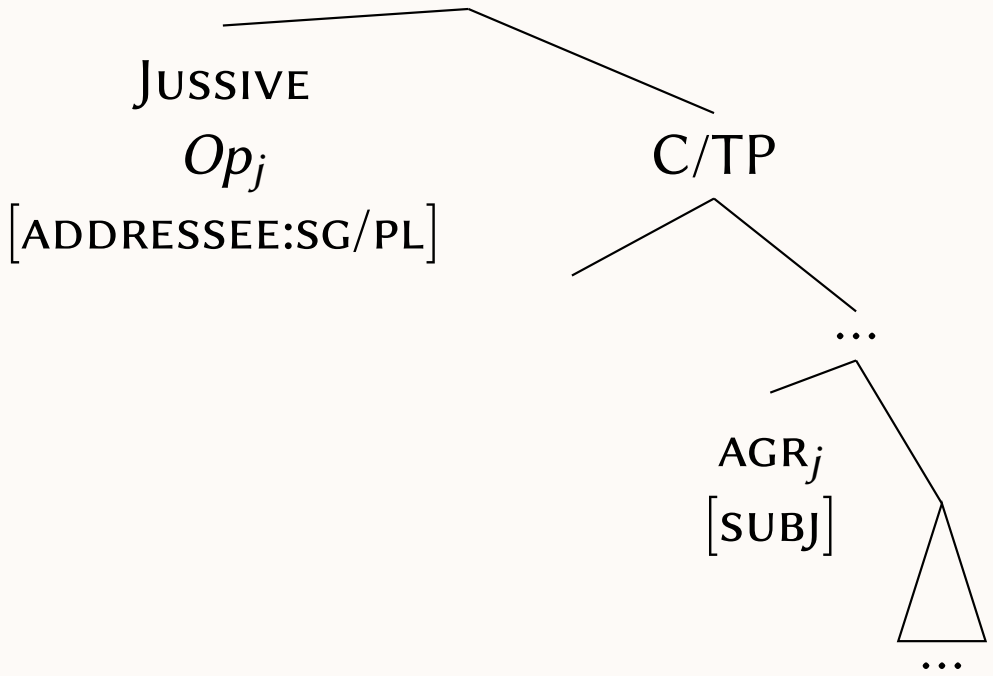
	Minimal inclusive	Augmented inclusive
Tuvan, Shor, Khakas, Altai	dedicated*	minimal + PL
Turkmen, Yakut	dedicated	minimal + 2PL
Luvale, Kanuri	1PL subjunctive	1PL subjunctive + 2PL
Russian, Chuvash, Hebrew	basic inclusive + IMP.2SG	basic inclusive + IMP.2PL
Éwé, Luo	1PL verb form + IMP.2SG	1PL verb form + 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.

(Dobrushina & Goussev, 2005, 202)

Why only imperative?

(6)



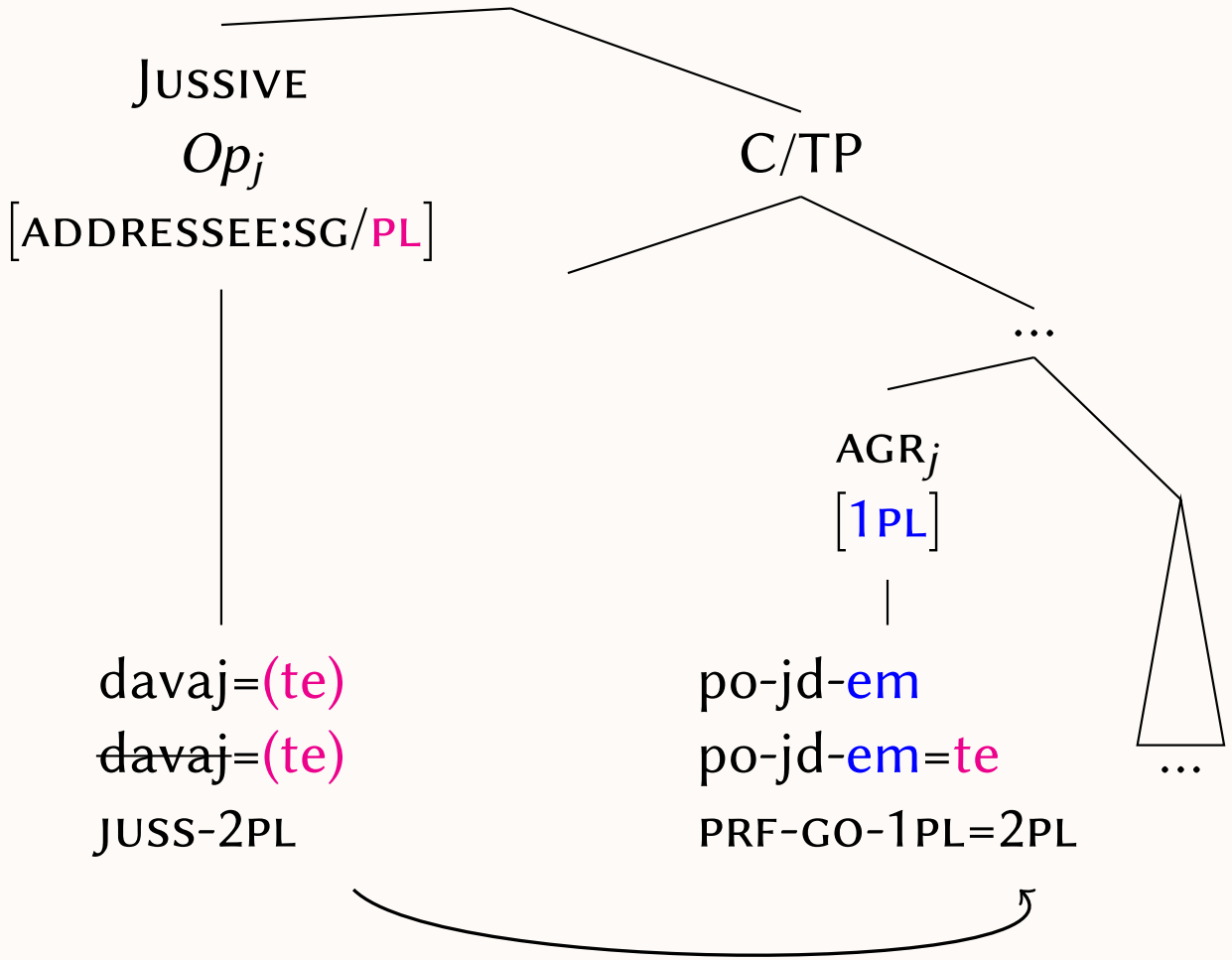
(loosely) after Zanuttini (2008)

