



The Itelmen Inclusive Imperative: Treetops, Clusivity, Allomorphy

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- (1) The Inclusive Imperative (Hortative, Khrakovskij 1992; 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. il-**iax**! 'let's take!' il-**ia**y-**iy** '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**

Three theoretical themes:

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

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>sy</i> ou
ADDR (not AUTH)	su	you	* <i>sy</i> ou
neither	nungartyn	they	they

- (3) Treetop Syntax: Representing Speech Act (Participant)s in the left periphery?
[ActP ... [CommitP ... [JudgeP ... [CP ... (Miyagawa 2022; Krifka 2023)
- (4) Multiple Exponence (Agreement vs. Allomorphy, Portmanteaus)
- a. t'-ił-k(ičen)! b. t'-əłčku-**čen** c. n-əłčku-**nēn**
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

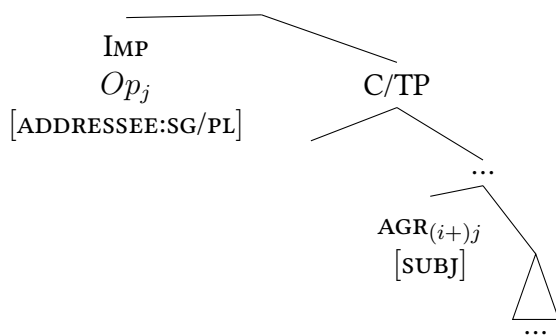
- PREFIX - STEM - SUFFIX
- (5) $\left. \begin{array}{l} \textit{Subject} \\ \textit{Mood} \end{array} \right\} \quad \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \textit{Subject}(\textit{Intransitive}) \\ \textit{Object}(\textit{Transitive}) \end{array} \right.$
- (6) t'- əłčku -(y)in
1SG.S- see -2SG.O
'I saw you.'
- (7) t- k'oł- -k(ičen)
1SG.S- come -1(SG).S
'I came.'
- (8) m(ə)n-ił-k(ičen)
1PL.IRR-go-1.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
already 1PL-load-1PLS 1PL-load-2PL HORT 1PL.IRR-cross-ASP-2PL
'We've loaded up. Let's go across!'
- b. desjat n-łəm-čeŋn [*sx-ŋiŋn], xałč čβanoke mn-əntxla-qzu-sx-ŋiŋn
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) Composed Minimal-Augmented Imperative (Dobrushina & Goussev 2005: 202):
- 2PL 1PL 1PL+2PL
- a. idi-te idⁱ-em idⁱ-em-te [Russian] (from 17th C)
- b. -yŋ -yax -yay-yŋ [Sakha]
- c. -yŋ -aly -aly-ŋ [Turkmen] < Middle Turkish, 13th C (Erdal 2004: 237)

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

- (13)
- 1PL+2PL agreement = **composed inclusive**
 - Rare (Dobrushina & Goussev 2005, + Itelmen; +Udmurt, Masliukov 2024)
 - **Asymmetry I:**
 - **Attested:** Composed inclusivity in hortative, no inclusive in indicative
 - **Unattested[?]:** Composed inclusivity in indicative only

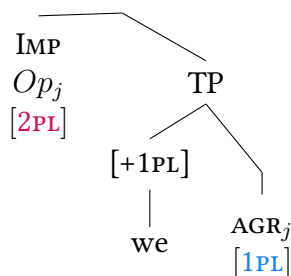
2 Asymmetry I: Composed inclusivity without an “inclusive”

(14) Imperative operator

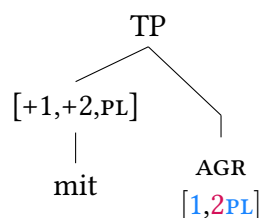


- cf. Jussive: Zanuttini (2008) (but see also Kaufmann 2011)
but: no -sx in Itelmen Jussive
- Semantics: ADDRESSEE-oriented, ADDRESSEE must be included in subject
- (Relation to allocutive agreement? Antonov 2015; McFadden 2020)
- ADDRESSEE-# vs. SUBJECT-# at distinct nodes!

(15) Composed Inclusive Itelmen, Russian, Siberian Turkic



(16) Contrast True Inclusive Evenki etc.



