# Imperative paradigm in Chukotkan languages: an overview of the issue of homogeneity[1]

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Abstract: *In this paper, I argue that the imperative paradigm of Alutor, a Chukotkan language of Kamchatka, often viewed as morphologically homogeneous, is – at least in terms of its morphology – a composition of several independent inflectional categories.*

1. CHUKOTKAN LANGUAGES

Traditional classification suggests Chukchi with various dialects (5,000 speakers speakers out of 15,900 ethnicity) and Koryak with various dialects (1,700 claimed speakers out of 8,000 ethnicity), out of which Alutor (25 claimed speakers out of 2,000 sub-ethnicity) is sometimes isolated as a separate language; and Kerek (extinct, closer to Koryak than to Chukchi?). Together with Itelmen (82 claimed speakers out of 3,180 ethnicity), they form the conventional Chukchi-Kamchatkan family, though this genealogical unit has been disputed. (Data on claimed proficiency and ethnicity in the censuses comes from Wiki)
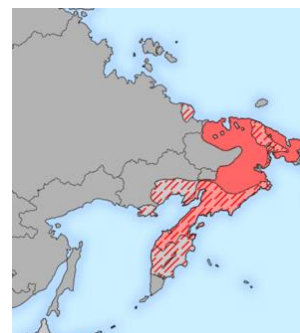
2. ISSUE OF IMPERATIVE PERSON HOMOGENEITY, CROSS-LINGUISTICALLY

Note in terminology: below I will use the following terminology referring to functions rather than morphological categories: imperative as command to the addressee (English *Come in!*); jussive as command to a non-locutor (English *Let him come in!*), and hortative as a command / invitation to the addressee to take part in a common action (English *Let's go in!*) – the use of the terms followed by Nina Dobrushina in various publications. In individual languages, (some of) these forms may be expressed within the same paradigm, which will be the topic of this presentation.

Khrakovskij and Birjulin 1992: imperative paradigms are functionally defined. However, there is an issue of formal homogeneity (apparently, to the second person

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imperative). To be morphologically homogeneous, the forms need to be dedicated (otherwise we would say a different formal category is used to express the function – cf. *идем* which is morphologically identical to 1Pl indicative) and 'similar' in the sense of the means they use (especially in terms of periphrastic vs. synthetic expression).

Khrakovskij and Birjulin 1992, discussion of an example: Turkologists include jussives into the imperative paradigm because these forms are by and large dedicated to expressing commands and are formally homogeneous; but they do not include hortative, because an "optative" form is used in this function. Basically, it seems that for Kh&B, if two forms are both synthetic and dedicated, they are homogeneous. (In fact, Dobrushina 2007 shows that the conventional Turkological term 'optative' stands for a dedicated hortative, so that their Turkic paradigm is fully homogeneous by Kh&B definition.)

TABLE 1. HOMO- AND HETEROGENEITY

	Tatar 'go'	Russian	English
Hortative	*bar-ijk* go-1Pl.Opt synthetic, = Optative	*ид-ем, ид-ем-те* go-1Pl, go-1Pl-Imp.Pl synthetic, dedicated?	*let's go* Hort go periphrastic, dedicated
Imperative	*bar, bar-igiz* go(Imp,Sg), go-Imp.Pl synthetic, dedicated	*ид-и, ид-и-те* go-Imp(Sg), go-Imp-Imp.Pl synthetic, dedicated	*go* go-Imp synthetic
Jussive	*bar-sin, bar-sin-nar* go-Juss, go-Juss-Pl synthetic, dedicated	*пусть (он) ид-ет* Juss (he.Nom) go-3Sg.Prs.Ind periphrastic, dedicated	*let him go* Juss he.Obl go periphrastic, dedicated

van der Auwera et al. 2013:

> "…two imperative-hortative forms will be called homogeneous if they are formed using the same kind of morphological or syntactic means. The following parameters are relevant: (i) is the morphology or the syntax dedicated to the imperative or hortative? (ii) insofar as the strategy is morphological, is it of the same type in terms of distinctions such as base modification vs. affixation or, within affixation, is the relevant affix ordered in the same position relative to the

base? and (iii) insofar as the strategy is syntactic, is it of the same type in terms of the presence of e.g. imperative-hortative particles or pronouns? Note that in determinations of morphological homogeneity, we allow zero morphemes."