(no commitment to details, cf. Kaufmann, 2011)

cf. Treetops – Miyagawa (2022), Krifka

Why only imperative?

(7)



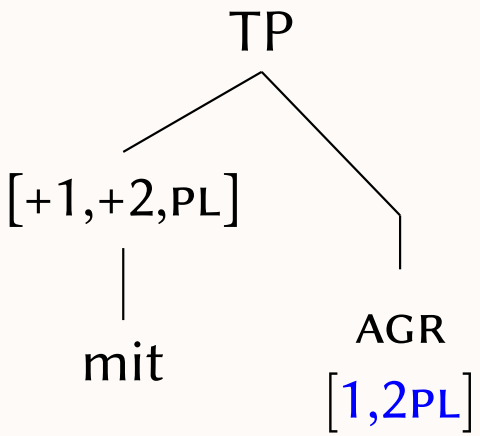
Clusivity as a parameter

(8)

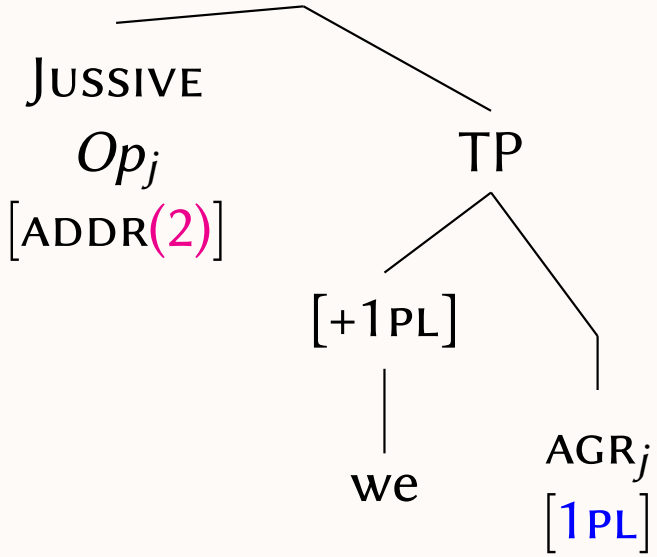
Referents	a. Clusivity Evenki	b. General *we* English	
AUTH and ADDR	mit	we	INCL
AUTH (not ADDR)	bu	we	EXCL
ADDR (not AUTH)	su	you	
neither	nungartyn	they	

Key proposal:

(9) True Inclusive
Evenki etc.



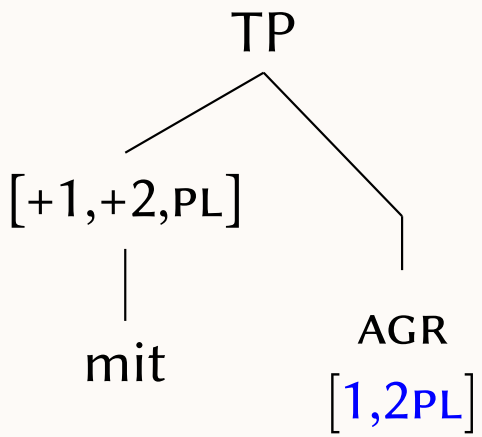
(10) Composed Inclusive
Itelmen, Russian, Sib. Turkic



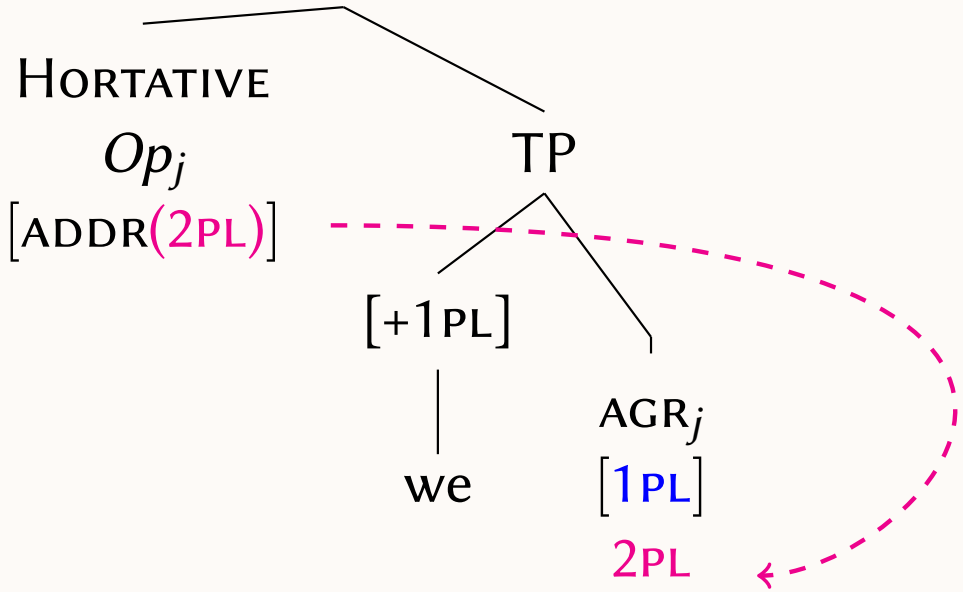
Composed inclusives occur only in imperative

Technical aside: variant implementation

(11) True Inclusive
Evenki etc.