- (17) 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)

2.1 Itelmen form is not a direct calque from Russian

- (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 dešjat n-łəm-če?n [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)

(20) Attested 2PLA>3O

mən-čanzo-sx
 mán-łam-sxen
 x[ǎ]n-əntxla-s[x]ŋin
 mn-əntxla-qzu-sxŋi?n

let's follow (it)
 let's kill them
 let's take him
 let's take them

Corresp. 1PLA>3O forms:

mən-čanzo-čen
 mán-łam-če?n
 x[ǎ]n-əntxla-kičen
 mn-əntxla-qzu-kiče?n

Bog. Class I
 Joch
 Vol. Class II
 Bog.

- (21) **Asymmetry II:** Itelmen-specific questions (composed inclusive)
- Why suffix replacement, not stacking (cf. Russian, Turkic)?
 - Why 1PL-V-2PL not 2PL-V-1PL?

3 Chukotko-Kamchatkan Agreement: Portmanteaus as contextual allomorphy

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

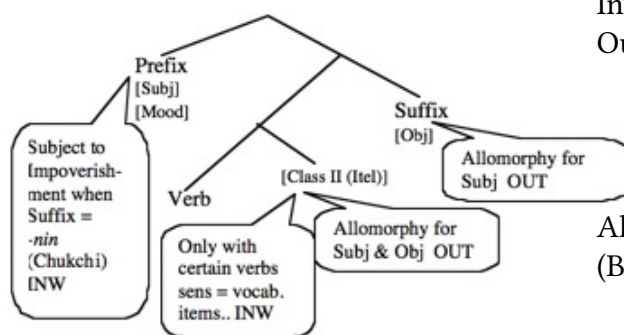
/-sxen/	⇔	[3PL]	/	[2PL ...[__
/-čeʔn/	⇔	[3PL]	/	[1 ...[__
exponent		probed features		context (allomorphy)

- | | | | | | | | |
|-------------------|------------|---|------|---|-----------------|--|--------------------|
| | AGR.PREFIX | - | STEM | - | CLASS | | AGR.SUFFIX-complex |
| (23) Exponent of: | Subject | | | | Class II | | Object |
| Allomorphy for: | Mood | | | | Mood, Subj, Obj | | Mood, Subj |

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

- | | | | | | | |
|------|------------|----------|-----------------------|-------------------------|---------|---------|
| (25) | Agr Prefix | Class | | Agr Suffix (Complex) | | |
| | Subject | Class | | Object | | |
| | Mood | S,O,Mood | | S, Mood | | |
| | m(ə)n- | 1PL.IRR | -čɪŋ- | 3SG>3 | -βuʔm | >1PL |
| | m- | 1SG.IRR | -čŋ- | %2SG>3.IN | -βum | >1SG |
| | nt- | 1PL | -čɣ ^w (i)- | 3P>3; 2S>3P.IR %2S>3.IN | -sx | >2PL |
| | t- | 1SG | -ik | 2P>3S; 2S>3S.IR | -(ɣ)in | >2SG |
| | q- | 2PL.IRR | -xk- | 2P>3P; >2S; >1 | -sxen | 2PL>3PL |
| | xǎn- | 3.IRR | -ki- | >2P; {1,Ø}>3; >3IO | -ne(ʔ)n | 3>3(PL) |
| | n- | 3PL.TR | -kn- | PRTC = INTRANS | -če(ʔ)n | 1>3(PL) |
| | Ø | <else> | -k- | NON-FINITE = INTRANS | | INTRANS |
| | | | | -k | 1>Ø | |
| | | | | -sx | 2PL>Ø | |
| | | | | -č | 2SG>Ø | |
| | | | | ... | ... | |
- Bobaljik (2000)
Bobaljik & Wurmbrand (2001)

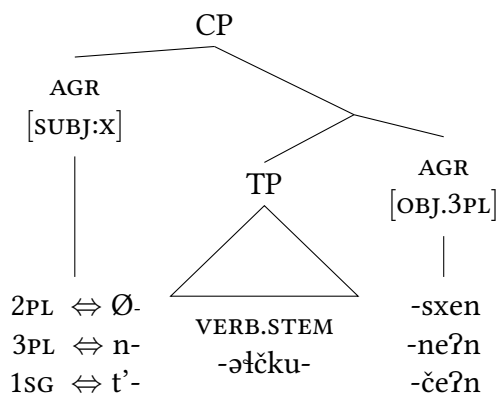
(26)



