

Императив совместного действия  
в ительменском языке  
The Itelmen Inclusive Imperative:  
a previously undescribed contact feature?

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# Introduction

## The Itelmen Inclusive Imperative

### Императив совместного действия в ительменском языке

a. normal

m(ə)n-i†-k(ičeʔn)

1PL.IRR-go-1PL.S

‘Let’s go!’

пойдем

b. mixed

m(ə)n-i†-sx

1PL.IRR-go-2PL.S/A

‘Let’s go!’ (PL.ADDR)

пойдемте

a. - All authors

b. - Only Ono (2021, 95-96); one form of (att. 2005) from one speaker (b.1920s) and suggests it may be a Russian calque.

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пойдемте

- Attested in earlier texts (Bogoras 1901, Jochelson 1910/11, Volodin 1960s)
- Not (just) calque from Russian
- Integrated into Itelmen morphology
- Areal construction (Siberia/Eurasia)

# Background: Chukotko-Kamchatkan verb

PREFIX	-	STEM	-	SUFFIX
Subject } Mood }				{ Subject( <i>Intransitive</i> ) { Object( <i>Transitive</i> )

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

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

# Background: Chukotko-Kamchatkan verb

(1)  $m(\text{ə})n\text{-i}\ddagger\text{-k(i}\check{\text{c}}\text{e}^{\text{?}}n)$   
 1PL.IRR-go-1PL.S  
 ‘Let’s go!’

(2)  $q\text{-i}\ddagger\text{-sx}$   
 2PL.IRR-go-2PL.S/A  
 ‘Go!’

(3)  $m(\text{ə})n\text{-i}\ddagger\text{-sx}$   
 1PL.IRR-go-2PL.S/A  
 ‘Let’s go!’



## Older attestations

Bogoras 1901

mən-čanzo-sx

follow

mn-i†-sx

go

mn-ənta-qzu-sx

go across

mn-ečʼeβi-qzu-sx

hide

mn-əntxla-qzu-sx-ŋiʔn

take them

mən-nu-qzu-sx

eat

mən-φi-qzu-sx

go.downstream

mn-unmi-sx

stop

mn-ilβin-t-qzu-sx

throw net

Jochelson 1910-11†

mín-i†-sx

go

mín-sxezi-sx

ride

mín-sxezi-qzu-sx

ride

mán-†am-sx-en

kill them

Volodin (1960-70s)

xǎn-i†-sx

go

xǎn-tχes-sxin-sx

pee

x[ǎ]n-əntxla-s[x]ŋin

take.him

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

†original transcriber: Aleksandr Maksimovich Danilov

## Only as imperative; never indicative

- (4) qat **n-niη-kičēn**, xačč **mn-ənta-qzu-sx**  
 1PL-load-1PLS      1PL.IRR-CROSS-ASP-2PL  
 \***n-niη-sx**

‘We’ve loaded up. Let’s go across!’

- (5) desjat **n-łəm-čē<sup>?</sup>n**, xačč čβanoke **mn-əntxla-qzu-sx-ηi<sup>?</sup>n**  
 10      1PL.S-kill-1>3PLO,      to.camp 1PL.S-take-2PLS-2>3PLO  
 \***n-łəm-sx-ηi<sup>?</sup>n**

‘We killed 10. Let’s take them to camp.’

Bogoras 1901



## Maybe Russian influence, but not simple calque

[пойдем] base: well-formed 1pl.imperative

[пойдем]-те

cf. ну-те, на-те, брысь-те

Jakobson (1932)

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

[mn-iʈ-k]

[mn-iʈ]-sx

\*[mn-iʈ-k]-sx

q-ŋiksx-č

[mn-iʈ-kičən]

[mn-iʈ]-sx

\*[mn-iʈ-kičən]-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

[пойдем] base: well-formed 1pl.imperative

[пойдем]-те

cf. ну-те, на-те, брысь-те

Jakobson (1932)

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

[mn-iʈ-k]

[mn-iʈ]-sx

\*[mn-iʈ-k]-sx

q-ančp-miŋ-sx

[mn-iʈ-kičen]