(12) Composed Inclusive
Itelmen, Russian, Sib. Turkic



Hortative operator copies 2(PL) feature onto subject/agreement
Composed inclusives occur only in hortative (imperative of collective action)

Inclusive Imperatives: Minimal vs. Augmented

a. normal	b. mixed (augmented)	
m(ə)n-iɬ-k(ičen)	m(ə)n-iɬ-sx	
1PL.IRR-go-1PL.S	1PL.IRR-go-2PL.S/A	
'Let's go!'	'Let's go!' (PL.ADDR)	
pojd-em	pojd-em-te	Russian
go-1PL	go-1PL-2PL	

Potential qualification: Composed inclusive imperative as an areal phenomenon?

- Model: [1PL.IMPERATIVE]+2PL.IMP = [pojdem]-te

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

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* Non-analysable affixes are considered dedicated.

(Dobrushina & Goussev, 2005, 202)

An areal phenomenon?

Turkic imperatives:

- Model: [1PL.IMPERATIVE]+2PL.IMP = [pojdem]-te

	Sakha (Yakut)	Turkmen
1PL	-yax	-aly
1PL,2PL	-yaɣ-yŋ (-yax-aj-yŋ)	-aly-ŋ
2PL	-yŋ	-yŋ

(Dobrushina & Goussev, 2005, 202)

Turkmen forms go back to Middle Turkic
13th C ms. if I understand Erdal (2004, 237) correctly.

An areal (contact) phenomenon?

Within Dobrushina & Goussev (2005) sample:

- Model: [1PL.IMPERATIVE]+2PL.IMP is characteristic of:
  - Northern Turkic languages (and Turkmen) from 13^{th}C
  - Russian from 17^{th}C
  - Itelmen (with suffix replacement)
- Sprachbund/Contact?

Maybe Russian influence in Itelmen, but not simple calque

[pojdem] base: well-formed 1pl.imperative
[pojdem]-te

cf. nu=te, na=te, brys’=te (Jakobson 1932)
interjections, particles +te (pl/polite addressee)

Corresponding Itelmen forms would be **phonologically** well-formed but are unattested.

[mn-iɬ-k]	[mn-iɬ]-sx	*[mn-iɬ-k]-sx	q-ŋiksx-č
[mn-iɬ-kičen]	[mn-iɬ]-sx	*[mn-iɬ-kičen]-sx	
1PL.IRR-go-1.S	1PL.IRR-go-2PL	1PL.IRR-go-1.S-2PL	‘sleep!’ (Vol. 337)

Maybe Russian influence, but not simple calque

[pojdem] base: well-formed 1pl.imperative
[pojdem]-te

cf. nu=te, na=te, brys’=te (Jakobson 1932)
interjections, particles +te (pl/polite addressee)

Corresponding Itelmen forms would be **morphologically** well-formed but are unattested.

[mn-iɬ-k]	[mn-iɬ]-sx	*[mn-iɬ-k]-sx	q-ančp-miŋ-sx
[mn-iɬ-kičen]	[mn-iɬ]-sx	*[mn-iɬ-kičen]-sx	
1PL.IRR-go-1.S	1PL.IRR-go-2PL	1PL.IRR-go-1.S-2PL	2.IRR-teach-1SG.O-2PL

Maybe Russian influence, but not simple calque

Suffix order in transitive clauses: 2pl.S precedes (special allomorph) object:

(13) last ... ɬəm-sx-ŋiˀn? skažem desjat n-ɬəm-čeˀn
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.’

Transitive forms

Subject-Object **portmanteaux** drawn from 2PLA paradigm

Attested 2PLA>3O		Corresp. 1PLA>3O forms:	
mən-čanzo-sx	follow (it)	mən-čanzo-čen	Bog.
mán-ɬam-sx-en	kill them	mán-ɬam-če?n	Joch
x[ă]n-əntxla-s[x]-ŋin	take him	x[ă]n-əntxla-ki-čen	Vol.
mn-əntxla-qzu-sx-ŋi?n	take them	mn-əntxla-qzu-ki-če?n	Bog.

Affix order: not just *-sx* added to 1PL.IMPERATIVE
Fully integrated into Itelmen verbal morphology

Interim Summary

- Special 'mixed' inclusive imperative: 1PL-verb-2PL (augmented)
- Imperative only, not attested in declarative/interrogative
- Conforms to typologically well-attested asymmetry
- Proposal: composed inclusive, not true inclusive

- Not "just" a Russian calque - fits in Itelmen morphological system
- But ... how do we get the Itelmen forms, if not just 2PL on top of 1PL?

Chukotko-Kamchatkan agreement

PREFIX - STEM - SUFFIX

Subject, *Mood* | *Subject*(*Intransitive*), *Object*(*Transitive*)