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

Alternatives: Cyclic Agree
(Béjar & Rezac 2009)

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



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

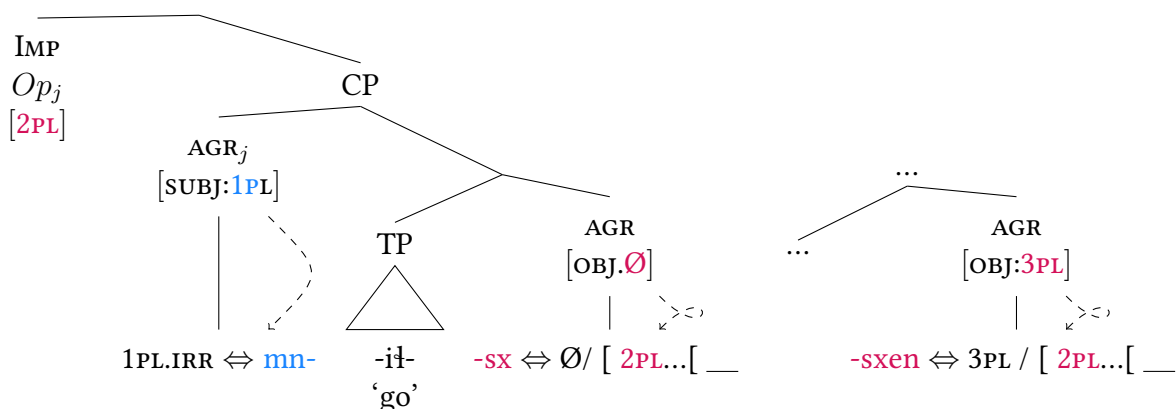
Object agr shows allomorphy for subject:
(simplified - suffixes have internal complexity)

- (28) OBJ:3PL ⇔ -sxen / [2PL ...[__
OBJ:3PL ⇔ -neʔn / [3 ...[__
OBJ:3PL ⇔ -čeʔn / __

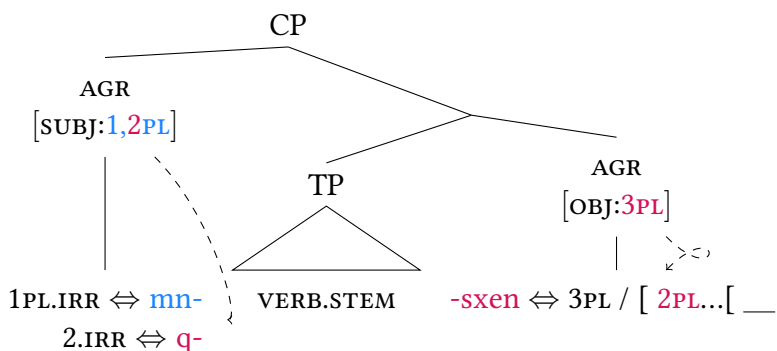
- (29) [SUBJ:X] INTRANS [OBJ:Ø]
2PL ⇔ Ø- -sx
1PL ⇔ nt'- VERB.STEM -k
3PL ⇔ Ø- -iʔn

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

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



(31) 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)
- Treetops – 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 *vъzměte*” 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:” (Белюсов 1982: 152)

- (32) поспѣш^{имъ}^{те}, милая братья, къ своему царю Соломону
 po-spěš-^{imъ}-^{te}, milaja brat’ja къ svoemu 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.)

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

- (33) Nishnaabemwin (Ojibwe, Algonquian, Independent Pronouns (Long forms))

		SINGULAR	PLURAL		
EXCL	[1,]	niin	niin ^{win}	g- ⇔ 2	
INCL	[1, 2]	–	giin ^{win}	n- ⇔ 1	-win ⇔ 1PL
SECOND	[, 2]	giin	giinwaa		-waa ⇔ PL
THIRD	[]	wiin	wiinwaa	Valentine 2001: 122, McGinnis 2005, Oxford 2024	

- (34)
- | | | | | |
|-----------------|-----------|---------------|-----------|--------------|
| | Evenki | Nishnaabemwin | Itelmen | *impossible? |
| [1,2] forms: | Yes (mit) | Composed | Composed* | Yes |
| [1,2] category: | Yes | Yes | No | No |
- *imperative only

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

(36) “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

(37) 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

- (38) 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)

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