Gusev 2013 (p. 224):

"By heterogeneity [of an imperative paradigm] we understand the following: two forms are considered formally heterogeneous if they are distinct in a stronger way than the two respective forms in a non-imperative paradigm."

3. VOLODIN: KEREK IMPERATIVE PARADIGM IS HOMOGENEOUS

According to the Leningrad Typological School, Chukotkan imperative paradigm is homogeneous in that it has dedicated periphrastic forms in all three persons. Cf. Kerek imperative paradigm (morpheme breaks from Volodin 1992, suggested template is Person.Mood-Root-Number-Aspect-Person.Number):

Table 2. Kerek imperative paradigm

	Perfective	Imperfective
1Sg	*m-akkui-Ø-k* Imp1.Sg-eat-Pfv-1Sg	*m-akku-jki-Ø* Imp1.Sg-eat-Ipfv-1Sg
1Du	*mn-akkuj-Ø(-mək)* Imp1.NSg-eat-Pfv(-1NSg)	?
1Pl	*mn-akkuj-la-Ø(-mək)* Imp1.NSg-eat-Pl-Pfv(-1NSg)	*mn-akkuj-la-jki-Ø* Imp1.NSg-eat-Pl-Ipfv
2Sg	*q-akkuj-Ø-əj* Imp2-eat-Pfv-Imp.Sg	*q-akku-jki-Ø* Imp2-eat-Ipfv-Imp.Sg
2Du	*q-akkuj-Ø-tək* Imp2-eat-Pfv-2NSg	*q-akku-jkniŋ-tək* Imp2-eat-Ipfv-2NSg
2Pl	*q-akkuj-la-Ø-tək* Imp2-eat-Pl-Pfv-2NSg	*q-akkuj-la-jkniŋ-tək* Imp2-eat-Pl-Ipfv-2NSg
3Sg	*n-akkuj-Ø-n* Imp3-eat-Pfv-3.Sg	?
3Du	*n-akkuj-Ø-χaj* Imp3-eat-Pfv-3.Du	?
3Pl	*n-akkuj-la-Ø-j* Imp3-eat-Pl-Pfv-3.Pl	*n-akkuj-la-jki-Ø* Imp3-eat-Pl-Ipfv-3.Pl

In his analysis of Alutor (2000, 2001), Aleksandr Kibrik suggests that the so-called imperative paradigm of Alutor is not an *imperative* paradigm. His claim is based on two points:

(1) Imperative may only be applied to second person commands, because imperative includes locutory causation of the addressee; causation may not be addressed to the self or to an absent person. Obviously, this is a definitional / terminological objection; cf. also Dobrushina 2012 on the involvement of the addressee into jussive situations and the obvious involvement of the addressee in hortative situations (could be considered second person inclusive rather than first person inclusive command)

(2) There is another form in Alutor that Kibrik suggests to consider the imperative, the circumfixal γ*a*-[Inv]-Verb.Root-[Pl]-*(t)a*; cf. :

(1) …γ-*awwav-a*   *rara-ŋ* …
     Imp-leave-Imp   house-DAT
       '... *go* home...' [23:21]

(2) …*asγiwut*   *γymmy*   γ-*ina-qura*＝*nmy-lqiv-la-ta.*
      now   I.NOM   Imp-Inv-reindeer＝kill-LQIV-Pl-Imp
     '... from now on *kill reindeer* for me.' [20:97]

Kibrik notes that the form is rare in the texts but refuses to interpret the forms corresponding to Kerek / Chukchi imperative paradigm as imperatives; to him, the imperative reading of the second person optative is an implicature: "In sum, from the point of view of the proposed analysis of the optative, 1st and 3rd person forms are most closely related to its prototypical meaning, while 2nd person forms are the natural extension of this meaning towards semantics of the imperative."