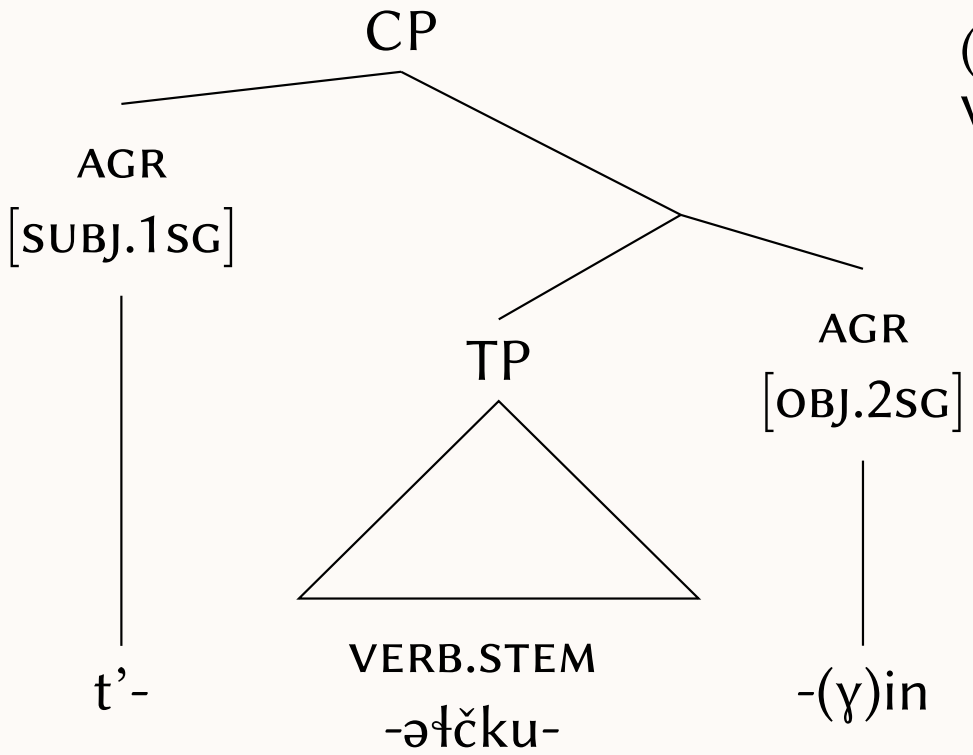
a. t- k'oɬ- -k(ičen)
1SG.S- come -1(SG).S
'I came.'

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

(Itelmen: field notes)

C-K agreement

(14)



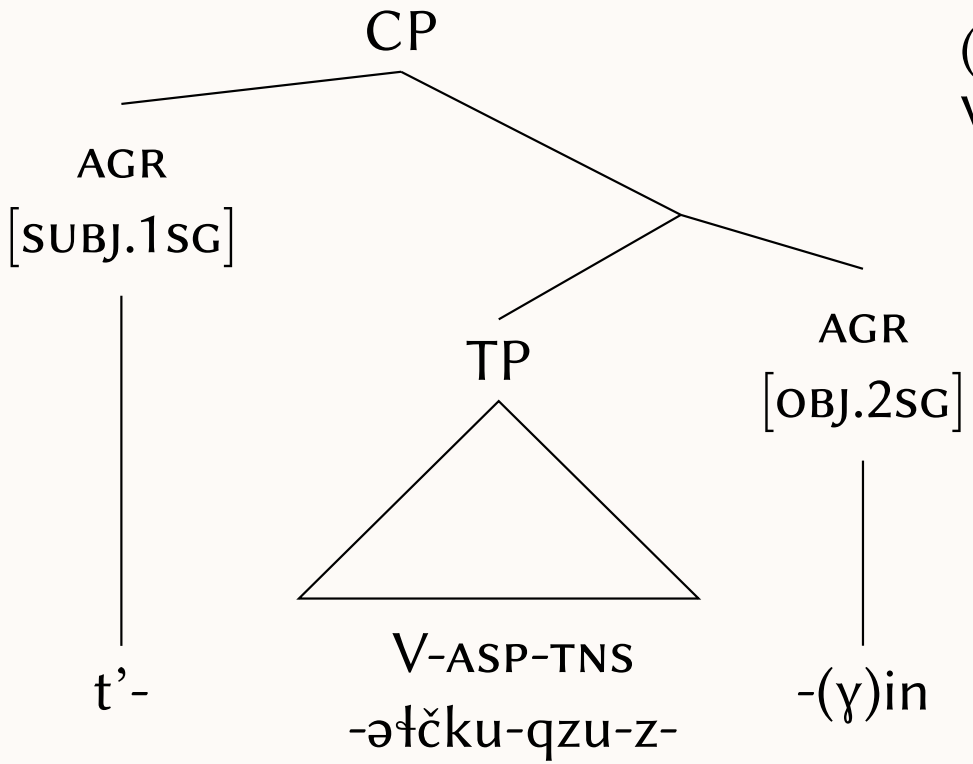
Prfx > Suff

AgrO outside of TNS,ASP

(Bobaljik, 2000; Bobaljik & Wurmbrand, 2001)

C-K agreement

(14)



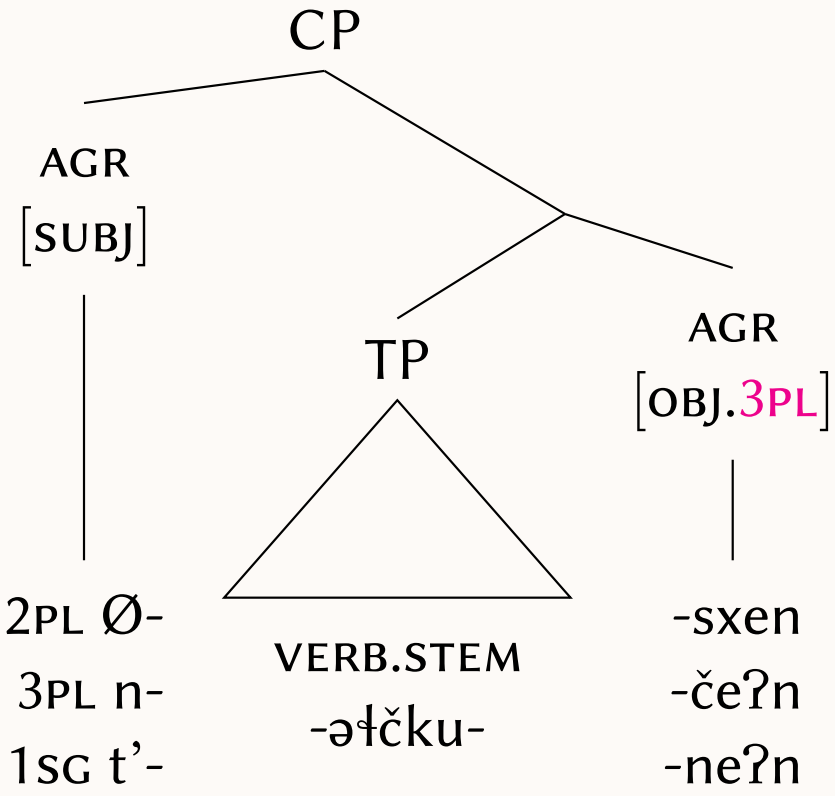
Prfx > Suff

AgrO outside of TNS,ASP

(Bobaljik, 2000; Bobaljik & Wurmbrand, 2001)