[mn-iʈ]-sx

\*[mn-iʈ-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:

- (6) last            ... ʈəm-**sx-ŋi**<sup>ʔ</sup>n?        skažem desjat **n-ʈəm-če**<sup>ʔ</sup>n  
 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

Affix order: not just -sx added to 1PL.IMPERATIVE

Subject-Object portmanteaux drawn from 2PLA paradigm

Attested 2PLA>3O

mən-čanzo-**sx**

follow (it)

mán-łam-**sx-en**

kill them

x[ǎ]n-əntxla-**s[x]-ŋin**

take.him

mn-əntxla-qzu-**sx-ŋiʔn**

take them

Corresp. 1PLA>3O forms:

mən-čanzo-č**en**

Bog.

mán-łam-č**eʔn**

Joch

x[ǎ]n-əntxla-**ki-č**en****

Vol.

mn-əntxla-qzu-**ki-č**eʔn****

Bog.

Fully integrated into Itelmen verbal morphology

# An areal phenomenon?

Храковский (1992); Гусев (2005); Dobrushina & Goussev (2005)

- All (known) languages have a means to express Inclusive Imperative
- Variety of morphological and periphrastic constructions

**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)

# An areal phenomenon?

- Model: [1PL.IMPERATIVE]+2PL.IMP = [пойдем]-те

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# An areal phenomenon?

Turkic imperatives:

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

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

(Dobrushina & Goussev, 2005, 202)

# An areal phenomenon?

- Although all (known) languages have a means to express Inclusive Imperative
- Model: [1PL.IMPERATIVE]+2PL.IMP is characteristic of:
  - Northern Turkic languages (and Turkmen)
  - Russian (only Slavic language) from XVII C.
  - Itelmen (with suffix replacement)



## Экскурс: откуда пойдете? 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 -ѣмъ, -ѣте) “появляются формы типа *несите, ведите, толкните* с -ите вместо древнерусского -ѣте, напр. *возмите* вместо *възмѣте*” (Духовная Климента 1270; Иванов В.В. 1983 *Историческая грамматика р-ого я-а.*, с. 357)

# Why only imperative?

- Model: [1PL.IMPERATIVE]+2PL.IMP is characteristic of:
  - Northern Turkic languages (and Turkmen)
  - Russian (only Slavic language) from XVII C.
  - Itelmen (with suffix replacement)
- Why only in the imperative?

# Why only imperative?

**Indicative:** Plural is cardinality of subject

INCL GROUP, includes AUTHOR and ADDRESSEE

1PL GROUP, includes AUTHOR

2PL GROUP, includes ADDRESSEE

Various universals:

Zwicky (1977); Соколовская (1980); Cysouw (2003); Simon (2005)

- If a language lacks an inclusive form  
inclusive meaning is expressed as 1PL, not 2 PL
- In no language, does the inclusive plural mark addressee number

# Why only imperative?

**Imperative:** Complex speech act: imperative (addressee) + subject

INCL GROUP, includes AUTHOR and ADDRESSEE

1PL GROUP, includes AUTHOR

2PL GROUP, includes ADDRESSEE

- Only in the imperative
- Number of addressee  $\neq$  number of subject

	addressee	subject
давай пойд <del>ем</del>	(SG)	PL
давай <del>те</del> пойд <del>ем</del>	PL	PL

# Conclusion

- Itelmen has an inclusive imperative with addressee number

m(ə)n-iʈ-k(ičeʔn)

1PL.IRR-go-1PL.S

‘Let’s go!’

пойдем

m(ə)n-iʈ-sx

1PL.IRR-go-2PL.S/A

‘Let’s go!’ (PL.ADDR)

пойдемте

- Attested in all text sources, first mention Ono 2021
- Like Russian and Turkic model (1pl + 2pl)
- In all these languages, limited to Imperative
- Not simple calque from Russian (agglutinative -те):
- Fully integrated into Itelmen verbal system

# Conclusion

m(ə)n-amtoʔa†-sx-ŋin  
1PL.IRR-greet-2pl.S/A-3.O  
‘Поздравляем(те)  
Евгения Васильевича с юбилеем !’

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