5. ALUTOR IMPERATIVE/OPTATIVE PARADIGM IS NOT HOMOGENEOUS

I argue that in fact the forms considered to be imperative paradigm in Alutor (and probably in Chukchi and Kerek, too) do not form a single homogeneous paradigm. Cf. the imperative and the indicative paradigms:

Table 3. Alutor moods

	Imperative (Optative)	Indicative	Conjunctive
1Sg	*mə-piŋku-k* 1Sg.Imp-jump-1Sg	*tə-piŋku-k* 1Sg-jump-1Sg	*t-aː-piŋku-k* 1Sg-Conj-jump-1Sg
1Du	*mən-piŋku-mək* 1NSg.Imp-jump-1NSg	*mət-piŋku-mək* 1NSg-jump-1NSg	*mən-ʔə-piŋku-mək* 1NSg-Conj-jump-1NSg
1Pl	*mən-piŋku-la-mək* 1NSg.Imp-jump-Pl-1NSg	*mət-piŋku-la-mək* 1NSg-jump-Pl-1NSg	*mən-ʔə-piŋku-la-mək* 1NSg-Conj-jump-Pl-1NSg
2Sg	*qə-piŋku-ɣi* 2.Imp-jump-2Sg	*piŋku-j* jump-2Sg	*n-aː-piŋku-n* ?-Conj-jump-?
2Du	*qə-piŋku-tək* 2.Imp-jump-2NSg	*piŋku-tək* jump-2NSg	*n-aː-piŋku-tək* ?-Conj-jump-2NSg
2Pl	*qə-piŋku-la-tək* 2.Imp-jump-Pl-2NSg	*piŋku-la-tək* jump-Pl-2NSg	*n-aː-piŋku-la-tək* ?-Conj-jump-Pl-2NSg
3Sg	*nə-piŋku-n* 3.Imp-jump-3(Sg)	*piŋku-j* jump-3Sg	*n-aː-piŋku-n* ?-Conj-jump-3(Sg)
3Du	*nə-piŋku-na-t* 3.Imp-jump-3-NSg	*piŋku-ɣəʔət* jump-3Du	*n-aː-piŋku-na-t* ?-Conj-jump-3-NSg
3Pl	*nə-piŋku-na-==w(wi)==* 3.Imp-jump-3-Pl	*piŋku-la-t* jump-Pl-NSg	*n-aː-piŋku-na(-wwi)* ?-Conj-jump-3(-Pl)

Note that, in the nominal paradigm, *-n, -t* (*-ti*) and *-w(wi)* are nominative endings of, respectively, singular (for some nouns), dual and plural.

The structure of the subjunctive paradigm is not very clear, but one thing is obvious: subject person markers only appear in the pre-root position for the first person. Cf. the indicative paradigm for a transitive verb:

Table 4. Alutor transitive indicative conjugation

	1Sg	1Du	1Pl	2Sg	2Du	2Pl	3Sg	3Du	3Pl
1Sg	NA	NA	NA	*tə-tkəplə-ɣət*	*tə-tkəplə-tək*	*tə-tkəplə-la-tək*	*tə-tkəplə-n*	*tə-tkəplə-na-t*	*tə-tkəplə-na-w(wi)*
1Du	NA	NA	NA	*mətə-tkəplə-ɣət*	*mətə-tkəplə-tək*	*mətə-tkəplə-la-tək*	*mətə-tkəplə-n*	*mətə-tkəplə-na-t*	*mətə-tkəplə-na-w(wi)*
1Pl	NA	NA	NA	*mətə-tkəplə-la-ɣət*	*mətə-tkəplə-tək*	*mətə-tkəplə-la-tək*	*mətə-tkəplə-la-n*	*mətə-tkəplə-na-t*	*mətə-tkəplə-na-w(wi)*
2Sg	*ina-tkəpl-i*	*na-tkəplə-mək*	*na-tkəplə-la-mək*	NA	NA	NA	*kəplə-n*	*kəplə-na-t*	*kəplə-na-w(wi)*
2Du	*ina-tkəpl-tək*	*na-tkəplə-mək*	*na-tkəplə-la-mək*	NA	NA	NA	*kəplə-tki*	*kəplə-tki*	*kəplə-la-tki*
2Pl	*ina-tkəpl-la-tək*	*na-tkəplə-mək*	*na-tkəplə-la-mək*	NA	NA	NA	*kəplə-la-tki*	*kəplə-tki*	*kəplə-la-tki*
3Sg	*ina-tkəpl-i*	*na-tkəplə-mək*	*na-tkəplə-la-mək*	*na-tkəplə-ɣət*	*na-tkəplə-tək*	*na-tkəplə-la-tək*	*kəplə-ni-n*	*kəplə-ni-na-t*	*kəplə-ni-na-w(wi)*
3Du	*na-tkəplə-ɣəm*	*na-tkəplə-mək*	*na-tkəplə-la-mək*	*na-tkəplə-ɣət*	*na-tkəplə-tək*	*na-tkəplə-la-tək*	*na-tkəplə-n*	*na-tkəplə-na-t*	*na-tkəplə-na-w(wi)*
3Pl	*na-tkəplə-ɣəm*	*na-tkəplə-mək*	*na-tkəplə-la-mək*	*na-tkəplə-ɣət*	*na-tkəplə-tək*	*na-tkəplə-la-tək*	*na-tkəplə-n*	*na-tkəplə-na-t*	*na-tkəplə-na-w(wi)*