C-K agreement

(15)



Portmanteaux **suffixes**

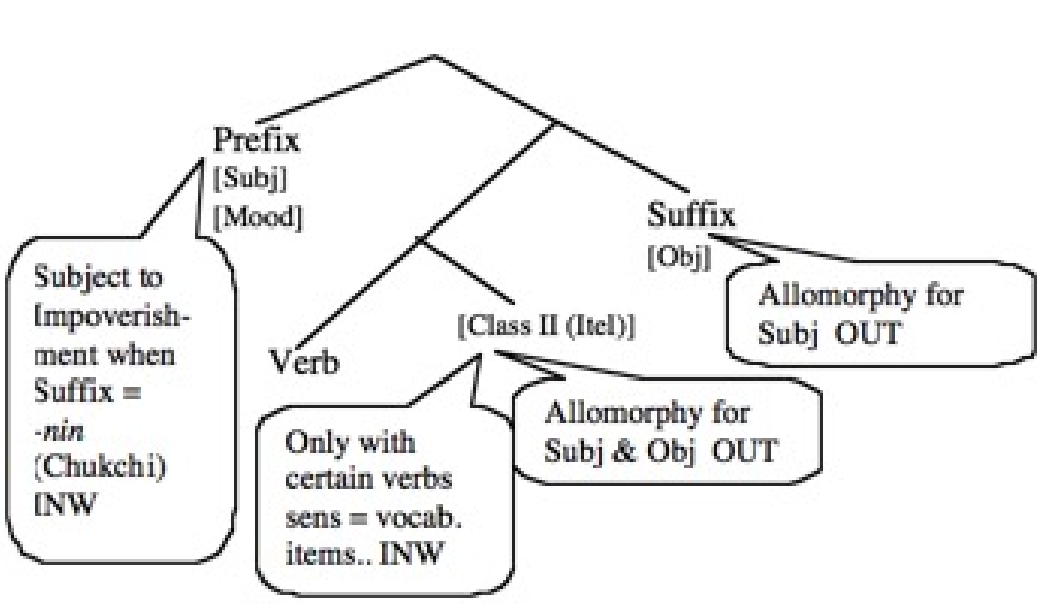
Contextual allomorphy*
(generalized: Fenger 2024)
(vs. Cyclic Agree: Béjar & Rezac)

Object agreement shows allomorphy for subject:

-sxen ⇔ 3PL / [2PL ...[___
-neʔn ⇔ 3PL / [3 ...[___
-čeʔn ⇔ 3PL / ___

*see also Weisser 2019

Inwards and Outwards Allomorphy (Bobaljik, 2000)



Allomoprhy:

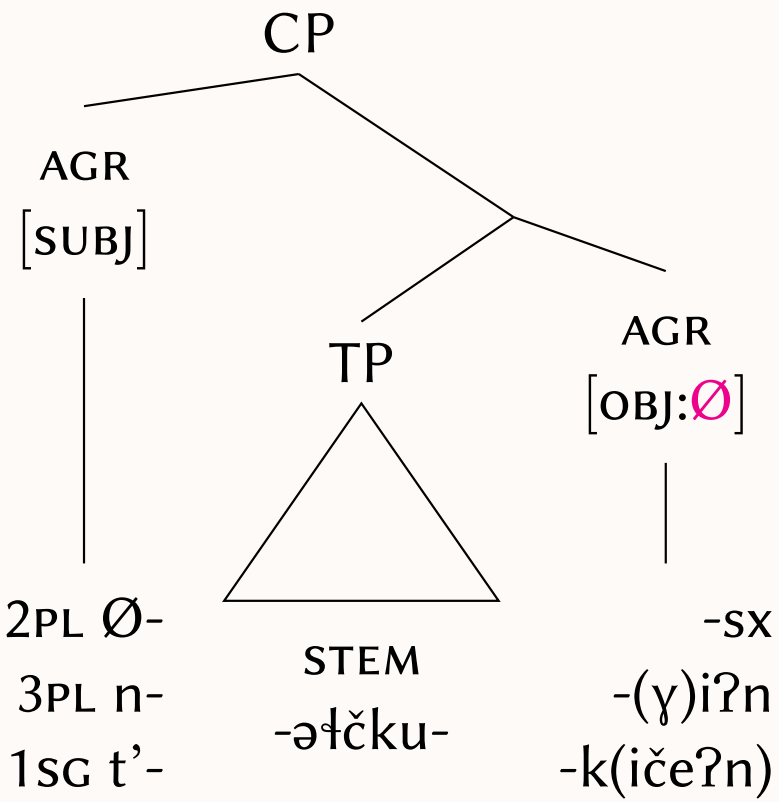
Inwards-sensitive = (morpho)-phonology

Outwards-sensitive = (morpho)-syntax

(16) [t]- tɸ -s -ki -če?n (č'eβuzlaχa?n kɬčle?n)
1SG.SUBJ- bring -PRES -CL// -1SG>3PL (tasty rotten.heads)
'I'm bringing tasty rotten (mouse) heads.' (field notes:KL25)

C-K agreement: Intransitives

(17)



Intransitives:

Contextual allomorphy

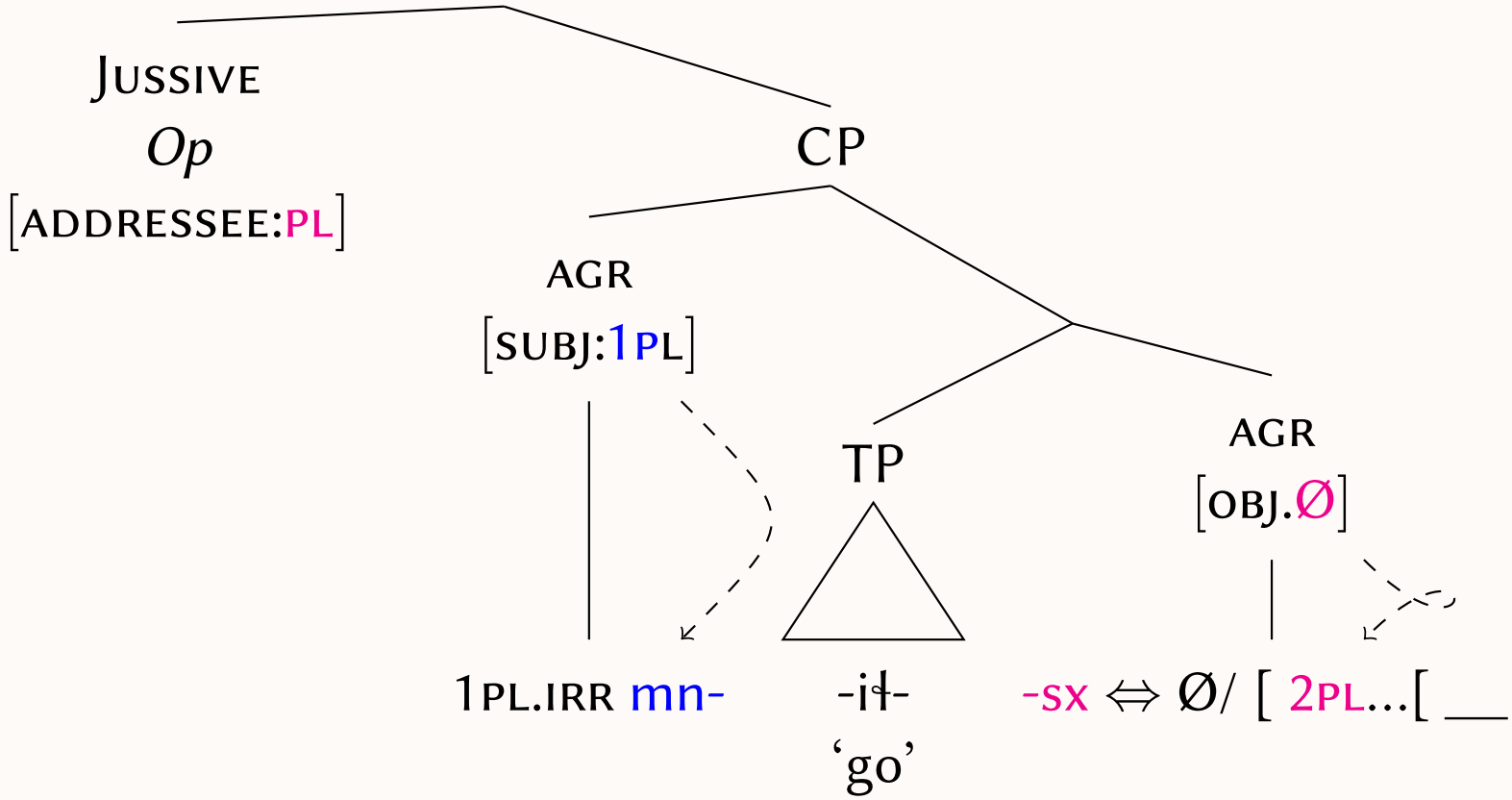
Object agreement shows allomorphy for subject

