

The Itelmen Inclusive Imperative: Composing Clusivity

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- (1) The Inclusive Imperative (Hortative)
 - a. Let's go! [English]
 - b. pojd-em-(te)! go-1PL-(2PL) [Russian]
 - c. Gehen wir! (Gemma!) go.PL we [German]
 - d. mn-ił-k(ičen)! 1PL.IRR-go-1PL or: mn-ił-sx! 1PL.IRR-go-2PL [Itelmen]
(Dobrushina & Goussev 2005; Goussev 2005)

Three theoretical themes:

- (2) Clusivity (Zwicky 1977)

Referents	a. Clusivity Evenki	b. General <i>we</i> English	c. * <i>you</i> * <i>n/a</i> *
AUTH (not ADDR)	bu	we	* <i>swe</i>
AUTH and ADDR	mit	we	* <i>you</i>
ADDR (not AUTH)	su	you	* <i>you</i>
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. mn-ił-k(ičen)! 1PL-go-1PL
 - b. t'-əłčku-čēn 1SG-see-1>3SG
 - c. n-əłčku-nēn 3PL-see-3>3SG

1 Background: Chukotko-Kamchatkan Agreement

- PREFIX - STEM - SUFFIX
- (5) $\left. \begin{array}{l} \textit{Subject} \\ \textit{Mood} \end{array} \right\} \quad \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \textit{Subject}(\textit{Intransitive}) \\ \textit{Object}(\textit{Transitive}) \end{array} \right.$
- (6) t'- əłčku -(y)in
1SG.S- see -2SG.O
'I saw you.'
- (7) t- k'oł- -k(ičen)
1SG.S- come -1(SG).S
'I came.'
- (8) m(ə)n-ił-k(iče'n)
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-ləm-če'n [*-sx-ŋi'n], xałč čβanoke mn-əntxla-qzu-sx-ŋi'n
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 (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)

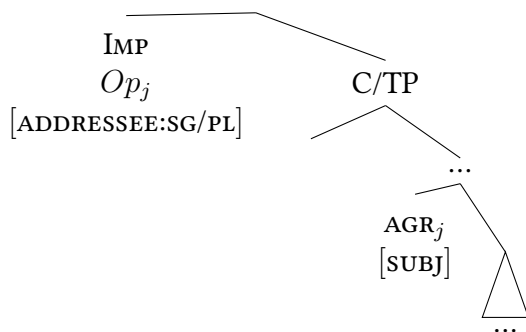
Table 2. Formal patterns of minimal vs. augmented inclusive imperatives

	Minimal inclusive	Augmented inclusive
Tuvan, Shor, Khakas, Altai	dedicated*	minimal + PL
Turkmen, Yakut	dedicated	minimal + 2PL
Luvalé, 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.

2 Step I: Getting ‘you’ into the picture

(13) Imperative operator



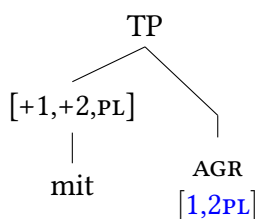
• cf. Jussive: Zanuttini (2008) (but see also Kaufmann 2011)

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

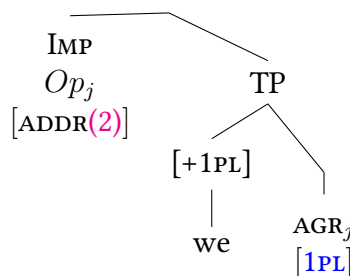
• Only posited (or only with binding?) when addressee (2) is or is included in subject

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

(14) True Inclusive Evenki etc.



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



(16) 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)

2.1 Catalyst, not calque

(17)	a. regular	b. composed	c. unattested	d. phon OK	e. morph OK
	[mn-ił-k]	[mn-ił]-sx	*[mn-ił-k]-sx	q-ŋi ^k sx-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!’

(18)	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)			

(19) Attested 2PLA>3O

mən-čanzo-**sx** follow (it)
 mán-łam-**sxen** kill them
 x[ǎ]n-əntxla-**s[x]ɲin** take him
 mn-əntxla-qzu-**sxɲiʔn** take them

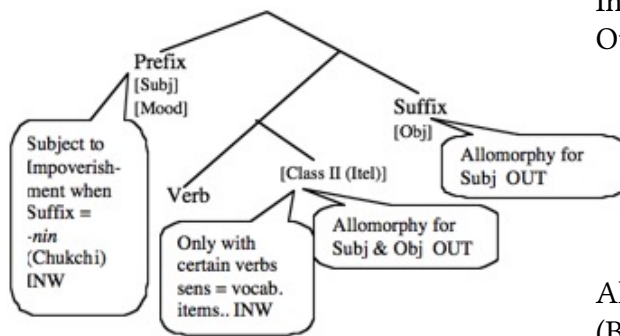
Corresp. 1PLA>3O forms:

mən-čanzo-**čen** Bog. Class I
 mán-łam-**čeʔn** Joch
 x[ǎ]n-əntxla-**kičen** Vol. Class II
 mn-əntxla-qzu-**kičeʔn** Bog.

- (20)
- Why suffix replacement, not stacking (cf. Russian)?
 - Why 1PL-V-2PL not 2PL-V-1PL?