*Nominal forms are indicated by slanted dashes.

As the table shows, except for *ina-* and *na-* (interpreted as inverse markers in Kibrik 2000, 2001), only first person indexes may take pre-root position. Accepting this view of Alutor polypersonal conjugation leads us to reconsidering the imperative prefix q- not as a person marker but as a mood (imperative proper) marker; m?n- as a hortative marker (needs to be controlled for exclusive reading though), m?- for 'propositive', and n?- for the jussive. Relatedness of the jussive to the subjunctive n- is possible but requires further analysis; note that, anyway, these forms are 'nominal' in the sense above (though this would hold for third person forms of many moods). Whether this would qualify as a heterogeneous paradigm by Gusev's or van der Auwera et al's definitions, is unclear (depending on the interpretation of these definitions), but to me this is a clear indication of heterogeneity.

Cf. imperative from Table 3 reconsidered in Table 5:

Table 5: Alutor imperative / optative paradigm reconsidered

	Hortative (Propositive)	Imperative	Jussive
Sg	*mə-piŋku-k*	*qə-piŋku-ɣi*	*nə-piŋku-n*
	Hort-jump-1Sg	Imp-jump-Imp.Sg	Juss-jump-3(Sg)
Du	*mən-piŋku-mək*	*qə-piŋku-tək*	*nə-piŋku-na-t*
	Hort-jump-1NSg	Imp-jump-2NSg	Juss-jump-3-Du
Pl	*mən-piŋku-la-mək*	*qə-piŋku-la-tək*	*nə-piŋku-na-w(wi)*
	Hort-jump-Pl-1NSg	Imp-jump-Pl-2NSg	Juss-jump-3-Pl

6. TRANSITIVE ISSUES

The idea that q- is the imperative (mood) marker rather than person marker is undermined in the transitive conjugation. If P is the first person, ?n?- prefix is used with non-singular second person agent (where we would expect q-):

Table 6: Transitive imperatives with first person P

	Singular	Dual	Plural
Sg	*q-ina-tkəplə-?i*	*q-ina-tkəplə-tək*	*q-ina-tkəplə-la-tək*
	Imp-Inv-beat-Imp.Sg	Imp-Inv-beat-2NSg	Imp-Inv-beat-Pl-2NSg
Du	*ənə-tkəplə-mək*	*ənə-tkəplə-mək*	*ənə-tkəplə-mək*
	?-beat-1NSg	?-beat-1NSg	?-beat-1NSg
Pl	*ənə-tkəplə-la-mək*	*ənə-tkəplə-la-mək*	*ənə-tkəplə-la-mək*
	?-beat-Pl-1NSg	?-beat-Pl-1NSg	?-beat-Pl-1NSg

These unexpected forms are similar to transitive jussives with first person P:

Table 7: Transitive jussives with first person P

	Singular	Dual	Plural
Sg	*n-ina-tkəplə-n*	*ənə-tkəplə-ɣəm*	*ənə-tkəplə-ɣəm*
	Juss-Inv-beat-3(Sg)	?-beat-1Sg	?-beat-1Sg
Du	*ənə-tkəplə-mək*	*ənə-tkəplə-mək*	*ənə-tkəplə-mək*
	?-beat-1NSg	?-beat-1NSg	?-beat-1NSg
Pl	*ənə-tkəplə-la-mək*	*ənə-tkəplə-la-mək*	*ənə-tkəplə-la-mək*
	?-beat-Pl-1NSg	?-beat-Pl-1NSg	?-beat-Pl-1NSg