-sx ⇔ Ø/ [2PL ...[___
-(ɣ)iʔn ⇔ Ø/ [3 ...[___
-k(ičeʔn) ⇔ Ø/ [1 ...[/ ___

Can also be expressed in Cyclic/Multiple Agree

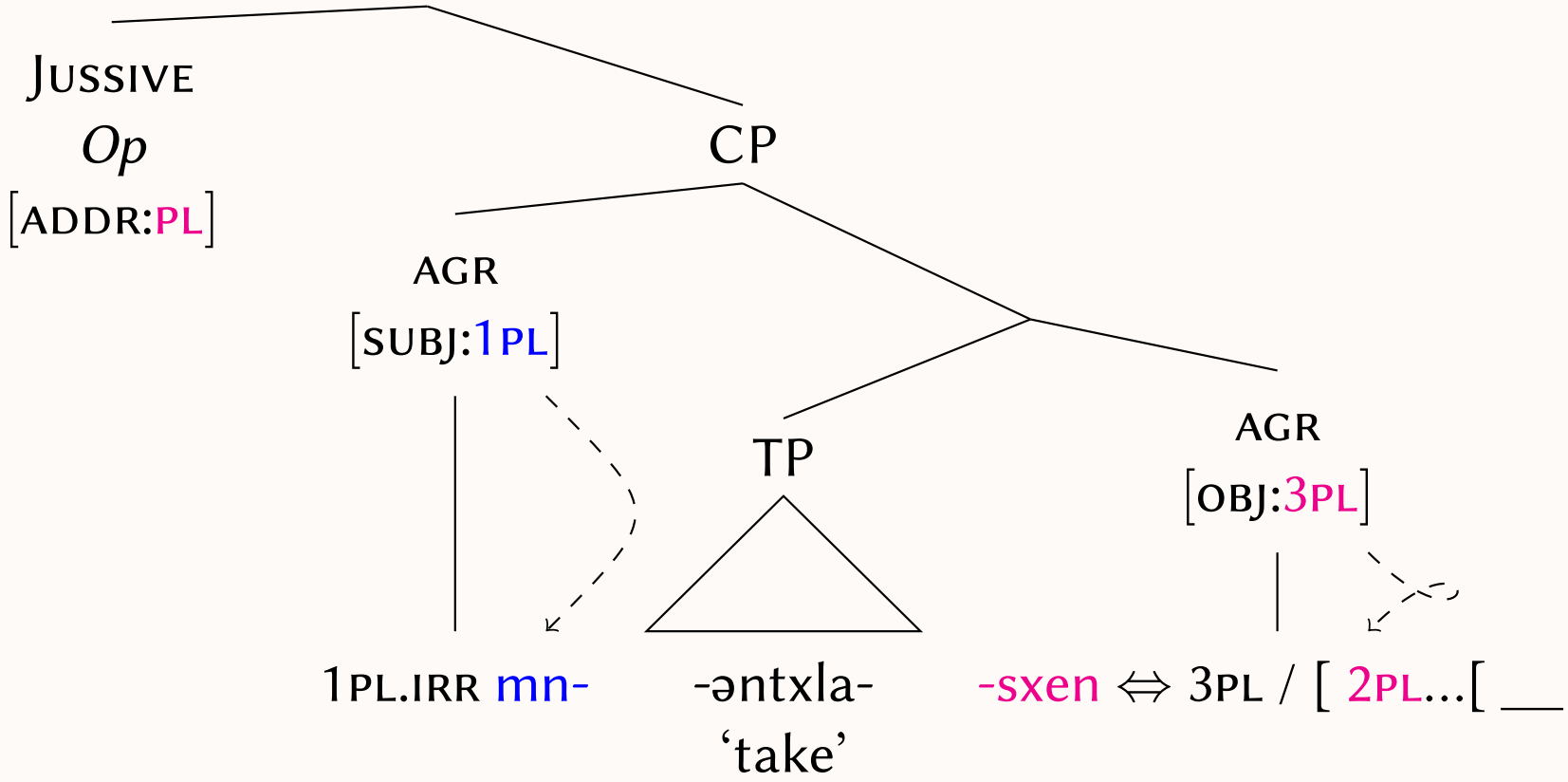
C-K agreement

(18)



C-K agreement

(19)



Interim Summary

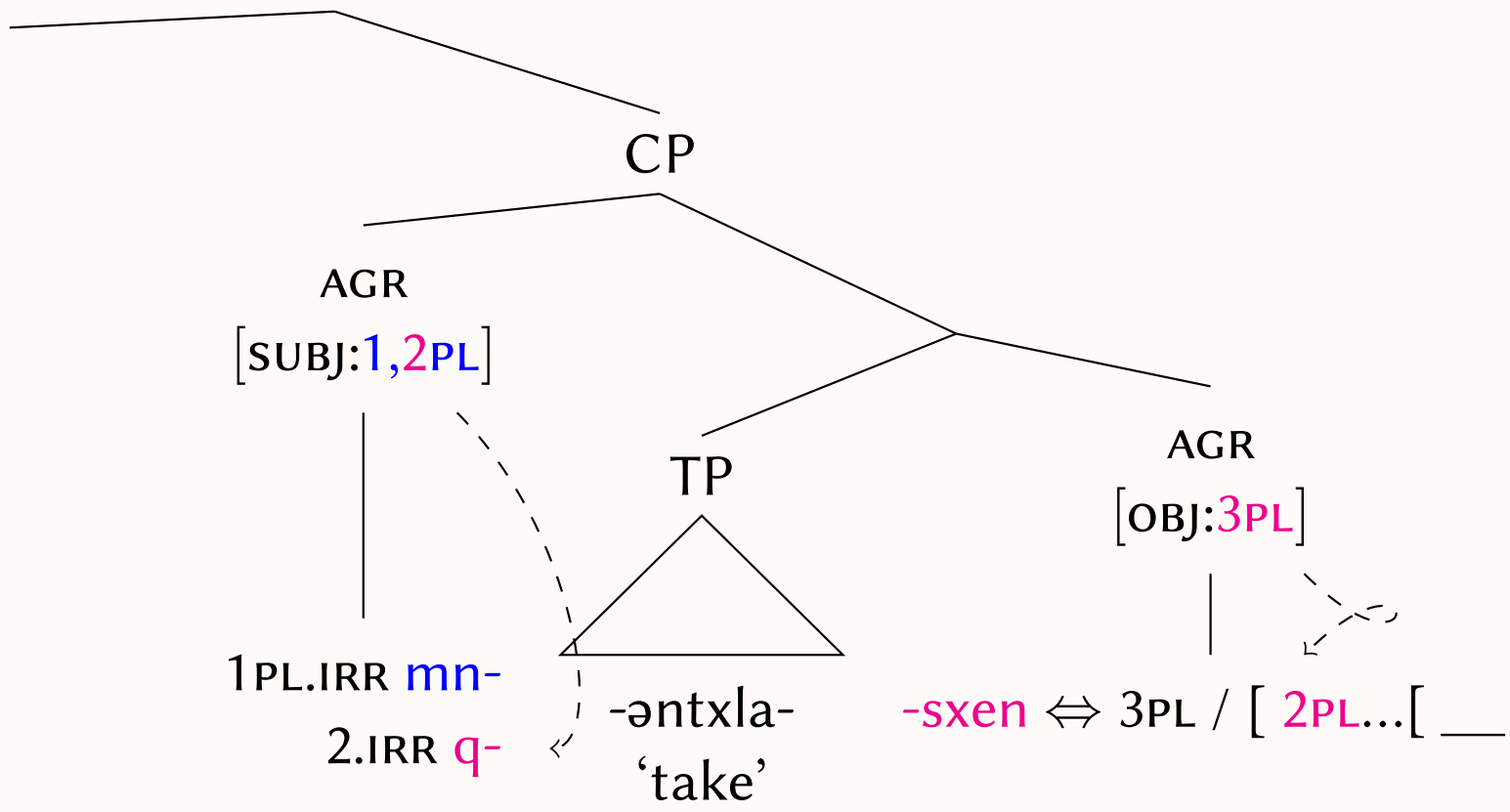
- Special 'mixed' inclusive imperative: 1PL-verb-2PL (augmented)
- Proposal: composed inclusive, not true inclusive

- But ... how do we get the Itelmen forms, if not just 2pl on top of 1pl?