3 Chukotko-Kamchatkan Agreement

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

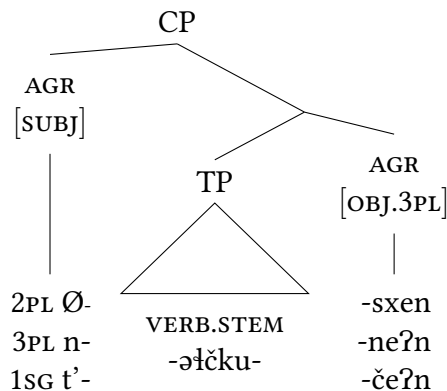


Inwards-sensitive = (morpho)-phonology
 Outwards-sensitive = (morpho)-syntax

Alternatives: Cyclic Agree
 (Béjar & Rezac 2009)

- (22) [t]- tɸ -s -**ki** -čeʔn (č'eβuzlaxaʔn kłčleʔn)
 1SG.SUBJ- bring -PRES -CL_{II} -1SG>3PL (tasty rotten.heads)
 'I'm bringing tasty rotten (mouse) heads.' (field notes: KL25)

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



Contextual allomorphy (asymmetric)

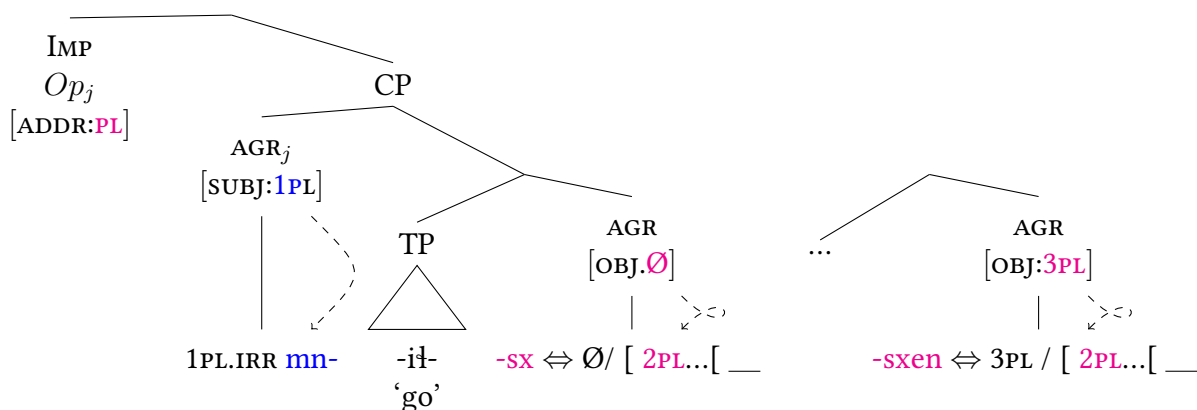
Object agr shows allomorphy for subject:
 (simplified - suffixes have internal complexity)

- (24) O:3PL ⇔ -sxen / [2PL ...[__
 O:3PL ⇔ -neʔn / [3 ...[__
 O:3PL ⇔ -čeʔn / __

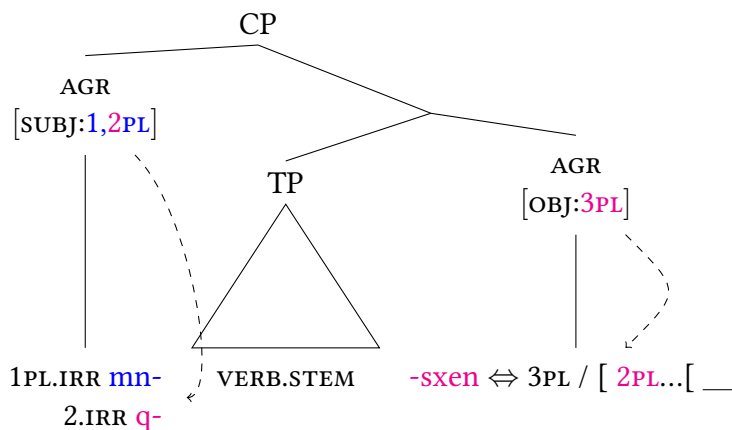
- (25) [SUBJ] INTRANS [OBJ:Ø]
 2PL Ø- -sx
 1PL nt'- VERB.STEM -k
 3PL Ø- -iʔn

- O:Ø ⇔ -sx / [2PL ...[__
 O:Ø ⇔ -k(ičeʔn) / [1PL ...[__
 O:Ø ⇔ -(y)iʔn / [PL ...[__

(26) Putting the pieces together: (cf. (20))



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



4 Composed Clusivity (Redux)

(28) 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

(29)		Evenki	Nishnaabemwin	Itelmen	impossible
	[1,2] category:	Yes	Yes	No	No
	[1,2] exponents:	Yes (mit)	Composed	Composed	Yes

- (30) a. $[[\text{AUTHOR}]]^c = \lambda x . \text{author}(c) \sqsubseteq x$ (Bobaljik & Sauerland 2023)
 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)

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 *vъzměte*” in Dukhovaja Klimenta 1270. (Иванов 1983: 357)

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

- (31) поспѣшимъте, 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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