Kibrik treats *ənə-* as a combinatorial variant of the inverse suffix. In all the forms where it appears, the P (first person) is expressed in the suffix slot. In principle, this may undermine the interpretation of *q-* as a mood (imperative proper) marker, but I currently tend to thing this is more a problem of interpreting Chukotkan inversion (Comrie 1980, Kibrik 2008).

7. USES OF THE IMPERATIVE/HORTATIVE/JUSSIVE FORMS

(the section is a close repetition of the discussion in Kibrik et al. 2001: 2.1.7.3, including the examples)

Kibrik et al's approach suggests that the 'optative' paradigm includes the following components (in a somewhat Werzbicka's style):

— the speaker is thinking about a virtual event P;
— the speaker wants event P to be performed;
— the speaker highly estimates the reality of the approach of the event P;
— the speaker is talking about this

Note that the third component is not what we typologically expect from the term optative; usually, optatives are less self-committing. The use of the categories include:

First person singular - Propositive:

(3)   maja?   m?-n.sis?aty-n.

        where   Hort.1sg-look-3sg

{LC: Miti says that she gave birth to his child. Qutkinnaqu:}

'Where? I will take a look.' [7:14]

First person plural - Hortative:

(4)   ...m?n-me?y = tk?pl?-la-n,   m?n-?alap-la-n.

        Hort.1NSg-hard = beat-Pl-3Sg   Hort.1NSg-catch.up.with-Pl-3Sg

{LC: Ah, that's just him.}

'Let's beat him hard, let's catch him'. [8:53]

(Presence of non-inclusive – propositive – readings needs to be checked)

Second person – Imperative (implicature, according to Kibrik):

(5)   naqamq-iv-?i: "qy-galmy-?i".

        only   Imp-say-Imp.Sg   Imp-bend-Imp.Sg

'You only say, 'Bend down'.' [14:21]

Third person – Jussive (?):

(6)   q??i   taq? = trup = kiw?l   n?-?-it?-n,

        look!   what = Teruppe = blood.Nom   Opt-be-3sg

?n?.in   g?m.nin   ?i?.val? = kiw?l.

this + 3sg   my + 3sg   nostril = blood.Nom

{LC: Why is this blood bad? , said Miti.}

'You see, it would be good if this were Teruppe's blood, but this is blood from my nose'. [10:29]

In the following examples, Kibrik argues that the volition may be transferred from the speaker to the subject (intentional, desiderative?); however, I would suggest that these are examples of a special syntactic context (under an evaluation predicate), it looks like a subjunctive here:

(7)   a-?eq?-ka   wutku tig-uwwi   n?-tkiv-na(-wwi).

        A-bad-Pred   here   ski-Nom.Pl   Opt-spend.the.night-3pl.S

'It's bad if the skis spend the night here'. [12:6]

(8)   *akt?ka*   *un?un?u*   *n?-pila-ni-n,*   *nuta-?*

       impossible   child.Nom   Opt-leave-3Sg-3Sg tundra-DAT

       akt?ka   *n?-lq?t?-n,*   *a-tir??-ka.*

       impossible   Opt-go-3Sg   A-cry-PRED

{LC: Titkemsesen put up the ?urt.}

'He could not leave the child and go to the tundra, (because he) {i.e. the child} was crying.' [7:48]

Importantly, the subordinative use is also possible for the hortative:

(9)   *akt?ka*   *m?-j?l-g?t*   *java-l?-uwwi,*   *jaqi* *q?lavul*

       impossible   Hort.Sg-give-2sg.P use-Atr-Nom.PL   later   husband.Nom

       ta-jat?-?,   *ujatiki-k*   *m?-j?l-g?t.*

       Pot-come-Pot   sledge-Loc   Hort.Sg-give-2sg

'I can't give you my clothes [=those I'm using]. Later (my) husband will come, (and) I will give you (the clothes) on the sledge.' [7:34]