- Because...
  - Suffix allomorphy for c-commanding PSN/NUM
  - Adding JUSSIVE makes 2(PL) available to condition allomorphy

C-K agreement: Unexplained if Inclusive head

(20)



Clusivity: Zwicky's Puzzle: 1>2>3

(21)

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

(22) *First person-Inclusive Generalization (FIG)*
Languages without an inclusive/exclusive contrast treat inclusive meaning as 1st person not 2nd person. (Zwicky, 1977)

Categories versus exponents

Nishnaabemwin (Algonquian, Valentine, 2001, 122)
Independent Pronouns (Long forms), cf. verbs

		SINGULAR	PLURAL
EXCL	[1,]	niin	niinwin
INCL	[1, 2]	–	giinwin
SECOND	[, 2]	giin	giinwaa
THIRD	[ ]	wiin	wiinwaa

g-	⇔ 2			
n-	⇔ 1	-win	⇔ 1PL	challenge for PARTICIPANT, ADDRESSEE
w-		-waa	⇔ PL	(See especially McGinnis, 2005)

Clusivity: Categories versus exponents

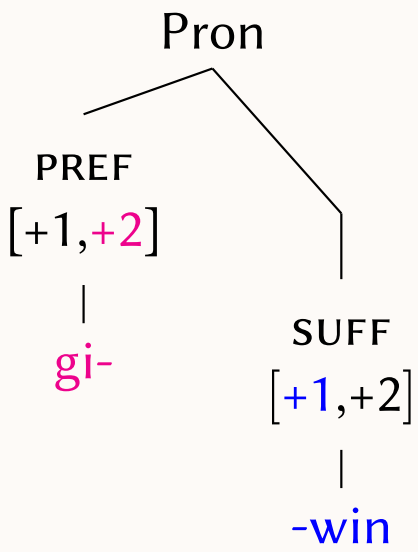
- Zwicky (1977) already draws this distinction (e.g., for Algonquian)
- If Zwicky's observation were about exponents (vocabulary insertion), then no non-stipulative account of asymmetry. Could just as easily describe the opposite.
- Therefore, Zwicky's puzzle must be about categories: clusivity parameter – *[+AUTH,+ADDR] as a condition on (agreement) nodes*
- The Jussive proposal is consistent with this - inclusive imperative (in a language without an inclusive category) must be a composite

*McGinnis (2005)

alternatives: Harbour (2016); Bobaljik & Sauerland (2023); Holladay (2023) a.o.

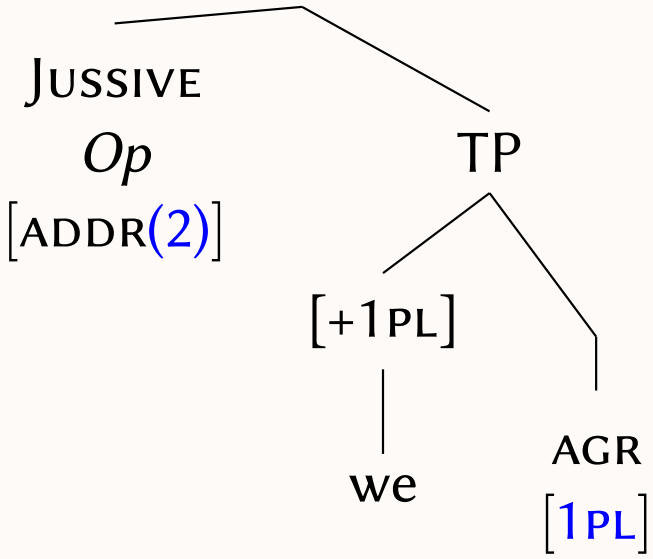
Key proposal: Clusivity parameter – nodes, not exponents

(23) True Inclusive
Evenki, **Algonq**



Inclusive nodes (+ syncretism)
⇒ Language-wide

(24) Composed Inclusive
Itelmen, Russian, Sib. Turkic



No node is inclusive [+1,+2]
(+ Contextual allomorphy)
⇒ Imperative (hortative) only

Introduction (redux)

The Itelmen Inclusive Imperative

a. normal	b. mixed	
m(ə)n-iɬ-k(ičen)	m(ə)n-iɬ-sx	
1PL.IRR-go-1PL.S	1PL.IRR-go-2PL.S/A	
‘Let’s go!’	‘Let’s go!’ (PL.ADDR)	
pojd-em	pojd-em-te	Russian
go-1PL	go-1PL-2PL	

a. Why only imperative (not declarative)?
b. Why not 2(PL) prefix + 1(PL) suffix?
c. Why not stacked suffixes (as in Russian)?

Conclusion

- a. Why only imperative (not declarative)?
- b. Why not 2(PL) prefix + 1(PL) suffix?
- c. Why not stacked suffixes (as in Russian)?

'Jussive' proposal answers these:

- a. composed category
- b-c. reflects existing language-particular properties
  - b. suffixes are portmanteaus (allomoprhy)
  - c. unlike Russian/Turkic, no spell-out of Jussive

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Appendix

Aside to aside: *пойдемте*? The actuation problem

"Самые ранние примеры ...образований [с *-те*] отмечены в памятниках **XVII в.**: *поспѣшимъте, милая братья, къ своему царю Соломону* (Пов. ц. Дав. XVII, 69)"
(Белоусов Б.Н. 1982 *История форм повелительного наклонения*, с. 152)

XIII в.: утрата отдельных форм повелительного наклонения 1,2PL (и. др.) (на *-ёмъ, -ёте*) "появляются формы типа *несите, ведите, толкните* с *-ите* вместо древнерусского *-ёте*, напр. *возмите* вместо *възмѣте*" (Духовная Климента 1270; Иванов В.В. 1983 *Историческая грамматика р-ого я-а., с. 357*)