In fact, all of these examples are not jussives but look more like subjunctive. These are all examples discussed in the relevant section of Kibrik et al 2004. Other examples also include:

(10)   *kytvyl*   *nuNy-nm-a*   *myny-nty-na-t.*

       must.not   NEG-kill-ANLT   Hort.1NSg-do-3-Du

'We don't have to kill them.' [20:35]

(11)   *...inJas*   *q-il-la-tyk*   *valatkyla-k...*

       enough   Imp-be-PLUR-2NSg   run.after-INF

{...Well, that's enough.} 'Stop running (after me)...' [8:59]

More likely jussives are encountered though, too:

(12)   *Nyru.qqy*   *Hujamtawil@-u*   *ina-rwitaty-**l@**-u*   *n-ity-na-wwi...*

       three   person-Nom.Pl   Inv-flog-Atr-Equat Juss-be-3-Pl

'Let three men become *those who flog them* [=floggers]...' [30:21]

In several examples, the optative is encountered under question:

(13)...*taq.in*   *gy-nanny*   *q-in-iv-gi,*   *matka*
    about.what   you-ERG   Imp-Inv-say-Imp.Sg whether

ty-@y-nmy-nat   *Hopta*   *ytt-i*   *Nita.rgara.*
1sg.A-CONJ-kill-3du.P   all   they-Nom.Du   two.together

{LC: Bad matter. My wife lives wrong.}

'What will you tell me? Maybe, shall I kill both of them?' [30:5]

(14)...*mik-ynak*   *yn-taqy-na*?
    who-Erg.Sg   Juss.LOW.A -what.to.do-3(Pl)

{LC: Skis are in their own place} .
'Who will do anything to them?' [13:31]

Unclear is the use of the optative in the following example; perhaps, again subordinative (negation):

(15)   *?opt=all?*   *tinga* *?nnan*   *?ujamtawil??-n*   *n?-lev?.tku-n.*
    completely=not   what one   person-Nom   Opt-walk-3sg

{LC: Kirumsen approached the village,}

'… (but) not even one person (there) was walking around.' [19:52]

What is then the conjunctive? Kibrik defines conjunctive as 'being desirable for the speaker but not realized in the real world' and provides examples like:

<u>Optative:</u> *If only we could eat fresh meat,...* [8:6] --- *If* only you, Miti, *were to give birth* to a daughter. [5: 3] --- *I wish I could attack* her and *subject her* to an excruciating death. [20:54]

<u>Counterfactual (in conditionals):</u> {LC: Maybe then something happened to them.} Well if they *were alive,* someone *should have said,* {RC: "Now then, I will visit.} [19:50] --- And until now there they always sing a song about this, *as if* the bear *were talking...* [9:42]

<u>Intentional?</u> Probably it is enough. *I will begin* to prepare, {because there is our former sister.}

<u>Seeking advice (in interrogatives):</u> *Isn't* it better *for me to begin* to throw them into the water... [19:78] --- What *shall I do* (with the girls) who are using melody in this mocking way? [8:43] --- {LC: Bad matter. My wife lives wrong.} What will you tell me? Maybe, *shall I kill* both of them? [30:5]

8. CONCLUSIONS

Alutor (and probably Kerek and Chukchi) volitions do not represent the same morphological paradigm across all persons. The prefix slot only contains person marking in the first person, where it is cumulated with mood (hortative). Other assumed imperative (optative) forms contain a prefix whose meaning is purely modal -imperative and optative (or jussive?). Transitive imperatives constitute a separate problem which is connected to interpreting the category of inversion (Comrie 1980, Kibrik 2008). In terms of functions, all three categories show non-trivial commonalities (the subjunctive-like use under modal predicative words – 'impossible', 'bad', 'completely not'), which is grounds for considering them together.

9. LOOSE ENDS

a) Consider different Chukotkan languages (and Itelmen): this may provide more insights into morphological structure of the forms

b) Check realization of nominal arguments under detransitivization / inverse: this may give hints at what is going on with transitive imperatives

The Alutor paradigm itself needs to be checked for consistency, including:

c) realization with vowel initial verb stems: may provide explanation about subjunctive

d) Uses should be checked across texts: to decide whether the 'third person imperative' is a jussive, optative or something else.

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